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No. 1633

Hoc Tap, No. 11, 1974



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## STRUGGLE TO STABILIZE AND GRADUALLY IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 1-9

[Editorial]

[Text] To care for the people's livelihood is the essence of our regime and a basic policy of our party and state.

By implementing the policies on food, clothing, housing, education, health protection, and so forth during the years of peaceful economic building, our party and state have taken a step in improving the living conditions of workers, civil servants, and all strata of laboring people.

During the years of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, along with devoting all human and material resources to the frontline, our party and state paid constant attention to meeting the essential basic needs of all strata of people. Our state policy was to give priority to distributing grain and granting financial assistance to families whose members were sent into combat and families of fallen heroes and disabled combatants in order to help them overcome difficulties in their lives. Our state took good care of children, old and sick people, needy families, war victims, and so forth. The state trade unions, and cooperatives were concerned with meeting the needs of the collectives and with improving social welfare. As a result, our people's life remained stable, despite many fierce trials of war and natural calamities.

In less than 2 years after the war ended in the North, our people's livelihood has been gradually stabilized and improved, thanks to the great efforts of our party, state, and people in economic restoration and development and in cultural development.

All of the foregoing achievements have been due to the fact that our party has adopted a correct revolutionary line according to which the building of socialism in the north has been combined with the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, human and material resources have been devoted to the frontline, the people's health has been improved, the people's essential and basic needs have been satisfied, the principle of distribution according to labor has been applied.... our party has creatively applied the law of revolutionary war and the law of socialist economy and has combined these laws in the implementation of the two

strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution--the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and the building of socialism in the North.

Our great achievements in insuring the people's livelihood prove the superiority of our socialist regime in the North, our party's clear-sighted leadership, our state's ability to manage economic and social affairs, and our people's great strength. These achievements cannot be separated from the valuable aid of the fraternal socialist countries to our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and in socialist building.

At present, our people's living standard remains low and the life of cadres, workers, civil servants, and other laborers is still hard. The main reason for this situation is that our inherently poor and backward economy has suffered the serious ravages of war, the management of our economy still leaves much to be desired, and the sectors in charge of caring for the people's livelihood have shortcomings and weaknesses despite their many efforts.

Our grain and trade sectors have not yet properly carried out the supply of grain and food products to workers and civil servants and have failed to insure that their meals are improved. The trade union organizations have paid inadequate attention to the collective mess halls, child-care centers, and kindergartens, the state-operated trading branches have not yet adequately satisfied other daily needs of our people. Many kinds of consumer goods are still lacking. State-managed trade has not accelerated its operations and services regarding repair work, collective eating-houses, and so forth.

A number of trade branches and units have the tendency to concentrate only on their businesses and have not concerned themselves with properly serving the people's life. The distribution of goods in a number of places has been inequitable and impracticable. The management and distribution of goods has been slack. As a result, corruption, wastage, and "haughtiness" in the distribution of goods have occurred. Meanwhile, thefts of state property and illegal business transactions have taken place, thus directly affecting the people's livelihood and causing the free market to develop and the actual incomes and wages of workers, civil servants, and honest businessmen to decrease.

To satisfactorily support economic restoration and development and cultural development and to continue building the material and technical bases of socialism in 1974 and 1975, all echelons and branches must strive to quickly overcome all shortcomings and stabilize and gradually improve our people's livelihood.

The resolution of the 22d Plenum of the Party Central Committee pointed out:

"It is necessary to stabilize the people's livelihood and solve the postwar social problems.

"/regarding food/, it is necessary to insure the supply of the fixed ration; improve the two principal meals and breakfast of people in the cities, industrial centers, construction sites, state farms, and lumber sites; and supply sufficient vegetables, meat, fish, soybean sauce, and fish sauce to workers and civil servants.



"/regarding housing/, it is necessary to build more housing quarters for workers and civil servants having no dwelling places (in the industrial centers in particular), quickly and uniformly complete the building of new quarters added to existing housing quarters and utilize them as soon as they are completed.

"/regarding salaries/, it is necessary to take a step toward improving the wage system of those workers who are entrusted with the hardest work and who must achieve the most complicated technical work.

"It is necessary to provide suitable jobs to disabled veterans, and quickly promulgate policies regarding wounded soldiers and demobilized army men who participate in production activities.

"The localities must take care of the livelihood of the families of fallen heroes, war invalids, orphans, and helpless old people. The government must study and amend policies toward them, but it must primarily rely on the assistance of the local people and develop the spirit of mutual love and assistance among them."

Only by stabilizing the people's livelihood and by solving the people's problems of food, clothing, housing, education, health protection, and so forth can we step up the emulation movement for labor productivity and for industriously and thriftily building socialism.

Only by stabilizing the people's livelihood can we contribute to strengthening their solidarity and their political and moral unanimity and developing their revolutionary spirit in the struggle to achieve independence and democracy in the South and build socialism in the North.

To stabilize the people's livelihood and satisfy the urgent requirements of the people's life, /all branches and echelons must heighten their sense of responsibility toward the people's life/; work against the fear of difficulties, bureaucracy, and perfunctoriness; and develop a correct sense and behavior in studying and finding practical measures to settle difficulties in the life of workers with available means and under actual conditions.

In order to stabilize the peasants' livelihood, branches and echelons as well as cadres and party members in the countryside must adopt positive measures to accelerate production, strive to properly implement the grain distribution task economically consume grain, and insure the fulfillment of the state grain obligation and the supply of sufficient grain to the peasants. Along with satisfactorily carrying out the distribution of grain in the cooperatives, the party echelons and local administrations must closely manage grain consumption, resist the misappropriation and waste of grain in production and consumption, and carry out measures to gradually eliminate the free grain market. With the assistance of the party, administration, and cooperative, each family must work out a plan for consuming grain economically to insure its living conditions and must prevent the situation in which grain is lacking for consumption during the preharvest period because it has been consumed wastefully at parties, funerals, and weddings at the beginning of the crop season. At the same time, the party echelons and local administrations must supervise and insure the proper

distribution of staple goods, consolidate the system of general education schools and supplementary education classes, and properly organize the sanitation and disease prevention and public health systems.

In order to stabilize the people's life /in the cities and industrial centers/, /the party echelons and local administrations must, first of all, provide employment for the people, rationally plan and utilize social labor/ so as to insure that military service is fulfilled and all labor strength of society is used for economic restoration and development, and help every person get a job and work honestly. The organs and mass organizations must organize vocational training for the youths who have left school, set up production and processing installations, develop handicrafts and other occupations, and organize forces in charge of construction and repair work to serve the people's life. The local administrations must have a plan to gradually send people to build new economic zones. On this basis, the administrative committees must proceed with the work registration and issue work cards in coordination with controlling grain and the market, maintain public order and security, and send those who have previously engaged in illegal trade and business to participate in productive labor and legal business.

/In the state organs and enterprises, proper organization of management in every aspect/ (labor, material supplies, life...) aims at /creating conditions for workers to work the required amount of time and at insuring the income and livelihood/ of the workers and civil servants and their families. By setting the proper number of workers for organs and enterprises, the state will satisfactorily streamline their organization and shift their excess personnel to the production front or assign them to other useful jobs. The state will organize the treatment of sick workers and civil servants so they can restore their health and return to work quickly, and it will correctly implement the policy toward retired people and those who are incapacitated. In this way, the organs and enterprises will have good conditions to fulfill the labor norms, properly manage labor, carry out measures to insure labor safety and industrial sanitation, improve working conditions and prevent work accidents.

/State organs and enterprises must correctly implement the systems of wages, bonuses, social insurance, and social welfare and implement the principle of distribution according to labor. We correctly comply with the principle of distribution according to labor in the implementation of systems of wages and bonuses, considering this principle as an economic lever to stimulate workers to rapidly increase labor output and the production of surplus goods so as to quickly increase the national income--a basis for improving the people's livelihood.

The state will readjust and expand the system of paying wages on the basis of the volume of products and rational labor norms, implement the system of awarding promotions to workers and civil servants according to actual criteria and regulations and according to the state plan norms.

In order to closely coordinate an increase in salary with an increase in economic effectiveness in production and to complete its plan, the state will promulgate the system of bonuses while concentrating on improving the various

wage systems according to the criteria set in the state plan, especially on gradually improving the system of wages for those who must do the heaviest work and achieve the most complex technical tasks.

After promoting 10 percent of the total number of cadres and civil servants in 1974, the state will increase this rate so as to award promotions to general education teachers and medical cadres and personnel who have worked well for many years but have not yet been awarded promotions.

To correctly implement the system of social insurance and social welfare, the state will add the system of granting allowances to workers and civil servants who are incapacitated, sick, and pregnant or have given birth; will properly compensate cadres, workers, and civil servants who must perform heavy tasks or must work under dangerous environmental conditions and those who have worked for and made contributions to society; and will consolidate and develop collective eating places, day nurseries, and kindergartens.

In view of the requirements of the rule governing improvement of the productive capacity of the work force, the state will concentrate on achieving a balance between the monetary income of workers and the volume of materials they need for their daily life. At present, because production remains poor and slow and because the fluctuation of prices on the market has a serious impact on the wages and life of workers, the state is greatly concerned with insuring that their essential basic needs are satisfied. It will distribute staple goods to them according to plan, with a view to insuring their actual wages. For this reason, /the state will apply the system of supplying a fixed quantity of essential commodities needed by the people in their life/. However, there must be certain limitations to the distribution of goods according to this formula. If these limitations are excessively extended, there will be a contradiction between the system of supplying goods in kind and the current system of wages and the principle of distribution according to labor will be violated. Thus, the distribution of goods of prime necessity needed for the people's livelihood must have limitations and must aim at precise goals. First of all, it must help satisfy the needs for two adequate daily meals and breakfast and housing of cadres, workers, and civil servants in the concentrated industrial centers in particular, and satisfy the people's needs for education and health protection. The circulation and distribution branch must pay special attention to properly serving the workers who undertake the hardest work or complex technical work and who work in the major production branches.

In the present situation, /attentively preparing meals for workers, especially breakfast for cadres, workers, civil servants and students, is a very important problem in the task of stabilizing the people's life/. The most correct way to improve meals is to gradually industrialize the processing of grain and food products and to improve the ingredients and quality of meals while rationally utilizing the available sources of grain and food products and saving time in the preparation of daily meals. Faced with the present difficulties in production, the grain and food products branches must strive to supply sufficient grain, meat, fat, and beancake and to gradually increase the ration of vegetables, fish, eggs, sauce, and so forth. /The enterprises and organs as well as the trade unions must properly organize and manage the collective eating establishment/ while the masses inspect and supervise the distribution of grain

and food products. It is very practical and necessary to intensify and improve the management of collective eating establishments and to apply a system of close control in order to prevent corruption, wastage, and lack of sanitation and contribute to improving the livelihood of cadres, workers, students, and the people. In areas where conditions permit, the basic-level trade unions must motivate the cadres, workers, and civil servants to increase production so as to improve their meals with the additional food products they have produced. To help the cadres, workers, and civil servants reduce the difficulties in preparing their meals at home, the grain and trade branches must improve the procedures of distributing grain, food products, and fuel, with a view to insuring that sufficient and good staple goods are distributed to the right consumers conveniently and rapidly. Moreover, the expansion of the trade related to public eating and drinking and the development of state-managed services and repair organizations can help stabilize the actual wages of cadres, workers, and civil servants.

Because the available stock of goods is limited, the circulation and distribution branches must improve the distribution procedures so goods are distributed in an equitable and convenient manner and buyers no longer have to form lines. At the same time, it is necessary to continue to apply the usual procedures of selling goods that are not of prime necessity for the people and to "gradually eliminate the system of supply and distribution of these goods" and eliminate managerial methods patterned after "administrative and supply procedures," as called for in the resolution of the 22d plenum of the party central committee.

To satisfactorily carry out the distribution of goods, the circulation and distribution branches must also scrupulously implement the resolution of the political bureau "on the struggle against the theft of socialist property and against illegal business" so as to eradicate corruption and wastage in all forms.

Thus, the management of the distribution of goods must be closely combined with /the management of the free market and prices/ with a view to stabilizing prices on the market and the people's life. /The branches, echelons, and cadres in charge of managing the economy and market must hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, struggle against theft and illegal speculation and trade, organize and educate the small merchants, gradually eliminate the free market of grain, and closely manage the goods under the unified state management/. On this basis, the state can have conditions to command prices on the market, readjust irrational prices, continue to implement the "two prices" and "high price" policy and struggle to gradually lower prices on the free market. On the other hand, the financial branch and banks must improve the management of financial and monetary affairs, increase receipts, reduce unnecessary expenses, promptly check the unwarranted flow of money into the free market that causes an excess draft on cash, accelerate the recovery of debts, and motivate the cadres and people to practice economy and to actively deposit money in savings banks.

In addition to providing enough food for the two daily meals of the people and sufficient consumer goods for their everyday life, the state will strive to meet their demands in /housing, study and treatment of diseases/. It will

build more housing facilities for cadres and manual and office workers, and high school and college students who need quarters and rehabilitate and build more /schools/ to provide sufficient classrooms for students, on the basis of combining state investment with the utilization of the human and material resources of the people. Public health activities aimed at /protecting the people's health/ will be further accelerated by restoring and developing public health installations; satisfactorily organizing physical examinations and treatment of diseases; taking precautionary measures against diseases and epidemics, especially in the cities and large industrial zones, at forest exploitation sites and on state farms; and checking and eradicating epidemics and diseases that have broken out since the war. Moreover, the state will accelerate the task of /protecting mothers and babies/ and motivate the people to participate in the birth control movement in order to insure rational development of population.

In stabilizing the people's life, the state will carry out particularly important tasks of /solving postwar social problems,/ organizing employment for disabled soldiers, and studying and promulgating policies and regulations toward disabled combatants and demobilized soldiers engaged in production.

Stabilizing the people's life is a common task of the entire party and all of our people.

Party committee echelons must, on one hand, carry out close leadership, urge all branches and echelons to exert greater efforts in a spirit of socialist cooperation; uphold the sense of responsibility for the people's livelihood; endeavor to satisfactorily fulfill state plan norms concerning production, purchase, distribution and consumption; and oppose dishonest work methods and the practice of filing false reports with a view to obtaining credits for oneself, one's locality and one's unit to the detriment of the masses' interests.

On the other hand, party committee echelons must carry out the propaganda and education task broadly and deeply among the people, highly develop the self-reliant spirit and the sense of collective ownership and, together with the people, seek ways to overcome difficulties arising from the everyday life. To this end, we must educate the workers politically and ideologically while encouraging them with material rewards; properly settle the relations between their duty to work and the right to enjoy the fruit of their labor; and implement the principle of distribution according to the amount of work performed.

In whatever work position, cadres must uphold the sense of responsibility for the people's life, perceive the common difficulties facing the party and the state, strive to overcome difficulties, and abstain from complaining. Everyone must uphold the self-strengthening spirit, work diligently, practice economy, and settle by himself difficulties facing him and his family, while helping others settle difficulties in their everyday life. Everyone must work in a spirit of performing to the best of his ability for socialism and for the sake of the bloodsealed south. Participating positively in socialist labor means "working without enjoying remuneration," in order to overcome the aftermath of the war and stabilize the people's life. Moreover, everyone must heighten the sense of practicing economy in consumption, endure temporary privations and difficulties in everyday life, and scrupulously implement the state's managerial policies.

Leading cadres must work amid the people and help them settle difficulties in their life. They must be really loyal servants of the people and display the sense of responsibility for their livelihood. President Ho has taught: "The party and government are entirely to blame if the people do not have enough food to eat and enough clothing to warm themselves when it is cold, if the people are illiterate, and if the people are affected with diseases." [1] Acting upon this teaching of President Ho, let us satisfactorily take care of our people's lives.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. On development of production and practice of economy, the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 37.

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**STRENGTHEN THE PARTY CHARACTER, DEAL INTENSIVELY WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIFE, AND CREATE A NEW IMPETUS FOR OUR LITERARY AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES**

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 10-16

[Article]

[Text] Our literature and arts are revolutionary literature and arts. They support revolutionary politics, that is, the people, the fatherland, and socialism. The fatherland and socialism are the loftiest themes and constitute sources of endless inspiration for our literature and arts. Serving the people, the fatherland and socialism, our young socialist literature and arts have increasingly developed in all aspects, along with the successful development of our people's revolutionary cause under our party's leadership. In the years of anti-U.S. national salvation, literature, music, theatrical art, fine arts and the youngest branches, such as cinema, made praiseworthy efforts and scored praiseworthy achievements each year. Many works of all categories--such as reportorial pieces, novels, short poems, long songs, sketches, paintings, sculptures, songs, symphonies, musicals, animated cartoons, plays, operas, newsreels, feature films and so forth--were produced amid the flames of war. Generally speaking, these works were qualitatively better than before, ideologically and artistically. As far as literature is concerned, our anti-U.S. resistance literature developed more comprehensively than our anti-French resistance literature. We also had inspiring works reflecting the building of socialism in the north. The contests in composing poems, short stories, scripts and essays on industry, forestry, communications and transportation, and so forth, and especially the widespread mass literary and artistic movement in all localities have linked our literary and artistic activities with the latest problems arising from our people's lives, production and combat. Our literary and artistic achievements in recent years, although they have not yet been commensurate with the great revolutionary cause of our party and people, have effectively supported the two strategic tasks of the revolution in our country: the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and the building of socialism. We are proud of these achievements, of our country's literature and arts, which have developed in accordance with our party's correct and creative literary and artistic line, and of the revolutionary sense of service demonstrated by our country's writers and artists, many of whom have courageously fallen on the battlefield while performing their duties.

Over the past more than a year and a half since the revolution in our country shifted to a new stage, our literature and art have brought their achievements into full play and have continued to advance to support new political tasks, reflecting our people's courageous struggle to achieve independence and democracy in the south and build socialism in the north.

However, some weeds and poisonous mushrooms have recently appeared on a scattered basis in our garden of beautiful socialist literary and artistic flowers. These weeds and poisonous mushrooms, if not exposed and weeded in time, could exert an adverse impact on the normal development of our literature and arts.

While most of the literary and artistic works have reflected our people's great victories and revolutionary heroism in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, some reportorial pieces and essays, instead of communicating to the readers the joy and legitimate pride of our nation, have lamented over the fact that blood and bones, efforts and material resources have been devoted to the struggle for independence and freedom, but independence and freedom have not yet been fully achieved; have had a no war, no peace mentality; and have sown doubts about our people's great victory immediately after the U.S. expeditionary forces and the satellite forces had been defeated by our armed forces and people and had to withdraw from the southern part of our country.

At a time when they should have loudly expressed elation over and pride in our people's great /achievements/ in the anti-U.S. resistance, certain poets have only seen the /losses,/ the mourning and the suffering, and lamented: "No loss is greater than death; the mourning turban is as round as a zero." Why have they not written about the courageous spirit of sacrifice of our armed forces and people, who are persisting in their efforts to achieve the cause of national liberation? Why have they written about sadness, worries, hopeless expectations, the images of loved ones fading gradually, and the scenes of family separations or reunions, or desolate lives, caused by the war waged by the imperialists and their lackeys? Our people are laboring self-denyingly to heal the wounds of war and to rebuild our country "more adequately and more grandiosely."

Why have they not written about the courageous spirit demonstrated in labor by millions of people who are overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles to restore the economy and rebuild the country? Why have they complained about the scars on one's hands and lamented over the "scars on the surface of the land"? The methods of writing about war in a general fashion, without drawing a line of distinction between a just war and an unjust war, without lauding the masses' revolutionary heroism in a just war, and without exposing the crimes of the oppressors and exploiters who kindle an unjust war; the methods of protesting war in general, without drawing a line of distinction between a revolutionary war and a counterrevolutionary war; and the methods of harping on and lamenting over the losses sustained in a war are methods of writing consistent with bourgeois humanitarianism, which considers the losses and sacrifices in a war as something to be capitalized on. In its quest for personal tragedies, bourgeois humanitarianism pits personal happiness against the happiness of the people and the nation. In the name of "eternal human love," it deplores all types of war, contending that any bullet is fatal to human beings and that destruction is caused by both sides. Thereby, it promotes abhorrence of war in general, failure to understand the necessity of revolutionary force, and a tendency to reach an unprincipled compromise with the imperialist warmongers.

The socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the north are new things. The task of reflecting this undertaking requires that writers and artists adhere firmly to the working class stand, understand Marxism-Leninism, and firmly grasp the party's lines and policies.

Under our party's clear-sighted leadership, our people, over the past nearly 2 years, have scored outstanding achievements in economic rehabilitation and development, cultural development, and building socialism in the north. Most of our literary and artistic works have reflected to some extent our enthusiasm and pride over our people's great successes in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and have successfully depicted the superiority of the socialist system in the north. However, there have been here and there a number of articles reflecting a negative attitude toward our people's achievements. These articles have exaggerated our own difficulties and shortcomings, painted a gloomy picture, and sown pessimism, a wavering attitude and skepticism. We do not object to criticism of the negative aspects of society. However, it is necessary to write about negative aspects to strive to overcome them and make society advance; and it is necessary to consider these negative aspects as the vestiges of a society in which man exploited man, which our regime is eradicating, and not as inherent in the nature of socialist society.

It is advisable to write about individualism in all forms, about the "middle-of-the-road way of life," about the unhealthy relations among those engaged in literary and artistic activities, and so forth in order to criticize them. It is necessary to write about individualism to promote a spirit of struggle to overcome it and to develop socialist, collective ideology and a revolutionary conception of life. It is erroneous to present individualism as a main aspect of our society or as an irremediable malady. Presentation of individualism as a main aspect of our society or as an irremediable malady gives rise to skepticism, pessimism and nonconfidence in the fine nature of our society and the strength inherent in our ideals. If "if I were you," "if yesterday were today," and "live here or there" "came face to face with" or were "identical" with the crafty individualism depicted in that play, would it be possible to overcome individualism? The sarcastic tone of that play reflects discontent with negative aspects, but does not reflect the conviction that they are surmountable.

Most of the cadres of our administration, as well as cadres in our branches, are good. However, a number of cadres are dictatorial or authoritarian and are violating the masses' right to collective ownership. Criticizing the shortcomings and errors of these cadres is a necessary task, and this is also a way of protecting our socialist democracy. That play deals with a cadre of the basic-level administration who has many bad habits, and criticizes the shortcomings of this cadre. However, because the play fails to link the struggle against these nonsocialist thoughts, behavior and actions with the present, main struggle in the north's rural areas--that is, the struggle between the two paths, the socialist path and the capitalist path; the path of collectivism and the path of individualism--it is not realistic and not far-reaching. Furthermore, through that play, the spectators might misunderstand and think its author condemns the bad cadre with the intent of making spectators become spiteful about our people's administration at the basic level and about our party and state organizations. Inculcating in the masses the spirit of preserving their right

to collective ownership does not consist of pointing out the grudges of a certain number of individuals against violations of socialist democratic rights; rather, it is necessary to make the masses realize that they must rely on the party, the people's democratic administration, and the people's organizations to struggle with a constructive spirit to protect the people's administration and the people's right to collective ownership.

The author might have good will. However, because his perception, thinking, and methods were not correct, he has committed shortcomings and deviations.

In some other cases, certain persons have used ambiguous, insinuating and double-meaning styles; have used one thing to refer to another; have used old facts to criticize present facts, hinting that the present is not as good as the past, and so forth; and have resorted to the old tricks--which progressive literary and artistic circles under the old regime adopted to criticize the imperialists and feudalists--to assail socialism. At a time when our people's daily life is encountering many difficulties created by enemy-caused dangers and by natural calamities, certain persons have written articles dealing with old-time wrapped lean pork and present-day ipomaea aquatica. What is the purpose of such articles: Is it a form of sarcasm, or a way of saying that the present is not as good as the past? Just prior to a new crop harvest, when certain localities were running short of food, certain persons, in their articles dealing with an oldtime realist writer, stressed the serious starvation and utter poverty and deprivation of our country's peasants in the old days. The authors of these articles argued that "poverty brings forth changes," and stressed the writers' situation, in which they are suffering from hunger and poverty and in which "they do not want to use what we want to write, and we usually do not have the guts to write what they tell us to write," and so forth. What is the real purpose of such articles?

A short story on children, published recently in the VAN NGHE [LITERATURE AND ARTS] weekly, is a kind of dangerous poisonous mushroom. With a "double-meaning" style, this story sows doubts among the masses about our party's leadership and sows ideas opposing our revolutionary lines, our socialist system and our proletarian dictatorship. Depicting the desolate life and melancholy of an old man, whose wife was killed in a bombing raid and whose only son "joined the army in the first phase after the peace order went into effect," the story not only reveals an erroneous concept of bourgeois humanitarianism insofar as the question of war is concerned, but also is intended as a call for protest against revolutionary war. The story is detrimental to our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and the struggle to achieve independence and democracy throughout the country. Under the proletarian dictatorship and in a situation in which the struggle between the two paths is going on in a hard, complex manner, the author of this short story raises the picture of a horrible skull and talks about "abandoning this path and taking another." What is his real intent? Is it a class reaction to a number of measures--such as instituting administrative control, recovering the illegally occupied ricefields and land, and combating those stealing socialist property, those engaged in illegal business, the hoarders and speculators, and so forth--that our people's democratic state has enforced to insure the success of socialism in solving the problem of "who will triumph over whom" in the north? With an insinuating and distorting style and saying that "the roof of the new house is leaking because of the mice

and insects," the author threatens to "abandon" the path he describes as a "shortcut path" and to take another path: This constitutes a challenge to our regime. Far from being truthful, the story centers on an ambiguous theme and contains suspicious details. It sows erroneous views and ideas. It is obviously a bad and harmful story. Because of the maliciously harmful nature of this short story, large numbers of readers have vehemently protested against it.

Theoretically and in literary and artistic critique, certain persons have written articles lauding critical realism and its method of "writing the truth." Critical realism, which negates the contemporary social order, exerted a certain progressive impact in the prerevolution period, because it exposed the decay of the colonialist and feudal social system. However, critical realism has serious weaknesses and errors in its conception of the world and conception of life and in its methods. Under socialism, we advocate adopting in a discriminating and critical manner some artistic achievements of oldtime critical realism. However, we do not advocate adopting critical realism as our present-day method of literary and artistic creation, because although critical realism was right in negating the old social order, it is reactionary when it negates our present socialist social order. Our present methods of literary and artistic creation are those of socialist realism. Under our regime, adopting the methods of critical realism is tantamount to opposing the socialist system, the state of proletarian dictatorship, the party, and the people. Intentionally or unintentionally propagandizing and lauding critical realism at this juncture is tantamount to promoting antisocialist literature and arts.

The tendency to "write what one sees" and "record what one recalls" in accordance with naturalism is completely inconsistent with our socialist realist creative methods.

Erroneous tendencies have also emerged in theoretical literary and artistic criticism, such as the tendency to slight the social significance and ideological content of literary and artistic works, to make criticism based on one's impressions or to stress the "objective significance of a literary or artistic work" or deny the role of the conception of the world in artistic creation. These deviationist tendencies have exerted a negative impact on literary and artistic creation.

Why have there been literary and artistic errors and deviations over the recent past? They have occurred because a number of our writers and artists have not remained firm on the working class stand, have not studied Marxism-Leninism, have not firmly grasped the party's lines and policies, have divorced themselves from the people's life, have refused to deal intensively with reality, and have lost some of their revolutionary enthusiasm.

At a time when our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle has entered a new, very difficult and violent stage and when our compatriots in both parts of the country are striving to win total victory, a number of writers and artists, who nurture pacifist thoughts and are subject to the detrimental influence of bourgeois humanitarianism, have written articles revealing a pessimistic and negative state of mind.

At a time when the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the north have entered a new stage and when the struggle between the two paths is proceeding in a hard and complex manner in the north, a number of writers and artists have become disoriented, are looking at the world through dark glasses, are displaying a skeptical and vacillating attitude, and are serving as mouth-pieces for the spontaneity of the small-scale producers opposed to socialism.

Intentionally or unintentionally, these persons have opted for the capitalist path, opposing the socialist path.

The problem of "who will triumph over whom" in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the north has only been partially solved; it has not yet been fully and definitely solved. The struggle between the two paths in the north remains protracted, difficult and complex. Under these conditions, the spontaneity of small-scale production, the mentality and habits of the old society, and the ideological vestiges of the exploiting class remain and are constantly opposing and gnawing at the socialist system. /This constitutes a breeding ground for anti-socialist thoughts in literature and the arts./ As long as the problem of "who will triumph over whom" has not yet been definitely solved and as long as socialism has not yet achieved total victory in the north, anti-socialist thoughts will continue to prevail in literature and the arts. As long as the material-technical bases of socialism have not been built, socialist production relations have not been consolidated and strengthened, small-scale production has not been improved and advanced toward large-scale socialist production, and exploitative and speculative phenomena still exist, there will be a social basis for antisocialist thoughts to remain in literature and the arts. These thoughts will be manifested at every opportunity, adversely affecting the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. Therefore, /it is a protracted and complex task to struggle against antisocialist thoughts in literature and the arts./

Literature and the arts in the north reflect the struggle between the two paths in the north and, at the same time, reflect the violent struggle between all of our people and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. In these struggles, the state of proletarian dictatorship uses literature and arts as a sharp weapon to fight for the victory of socialism and our people. Regrettably, in the recent past a number of our press, literary, and artistic organs--because of confusion in their stand and views and because of deficiencies in political and ideological leadership and in organization and management--have allowed a number of maliciously harmful and bad literary and artistic works of the NHAN VAN-GIAI PHAM type to be published and circulated, creating negative repercussions among the populace. To satisfactorily carry out our tasks in the new revolutionary stage, our literary and artistic workers must comply with the spirit of the resolution of the 22d Plenum of the VWP Central Committee, which says: "It is necessary to /stand firm on the working class stand and continue the struggle between the two paths--socialism and capitalism./ It is necessary to struggle against the spontaneity of small-scale production, the mentality and habits of the old society, and the ideological vestiges of the exploiting class, and to prevent them from opposing and gnawing at the socialist system."

In the struggle between the two paths in the north, our brother and sister writers and artists must stand firm on the working class stand and use the artistic weapon



to fight for the victory of the socialist path over the capitalist path. To insure that our socialist literature and arts develop in a healthy and steadfast manner, our brother and sister writers and artists must /enhance their proletarian party character./

At the third national literary and arts congress, Comrade Truong Chinh pointed out the following four requirements related to the party character of writers and artists:

"1. Writers and artists must recognize that literature and the arts are subject to politics and support the party's lines and policies. Writers and artists must be loyal to communist ideals and struggle untiringly for the victory of communism; they must love the fatherland and socialism and struggle for the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Vietnam.

"2. Writers and artists, through their literary, artistic and social activities, must constantly strive to strengthen party leadership; strengthen the masses' confidence in the party; preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, especially in the literary and artistic field; and combat the influence of revisionism, dogmatism, factionalism and bourgeois nationalism.

"3. Writers and artists must always maintain an offensive position against the reactionary and depraved thoughts of the imperialists and feudalists and against bourgeois and petit-bourgeois thoughts.

"4. Communist writers and artists, like other communist party members, must submit themselves to party organizations (those who are not yet party members must submit themselves to their professional organizations placed under party leadership) and must be fully responsible to the party and the people for the performance of their tasks." [1]

Now more than ever, our brother and sister writers and artists must uphold the proletarian nature of our party, endeavor to study Marxism-Leninism and our party lines and policies, and improve their knowledge of the communist conception of the world and conception of life. Only by so doing can they have a firm working class stand and high revolutionary enthusiasm while producing literary and artistic works to serve the fatherland and socialism.

Our literary and cultural works reflect our people's life. Only through /associating themselves with the people's life/ can the brother and sister writers and artists properly depict our people's heroic achievements in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and the building of socialism. In a letter to the fourth national literary and arts congress, held in January 1968, the LDP Central Committee made the following appeal to the brother and sister writers and artists:

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<sup>1</sup>"About Culture and Arts," Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, pp 271-272

/"Let you, comrades, with all of your enthusiasm and determination as revolutionary artists, live enthusiastically and protractedly at basic-level units and associate with the masses who are carrying out production and combat, and consider all of this as a most important requirement for artistic creation."/ (Our emphasis--TAP CHI HOC TAP)

Only by dealing intensively with reality and the various aspects of the people's life can the brother and sister writers and artists produce valuable literary and art works, which truly reflect our people's life and combat and, at the same time, set forth and correctly solve pressing problems related to the masses emotional and moral life. If they confine themselves to their homes or their offices, they will certainly be unable to produce good works. It is highly essential now for our writers and artists to associate with the masses of working people in order to produce literary and art works to support these people.

Our people have scored very glorious successes in their revolutionary undertaking and are advancing toward scoring even greater achievements. In the flush of success of our revolution, our writers and artists have also scored achievements. Their works have partially reflected our people's valiant combat and contributed to the success of our revolutionary undertaking. In the past, some negative phenomena appeared in our literary and art works and exerted a certain adverse impact. However, these negative phenomena were local and temporary. They were unable to eclipse the great literary and artistic achievements we have scored under the clearsighted leadership of our party.

Enthused by the great success in our revolutionary undertaking and by our literary and artistic achievements, let the brother and sister writers and artists endeavor to develop their strengths, overcome their shortcomings and errors, and vigorously advance to achieve new progress for our socialist literature and culture and to efficiently support our people's revolutionary undertaking.

CSO: 3909

## THE NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE STRUGGLE MOVEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN URBAN PEOPLE

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 17-20

[Commentary]

[Text] Since early September, the struggle movement of the southern urban people against Nguyen Van Thieu--lackey of the U.S. imperialists--has been flourishing and developing vigorously, relentlessly and fiercely. In addition to organizations such as the Committee for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement, the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners and the Committee for the Release and Reception of Political Prisoners set up by the third force, five new organizations--the People's Movement Against Corruption and for Peace, the National Reconciliation Force, the Committee To Struggle for Freedom of the Press and Publication, the People's Front Against Starvation and the Committee for the Protection of Workers Interests--emerged in September 1974.

On 8 September 1974, 5,000 compatriots in Hue staged a demonstration to present six corruption charges against Nguyen Van Thieu and his family. On 15 and 16 September, tens of thousands of compatriots in Hue noisily took to the streets to stage a demonstration of forces, burn Thieu in effigy and demand that he answer the indictment.

The anti-Thieu movement has spread through many major southern cities, such as Saigon, Danang, Quang Ngai, Qui Nhon, Nha Trang and Cam Ranh.

Along with the anticorruption movement, the struggle for the freedom of the press and publication has also been fiercely developing in Saigon. On 15 September, all Saigon newspapers printed mourning bands to mark press doomsday. On 13 October, all Saigon newspapers, except for the three published under Thieu's direction, suspended publication in protest against Thieu.

The National Reconciliation Force, the People's Front Against Starvation and the Committee for the Protection of Workers Interests held seminars, requiem masses and meetings and issued declarations demanding peace, the implementation of the Paris agreement and a decent life for the poor.

Thieu directed his subordinates to repress the demonstrations in Hue. Confronted with the indignation of the compatriots throughout the country, Thieu dismissed the Thua Thien provincial chief for form's sake. He directed his secret agents, disguised as civilians, to mingle with the demonstrators in order to sabotage the demonstrations, manhandle newsmen and cameramen, and kidnap or stealthily kill those whom the Thieu clique considers to be the leaders of the demonstrations.

On 1 October, Thieu appeared on television to defend himself from the charges leveled against him by the masses.

Confronted with the serious situation in the southern cities, the U.S. Government sent old colonialist fox Cabot Lodge, spy chieftain Colby and U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Clements to Saigon to try to cope with this situation. Ambassador Martin, who had been back in the United States for 3 months, also hurriedly returned to Saigon. U.S. President Ford also met with Saigon Foreign Minister Vuong Van Bac to appease Thieu and his clique.

Although the Americans and Thieu have sought every way to check and sabotage the struggle movement of the southern urban people, this movement has continued to develop vigorously and attract a great number of people from all walks of life, from various religions and with different political views.

Brother and sister workers and laborers, small merchants, university and high school students, newsmen, ministers, bonzes, deputies, and civil servants and officers of the Saigon administration and armed forces have all taken to the streets to oppose Thieu.

The struggle has been developing in many inspiring and fierce forms such as holding seminars; issuing declarations; making public at meetings Nguyen Van Thieu's crimes; reading indictments over clandestine broadcasting stations; bonzes' holding requiem masses; Saigon newsmen's wearing tattered clothes, carrying baskets and sticks and begging for alms in the heart of Saigon city; a number of Saigon senators and deputies' staging demonstrations and surrounding the presidential palace; and the masses' taking to the streets to stage demonstrations demanding Thieu's resignation and his overthrow.

The causes for the vigorous struggle movement of the southern urban compatriots over the past few months are:

1. The Americans and Thieu have sustained serious setbacks while implementing their nibbling and pacification schemes. The South Vietnamese PLAF has dealt them appropriate counterblows, inflicting on them tragic defeats on all battlefields.
2. Because they are continuing the war and implementing reactionary policies, the Americans and Thieu are making the economy worse and the life of our compatriots in the areas under their control even more bitter. Therefore, our compatriots in the cities and the other areas under their control have found it necessary to rise up in struggle in order to protect their right to live.

3. As a result of the serious defeats sustained by the Saigon administration on all battlefields and the serious protests by the people in the areas under its control, the ranks of its ruling forces have been divided and contradictions among these forces have become sharper.

4. The U.S. imperialists are encountering great difficulties in their own country and in the world. Nixon has been toppled. The United States is undergoing a very serious economic and financial crisis. The U.S. imperialists' great difficulties have very much limited their capabilities to provide aid to their lackeys in the southern part of our country.

In addition, the successes of the Lao people in the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Union, the victories of the Cambodian people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and the recent incidents in Thailand, Portugal, Greece and so forth have exerted their impact on the political situation in the southern part of our country.

Sustaining serious setbacks in their war of aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were compelled to sign the Paris agreement. However, they have not relinquished their insidious scheme of clinging to the southern part of our country and are continuing to use the Nguyen Van Thieu administration as a tool for imposing neocolonialism there.

The Nguyen Van Thieu clique--which represents the bourgeoisie, compradors, bureaucrats and militarists and the most reactionary feudalism remnants, which enjoy special privileges and interests in the areas under its temporary control--is trying to cling to the U.S. imperialists in order to maintain its position.

More than 20 months have elapsed since the Paris agreement went into effect. Yet, peace has not been restored in South Vietnam. On U.S. orders and with U.S. dollars and weapons, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique is conducting war to nibble at the liberated areas and to pacify the areas under its temporary control. Its bellicose and fascist policy has plunged the southern society in the areas under its temporary control into a comprehensively chaotic situation.

Nguyen Van Thieu is striving to scrounge manpower and material resources to continue the war. The economic situation in the areas under his control is critical. There is a slump in production. Millions of peasants have been forced to leave their ricepaddies and orchards and live in disguised concentration camps. Rice shortages exist. There is inflation, the cost of living has increased 5 or 6 times, and unemployment is widespread. Famine is raging in slums and suburban areas.

The Nguyen Van Thieu clique is trampling on the southern people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy, improved living conditions and national concord. It continues to detain 200,000 political prisoners. Nguyen Van Thieu ruthlessly represses patriotic and peace-loving people, counters individuals and organizations belonging to the third force, and terrorizes even the people in the Saigon army and administration who do not side with him.

In the face of such a situation, compatriots in the southern cities and the other areas under the Saigon administration's control have no choice but to rise up in struggle for peace, a decent life, freedom, democracy, national reconciliation and concord, and implementation of the Paris agreement. They are protesting Thieu's dictatorship and corruption and demanding his overthrow. They clearly realize that as long as Thieu remains in power, war, repression, terrorism, exploitation, corruption, death, famine, poverty, hatred, rancor and division will continue to exist. Therefore, they have remained united and are rising up in struggle to topple Thieu and to demand the establishment in Saigon of an administration that stands for peace and national concord and that will scrupulously implement the Paris agreement on Vietnam.

Toppling Thieu and his clique and ending U.S. military involvement and intervention have become an urgent demand and a slogan of action for the southern compatriots. They advocate achieving broad solidarity and coordinating actions with any individual, regardless of his past, provided he approves of peace, independence, democracy and national reconciliation and concord, in order to jointly struggle to topple Thieu and to set up in Saigon an administration that will scrupulously implement the Paris agreement on Vietnam.

The southern urban struggle against the Americans and Thieu is attracting broad participation by many social strata. Many new forces will participate in this struggle movement, thus increasingly expanding and strengthening it.

In the fact of the situation that is developing in the southern cities, the PRGRSV has clearly put forth its stand acclaiming and fully supporting the just struggle of the compatriots in the areas controlled by the Saigon administration. In its 8 October 1974 statement, the PRGRSV resolutely demands that the U.S. Government completely and strictly end all its military involvement and intervention in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and withdraw all U.S. military personnel disguised as civilians from South Vietnam as stipulated in the Paris agreement; that Nguyen Van Thieu and his clique--the main impediment to the settlement of the present political problems in South Vietnam--be toppled; and that an administration that stands for peace and national concord and will scrupulously implement the Paris agreement on Vietnam be set up in Saigon.

The statement stresses: The PRGRSV stands ready to hold talks with such an administration in order to promptly solve South Vietnam's problems, and only such a Saigon administration can truly negotiate with the PRGRSV in order to implement the provisions of the Paris agreement and to realize the most imperative aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, namely, peace, independence, democracy, an improvement in the people's living conditions and national concord.

The PRGRSV has appealed to political forces, regardless of their political views or religious affiliation, and to individuals, regardless of their past, provided they sincerely desire to end the war, restore peace, and achieve national concord, to remain united and coordinate their actions in the struggle to end U.S. involvement and military interference in South Vietnam and to overthrow Nguyen Van Thieu and his faction.



The PRGRSV appeal has had a vigorous and far-reaching effect on the people of various strata in South Vietnam, particularly in the cities. This is an encouragement to the southern urban struggle movement, which is a component of the southern revolution. Encouraged by the PLAF's great victories and the successes of our rural compatriots, the southern urban struggle movement is developing vigorously, is bringing these successes into full play and is contributing to further promoting the revolutionary undertaking of our southern compatriots.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are very stubborn and cunning. They are seeking by insidious schemes to check and sabotage the southern urban struggle movement. However, with their spirit of resolute struggle and their rich experience, the southern urbanites will certainly foil all the insidious schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and achieve their vital rights.

The struggle of the southern urban compatriots will certainly continue to develop more vigorously and will achieve greater successes.

CSO: 3909

THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM IS BECOMING A DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 21-29 and 57

[Article by Hoang Le]

[Text] Mankind is living in a beautiful period of great significance in the history of its development on earth: the feverish revolutionary period of deep changes, a period in which the laboring masses have risen to build a beautiful life for themselves in the 20th century.

Through the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first socialist state in the world, the Russian October Revolution opened a new page of history. Then, in the space of only about 30 years and in conjunction with the historic victory won by the Soviet Union in World War II, a number of other socialist countries were established. In particular, the birth of the People's Republic of China tilted the balance of power in the favor of socialism. The world socialist system was formed, a system which now comprises 13 countries: Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

For oppressed peoples and nations and the history of the development of mankind, the event mentioned above has been extremely important. The insanely indignant imperialists are using every scheme and trick they can in a vain attempt to obscure and distort this truth. But, progressive mankind has openly expressed the happiness in its heart through countless beautiful words.

In its history of tens of thousands of years of struggling against nature and working diligently and creatively, mankind has created tremendous material and spiritual wealth for the sake of its own survival. But, in past societies, two conditions existed which were in increasingly deep opposition: there was the class of people who had wealth, privilege, and power; there were the masses who lived in misery, poverty, abuse, and ignorance. Was this the way mankind was meant to live on the earth? No, a thousands times no! And, the most resolute answer to this question has come with the development of scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat state, the state of the mass of workers and farmers who have built a social system in which man does not exploit man.

In the last half of the 19th century and as a result of the Communist Manifesto drafted by Marx and Engels, the declaration of independence of the working class of the world, socialism was "a spectre haunting Europe," haunting the capitalists in a period of prosperity and development; however, today socialism is no longer only a doctrine and hope, it has become a truth; socialism has been achieved on one-quarter of the globe by more than one-third of the world's population. This fact reflects an unshakeable truth: the system of classes and the system of man exploiting man are limited in history; mankind can create history and create full happiness for itself.

This fundamental historic event was not something which came about simply or in an unexpected manner but was the result of a process of long and difficult struggle. Hundreds of millions of people gave their lives in order to bring this beautiful

spring to mankind. It began in 1871 with the Paris Commune which provided the first historical lesson in the dictatorship of the proletariat style state which was followed by the great Russian October Revolution and will go on with the socialist revolutions of the future. Every socialist state has followed many specific courses and overcome many different obstacles in order to establish this new and beautiful social system and no two socialist states are exactly alike; they are only alike in that the nature of the road they have followed is the revolutionary road which requires great sacrifice and creativity on the part of classes of people who fully realize their *raison d'être* in their struggle for the happiness of the laboring masses. And, it is for this reason that mankind values even more highly the historic service performed by those classes of people who have preceded it and clearly realize that its task is to protect and develop upon the great successes which have been achieved.

Since their birth, each socialist state as well as the entire world socialist system have undergone many stages of development; today, they are constantly being consolidated and are displaying their superior nature in the life of the society of man.

Due to historic, economic, political, and social conditions as well as the specific conditions which existed when the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and as a result of the different capabilities of the working class parties in each country, the rate and level of socialist construction within each country differ. The Soviet Union, which in slightly more than one-half century has won victory in the civil war, defeated the cruel armed attacks by the imperialist allies, and endured the destruction of World War II, has completed its socialist construction and is now building the material and technical base of communism. Although they were only established after World War II, a number of other countries have, on the basis of the material and technical base of the capitalist stage of development, advanced their socialist economic construction and development to a high stage. For a number of other countries, the material and technical base of the old social system is very low, even unappreciable in some cases, and the construction of the material and technical base of socialism, primarily socialist industrialization, is an extremely important task of the working class and laboring people; as a result, the level of socialist construction in these countries is lower.

But, generally speaking, as Le Duan wrote: "The valuable successes in the construction, consolidation, and development of the new socio-economic form in a number of countries are clearly showing the superiority of socialism over capitalism. They encompass many countries and nationalities in the East as well as the West and have created a great and very rich collective in terms of levels of economic and social development, races and languages, histories and cultures, and traditions of fighting and development, they have created a new world which symbolizes the rise of the working classes and peoples of all countries and nations of the world united together. They also represent different methods and forms of development which have led to a beautiful future, a common objective, socialism."<sup>(1)</sup> For the first time in history, the new, socialist production relations have been established in all socialist countries on the basis of the system of public and collective ownership of the instruments of production thereby creating conditions for the development of new productive forces. The average annual rate of increase of the total social product of industry ranges from 4 to 7 percent and higher in some countries, such as Czechoslovakia which has a rate of 8.8 percent; meanwhile, this rate is lower in the capitalist countries (France: 6 percent; West Germany: 5.7 percent; Italy: 4.8 percent; the United States: 4.27 percent; Great Britain: 2.8 percent). The total agricultural product of all socialist countries is now higher than it was before their revolutions and many countries have doubled their total agricultural product; China has had bumper harvests for 10 years in a row. Generally speaking, the production capacity of the socialist countries has increased greatly to the point where they produce nearly 40 percent of the total industrial output of the world. The socialist countries possess a strong national defense force and lead the world in a number of the most important fields of science and technology. The special characteristic of economic development within the world socialist system is that the daily rising material and cultural needs of the entire society are met by constantly increasing and improving socialist production on the basis of a highly developed system of technology and the fundamental economic laws of socialism. At present, the total social product as well as the average income per capita of the socialist countries are lower than a number of developed capitalist countries and the task of endeavoring to raise labor productivity, rapidly increase the total social product, and raise the average income per capita is the central task

of all socialist countries. But, the economic development and the development of productive forces within the socialist countries take place with crises. In the countries within the capitalist system, the economy is in a period of increasingly severe general crisis and society is becoming more deeply divided; the capitalist monopolists are increasing their power and unemployment is growing.

In the socialist countries, except for the necessary requirements of socialist accumulation and national defense, all of the operations of the various economic sectors are directed toward the standard of living of the people. On the basis of economic development, the welfare of the people has been constantly improved and their material lives have become increasingly secure; full concern is shown for their cultural and spiritual lives; their cultural, scientific, and technical levels have gradually been heightened to insure that citizens are truly the owners of their country and to serve their interest.

In the Soviet Union, the real income of industrial and construction workers increased 8.3 times in 1972 compared to the years preceding the October Revolution and the real income of farmers increased nearly 12 times; since the revolution, 2.3 billion square meters of housing have been constructed, there is now an average of 11.2 square meters of housing per urban resident, and 11 million people receive new housing each year. Good health care is provided and there are 28 doctors and 111 hospital beds for every 10,000 citizens; prior to the revolution, three-fourths the population was illiterate but now 653 of every 1,000 people have a college or vocational middle school education and the scientific cadres of the Soviet Union comprise one-fourth the total number of scientific cadres in the world.

In Vietnam, economic construction is encountering many difficulties under the socialist system in North Vietnam because of the very poor economic conditions with which we began and because we have had to contend with prolonged war, particularly the cruel genocidal war waged by the U.S. imperialists. However, the structure of the economy has undergone fundamental changes toward socialist industrialization; the construction and equipping of the material and technical base of socialism has also recorded important achievements. The defeat of the number one imperialist power in the world and its great economic and military power has proven the strength of the socialist system in which man has risen to become the master of his own destiny. The standard of living of the people in North Vietnam is not high but North Vietnam is fulfilling its obligation to South Vietnam and maintained its basic standard of living during the war. The public health network extends everywhere; every township has a medical aid station and at least one physician; every district has a hospital and a relatively full supply of the equipment needed for necessary surgery and emergency care. Illiteracy was virtually abolished long ago, the popularization of level I general school education has been completed, and the popularization of level II general school education is being carried out. Whereas we used to be able to count the number of scientific and technical cadres on one hand, we now have more than 300,000 cadres who have graduated from colleges or vocational middle schools.

The socialist system, the dream of mankind, is now being built night and day by more than 1 million people with the support and encouragement of progressive mankind. The working class, the class of collective farmers, and socialist intellectuals, who comprise the basic force in the second scientific-technological revolution in the world, are attacking many fields of production and science-technology in the vast world of the universe as well as the tiny world of atoms and cells for the long range interests of man.

The socialist countries exist and develop not as separate countries which are isolated from one another but in close collaboration with one another in new economic, political, and social relationship consistent with the nature and fundamental laws of socialism and they form the world socialist system. In this system, the socialist countries are in agreement concerning the nature and laws of development of the new social system but this agreement does not deny the independence and sovereignty of each country. To the contrary, only by thoroughly upholding the independence and sovereignty of each country can the socialist countries fully display the superiority of socialism and strengthen the world socialist system. The cooperative relationship which links the socialist countries within the world socialist system is totally different from the relationship among the capitalist countries in the world capitalist system. The relationship among the capitalist countries has been formed on the basis of pursuing maximum profits and economic ties between capitalist groups to control markets and spheres of influence in the world. This is a relationship in which

"big fish eat the little fish," weak countries are dependent upon strong countries, and capitalist groups swallow one another; this relationship is constantly changing in keeping with the balance of power among dictatorial and ruling groups. However, the cooperative relationship among socialist countries is based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual assistance for the sake of the strength of each country and the entire socialist system. It is an international alliance of the laboring masses established through the operations of the dictatorship of the proletariat states.

The world socialist system was born and has grown in the feverish revolutionary struggle of the age. Truong Chinh has said: "The world socialist system has constantly grown and socialism is continuing to display its superiority on a worldwide scale. The world socialist system is the decisive factor in the development of mankind."(2) The objective bases of this conclusion are:

First, the imperialist system long ago lost its dictatorial hold on the world and the balance of power between socialism and imperialism is shifting more and more in the favor of the world socialist system. As soon as it was born and although it faced mounting problems on the inside and outside, the Soviet Union defeated the attack launched by 14 imperialist countries thereby defending and creating the conditions for the establishment of the first socialist system in the world. In World War II, fascism, the huge representative of monopolistic capitalism, sought to destroy this new, beautiful system of mankind through a cruel war but it was tragically defeated; fascism collapsed and many socialist countries were born. The political situation on the international stage has undergone fundamental changes. The system of old style colonialism has broken into pieces; the neocolonialism of the imperialists cannot be salvaged. The U.S. imperialists, who were once the sole owners of nuclear weapons, had to change their global strategy after the Soviet Union and then China developed nuclear bombs. The United Nations, which was organized and is controlled by the United States, has had to recognize the real position and power of the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries in the international political arena and it recently had to recognize the existence of China. The Korean War unleashed by the United States was defeated. Cuba, which lies at the doorstep of the United States, continues to stand firm despite each crafty trick employed by the U.S. imperialists and continues to consolidate and develop the influence of the socialist system in Latin America.

In particular, in the war in Vietnam and Indochina the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys met tragic defeat in the face of the fighting strength of the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the other countries of Indochina who had the assistance and support of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, and the people of the entire world. The world socialist system has truly become a decisive force in the political life of the world today.

Secondly, the world socialist system has become the representative of the most progressive forces in the world and has assembled the revolutionary forces of the laboring masses and progressive mankind for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. At the same time, by means of varying degrees of assistance, the socialist countries are constantly expanding the influence of the socialist system in the deep revolutionary movement which is taking place in all of the countries of the world under many different forms and assembling the forces of all three revolutionary currents to follow the general course of development of the world. Revolution cannot be exported but the specific development of the revolution in each country is determined by the balance of power between the revolution and counter-revolution in each country; the revolution can only be successful in each country through the determined struggle of the masses assembled around a revolutionary party which has a correct line and is truly the representative of the interest of the working class and laboring people. But, in the world situation which has existed since the formation of imperialism, the national liberation revolution has become a part of the proletarian revolution and the revolution within a particular country cannot be separated from the revolutions in other countries. The struggle for national independence, democracy, and civil rights cannot be separated from efforts to consolidate and strengthen the socialist countries nor can efforts to consolidate and develop the socialist countries be separated from efforts to accelerate the struggle for national independence, democracy, and civil rights in other countries. The assistance of the socialist countries cannot replace the revolutionary actions taken in each country but it is a very necessary factor in the revolutions of these countries. Conversely, because of the growth of the socialist countries and the revolutionary movement in the world, the socialist

countries must provide positive assistance to the revolutionary movements of all countries. The socialist countries have been able to provide positive spiritual and material assistance to the revolutionary movement in each country within the capitalist system because of the victory of the world revolution and the victories of their own revolutions. In reality, the assistance and influence of each socialist country are dependent upon the domestic and foreign lines of each country. But, generally speaking, on the basis of the nature and the law of the inevitable development of socialist countries, assisting the world revolution is both a sacred international obligation of the socialist countries and a pressing requirement of the socialist countries. Socialism is the result of a struggle waged by the working class and revolutionary masses in each country and, at the same time, the result of a struggle waged by the working class and revolutionary masses of the world. It was for this reason that Lenin wrote in 1918: "The Russian proletariat understands that they must sacrifice much more today for the sake of internationalism"(3) and "we must prove that the Russian working class can work harder, fight with greater devotion, and make sacrifices when the cause is not only the Russian revolution but the revolution of the world's workers."(4) Marxism is the truth of the society of man; it opens and lights the way for each revolutionary process. The existence and development of each socialist country as well as the existence and development of the world socialist system comprise an objective strength which controls the activities of the imperialist countries and the counter-revolutionary forces in each country. But, this is not enough because it is also necessary to have a program of positive activities and many forms of assistance for the revolutionary movements in all countries on the basis of respecting the independence and autonomy of each country and respecting the revolutionary leadership position of the communist and worker parties in these countries in order to protect and develop the forces of the revolution. For this reason, the world socialist system has had an increasingly positive effect upon the world revolutionary movement and the revolutionary movements of the countries of the world in need of specific assistance from each country and from the socialist system. Socialism has truly become the source of hope of hundreds of millions of people on the earth and the revolution has constantly developed and grown. Defeats of the revolution in a number of countries, such as Indonesia and Chile, have specific reasons and are only temporary. But, the general revolutionary movement is developing more with each passing day. Today, each year sees countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, even the smallest of countries such as the Bahamas in the Caribbean and the Island of Malta in the Mediterranean, rise in struggle for their independence and separate themselves from the influence of imperialism or struggle to abolish the system of occupation and military bases of imperialism on their soil. Practically all countries which have removed themselves from the scope of influence of imperialism are under the influence of or receive direct assistance from the socialist countries. The revolutionary movement in South Vietnam has also developed with many degrees of assistance from the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and China. And, in reality, the U.S. imperialists launched their large-scale war of aggression in our country not only for the purpose of fighting our country, but also for the purpose of combating the growth of the entire world socialist system. The great victory Vietnam enjoys today is a historic victory for Vietnam and a victory for the entire world socialist system.

Thirdly, the development and position of the world socialist system reflects the objective laws of inevitable development of the history of social development. The history of the development of mankind has always developed on the basis of objective laws and been decided by the development of the basic antagonisms within society. Before capitalism became imperialism, the fundamental antagonism of society was the antagonism between the two basic classes in capitalist society described by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto: "Modern day society is divided into two large hostile camps, two large classes which are totally opposed to each other: the capitalist class and the proletariat."(5) The appearance of the first socialist state in the world brought the history of mankind to a higher stage of development and faced capitalism with a new antagonism: the antagonism between the first socialist state in the world and the entire world capitalist system which ushered in the stage of struggle between the two opposing systems, a struggle which took the primary form of an international struggle between the proletariat and the monopolistic capitalist class. This is also the fundamental antagonism of the new age. The development of this basic antagonism and the other basic antagonisms has decided the trend of development of the world situation. Lenin emphasized this significance as follows: "...In the present situation which developed after the imperialist war, the mutual relationships among nations and the entire system of countries in the world are being determined by a small



group of imperialist countries opposed to the soviet movement and the soviet countries led by the Soviet Union. If we forget this, we cannot correctly raise any national or colonial problem even if this problem occurs in the most remote region of the world."(6) Since World War II and together with the formation of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement has reached a new scale and level of development and rapidly smashed the colonial system of imperialism; the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries has developed more and more strongly. Meanwhile, the antagonisms within capitalist society have deepened. In the space of 20 years and despite all of their insane and crafty plots and actions, the international capitalist class has been unable to resolve the increasingly serious general crisis within the world capitalist system. The world position of imperialism is being repulsed more each day and the ability of the most powerful reactionary forces in the world, the U.S. imperialists to launch military attacks is also being limited more with each passing day. The monetary crisis and the energy crisis in the imperialist countries have become serious.

The declaration of the Congress of Representatives of Communist and Worker Parties held in Moscow in 1960 confirmed: "Our age, the primary feature of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism and which began with the great October socialist revolution, is the age of struggle between two opposing systems, the age of the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution, the age of the collapse of imperialism and the destruction of the colonial system, the age in which more and more nations are moving down the road of socialism, the age of the victory of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."

The basic antagonisms of society have resulted in the inevitable trend of history in which mankind is making the transition to socialism and confirm that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of the society of man. Today, the world is highlighted by a conflict between two opposing powers. One is the working class, laboring people, and other progressive forces in the socialist countries, oppressed nations, and even capitalist and imperialist countries. The other is the bellicose and aggressive imperialists led by the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary lackeys. This is also the fundamental aspect of the mobilization of the three revolutionary currents and the combination of the three revolutionary currents under one common objective to support and affect one another in the process of mobilization of the revolutionary forces in each country and the overall situation in the world. It is in this tight relationship among the three revolutionary currents that the world socialist system has its historical effect. It is the special feature of the inevitable trend of development of the world, the most progressive force in revolutionary movements, and it possesses all the state tools needed to combat each plot of the reactionary forces in the world to unleash wars.

The world socialist system has grown constantly; socialism is continuing to display its superiority on a worldwide scale and is becoming a decisive factor in the development of the society of man. This is an objective truth.

In the process of socialist construction, a number of socialist countries have had disagreements or disputes which have resulted in negative influences; however, generally speaking, the socialist countries are becoming stronger and stronger in every respect and the world socialist system has continuously expanded its historic role in the society of man. The political events in Hungary in 1956 as well as those in Czechoslovakia in 1968 do not prove that there are flaws in the nature of socialism, rather, they only prove that in the process of the growth and development of socialism, the imperialists have not overlooked any insidious plot and are always looking for ways to attack socialism in a vain attempt to abolish it; socialism is an historic necessity but the existence and development of socialism require a difficult struggle and demand that the parties of the working class adhere to the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to maintain, consolidate, and develop the forces of socialism. Generally speaking, the setbacks in a few socialist countries and the disagreements and disputes among a number of socialist countries during the past several decades are only temporary; the world system of socialist countries is still moving steadily forward through the efforts of each country and with the support of fraternal countries as well as all of progressive mankind. The road of development of the society of man is winding and torturous but the wheels of history roll steadily forward and no sinister power can reverse them.

The enemy wants to use this situation to deepen the antagonisms among a number of socialist countries. But, they have only won a small, temporary victory; in the final analysis, their desperate attempts are useless. The communist parties in each country and the entire international communist and workers movement as well as all of the countries in the world socialist system will, on the basis of their own experience, clearly realize the historical need to do everything they can to restore and strengthen their unity and unanimity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for the sake of the interests of each socialist country and the entire world socialist system and the interest of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism in the world. In his will, President Ho said: "I firmly believe that the fraternal parties and fraternal countries will surely have to unite together again."

Socialism is the dream of mankind. It appeared, exists, develops, and is having an increasingly stronger impact upon international politics and it is playing its decisive role in the development of the society of man. Even during the first days of the Russian October Revolution, communists and revolutionaries had firm confidence in the existence and growth of the socialist system. Today, the socialist system is growing stronger; the revolutionary movement is like a great wave repulsing the imperialists.

At present, under the leadership of our party, our people are building socialism in North Vietnam and struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to complete the national democratic revolution in South Vietnam and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country. Compared to the great and long revolution and to the long road from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, these achievements are not much but they have brought about fundamental changes and laid the initial foundations of socialism. We are also faced with difficulties and obstacles. But these are only temporary. At present, our people are working bravely, wholeheartedly, and creatively to heal the wounds of the war and restore and develop the economy under the slogan "emulate to work, produce, and economically build socialism." We are very proud that we have, together with the people of the fraternal socialist countries and the revolutionary peoples of the world, opened the way for socialism and built a new social system for the long-range happiness of man, a social system which has begun the genuine history of man on the earth.

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF F. ENGELS (28 NOVEMBER 1820-28 NOVEMBER 1974): ENGELS ON EMPIRICISM (FROM 'THE DIALECTIC OF NATURE')

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 30-36

[Article by Ho Van Thong]

[Text] In the last century, history reached a period in which criticising empiricism and elevating the importance of theoretical thought became a pressing requirement of scientific knowledge. Engels reserved a special position for this effort in his work "The Dialectic of Nature." Here, he very heavily criticized the empiricists, disclosed their mistakes, and set forth many important principles for combating empiricism and elevating the role of theory.

As revealed in this work of Engels, the history of man's recognition can generally be divided into three major stages:

The first stage was the stage of the "natural intuition of ancient man"(page 11)\*; however, this recognition was "fragmentary"(page 11) and was the result of "direct intuition"(page 55) but did not involve "a dissection or analysis of the natural world"(page 54).

This was followed by the stage of analyzing and experimenting with things in each particular field. Man investigated individual organs but did not investigate the entire body, he investigated individual plants, but did not investigate life in general, etc. This was the period in which new recognition was based on observation and direct experimentation -- the period of "studying the natural world on the basis of experience which resulted in the accumulation of a certain amount of broad empirical knowledge"(page 49). But, because it was only based on tangible things it was of a metaphysical nature and only viewed a thing in its static, isolated state, not in its dynamic state with its internal relationships and laws.

The third stage was the stage in which scientific recognition "shifted to the field of theory"(page 49) and in this field methods based on experience did not, of themselves, yield results, only theoretical thinking did.

The general picture of the development of the recognition of man is that it originated in intuition of the general, advanced to the direct dissection and analysis of individual things, and then to the generalization of this empirical knowledge and the establishment of general principles and laws; finally, experience and theoretical thought were combined in order to recognize the tangible and the intangible by means of experience as well as the present, past, and future. Today, experience is not enough to allow a person to reach the truth in the recognition of events, logical thought must be used to bridge those gaps which experience cannot. Logical thought has become more and more important as science has shifted from empirical science to theoretical science.

While analyzing the changes mentioned above, Engels presented several important thoughts concerning the special characteristics of empiricism and the importance of theoretical thought.

In the beginning, man improved upon nature "first and primarily by means of his hands"(page 35). But, later on, "by using only his hands man could surely not

manufacture the steam engine unless his mind developed with his manual skill, parallel to his manual skill, and partially as a result of his manual skill"(page 35). This has been the case in the entire development of society. As accidental effects occurred less frequently, man began making his own history more and more consciously, he determined the laws of history, and finally he exerted an effect upon social progress on the basis of these laws "with the result that history became more consistent...with pre-established objectives"(page 36). Mankind will reach an age "in which it will organize social production in a conscious manner -- both the organization of production and distribution will be planned"(page 37). Man no longer has to find proof on the basis of individual experiences but has gradually reached a level from which he can determine and apply the common laws controlling history and predict those things which must inevitably occur in order to plan all of his actions. In other words, as a result of recognizing objectives laws, man can force reality to comply with the plans he has established. Obviously, man can only plan his actions on a society-wide scale when he has progressed from empirical knowledge to the field of theory.(\*). Scientific theory does not separate man from reality, to the contrary, it helps him know it more deeply and fully.

Experience is only oriented toward the external characteristics, not the nature of a thing, only toward the totality of things, not the essential relationships among them. Consequently, "observation based on experience can never, of itself, fully prove inevitability"(page 355). Man's recognition began with experience and was based on experience; however, man has learned to go beyond this boundary, learned to employ logical thought to learn those things which firsthand experience does not allow him to learn. Since the 19th century, science has shifted from empirical science to theoretical science and man's recognition has taken new leaps forward with logical thought playing an increasingly important role. But, the empiricists do not understand this. For them, first hand experience is everything; all recognition is direct recognition, something which can be learned through intuition; understanding is only the understanding of what one sees in front of him or the simple combination of events into a total number. Empiricists "only rely on experience, thus, they are very contemptible of thought"(page 62); they only "see" but do not think and this has resulted in their being in direct opposition to their premise.

During and before Engels' time, outstanding scientists, such as Bacon, Newton, and Va-lec-xo [Vietnamese phonetics], as a result of absolutizing experience and only knowing how to use these things they themselves had learned, reached the point where they searched for the wind and popularized the practice of calling the wind, they analyzed the bible and summoned the souls of the dead(!), and they maintained that a shadow was a "real person" standing before them. "The most ordinary type of empiricism fell into the most ignorant type of superstition, into modern mysticism"(page 78). For them, every matter was only an event or combination of events but they did not take into consideration the essentiality of or relationships among events. The end result of these steps, mysticism, is not surprising.

In addition to falling into mysticism, the empiricists, "have blocked their own advance from knowledge of the part to knowledge of the whole, to a clear understanding of the universal relationship of things"(page 54). They have stopped at the tangible, they know nothing beyond nor can they go beyond this boundary. The tangible is understood in a subjective manner or considered the only reliable truth. According to them, man only recognizes that which exists in a tangible form, outside of this nothing is recognized, nothing can be trusted. Engels excerpted a passage from a work by the empirical biologist Ne-go-li [Vietnamese phonetics] who commented on this phenomenon in the following manner: "...We know with certainty what an hour is and what a meter and kilometer are, but we do not know what time and space, energy and matter, motion and inertia, or cause and effect are"(page 365). If science only knows what buffalo, cows, rice, and potatoes are but knows nothing about zoology, horticulture, and so forth, that is, if it only knows those individual things which can be counted and felt, but knows nothing of the universal things which fall into general categories, where will science go? The entire scope of man's recognition is not the sole result of "measuring and feeling"(page 367).

Empiricism also takes another direction, namely, subjectivism. Empirical knowledge goes no further than the exterior of a thing and does not truly understand it, consequently, there is the possibility of misunderstanding, of defining a thing in terms of one's subjective thoughts, and applying knowledge gained from personal experience everywhere and at all times to force reality to fit the framework of one's experience.

Empiricism has the inherent serious fault of disdaining or denying predictions and only acting on the basis of what one knows or feels first hand but not making predictions for the purpose of effectively guiding one's actions. Engels repeated a sentence of an empirical nature spoken by Newton who was an outstanding but highly empirical scientist: "I do not make assumptions." The scientific knowledge of Engels' time clearly saw the shallowness of this method of raising problems. Scientific knowledge which denies the need for hypotheses cannot develop at all.

"Observations which discover something new make it impossible to use previous explanations of things of the same type. The need then develops for new explanations which are at first only based on a limited number of things and whatever observations can be made. Subsequent empirical data will reject one hypothesis and modify another until, in the end, a pure law is established. Waiting until we have the data needed for a law to become a pure law will mean the suspension of intellectual inquiries until that point in time and this would prevent us from ever establishing laws"(page 376). We must not deny the need for hypotheses simply because some hypotheses have been abandoned because of empirical data. Even if a hypothesis is incorrect, it is a step forward, even a natural inevitability in the process of man's recognition. Mistakes, if they are recognized, become the ground for correct steps in the future. This is extremely important in today's age when the level of man's recognition has become complex and encompasses the vast and lengthy processes of nature and society. If we only know how to think on the basis of things which we know firsthand but do not know how to propose hypotheses or predictions, we clearly cannot avoid falling into a state of passivity and groping and will not dare adopt bold, sweeping policies. The work methods of "everything is of some value" and "it must be good if it works" and the work method of thinking and making detailed, accurate predictions are very different. This is the difference between the two ages, the pre-industrial age and the industrial age.

Empiricism has another special characteristic, namely, it puts the actions of man in useless cycles. Experience is always of a personal nature and because they view it as the highest criterion, empiricists generally do not understand experience as an entity unto itself. They only know their own experiences and they grope with these experiences "inexhaustibly" and deny all experiences which have been generalized in the form of scientific theory. For them, it is as though mankind did not exist in the past and does not exist now. Empiricists fail to see that scientific recognition "has expanded the scope of experience from personal experience to the experience of mankind; not every individual has to experience everything in order to gain experience, but his personal experiences can be changed, to some extent, by the results of the experiences of his ancestors"(page 424). Not even an infant today has to grope and experience all the things experienced by mankind before his birth in order to understand the contents of geometric theorems because "the individual man is to history what embryogeny is to paleontology"(page 311). The present level of development of a living body is the result of countless stages of evolution spanning millions of years; however, in the embryo, this process is shortened to only several months because heredity allows it to skip countless unnecessary cycles. The same is true in the field of recognition. Every person in a generation always inherits the totality of the knowledge learned by previous generations which existed and developed. The evolution of history has created all of the conditions for man to follow the course of embryogeny, not paleontology. The empiricists, however, do not give this fact any attention and "completely duplicate the blind gropings of ancient man"(page 315). Developed to its extremity, this tendency of theirs assumes some very unusual forms. They deny all existing intelligence; they do everything again in order to summarize everything again; they are devoted to acting on the basis of their own temporary, personal experiences and will not try to understand mankind's experience concerning any matter whatsoever. Whereas scientific recognition elevates personal experience to the experience of mankind, they reduce the experience of mankind to nothing more than personal (or local) experience. The empiricists investigate with their experiences which are generally the old experiences of ancient man; therefore, their empirical investigations are the investigations of ancient man. The things which they apply "are primarily old concepts, the products of the thinking of their predecessors, the majority of which are outmoded..."(page 201). Therefore, the results they achieve are usually backward in comparison to the age in which they are living.

By means of scientific data, Engels clearly revealed that "regardless of how much contempt is shown for theoretical thought, it is impossible without it to relate two events in the natural world to each other and impossible to understand the relationship between these two events (page 77). No matter how sharp our eyes (and

our senses in general) might be, we cannot understand a thing without also making use of theoretical thought. "The eyes of the hawk can see very much further than the eyes of man"(page 259); "the ant has different eyes than we do, it can see ultra-violet rays"(page 374); "we see on the basis of things which we understand and gain an increasingly deeper understanding of through thought"(page 375). A man or nation which only proves things on the empirical style basis of events and does not train or develop theoretical thinking cannot make progress; "no nation can stand at the pinnacle of science without theoretical thinking"(page 52).

The ability to engage in theoretical thought is not something mystical; this ability lies within the mind of every person -- but it originates in experience. In reality, logical thought develops more and more and theories and methods for recognizing each specific event are constantly supplemented and gradually become a strength with a relatively independent inner force. The force of thinking originates in and is based on empirical life but the reflection from experience to logical thought is not a direct, separate and distinct reflection but the reflection of the total history of reality and recognition under the most general of forms. The logic of thought reflects the logic of reality, therefore, the most general laws of the process of theoretical thought are also the most general laws of reality. In other words, the process of thinking also complies with objective laws. As a result, the complex reasoning process of thought, if tightly governed by logic, can lead us to discovery of truth (by means of final verification through scientific experiments or reality in general). Thus, theoretical thought is not something subjective or haphazard. It is influenced by the subjective being of each individual but, used correctly, it is an important tool for arriving at the truth in the realities of society. In the present age, the following truth has been fully manifested: it is impossible to take even the smallest step forward if you only know how to make plans on the basis of personally experienced events but are unable to make theoretical abstractions.

For our cadres, who are helping reform our nation's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, these thoughts of Engels are of even greater importance. Small-scale production is based on manual labor, labor which is, in turn, based primarily on firsthand, personal experience. Acting on the basis of firsthand experience when experience is held as the highest criterion results in shallow empiricism which shows disdain for and does not understand theoretical thought. This has surely had an influence upon our cadres, people who are advancing from small-scale production.

The socialism we are building is not a socialism based on the concepts of unthinking people or the shallow experience of small-scale producers but on a tight system of scientific theory, that is, Marxism-Leninism. Thus, we have the category scientific socialism. We all know that "there can be no revolution without revolutionary theory"(1) and that "only a party which is guided by a vanguard theory can fulfill the role of a vanguard warrior"(2) We communists must join the masses not with experiences gained in small-scale production but with the totality of experience and knowledge accumulated by mankind. We who are carrying out the revolution must not do so in the style of manual workers who go to work everyday, we must not "reduce the revolutionary to the level of the manual worker, rather, we must elevate the manual worker to the level of the revolutionary."(3) As the work of the revolution becomes more and more complex and the mass movement spreads more widely, the need of cadres for theoretical knowledge is higher.

In a given stage in the past, many of our cadres relied primarily upon personal experiences and were able to complete small tasks (but, even then the entire revolution was not carried out by means of ordinary experiences but by means of a system of lines which fully reflected our party's Marxist-Leninist scientific theory). Today's work demands that we go beyond this boundary, the faster the better. Drawbacks will become damaging mistakes if we consider relying upon experience and worshipping experience the same thing; we must rely upon experience but it would truly be a dangerous mistake if we, on this basis, considered theory unnecessary for "daily operations" and reached the conclusion that "our job can be performed without the need of theory." We are opposed to empty theory which is not consistent with life; we give very much attention to scientific theory; practice must be guided by theory because practice without theory is blind practice.

Being realistic is a very basic and the foremost requirement of us; however, being realistic in an empirical manner and being realistic in a scientific manner are two entirely different matters. The future demands that we maintain close contact with

everyday life and keep abreast of many areas of scientific knowledge. If we fail to do either one of these things, we will be crippled. Carrying out a practical task by means of empirical knowledge alone easily results in weaknesses, doing whatever is easy, looking for shallow results, a lack of direction, a waste of energy, and even the need to do something over and makes progress impossible. In addition, when a person bases his actions on empiricism he easily becomes controlled by old, outmoded concepts without knowing it. Some of our cadres have learned Marxist-Leninist theory in an empirical manner, they have transformed it into dogmatic principles and imbued it with some of their own subjective thoughts resulting from the influence of old concepts. They sometimes use words and mottos which are Marxist in form but, in substance, they represent the thinking of small-scale producers and even feudal or capitalist thinking. Empiricists understand theory the same way they view all other things, they only see its exterior and isolate it from everything else.

In our party, "many cadres who spend little time studying and whose vision is limited by their own old experiences have become ordinary administrators. In their work, they do not plan ahead, they only see what is before them and do not look into the future, they see the part but not the whole, they understand small matters but overlook matters of major importance, they implement the directives and resolutions of their superiors in a mechanical manner lacking in initiative and creativity, they are slow to see new things, and when the situation changes they maintain their old concepts and, as a result, they easily become conservative or confused and lose their direction. Empiricism is rather widespread and deep seated among many cadres and party members and has caused much damage which has slowed the progress of the revolution but because this damage is generally not easily seen a number of comrades fail to fully realize its seriousness."<sup>(4)</sup> Although our party has reached this conclusion, many of our cadres have not fully thought about the damage caused by the disease of empiricism to revolutionary activities.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of F. Engels, rereading his advice in order to gain a deeper understanding of our party's analysis of empiricism is of utmost importance at a time when the revolution demands that we create the best possible forms and measures for rapidly advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* All the passages within quotation marks (and followed by page numbers) in this article have been taken from "The Dialectic of Nature" by F. Engels which was published by Su That Publishing House in 1972.
- \* Here we are only discussing the premise of recognition, not the objective premise of a decisive nature in the planning of an entire society, namely, the change of an economic system.
- 1. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Book I, Part I, p 204.
- 2. Ibid., p 205.
- 3. Ibid., p 309.
- 4. "Congress Documents," published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Volume II, p 29.

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## FIRMLY GRASP THE COMBAT WEAPON ON THE CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC FRONT

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 37-45

[Article by Hoang Minh]

[Text] At the nationwide cultural conference held in mid-July 1948, Comrade Truong Chinh dealt with the problem "Marxism and Vietnamese culture." Meanwhile, the anti-French colonialist resistance was being intensified on all battlefields. For the first time since the August Revolution, the problem of Vietnamese culture has been examined in a fundamental and comprehensive way. Along with "A General Survey of Vietnamese Culture," a book published by the party in 1943, "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" is another fundamental document on the independent, sovereign cultural and artistic lines of our party. The book served as a guideline for our cultural and artistic cadres while they were taking part in the revolutionary struggle and the anti-French colonialist resistance.

The South is continuing its efforts to accomplish the national democratic revolution. The north is endeavoring to build socialism. The common revolutionary cause of our nation, the task of building and developing socialist culture, and the formation of new men require that we respond to new, urgent demands on the cultural front.

The book "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" by Comrade Truong Chinh, published some 30 years ago, has just been republished by the Su That Publishing House. The book is still of great value thanks to its profound theoretical and practical content. It deals primarily with the way to solve the cultural and artistic problems arising from the national democratic revolution. It also deals with common cultural and artistic problems arising from the long revolutionary process in our country in which the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution cannot be separated. If the people who lived during the August Revolution reread the book and study it thoroughly, they will be affording themselves an opportunity to review the profound lessons of the past in order to determine more correctly the path to follow at present and in the future. If youths and young cultural and artistic workers study the book carefully, page by page, they will have a chance to arm themselves with correct concepts to be used as dialectical and ideological weapons in the course of their enthusiastic, creative and rich combat and work performance in which they all want to make the greatest contributions to the fatherland.



In the first two chapters, based on fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles regarding culture, Comrade Truong Chinh points out the position of culture in social activities and the mass character of the cultural and artistic task. He says: "Culture, art, education, ideology and so forth form a superstructure built on fixed economic conditions. This superstructure is under the profound influence of another superstructure, which encompasses politics and law. Sometimes it seems the first superstructure can develop independently. However, the truth is that it is conditioned by and has influence on the material life of society and contributes to a significant degree to social reform." (page 10)

In the process of working to produce material wealth, man must also satisfy his eagerness to learn, his feelings and his need to reflect an extremely rich, creative life. Therefore, he has created and left to his offspring countless products of his intelligence and clever hands. He has also created many very vibrant forms of cultural activities, such as sciences, education, customs, information, publications, library services, prose, poetry, music, drama, dance, painting, sculpture, fine arts, photography, puppetry, cinematography, television and so forth. Each of these activities has a rich content reflecting human life and its own value and special position in social life.

Each era and each nation has its own culture and peculiar history of cultural development. However, it is evident that such a culture is not a creative work of thought divorced from social conditions. First, the formation of any culture is conditioned by definite economic and historical conditions. In its period of prosperity, the slave system gave birth to the ancient Roman culture, the ancient Greek culture, the ancient Egyptian culture and so forth. In its period of prosperity in Europe, the capitalist system gave birth to the culture of the Renaissance, the culture of the Age of Enlightenment and so forth. Now, in the 20th century, mankind is witnessing an extremely profound, new inventive work: the socialist culture can guarantee the conditions for man to become the real master of nature and society and develop himself in every respect. It can bring about complete, lasting happiness for man and society. Second, only when cultural activities reflect and support social activities, especially productive labor and combat activities in society, can they have value. The more clearly and fully a cultural work reflects these real activities, the greater its value and the longer it will last historically. Therefore, Comrade Truong Chinh deals with an important theme. He says: "...work, love and struggle (to oppose the reactionary force in society or the indiscriminate force of nature) constitute an endless source of inspiration for the arts." (page 12)

The society in which the exploiting class exists has long supported the erroneous prejudice that culture is mostly the private property of higher classes, and not of the working masses. But historic realities have proved the contrary: only the working masses are the producers of not only all material wealth but also of all spiritual wealth and culture. Science and technology emerge from nothing other than productive labor and can develop only on the basis of serving production. Though connected with the creativity and specific ability of each individual, culture, art and literature are truly valuable only when they correctly reflect social realities and are useful to social life. If the individual stands apart from productive labor and the people's actual life, his cultural, artistic and literary activities will not be creative.

In a society with its various classes, a national culture has its own class nature. In his analysis of our country's culture during the anti-French resistance period, Comrade Truong Chinh writes: "we have often stressed the 'national culture,' but we must realize that in areas under temporary enemy control there exists an antinational culture of the French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors, who represent the feudal landlords and pro-French mercantile bourgeoisie (this culture predominates in areas under the control of French troops). At the same time, there exist the cultures of patriotism and resistance, culture for the sake of the nation and people, and the culture of new democracy (this culture occupies a prominent place in the free zone). However, the national culture in our country includes two tendencies or components; the cultural tendency of the working class and laboring people and the cultural tendency of the national bourgeoisie. If we fail to grasp this fact, we cannot understand these cultural currents and the conflicts between them in our country at the present time." (page 14) This scientific observation by Comrade Truong Chinh provides us with a guideline with which we examine these cultural currents in the tough class struggle on the cultural, artistic and literary front in our country at the present time and analyze the mission of the actual revolution and the profound changes of social classes.

Comrade Truong Chinh concentrates on analyzing the following antagonistic culture: the progressive culture of the proletariat and the reactionary culture of classes which are hostile to the revolution.

Marxist culture--the proletarian culture--is endowed with extreme vitality because it belongs to the class which represents the new productive strength, which has reached many high points of science and technology, and which is considered the leading class in history. The basic objective of this culture is to reflect the realities of life for the sake of man's survival and progress. Comrade Truong Chinh points out: "Marxist culture in general and Marxist literature and art in particular are greatly concerned with the truth. They expose the diseases of the old society, unmask the ruling class which has oppressed and exploited the local people and has often bullied the people abroad, and dissects the old society. They lay bare the schemes and maneuvers of the ruling class, pointing out that no matter how intelligent and malicious the ruling class may be, it will be unable to maintain its rotten regime forever. They point out the historic mission of the working class--a strictly revolutionary class--and resolutely serve this class. They correctly analyze the reasons why the old society will be destroyed and the new society will necessarily emerge and correctly describe the main features of the new social order. In reflecting the realities, they thus describe the present path of history." (page 18)

Conversely, counterrevolutionary culture is inherently a depraved and degenerate culture that tramples on human dignity. Comrade Truong Chinh points out: "Counterrevolutionary culture is characterized by an antiscientific content with a scientific appearance; its poor content is glossed over by a prosperous, lustrous and subtle appearance. It is not surprising that many colorful mushrooms have emerged from the rotten imperialist culture tree: cubism, impressionism, surrealism, dadaism and so forth. (page 19)

There cannot be any "nonclass" culture in a society where there are different social classes and a class struggle. Failure to recognize the existence of social classes and a class struggle makes it impossible for us to reflect serious content in our cultural and artistic works. Comrade Truong Chinh says: "It has been said that culture is something noble that stands above all social classes and political tendencies and has the sole objective of serving mankind and 'pure ideals.' Is it true? No. There can be no culture. Particularly, there can be no literature or art that does not foster such and such a tendency. Each literary or artistic work reflects a certain social attitude. It is either for or against the oppressing, exploiting camp. It is either for or against a just cause and freedom. The concept of 'art for art's sake' is false and vague." (page 21) He terms the "nonclass" concept in the cultural, literary and artistic domains as something false. He asserts: "It cannot be said that 'culture is completely neutral and absolutely free,' that 'it stands above political activities' and 'remains indifferent and neutral in order to become absolutely pure and free.' The objective of this argument is to cover up a cowardly reactionary nature." (page 22) Comrade Truong Chinh analyzes concretely and profoundly the wrong tendencies of a number of writers and artists who demand "absolute freedom," he asserts: "Freedom is valuable. Nevertheless, there can never be freedom that is separated from inevitability... Why 'freedom' and 'inevitability' at the same time? Because a man enjoys freedom when he clearly realizes the binding, objective laws of nature and the society, acts in accord with them, and creates conditions for mankind and his people to progress. If he does not act in accord with them, trying to stand in the way of democracy and progress, he will be smashed by the wheel of history and will be 'free' to serve as fertilizer for plants." (page 23)

Comrade Truong Chinh devotes an entire chapter to analyzing "Vietnamese Culture in Ancient Times and at Present." The chapter is only a few pages long, but, thanks to his clear, concise style, the author provides the reader with a general survey of the history of the development of Vietnamese culture and the special, original characteristics of a nation with a history of more than 4,000 years. Here, we only introduce to the reader those paragraphs in which the author deals with our people's creativity and their struggle on the cultural front to assert their existence and due position.

Comrade Truong Chinh begins the chapter "Vietnamese Culture in Ancient Times and at Present" by saying: "Vietnam has long been a civilized country." (page 32) For a long time now, the peoples of the world have been aware of the "Dong Son" culture, an ancient culture of our nation marking one of the highest points in the ancient culture in the world. The new discoveries of our young archeological sector in the recent past are evidence of this fact. We do not have the pyramids, the great wall of China, the statue of (Bayond), the Angkor Wat and so forth. Nevertheless, we have statues of Buddha with a thousand eyes and hands. Many of our statues and busts reflect engraving and sculptural techniques seen in Western cathedrals and churches. Countless valuable relics of many periods the past are evidence of the degree of progress in our nation.

Many cultural, literary and artistic works and important documents were either destroyed or lost after thousands of years of foreign domination and many

centuries of protracted war. It will require many people carrying out research and studies for many years to fully trace the development of our culture in the many historical periods.

Comrade Truong Chinh briefly lists the following famous persons representing Vietnamese culture: "Ngo Quyen, dealing with military science; Tran Hung Dao, military science; Han Thuyen, linguistics; Le Loi, political and military science; Nguyen Trai, military and political science and literature; Luong The Vinh, mathematics; Nguyen Binh Khiem, philosophy; Lan Ong, medical science; Le Quy Don, literature and science; Quang Trung, military and political science; Ngo Thoi Nhiem, political and military science and literature; Nguyen Du, literature; Phan Huy Chu, historical science; and so forth. These geniuses will forever be the shining stars in the Vietnam sky, glorifying our race." (page 34)

Comrade Truong Chinh pays particular attention to the laboring people's culture that has developed through the course of many centuries: "Apart from the orthodox culture of many epochs there existed a people's culture reflected in proverbs, common sayings, folk songs, fables, paintings and so forth. This culture depicts the struggle of the laboring people (peasants, workers, merchants and so forth). It reflects the aspirations of the people for a brilliant future or their opposition to high officials. It ridicules the old and bad customs, superstitious practices or recommends that the people engage in 'good deeds' and avoid 'evils.' This is a treasure of national culture which our men of letters, historians, archeologists will have to make greater efforts to study and understand." (page 34)

Our people's cultural and artistic creations have developed not only in the process of carrying out peaceful and quiet labor and production, but also in the struggle against all reactionary forces in society, especially foreign aggressive forces supported by the domestic reactionary force.

Historically, our people have lived thousands of years under foreign feudalists' domination and about 100 years under colonialism. In this situation, there obviously appeared two antagonistic forces and fronts which violently opposed and clashed with one another; on the one side was the foreign domination force collaborating with the domestic reactionary force; on the other was the people's and revolutionary force that opposed the enslaving reactionary force. Comrade Truong Chinh devotes many pages to an analysis of the firm struggle between these two forces on the cultural front. The foreign force relied on the domestic reactionary force to spread foreign culture in order to enslave and assimilate our people. The French colonialists "propagated the French culture in Indochina in order to morally influence and control the intellectuals and youths. At the same time, they maintained old ethics, customs and habits with a view to oppressing and exploiting our people and hampering our people's progress." (page 35)

At present, in the areas under the Americans and their henchmen's control in South Vietnam, the enemy is trying to create a chaotic situation through the hippy movement, prostitution, narcotics addiction.... They have maintained and developed the ugly neocolonialist culture. The Americans have spent hundreds of millions of dollars a year to build a large-scale cultural and artistic system--through the press, radio and television broadcasts, publishing houses

and libraries--to propagate obscene, sensational and depraved culture and to popularize scenes of violence and acts of banditry.... The basic duty of this culture is to use anticommunist-labeled cultural and artistic shows to propagate mystic, idealistic theories in order to poison and deceive the masses and sow doubt, low morale and negativeness among our people. At the same time, they want to incite bestial, licentious and lews and depraved feelings in order to spoil and turn man's instincts and life into a bestial existence.

Comrade Truong Chinh asserts: "...through serious challenges under the domination of foreign countries, /our people have, however, continued to maintain the character, thought and sentiment of the Vietnamese people, as clearly reflected in our language, as well as in our warm patriotism, spirit of national independence, industriousness in productive labor, and bravery in the fight for freedom."/ (pages 33-34) These results have been achieved because our people oppose all alien and enslaving cultures, resist assimilation, and maintain and strengthen our culture in accordance with our peculiar national characteristics. Imbued with the glorious tradition of opposing foreign aggression, our people have created multiple forms of struggle on the cultural front and faught all enslaving and reactionary cultural movements while developing the national culture.

In the light of Marxism-Leninism, under the party's leadership, our country's culture has developed strongly and recorded many basic achievements over the past 50 years.

Today the people in the North are vigorously implementing the party's slogan of "emulating in productive labor and economically building socialism." In the flush of emulation, the socialist culture and literature and art are being broadened and developed. . They are a motive force pushing the process of socialist construction forward. Creation and struggle, two special features of the history of building and developing our country's culture, as Comrade Truong Chinh points out, with all of their strong vitality, are two characteristics of the development of our socialist culture and literature and art of today. Socialism inherently means creation: creation of a new social regime, of a new economy and a new man. Our culture and literature and art have been built and developed in this creative process as a result of our strenuous efforts to search for and select new things. They have endured temporary difficulties and acquired experience that has helped them advance toward success. Failure to search strenuously for the new makes it impossible for us to achieve the objectives set. Socialism is a new emerging thing that is being exploited by mankind. It never existed before in history. Failure to be selective means we cannot create things that represent socialism most adequately. Socialism emerged in the process of struggle against anything old. Creation requires sustained efforts. We must not only create the new, but also struggle from an offensive position with all the strength of the entire nation, which has won countless victories and which is advancing steadily. Only by struggling resolutely will we be able to create the new, because the class enemy has not yet laid down his weapons, because the bad effects of old things persist, and because the new man and new things can be formed only on the basis of self-reform, redoubling efforts, and struggling to eliminate the old and build the new. For this reason, in the revolutionary struggle, culture and literature and art are not only a cause or undertaking that brings talent to light and allows the people to appreciate new works; they are also a weapon and sharp tool to

oppose all reactionary forces and all the decadent, the backward and the sluggish, to achieve the quintessential, the noble and the beautiful, and to create things that glorify the country, things that will last for eternity.

In his book Comrade Truong Chinh also deals with many important problems such as the nature and duties of the new democratic Vietnamese culture, the unified cultural front within the unified national front, Vietnamese culture within the world democratic cultural front, and so forth. In this article we deal only with the combat position of the cultural and literary and artistic combatants which Comrade Truong Chinh emphasizes extensively and clearly in many short but precise passages.

The body of cadres on the cultural and literary and artistic front is increasing in size and strength in the process of revolutionary development. Many comrades have made many contributions and sacrifices. They are devoted to the revolutionary cause and the people and have therefore created many works of value. However, there still are some people who adopt an ambiguous political stand and, worse still, who remain indifferent to current events and politics, live with their "dreams of the moon and clouds," and cherish the backward and out-moded concept of "art for art's sake," which was destroyed some 40 years ago.

Culture and literary and artistic cadres must, first of all, be real combatants with revolutionary objectives and ideals and must consider them their *raison d'être*. They must wholeheartedly serve the revolution and the people wherever they serve on the cultural front.

Comrade Truong Chinh writes: "The objectives of our cultural workers are to defeat the enemy, defend the country, and so everything possible to help the people become strong, achieve progress, have confidence, and achieve a happy life. They want to oppose the enslaving and obscurantist culture of the French colonialists, overcome the feudal and backward thought prevalent in the national culture, and build a new, democratic Vietnamese culture and contribute Vietnam's share to the world cultural treasure." (page 67)

Today our country's revolutionary undertaking has undergone many important changes. But the path we have followed remains a revolutionary path. The revolution is the most radical and thorough in the history of our country. The objectives of the revolution are to build a new regime and new man. The enemy of the revolution is U.S. imperialism and its lackey clique with its decadent colonialist culture. The targets we serve are the working class, the peasant class, the people's army, and revolutionary intellectuals, like any other revolutionary combatants, cultural combatants must always be aware of their revolution by objectives, their goals, and those they serve, using them as their creative objectives and their *raison d'être*. Otherwise, their soul will be empty, or if they have other than revolutionary objectives, their position in the realities of life will not be the same as those with revolutionary objectives, and this fact will be their misfortune.

A cadre on the cultural, artistic and literary front must understand the specific tasks in each phase of the revolution as well as the concrete

requirements of the revolution on this front. He must consider these tasks the guidelines for his cultural, artistic and literary activities. Analyzing the tasks of our country's revolution during the period of people's democratic national revolution, Comrade Truong Chinh points out: "Vietnam's new democratic culture must be a /national, scientific and universal culture./" (page 67)

"Vietnam's new democratic culture is the quintessence of our Vietnamese nation. However, it is also ready to assimilate what is interesting, beautiful and progressive of foreign culture. It is not a culture of xenophobes and racists. It opposes what is alien and uprooted. It opposes unintelligent assimilation of foreign culture and unconscious imitation or mechanical adaptation of alien culture to our country without paying attention to the characteristics and specific conditions of our country and nation." (page 68)

"To eradicate traces of backwardness, rottenness and feudalism of the old Vietnamese culture, Vietnam's new democratic culture must be a /scientific/ culture. It respects the freedom of belief but opposes all foolish superstition, idealistic and mystical thought, and complicated, irrational and antiprogressive customs. It promotes the 'new life' campaign; opposes liberalism, incoherency and outmoded traditions; disseminates scientific knowledge, knowledge about sanitation and disease prevention, scientific thought and Marxist philosophy among the people; and resists old and erroneous prejudice and concepts." (page 69)

"To oppose the unpopularity and antipopular nature of the culture of dominators of our country in the past and in areas under temporary enemy control at present, Vietnam's new democratic culture must be a /universal/ culture. It must serve the people and broad masses. It opposes the view that culture is supernatural and that the higher and more difficult culture is, the more precious and more interesting it will be." (page 71)

At present, on the socialist battleground, every cultural, artistic and literary worker must study, understand and fully develop the spirit of the culture which Comrade Truong Chinh analyzes. This is necessary because the democratic national revolution is continuing in the southern part of our country and because the socialist culture at present is the continuation of the democratic culture of the previous period. It must be continued and developed on the basis of this democratic culture of the people.

On the cultural, artistic and literary front, during the period of socialist building in particular, the basic content and method of creating cultural, artistic and literary works for our writers and artists can be only socialist realism. Dealing with this problem, Comrade Truong Chinh writes: "...socialist realism is a method of creating artistic and literary works and of describing true events in a society which is progressing toward socialism according to objective rules. In bringing the objective truth to light, it is necessary to emphasize 'typical characters under typical circumstances' in order to make people realize the inevitable changes of the society and the objective tendency of things in their evolution." (pages 94-95) On the socialist cultural battleground, our artistic and literary combatants are often subject to certain

subjective limitations. They must exert intensive efforts to advance toward the high points of socialist culture. First, creation of socialist social changes is a process of tough, resolute struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward, between right and wrong, between true and false.... If we do not have a firm revolutionary stand and certain scientific knowledge related to the history of social development, we will be easily confused and mistaken. Second, in the initial steps of socialist building, the new cannot appear fully at once and cannot be seen easily; it must undergo a certain process of development. Without some knowledge about the law of inevitable development of the society, we cannot easily recognize the new of the new social regime. Third, if an artist or writer wants to produce masterpieces on the socialist front, he must have definite experience in living with the socialist regime. Although this experience varies with each individual, it remains generally very limited.

Therefore, certain efforts are required in the field of knowledge, work procedures, creation methods... to make up for the shortcomings. However, considering the realities of the socialist revolutionary undertaking in the northern part of our country, socialism is obviously a new, boundless horizon, a seething medium which embodies many objective driving forces, which offers virtually limitless scope of activity for those who are entirely devoted, mind and heart, to the socialist undertaking and which has basic advantages and objective supporting factors to help everyone overcome his subjectivism and contribute more to the undertaking of the fatherland.

While our country is advancing and developing vigorously and objectively, a number of persons have not striven to live up to the requirements of the country. Instead, they confine themselves to a shortsighted, narrow view or even let themselves be lulled to sleep by individualism, seeking pleasure, viewing life in an egoistic manner and from a narrow point of view, and allowing their minds to degenerate. They not only are not good fighters on the cultural front, but also have allowed themselves to become prisoners of degenerated cultural trends and of a pessimistic and negative state of mind. They fail to recognize new emerging things but let themselves sink deeply into a garbage-heap of decadence. They do not stand firm on the offensive position but let themselves be prey to indecision, weakness.... They tend to try to escape the realities of life and indulge in living among things of the past....

Comrade Truong Chinh devotes many pages to the behavior of writers and artists. He affirms: "one thing is certain; if writers, artists... /are faithful to the era in which they live and keep closely in touch with the combat and liveliness of the people/, their works will have an even higher artistic value and a greater propaganda effect." (page 93) and "it is essential that they /associate themselves with the masses/, that they experience properly and fully the life of our people." (page 100)

People often talk about the talent and individuality of writers and artists. Creation demands talent. However, talent really exists only when we correctly recognize that development of a talent involves a whole process of training and general care by society and that talent is meant to serve the common



socialist undertaking. Although men make up society, each man is a specific human being; therefore, man always has individuality. However, individuality is genuine only when it is a special trait of a man's dignity and personality which contributes to creating a revolutionary undertaking. If it is merely a synonym for liberalism, it has no value whatever in creative activities. Therefore, the behavior of writers and artists is determined by their fidelity and devotion to the undertaking of the fatherland and the masses of working people.

This work by Comrade Truong Chinh was written nearly 30 years ago. Our country has undergone so many changes since then. Our revolution has passed through many glorious stages with many innovations having been achieved. Our people have an expanding position in the common undertaking of world progressives. Every revolutionary combatant has matured in many respects. However, many points discussed in his work still play a lively role in the present great struggle of our people, in our people's vigorous life, and in the extremely rich and creative undertaking of our combatants on the cultural front. "Marxism and the Vietnamese culture" is really an efficient weapon for all of us on the national cultural front.

CSO: 3909

## THE WINTER SEASON AT THE HA HOI COOPERATIVE

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[Article by Tran Loc]

[Text] The Ha Hoi Cooperative, which lies in the rice and subsidiary food crop area of Thuong Tin District in Ha Tay Province, has 253.8 hectares of farmland, 947 families, 4,805 people, 1,630 laborers, an average of 507 square meters of farmland per capita, and is one of the cooperatives with the least amount of land in the lowlands of North Vietnam.

The land in this area is old alluvial soil from the Red River, the majority of fields are "van" fields, and 17 percent of the farmland is low, marshy land constantly threatened by waterlogging. Therefore, when only two main crops were cultivated, a 10th month rice crop and a subsidiary food crop, yields were low and land was left fallow during the winter-spring season. Each year, many families experienced a shortage of food for 3 to 5 months; prior to 1965, the state had to supply as many as 150 tons of rice a year to the cooperative. The people of Ha Hoi had been intensively cultivating Western potatoes and many varieties of winter vegetables for nearly 100 years but because they worked as individuals the amount of area under cultivation during the winter was limited to slightly more than 10 percent of the total amount of farmland. After the collectivization movement, the amount of area under cultivation during the winter rose to 20 percent and since the cooperative has been a township size cooperative (1966-1974), the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops has risen to 25-30 percent or a total of 120-150 hectares. During the last 8 years, the Ha Hoi Cooperative has continuously won great victories during the winter season and is now endeavoring to expand the amount of area under cultivation during the winter to 80 percent of its farmland this year.

Thus, how has Ha Hoi practiced intensive cultivation to increase the number of crops grown per year and developed the winter season in order to resolve its grain problem by itself, supply more and more grain and food products to the state, and gradually improve the standard of living of its people?

1. Determinedly constructing water conservancy projects, providing effective irrigation and drainage for all three production seasons during the year, and developing the production of spring rice are the foundations underlying the development of the winter season.

Ha Hoi has 36 fields; sandy soil comprises 28.8 percent of its farmland and clay soil comprises 64 percent. The results of investigations conducted by the Ha Tay Provincial Agricultural Agency in 1967 and 1972 show that Ha Hoi's land ranges from neutral to slightly sour and has a relatively high degree of fertility. Generally speaking, the land in this area is good land and is close to water sources; if there was effective irrigation and drainage on a township and district-wide scale the cooperative could transplant two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop or one rice crop and two subsidiary food crops on 80 to 90 percent of its farmland and could establish an efficient allocation of production based on the guidelines of centralization, specialization, and intensive cultivation.

Recently, Ha Hoi zoned its field areas and constructed water conservancy projects, area and plot banks, irrigation and drainage ditches, level II canals, and part of a level III canal in coordination with constructing agricultural and rural communication and transportation lines. As a result, the cooperative is able to irrigate and drain the rice on more than 70 percent of its farmland, it has transformed its 10th month rice crop and one subsidiary food crop which produced low, unstable yields into two stable rice crops, and it has expanded the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops on "van" fields. At present, in conjunction with helping the district construct a project to drain water into the Nhue River in order to virtually resolve the problem of 10th month waterlogging in many areas within the district, the Ha Hoi Cooperative is expanding its new water conservancy campaign in order to provide effective irrigation and drainage during all three production seasons and be able to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops from 30 to 80-90 percent of its farmland and expand the cultivation of Western potatoes on some of its lowlying fields.

2. Establishing an efficient system of rotation cultivation to increase the number of crops grown per year.

The upgrading of the winter season to a main production season is closely related to allocating crops during the year in such a way as to insure that production is carried out smoothly and on schedule during all three seasons.

During the years between 1967 and 1970, the Ha Hoi Cooperative applied the following several main formulas: 10th month rice + winter subsidiary food crops and vegetables + spring vegetables and subsidiary food crops with 116-147 hectares of land under cultivation during the winter; 10th month rice + spring vegetables and subsidiary food crops; 10th month rice + 5th month rice. In this allocation of crops, Ha Hoi gave its attention to developing winter production and increased its output value rather substantially but, because it emphasized the earning of profits from the production of vegetables and gave little attention to the production of grain, the masses encountered difficulties in their everyday lives.

During the years between 1971 and 1973, the cooperative, with a full understanding of its grain production task and the important position of the winter season, revised its production guidelines and reallocated its crops, thereby establishing a correct relationship between grain and food product crops. Western potatoes were given attention as the main winter crop. As a result of establishing this allocation of production, the amount of area under the cultivation of rice and Western potatoes and the output of these two crops increased at the cooperative. Compared to 1967-1970, the amount of area under the cultivation of vegetables declined but the amount of area under the cultivation of spring rice rose from 18 to 55 percent of the cooperative's farmland (from 47 to 158 hectares) and the amount of area under the cultivation of Western potatoes increased nearly 50 percent (from 54 to 75 hectares).

At the start of 1974, in keeping with the guidelines within the resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum, Ha Hoi stepped up its intensive cultivation of two rice crops and, at the same time, expanded the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops to 80 percent of its farmland and increased the coefficient of land use from 2.7 to 3.2 times.

On the basis of soil, climatic, and weather conditions, the physiology of each crop, the existing and potential material and technical base, and the farming habits of the local people, the cooperative is implementing the following main rotation cultivation formulas:

1. 10th month rice + Western potatoes + spring rice. This formula is applied on the 71 hectares of "van" fields and clay fields which comprise 28 percent of the cooperative's farmland. As a result of this formula, Ha Hoi has harvested 7.4 tons of paddy and 13.8 tons of Western potatoes per hectare per year with a total output value of 6,400 dong. As a result of using this formula, spring rice yields are uniformly high because the soil is loosened and still contains some of the fertilizer applied to Western potatoes.

2. Early 10th month rice + Western potatoes + kohlrabi and green melons. This formula is being applied on high "van" fields and sandy soil measuring more than 61.3 hectares or 24 percent of the cooperative's farmland.

Following the early 10th month rice harvest, the ground is prepared for the planting of Western potatoes from October to the start of November. In December, kohlrabi is planted between the rows of potatoes. In January and February, green melons are planted with the kohlrabi. In June, the melons are harvested and the fields are used to transplant early 10th month rice. Thus, in 1 year 50 tons of products from these four different crops are harvested per hectare with a total output value of 9,180 dong.

3. 10th month rice + tomatoes + spring rice. This formula is being applied on clay "van" fields measuring more than 37 hectares or 14 percent of the cooperative's farmland. This farming schedule is similar to the formula 10th month rice + Western potatoes + spring rice. Under this formula, 6.6 tons of paddy and 15 tons of tomatoes valued at 9,480 dong are harvested per hectare.

4. 10th month rice + duckweed + spring rice. This formula is being applied on marshy clay fields measuring more than 29 hectares or 11 percent of the cooperative's farmland. Under this formula, 7.2 tons of grain and 45-50 tons of duckweed (equal in value to more than 20 tons of livestock manure) are harvested per hectare.

In addition, the cooperative has also applied other rotation cultivation formulas such as 10th month rice + spring rice + 10th month seedlings on nearly 10 percent of its farmland; 10th month rice + winter Western potatoes + spring Western potatoes + beans + 10th month seedlings on 6 percent of its farmland, etc.

3. Building the material and technical base of winter production.

a) Establishing production areas and building fields.

The decentralized manner in which production was deployed in past years limited the intensive and specialized cultivation of crops. In 1974, Ha Hoi began to zone centralized production areas based on the physical and chemical properties of the soil, the terrain, and water conservancy in order to allocate crops on the basis of centralized and intensive cultivation and implement the six formulas of rotation cultivation in its four areas. The scope of production of production units was also revised on the basis of the principle of convenience in terms of closeness to residences and fields in order to raise labor productivity and insure that seasonal schedules are met.

b) Effectively resolving the seed problem.

The cooperative has given particular attention to potato cuttings because Western potatoes are its main winter crop and it needs a very large volume of cuttings. Seeds generally comprise more than 40 percent of agricultural production expenses and if these cuttings were purchased somewhere else, losses due to damage during transportation would comprise as much as 50 percent of their purchase price. In the past, the cooperative "borrowed cuttings" by making it mandatory for cooperative members to contribute cuttings; however, during the past several years, under the slogan "producing and using our own cuttings" and by relying on cooperative members to store cuttings under contracts at their homes, 40 of every 100 kilograms of fresh cuttings turned over to cooperative members are planted, and, at the same time, cooperative members receive instructions in the techniques of storing Western potato cuttings. Here, every cooperative member has made racks patterned after silk worm cages and uses whatever furniture he can to make racks for storing potato cuttings in cool areas where there is little sunlight; everyone knows how to detect insects and diseases which damage potato cuttings and knows how to use chemicals to prevent and control lice and cockroaches. As a result of this method, each family is able to store 1.5 to 3 tons of potatoes and the cooperative not only has enough cuttings to plant each year, but also sells hundreds of cuttings to the state. The Ha Hoi Cooperative has also prevented and controlled the degeneration of its yellow Western potato variety by restoring the vitality of this variety by planting 10th month-spring Western potatoes on dozens of hectares in order to supply cuttings for the winter season. Between 1960 and 1963, the cooperative took cuttings to Sa Pa in Lao Cai Province, which has an altitude of more than 1,000 meters in order to restore the vitality of potatoes. The yield of restored varieties is 50 percent higher than that of non-restored varieties.

c) Strongly increasing the sources of fertilizer.

Fertilizer is of decisive significance in winter crop yield. During the past several years, no longer able to purchase human wastes from the cities (hundreds of tons),

the cooperative has relied upon fertilizer supplied by cooperative member families. During the 2 years 1974-1975, the introduction of many new varieties of high yield rice in production and the expansion of the amount of area under the cultivation of winter crops from 30 to 80 percent of the cooperative's farmland or 2.5 times more than the previous winter season, requires a large quantity of fertilizer. However, the household and collective hog herds which only number 1,913 head and weigh an average of 50 kilograms at market time, can only supply 70 to 80 percent of the manure required and there is a very serious shortage of hay, particularly during the winter when it falls 50 percent short of requirements. Because hog production has not been accelerated, there is not a balance between farming and livestock production here. This is a major difficulty in the new stage of development and the cooperative is actively trying to overcome this difficulty by stepping up household and collective hog production in order to rapidly increase the sources of manure and, at the same time, it is strongly developing the production of duckweed; on the other hand, it is utilizing necessary, balanced quantities of chemical fertilizers.

d) Equipping with additional machines and tools.

The urgent farming schedule during the winter and the expansion of winter production into a main season are making it more and more necessary to increase the use of machinery and improved tools. The schedule is a very strict one, particularly with regard to Western potatoes, for if they are planted late, yield drops by 30 to 50 percent and the spring rice crop is affected.

Prior to 1969, the cooperative, which was confused about preparing its ground for cultivation, mobilized a large force of laborers to pound the ground with mallets and used buffalo and cattle to pull cement drags as a result of which productivity was low, costs were very high, and crops were not planted on schedule. During the past several years, the cooperative has been using Cong Nong 7 tractors to plow and harrow its land during the winter in coordination with draft buffalo and cattle. The number of tractors has risen from four in 1967 to eight in 1970 and 12 in 1974. The amount of area plowed and harrowed by tractors has increased from 230 hectares in 1970 to 291 hectares at the start of 1974. During the winter season, the cooperative has used tractors to plow and harrow more than 40 percent of its farmland in order to complete its preparation of fields within 10 to 15 days. The cooperative has also given its attention to the transportation and threshing of rice; it uses more than 300 improved vehicles and the ox carts of cooperative members and the collective to meet 90 percent of its transportation requirements and uses rice threshing machines in all production units which have replaced the threshing of rice by hand; as a result, productivity has increased four to five times during the 10th month rice harvest. On the other hand, the use of machinery and improved tools has also made it possible to expand the distribution of labor and shift hundreds of laborers to specialized units, livestock units, and other sectors and trades within the cooperative.

At present, in order to meet the requirements of expanding winter production, the cooperative has invested more than 100,000 dong in order to equip with 12 Dong Phong tractors and 2 T4K14 milling machines, thereby bringing the total number of tractors and milling machines to 26 and increasing the amount of area plowed and harrowed by tractors to 70 percent of the cooperative's farmland.

4. Organizing the efficient utilization of labor to insure that the ground is prepared for winter production on schedule.

In conjunction with equipping with more machines and tools, the cooperative has given full attention to organizing the efficient utilization of labor, especially during the winter season. It has spread out the cultivation of the various varieties of 10th month rice by means of different rotation cultivation formulas in order to make centralized and efficient use of labor during each phase of production and it has drawn up a plan which balances the supply of labor, mobilizes as many laborers, both primary and secondary laborers, as possible, requires laborers to work overtime during lunch and in the evening, and extends the working period 50 percent compared to normal times. The management committee has closely supervised the assigning of the three contracts to production units on the basis of labor quotas which are consistent with each type field, each type crop, and each job, it keeps production statistics, and it has assigned responsibilities for inspecting fields, supervising the implementation of contracts, and supervising the implementation of bonus and penalty regulations.

At the start of the winter season, production units sign work day pledges and look for every way to centralize their labor in order to meet their schedules, overcome the practice of dozens of cooperative members running to the market to sell vegetables and buy hogs, and overcome jealousy among cooperative members. On the basis of the cooperative's labor quotas, production unit cadres have flexibly applied various forms of contracts: contracts to interrelated groups, such as groups which cut rice, transport rice, plow and harrow fields, groups which make furrows in fields and plant fields, and groups which fertilize and irrigate potatoes; contracts to laborers who clear banks, hoeing groups, groups which shore up banks, groups which transport fertilizer, and groups which irrigate vegetables. As a result, they have made full use of labor and maintained their farming schedules; each cooperative member works from 250 to 300 days per year.

5. Further improving the management of the cooperative's production, distribution, and consumption.

The upgrading of the winter season to a main, relatively independent season within the structure of three production seasons per year is raising new management requirements. In order to avoid drawing up plans in a unilateral top to bottom method which is unorganized and lacking in balance and in order to gradually put winter production on a regular basis, the cooperative management committee is trying to quickly finish its annual production plan and the production plans for each season by having them truly democratically discussed within production units, by a congress of cooperative members, and by the People's Council and having them approved by the upper echelon. Because the allocation of varieties and the farming schedules for the various seasons are closely interrelated and because the start of one season depends upon the season preceding it, the establishment of financial, technical material, and labor plans and the signing of contracts with state agencies must also be promptly carried out in order to insure coordination and effectively create the conditions for starting winter production.

The three production seasons each year, particularly the winter and spring seasons, produce a very rich variety of crops and supply a large volume of grain and food products. Therefore, financial management and product distribution must fully comply with the principles of socialist business. The cooperative has begun to manage its finances and distribution on the basis of democratic principles and uniform management principles to insure that it meets its grain and food product obligations to the state (which include many winter products), improve the standard of living of cooperative members, eliminate distribution on the basis of units, not allow debts to go unpaid for a long time, implement public financial accounting, and insure that the capital amassed by the cooperative increases with each passing day. However, the cooperative must continue to improve and revise its management in keeping with socialist business principles. It must improve the signing of contracts so that contracts are both suitable and accurate and in order to insure the proper coordination of the interests of the collective and the interests of cooperative members, carry out the struggle between the two ways of life, and heighten the sense of collective ownership of the mass of cooperative members. The consumption of winter products is not good; in some years, tens of tons of kohlrabi and Western potato cuttings are damaged or backlogged partially because agencies with whom contracts have been signed have not overcome their difficulties or fully executed their contracts. Therefore, the cooperative must, on the one hand, give its attention to drawing up production and consumption plans which are coordinated with each other; on the other hand, purchasing agencies must fully implement contracts in order to create the conditions needed for the development of production.

Since it became a township size cooperative, winter production has constantly developed. A comparison of the economic returns from winter production in 1973 of the township size cooperative to the economic returns from winter production in 1965 of the five small cooperatives before they were merged shows: product output increased from 790 tons in 1965 to 1,349 tons in 1973 or an increase of 70 percent in which Western potato output increased from 431 to 819 tons or by 90 percent. Winter output value increased from 171,276 dong in 1965 to 312,082 dong in 1973 or by 82 percent. Output value per hectare cultivated during the winter increased from 2,071 dong in 1965 to 2,418 dong in 1973 or by 16 percent.

Having developed winter production on a large area, the Ha Hoi Cooperative has continuously won great victories over the past 8 years with each winter season producing 32 to 35 percent of the total annual output value from agriculture. With the winter season, Ha Hoi has annually supplied the state 600 to 700 tons of

products; if the spring season is included, this figure is increased to 1,500 tons which includes 300 tons of Western potatoes for use as cuttings or for exportation and various quantities of kohlrabi, cabbage, and green melons; meanwhile (since 1966), the cooperative has met its obligation to the state of 127 tons of paddy and 27-33 tons of pork per year. As a result, the cooperative annually accumulates tens of thousands of dong and has increased its business capital to more than 1 million dong, more than 900,000 dong of which it has earned itself.

Winter production is a supplemental source of grain and food products for cooperative members and their families and an appreciable source of income which helps improve the standard of living of the people. It also helps provide work to cooperative members and bring about the redistribution of local labor.

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#### MANAGEMENT AT WORKSITE 4

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[Article by Nong Quang Hoang, the manager of worksite 4]

[Text] Worksite 4 is part of the Hanoi Industrial Construction Corporation. Tasked with the construction of industrial projects on a relatively large area in Tu Liem District and on the edges of Dong Da and Ba Dinh Wards, our worksite annually utilizes a corps of more than 500 construction workers and thousands of tons of building materials. Under the light of the resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum, we have come to see that, in addition to the achievements we have recorded, we still have many shortcomings in worksite management, particularly in the management of labor and materials.

Prior to 1972, all types of primary building materials were lost or damaged; for example, one year, hundreds of cubic meters of lumber rotted or were lost, a large number of bricks and tiles were broken as a result of being thrown from trucks, etc. The allocation of building materials was not done under ceilings, people took whatever they needed, surplus materials were put back into the warehouse without filling out warehouse invoices, and materials were left lying about the worksite.

Many materials were also being stolen and a number of workers put a few kilograms of cement or a few ounces of nails in their pockets or tied a few pieces of lumber to their bicycles; theft in the form of "taking a long time to return borrowed things" also caused the worksite to lose thousands of dong annually; end of the year inventories showed shortages of all building materials. The shortage of building materials caused the quality of projects to be poor, they were in need of repair before they should have been, and some even collapsed or cracked as soon as their construction was completed.

Materials were lost within the warehouse, on construction sites, and during transportation. Our worksite lost thousands of dong each day in the transportation of sand from the bank of the Red River to Cau Dien. On the basis of their prescribed tonnage, each truck was supposed to haul from 2 to 4 cubic meters of sand. But, in actuality, a number of trucks only hauled 1.20 cubic meters of sand and one was even hauling .9441 cubic meter; as a result, the worksite only received 3.53 percent of the sand it ordered and it did not have enough sand for construction but, at the same time, it had to pay 100 percent of the trucking unit's transportation charges. In this matter, our worksite bore the main responsibility but the trucking unit and the Red River Sand Enterprise also bore a certain amount of responsibility. Only by having concerned agencies participate in management was it possible to correct this situation.

Many of the production tools of the worksite were lost or damaged. In 1969, the worksite lost nearly 1 dozen wheelbarrows for which no one was responsible; nearly 30 percent of the remaining wheelbarrows were damaged or in need of repair and not promptly repaired. There has always been a small amount of machinery, an average of less than 50 dong in fixed assets per worker; however, in the past, there were many shortcomings in the management of these assets. Everyday implements were also lost and even bowls, chopsticks, frying pans, and radios were lost. Deserving of attention is the fact that these losses were no one's responsibility and there was



no suitable compensation for those losses; as a result of which, this situation continued.

The labor management of our worksite also used to be loose. The practice of going to work late and leaving early occurred on a regular basis and some people even stayed at home doing private jobs while their section chiefs continued to give them workpoints. During the years of loose management, the worksite annually had 20 people who took off work for no reason, 28 people who did not fulfill their functions, and 21 people who were out sick all year; in one case, a person took 2 months off for no reason, 3 months off for sickness, and worked 1 month over a 6 month period. Due to the poor management of mandays and man hours, the number of mandays not spent producing products but for which wages were still paid to production workers comprised a rather large percentage, 21.8 percent of the total number of required workdays at the worksite. This problem of mandays not spent in the production of products was the result of a number of people avoiding production work, looking for easy work, and avoiding strenuous work, section chiefs arranging their production lines inefficiently, workers being allowed to sit and wait for materials or sit and talk when they had finished their jobs, etc. The problem of people taking off from work without a legitimate reason was rather widespread at the worksite and some people who were "sick" engaged in illegal production at home, some people became "sick" in order to go on vacation, etc. As a result, the number of mandays lost to sickness increased very rapidly; the number of mandays lost to sickness increased from 3,211 days in 1969 to 4,500 days in 1972 or 10.3 percent of the total number of required workdays at the worksite.

There were also shortcomings in the worksite's financial management. There was always a tight supply of capital. A number of projects exceeded design estimates by 5 to 12 percent as a result of which the corporation needed time to study requests for more capital and this caused a shortage of capital for the worksite and posed difficulties with respect to expenses for production and everyday life. For a capital construction site, capital is generally managed on the basis of building materials and wages; however, in the past, our worksite was not handling building materials or wages well because of the above mentioned problem surrounding building materials; the wages being paid were supposed to be piecework wages but, in substance, they were monthly wages and time wages.

Due to these shortcomings in management, the construction rate on our projects slowed. According to worksite estimates, it could have surpassed its plan by 15 to 20 percent in 1971 but the management of labor was loose, many people left their jobs for private employment, not enough workers were recruited, and so forth as a result of which the worksite only surpassed its plan by 0.8 percent; in 1972, the management of labor and materials was even looser, consequently, the construction rate fell even more. As a result, the worksite only surpassed its plan by 0.3 percent in 1972 and the quality of its projects was worse than in previous years.

As regards workers, much emphasis was sometimes given to material incentives and little attention was given to ideological education to raise their political level; therefore, a number of workers did not realize the honor of being a construction worker in the socialist system. When they finished studying their trades, some workers asked to go home to work for themselves and others used the worksite as a "springboard" to other sectors. As a result of not correctly understanding the position of the construction worker, a number of workers wrote to their relatives and said not to write to their address at the worksite or lied to their relatives by telling them that they worked in another sector, at another place, etc.

As regards cases of the misappropriation of property, conspiracy, and violations of discipline, our worksite did not have strict penalties and rewards were not prompt as a result of which it was impossible to develop upon positive factors and gradually eliminate the negative factors at the worksite. The worksite had not adopted strong measures for eliminating the conspiracy and illegal production of a number of decadent elements on the outside who affected the worksite and the thinking of working for oneself was allowed to infiltrate the corps of workers, particularly those young workers who were new to their trades.

The loose labor discipline which used to exist at the worksite actually provided an opportunity for bad factors to develop and they gradually surrounded and isolated good people who struggled to protect truth at the worksite.

After studying the resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum and under the close supervision of the party committee and the board of directors of the corporation, our worksite took determined steps to rectify its loose management and strengthen and improve its management.

In conjunction with consolidating the corps of leadership cadres, our worksite has given particular attention to giving everyone at the worksite a clear understanding of the task of the construction worker within the socialist system and the importance of the capital construction sector to the national economy. In order to develop the revolutionary spirit of workers, the party organization at the worksite taught party members and the masses what their attitude should be toward the management of the worksite, heightened their spirit of struggling within the worksite, struggling against the misappropriation of property, waste, illegal methods of earning a living, etc. Many teams mobilized their workers to take the lead in implementing quotas and the regulations and rules of the state. As a result of these teams and units which took the lead, many other teams and individuals emulated them and the emulation movement grew throughout the worksite.

These initial changes have had the effect of stimulating the development of positive factors and the development of good concepts and many cadres and workers have recorded excellent achievements in the socialist labor emulation movement at the worksite.

Our worksite set forth a specific guideline of "tightly controlling management and stepping up the rate of construction" primarily to overcome the above mentioned shortcomings and strongly apply the systems of quotas and piecework wages, fully implement the system of material responsibility, the manager system, etc. When we first implemented these measures, the worksite encountered many difficulties and some cadres, workers, and personnel said that these measures would only be in effect for a while and then everything would be the way it was. But, we did not back off and the various teams and departments at the worksite boldly expanded the measures designed to improve management and determinedly applied new technical norms and regulations as a result of which labor quotas and the payment of piecework wages were put on a regular basis, 100 percent of the workers began working under quotas, 75 percent of the workers began receiving piecework wages, and many management cadres established and began working under quotas.

Our worksite has received help from the corporation to revise the material ceilings and technical norms for all aspects of construction from the assembly of cement forms to the digging of foundations, the construction of walls, the painting of windows, whitewashing, etc. The accountant fills out material release forms on the basis of these ceilings and the unit chief is the person directly responsible for the building materials assigned his unit by the worksite. As a result, the use and maintenance of building materials have improved and building materials are no longer lost or scattered about the worksite. All carpentry, masonry, iron, and other sections are using some 12 to 15 percent less building materials, the quality of projects is good, and the rate of construction is rapid.

Labor quotas and the payment of piecework wages are the best labor management measure at our worksite. As a result of implementing labor quotas well, the work atmosphere at the worksite has greatly improved. In the past, when there were no quotas, a worker building wall foundations constructed only 1.38 cubic meters per day; when quotas were adopted, this rose to 2.35 cubic meters a day or an increase of 70 percent; before there were quotas, one worker poured 0.3 cubic meter of steel reinforced foundation each day but, when quotas were enacted, one worker poured 0.70 cubic meter, an increase of 133 percent, etc. Practically all workers who work under quotas have surpassed them and many people have surpassed their quotas by 50 to 100 percent; the average labor productivity of a worker in 1972 was 5,059 dong; during the first 6 months of 1974, average labor productivity rose to 3,836 dong. The practice of going to work late and leaving early has gradually been ended and the number of people who take off from work without a reason has markedly declined: 28 people took off from work without a reason in the years between 1969 and 1972 but only 2 people did so during the first 6 months of 1974. Section chiefs keep accurate records on the workpoints of each individual and job, analyze productive work hours, criticize those workers who put in few productive hours, and, at the end of the day, they praise workers who actively completed the task assigned them by the worksite and criticize those workers who came to work late and left early, did sloppy work, worked slowly, were lazy, etc. This has stimulated the development of positive factors among workers. With assistance from the

corporation, our worksite has reorganized its manpower in order to better meet the needs of construction. Workers who were once in trades other than those for which they were trained have now been given jobs suited to their talents. We have also given very much attention to providing trade training and holding technical drills in order to improve the special skills of workers and create the conditions for specialization at the worksite. These are the results of a difficult struggle to change the method of working and the lifestyle at our worksite and further consolidate the new socialist production relations.

We have also taken steps to reorganize the system of statistics, reorganized warehouses, and sent people to escort shipments of valuable building materials, such as metals, glass, lumber, etc. In addition our worksite has also organized a red flag youth unit which coordinates with the worksite's self-defense unit to conduct patrols and stand guard in order to maintain security and protect the building materials at the worksite and in warehouses.

Because there is so little equipment at the worksite, we have found ways to make use of suggestions and improve techniques in order to constantly raise labor productivity. With existing tools we have implemented the innovations of other worksites and tested the suggestions of the workers at our worksite in order to promptly put good innovations into wide use. As a result, our worksite has made hundreds of innovations in a short period of time, many of which are valuable, such as prefabricating the frames of warehouses instead of building them board by board, thereby reducing construction time from 7 days to 1 day; improving and assembling more pulleys and wirches to straighten iron, thus raising output 200 percent; unable to purchase planes overseas, workers have made planes from automobile springs to serve as substitutes; etc. In order to increase the rate of completion of projects, the worksite has initiated a night shift and work on Sunday and the worksite's management cadres work diligently and have strongly developed their spirit of responsibility.

For a capital construction site, permanent eating and housing facilities for workers are a very important matter which helps stabilize the organization of the worksite and put its management on a regular basis. Although many difficulties still exist, our worksite has, with the assistance of the party chapter, local government, and trade union, begun to provide relatively good facilities. With the assistance of the corporation, we have constructed permanent housing for workers and it provides transportation to and from work for them which has made it possible for them to increase their labor productivity and stabilize their living conditions. In addition to providing permanent housing and eating facilities, we have also suggested to the commerce agency that it send goods to the worksite to sell to workers and serve food and beverages to shift workers in order to help maintain their health; in addition, we also take workers to see theatrical performances, movies, athletic events, etc.

Recently, our worksite also improved the method of paying wages to workers. The cashier now takes the payroll to units and pays workers there at a stipulated time as a result of which no time is lost waiting and production hours are not affected. During times when it is necessary to concentrate on completing a key project, administrative workers purchase rice and goods supplied under the ration system for workers so that they can work overtime and not have to worry about other things.

Overcoming the loose management and convenient method of operation of the worksite has, in reality, been a strong struggle between the industrial thinking of working in accordance with the mode of socialist business and the spontaneous thinking of small-scale producers of operating in the administrative-supply method. In 1973, our worksite surpassed its plan by 11.3 percent; in 1974, when the resolution of the 22nd Party Plenum was passed, our worksite has been trying even harder to rapidly complete industrial projects in order to turn them over to their users and put them into production. Although our entire corporation has encountered many difficulties in 1974 in the area of building materials, we met and surpassed our plan for the first 6 months of 1974 by 8.5 percent and was recognized by the corporation as the leader of the entire corporation as a result of organizing our labor efficiently and properly using raw materials and as a result of the positive work spirit of workers. The worksite also has four teams which have been recognized as socialist labor teams and seven teams which have been selected as progressive teams.

In addition to the initial achievement cited above, our worksite still has a number of shortcomings which it must overcome in order to make more rapid progress in each area of its work.

In a number of areas, labor quotas and technical material ceilings are inaccurate, particularly labor quotas; a number of units have established labor quotas which are not accurate because they are not scientifically based as a result of which work, such as the digging of foundations, is not finished on time when quotas are too high and other jobs are done in half the time when quotas are too low.

Some building materials do not meet specifications and their quality is not high; for example, some bricks are small and underweight, iron is rusty, lumber is rotten, etc. To correct these shortcomings, it is necessary to coordinate the inspections conducted by the corporation and the various sectors which produce building materials. On the other hand, our worksite will strengthen its management of building materials and make full use of existing materials in order to help resolve the difficulties encountered in this area for the state and avoid purchasing building materials which do not fall within the prescribed scope of business of concerned sectors. The worksite will coordinate with trucking units in order to take steps to insure that sand is transported on schedule, that we receive the full amount of sand ordered, etc.

Under the light of the resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum and under the close supervision of the party committee and the corporation's board of directors, we will make an effort to make greater progress in order to successfully complete the task of a capital construction worksite.

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## PARTY LIFE: THE PARTY CHAPTER OF TUGBOAT HC 13

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 58-64

[Article by Hai Dang]

[Text.] Tugboat HC 13, which is part of the Haiphong harbor fleet, is a boat tasked with towing cargo barges, pulling cranes into place to load and unload heavy cargo, and moving ships in and out of the harbor and to piers in accordance with the requirements of the producers of goods.

When the U.S. imperialists launched heavy attacks against the port of Haiphong, HC 13 was given the task of transporting cargo directly from large ships to the various provinces by towing means of transportation carrying cargo to support the defense of the nation and the life of the people. In addition HC 13 also participated in supporting communications and transportation, combating floods and typhoons, rescuing ships and barges in accidents, etc. This new task faced HC 13 with many difficulties which had to be overcome. The boat, which was designed to operate on rivers, now had to operate on many coastal routes; the boat, which had no compass, now had to transport cargo along offshore currents and although the crew was unfamiliar with these waters they did not have any sea charts; whereas it once only supported the handling of cargo and moved ships around the harbor, it now had to travel long distances, workers had to be away from their families, and everything had to change; these routes were regularly attacked, mined, and blockaded by the enemy, etc. In the 8 years of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, HC 13 was threatened by enemy bombs, rockets, and 20 millimeter cannon fire 42 times. But these difficulties did not cause the cadres and workers of HC 13 to be afraid. In 1972, HC 13 went through enemy mine fields 86 times in order to transport cargo to support the defense of the nation and the life of the people. Throughout the 8 years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the boat's collective constantly displayed revolutionary heroism, was always ready to accept a new task, and bravely and resourcefully overcame its difficulties and dangers in order to complete each task well.

Production: during the years of the war, HC 13's task grew larger with each passing day and the volume of cargo transported increased each year; in 1965, the cargo transportation plan assigned to HC 13 called for the transportation of 26,000 tons, the plans for 1966 and 1967 called for 31,000 tons each year, and the plan for 1968-1973 called for 40,000 tons a year. The unit was also assigned many other jobs which could not be measured in size or time. However, the cadres and workers of HC 13 overcame each of their difficulties and dangers and always loaded, unloaded, stored, transported, delivered, and received cargo rapidly and completely in every situation. The unit met and surpassed its quota every year. During these 8 years, HC 13 was supposed to transport a total of 314,000 tons of cargo but it actually transported 366,880 tons or 52,880 tons more than required.

Participating in combat: HC 13 directly engaged in combat with U.S. aircraft 13 times. Below are accounts of a few typical battles. On 6 August 1966, HC 13 was attacked by enemy aircraft while it was in the Gia Luan harbor. The command immediately ordered the deployment of forces onto the bank to fight and the entire collective fought very bravely. That day, many raids of enemy aircraft dropped bombs,

fired rockets, and fired 20 millimeter cannons at the boat. Thirteen of the crew's 16 people (there were three students receiving practical training) were injured. The remaining people and those who were lightly injured continued to fight the enemy and carry out every other task. And, on that day, both HC 13 and its crew reached port safely. On the way to port, HC 13 also rescued one boat and two barges from a naval unit which had run aground.

Another time, on the morning of 9 September 1967, HC 13 was ordered to pull three barges carrying cargo from the P. wharf to a machine enterprise. As the tugboat and its cargo came into the harbor, many raids of enemy aircraft suddenly appeared and began an attack. The self-defense forces on the boat immediately sounded the alarm and deployed their forces in order to immediately return the enemy aircrafts' fire. At the time, the tugboat was pulling barges. If the barges were cut away and anchored, the tugboat could fight better but if the barges were left anchored here they would be in danger because they would offer a large target, they were unprotected, and if the barges were sunk the equipment and goods on them would be lost and the channel would be obstructed as well. The command decided to fight the enemy and find a way to take the tugboat into port; in the end, both the tugboat and its barges arrived in port safely. All 13 times the self-defense forces of the tugboat fought U.S. aircraft, they fought bravely and resourcefully and successfully completed their task.

Supporting combat: supporting combat was also one of the important tasks of HC 13. During the times they were sent to support combat and support the defense of the nation, the workers of HC 13 displayed a high level of determination to "overcome each difficulty and support combat and the frontlines as fast as possible." In these 8 years, HC 13 supported the defense of the nation a total of 1,980 operational hours and transported 54,000 tons of cargo. In addition, it was also assigned many jobs which could not be defined in terms of output or time. Once, the tugboat was given the special assignment of supporting the defense of the nation for 8 continuous months. During this period of time, it had to make many trips along the coast and regularly pulled two barges weighing 400 tons. Working conditions were very difficult. Clearly aware of the importance of this work, the crew became more highly determined to complete its task. After nearly 8 months of urgently working night and day, HC 13 completed its plan 45 days ahead of schedule, saved more than 10,000 dong, and insured the safety of personnel, cargo, and equipment. In its combat support operations, HC 13 received many letters of commendation from the command of the Dong Bac Military Zone.

HC 13 was also frequently assigned the task of supporting communications and transportation and it made noteworthy contributions in these operations. In 1967, the enemy launched a heavy attack against a certain concrete bridge and it collapsed. HC 13 was assigned the task of pulling barges into position to assist in the repair of the bridge. Although enemy aircraft carried out attacks around the clock and although delayed action mines were still on the bed of the river, HC 13 actively supported the repair units and made it possible for the bridge to open ahead of schedule. In May 1967, the tugboat was assigned the task of assisting in the assembly of a train bridge. It regularly had to pull cranes into position to assemble heavy bridge sections weighing more than 20 tons at a place where there were many obstacles in the current, enemy aircraft carried out constant attacks, and delayed-action mines were still near the bridge. In its 3 months of service here, HC 13 overcame many of its difficulties and improved its method of guiding cranes as a result of which the assembly time of the bridge was shortened.

HC 13 was also frequently given the assignment of supporting other emergency jobs: supporting efforts to combat typhoons and floods, rescuing ships and barges in accidents, etc. In every job, the cadres and workers of HC 13 did the very best they could and achieved good results.

In the process of working to complete the tasks mentioned above, HC 13 gave its attention to providing its cadres and workers with elementary and advanced training. As a result, in the years of resistance against the United States for national salvation, HC 13 supplied the Haiphong Port Enterprise with nine cadres who were ship captains, first mates, and chief engineers and a number of rather highly skilled workers.

In their many difficult challenges, the cadres and workers of HC 13 recorded many glorious achievements. As a result, HC 13 held the title of socialist labor unit for 7 years, it was awarded the 3rd Class Labor Medal by the National Assembly, and it was awarded many letters of commendation from the General Federation of Labor,

the Ministry of Communications and Transportation, and the Military Zone Command; the self-defense detachment of HC 13 held the title "determine to win unit" for 8 continuous years.

Why was HC 13 able to record such excellent achievements? It was because of the major efforts made by the collective of cadres and workers under the strong leadership of the tugboat's party chapter. The party chapter is only comprised of three party members but it is strong in every respect and has been classified as one of the outstanding party chapters of the Haiphong Port party organization. During the 8 years of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the party chapter accepted nine people into the party and sent a number of party members to other party chapters. In particular, the party chapter gave its attention to political and ideological education and to closely coordinating ideological education with the adoption of organizational measures.

#### 1. Giving attention to political and ideological educational activities.

The outstanding feature of the leadership activities conducted here is that the party chapter quickly gained an understanding of the new situation and task, clearly realized the enemy's plan, and clearly realized its weighty responsibility in the decisive fight with the enemy. The new situation and task faced the unit with new weighty, important requirements. But the entire party chapter consisted of only three party members. To complete its task under the very difficult and complex circumstances of the war, it was of utmost importance that everyone on the tugboat, from party members and cadres to workers, have a correct understanding of the situation, be highly determined, and bring about strong changes in their thinking and actions. Under this guideline, the party chapter of HC 13 set forth the requirement of ideological activities as concentrating on giving each party member, cadre, and worker a clear understanding of the new situation and task and a realization of the enemy's plans and heightening their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their determination to excellently complete the task of communications and transportation soldiers in every situation. In keeping with this requirement, the party chapter had workers study the various resolutions passed by the Central Committee concerning the "situation and task," study the appeal made by President Ho entitled "There Is Nothing More Precious Than Independence and Freedom," etc. These phases of study were coordinated with phases of political activities concerning "deep gratitude and deep hatred" and "the responsibility and honor of the worker" and a change was gradually brought about in the thinking of the cadres and workers on HC 13. After these phases of study and activities, the party chapter launched a feverish emulation movement within the unit. The "three readies" emulation spirit not only grew among youths but also became a strong mass movement among all the workers. Workers voluntarily sent letters to the tugboat's command and their superiors expressing their determination and readiness to fight and accept and complete each task. The party chapter pasted all of these letters of determination on the bulkheads of the tugboat in order to remind everyone to fulfill his pledge.

In its ideological educational activities, the party chapter gave its attention to praising model units and setting examples of good people and good work even within the unit for others to follow. An act of bravery in combat, a deed which benefited the collective, an example of making things easier for a friend or doing a difficult job by oneself, a good suggestion, an act reflecting a high sense of organization and discipline, and so forth, all of these things were praised in the activities of the mass organization. In the battle on 6 August 1966, Hoang Minh Chinh was seriously wounded. He thought he was going to die so he took off his bandages and gave them to someone else. He also asked a Youth Group member to send his chapter's dues to the Youth Group organization because he had forgotten to do so. After this battle, his spirit of bravery and his love for the other members of his unit were studied by the entire unit. When the tugboat was assigned to help combat flooding along the Gia Luong Diike, the brave actions taken by Pham Dinh Cha to rescue people from a sinking ship also became a valuable lesson for the entire unit.

In addition to this, people with shortcomings also received wholehearted assistance from the collective. Private counselling, an effective educational measure, was also given attention by the leaders here. As a result, the party chapter of HC 13 helped workers with shortcomings become progressive workers and some became party members.

An important reason why ideological education recorded good results is because the unit's cadres and party members set good examples on every job. Teaching the sense of responsibility and the desire to work cannot achieve desired results if cadres and party members are afraid of difficulties and afraid to make sacrifices. Times of difficulty are times when the masses look to party members and expect concrete actions from them, not merely words. Deeply aware of this fact, the cadres and party members of HC 13 used their acts of bravery and desire to work tirelessly to teach the masses. Whenever the tugboat was sent on an emergency assignment, party members immediately volunteered to go; when the tugboat had to transport cargo along a new route, party members undertook the most difficult chores; when the tugboat had to go through mined bodies of water, party members volunteered to pilot the boat or help pilot it so that others would not worry; when the tugboat was in port and workers had to go ashore to take care of family matters, party members volunteered to stay behind on duty on the tugboat, etc. When shortcomings developed in their work or activities, cadres and party members forthrightly admitted to their shortcomings before the masses and were determined to rectify them. The party chapter has only three party members but they were always present during times of difficulty and danger and this became a source of inspiration and encouraged the masses to try hard to complete each task. The relationship among cadres, party members, and the masses here always reflected the spirit of "bearing the responsibility together, discussing difficulties together, and sharing honor together." This work spirit created the great collective strength of the cadres and workers of HC 13.

## 2. Adopting many good organizational measures.

In conjunction with political and ideological education, the party chapter of HC 13 has given very much attention to organizational measures. It can be stated that HC 13 was able to record outstanding achievements during the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation because its party chapter closely coordinated ideological education with organizational activities.

The first organizational measure to be given attention by the party chapter was that of improving and revising the unit's organization to be consistent with new conditions. The tugboat's crew consists of 13 people. In order to insure the performance of its production and combat task, HC 13 established a self-defense detachment of 12 people; self-defense soldiers were also assigned to participate in combat readiness watches, groups to rescue the wounded, rescue people from sinking ships, fight fires, etc. On each shift, in addition to performing those jobs which had to be done on the tugboat itself, these people also had to fully perform these other jobs. As a result, there had to be a clear division of labor which encompassed everyone. This division of labor was closely linked to each combat plan. Drills were conducted for all jobs, every worker became skilled in each job. Everyone could rescue the wounded, everyone was skilled in rescuing people from sinking ships, rescuing people thrown overboard, etc. Although every worker was skilled in these jobs, each person on each shift was assigned a specific job and everyone had to prepare the equipment needed to meet the requirements of the job assigned him. As a result, everyone rapidly turned to his job during difficult situations.

The adoption of many combat plans was a positive measure which helped the leaders of HC 13 take the initiative in every situation. Before each trip, particularly long ones and trips involving many dangerous sections of water, cadres and workers held thorough discussions in order to adopt plans for each situation. Each person was assigned a specific job under each plan. As a result of these careful preparations, HC 13 never failed to complete its task when attacked by the enemy, when in mined or blockaded waters, etc. Once, the tugboat was in the middle of a trip when it found the channel obstructed by enemy mines. The command decided to put plan 2 into effect which allowed it to take advantage of the terrain and the laws of operation of the enemy in order to open a new route which enabled HC 13 to get through the mines. Frequently, when moving through mined waters, mines exploded very close to the tugboat but, due to the good preparations made in every area, both the tugboat and its personnel remained safe.

In order to have good combat plans, the party chapter had workers exchange experiences concerning combat and protecting themselves against enemy air attacks, it had them discuss the special characteristics of each channel, and it had them study the good experiences of other tugboats.



In order to make it possible for workers and self-defense soldiers to regularly participate in the enterprise's periodic study and training drives and insure the successful completion of each task under wartime conditions, the party chapter launched the "train the superb seaman" movement. This movement gave every worker a knowledge of the basic techniques involved in his job, skill in his job, a working knowledge of the jobs of other people, and readiness to perform another person's job when necessary. This movement was launched in 1965 and its requirements have become the main requirements of each of the unit's emulation movements. Sessions to study basic techniques, the techniques involved in repair work, and so forth were held on a regular basis. Before trips to carry out assignments far away, workers borrowed technical books from the library and read and discussed them on the way. As a result, they had a basic knowledge of technology. In order for workers to develop their skills well, the unit also had them register to work in pairs and help one another. Veterans helped new people and workers in the lower grades studied workers in the higher grades. The workers in each section regularly exchanged opinions and experiences concerning everything from the method of troubleshooting a broken machine to sealing a leak. The tugboat has two special professional sections: the pilot section which works on the deck and the mechanics section which works in the cabin. The tugboat's crew was limited and the new situation made it necessary for everyone to perform many jobs and the tugboat itself was often given emergency assignments; therefore, workers sometimes had to be transferred from one section to help with the work of the other section. The requirements of "being skilled in your own job and have a working knowledge of the jobs of others" became a pressing requirement of each worker on the tugboat. The leaders of HC 13 had the workers from both sections learn how to perform the work of the other section. As a result, all of the workers on HC 13 were able to skillfully perform each job and when one section needed replacements or additional people the other section could provide them immediately. This movement created favorable conditions under which HC 13 was always ready to accept and complete each task.

The leaders of HC 13 also gave their attention to maintaining the tugboat and to the suggestions of workers on how to improve techniques. Maintaining the tugboat well was the basic, decisive condition underlying its operation. The technical team was assigned the task of serving as the nucleus in the full implementation of internal rules and technical rules and regulations. The party chapter taught workers that the tugboat's engine was their flesh and blood. If the engine did not operate well, the tugboat could not operate well. Every worker gave his attention to inspecting and maintaining the engine. After each trip and even while the tugboat was delivering cargo, workers tried to inspect each component of the engine, make necessary repairs, and seal leaks. In the maintenance of the engine and work equipment, the party chapter established the slogan: be self-reliant in repair work. Only workers who are skilled in repair work can maintain a ship well. The leaders regularly had workers study and exchange experiences concerning repair work. They learned each other's experiences and the experiences of professional repair workers. The party chapter made it a policy that the unit had to coordinate with the repair shop whenever the tugboat was sent in for repair work. Every time HC 13 went into the shop for repair work, the unit sent people to help repair it. This policy helped accelerate the repairs on the tugboat and create good conditions for workers to gain experience. This experience was widely exchanged throughout the unit. It can be said that practically all of the workers on HC 13 are rather highly skilled in repair work. They repaired many of the pieces of equipment on the tugboat themselves. Whenever something broke down, they repaired it immediately. As a result, the life of HC 13 has been prolonged. As of September 1967, HC 13 had operated 2,000 hours beyond its overhaul period. But, due to work requirements, it continued to provide service until September 1969 and it operated well throughout this period. At the start of 1973, the crew of HC 13 agreed to overhaul the tugboat's engine for the enterprise. This was difficult work but the cadres and workers of HC 13 were determined to do it. After more than 2 months of urgent work, they successfully completed their job which was done well, finished ahead of schedule, and saved the state 1,770 dong.

By knowing how to "sift through the sand to find gold," the party chapter launched a very feverish movement within the unit to make suggestions on ways to improve techniques. During normal times, the party chapter focused its attention upon and praised every suggestion no matter how small. During times of difficulty, the party chapter encouraged workers to make contributions. Difficulty gave birth to ingenuity. HC 13 frequently encountered enemy mines and blockades while transporting cargo. Workers made the suggestion of taking advantage of the weather, terrain, and of the

laws of operation of the enemy in order to create a safe route. When transporting cargo along new routes, HC 13, although it had no compass or instruments, was still able to operate well as a result of the suggestions made by its crew. Once, the tugboat went to pull a ferry against the floodwaters at the Quy Cao wharf but the floodwaters had deposited silt around both the wharf and the ferry and no boats or ships could leave or dock at the wharf. The workers of HC 13 suggested using the tugboat's propellers to blow away the sand and opened a channel through which the tugboat and the other boats reached the wharf. The unit established a "suggestions team" to study and apply each suggestion made by workers. Between 1965 and 1972, the unit made 35 valuable suggestions on improving techniques which saved the state 30,000 dong. HC 13 was the leader in the movement to make suggestions on improving techniques of the Haiphong Port Enterprise and held the enterprise's rotating emulation banner for suggestions.

During the 8 years of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, HC 13 made many efforts and recorded many outstanding achievements. Today, developing upon the victories they won during the years of the war of resistance, the collective of cadres and workers on HC 13 are making even greater efforts in each area of their work in order to maintain the unit's excellent tradition. The party chapter of HC 13 is continuing to give its attention to conducting good political and ideological activities and teaching party members, cadres, and workers to have a high spirit of revolutionary awareness, display revolutionary heroism in socialist construction, display the spirit of collective ownership, develop the revolutionary ethics of the working class, etc. The party chapter is continuing to focus attention upon encouraging workers to participate in skill training, study culture, and learn science and technology in order to be deserving of being "superb seamen." Fully aware of the role of the working class in socialist construction, the collective of cadres and workers on HC 13 is trying every harder to make progress in each area of their work.

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## RESEARCH: OCCUPATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

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[Article by Nguyen Binh]

[Text] The founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, gave particular attention to researching the most basic activity of mankind: productive labor. In "Capital," Marx scientifically researched and analyzed the division of labor in the various periods of history and among the various types of labor: agricultural labor, industrial labor, the labor of the handicraftsmen, and the labor of the assembly line worker in capitalist enterprises and predicted that all the labor of workers would develop completely in accordance with the requirements of large-scale industrial production under the socialist system. Engels analyzed "The Effect of Labor in the Change From Childhood to Adulthood." In "Anti-Durhing," Engels also studied the division of labor and working conditions under the capitalist system which cause people to develop in a distorted manner and emphasized the talented predictions made by Marx concerning the necessity and possibility of developing a comprehensive, well-balanced man under the socialist system.

According to Marx and Engels, the labor of mankind is a special type of activity. All living species must engage in some sort of activity to live. But, only the activity of man, which affects nature for the purpose of producing wealth needed for life, is called labor. Man differs from all other living species in that he knows how to direct his activities toward a clearly defined objective, knows how to create and use tools in order to work, and knows how to work in a technical manner. Primitive man made tools of stone and gradually learned how to manufacture tools of metal. Today, mankind has progressed from simple manual tools to the manufacture of sophisticated, complex tools such as mechanized tools, automated mechanized tools, partially and totally automated factories, etc.

Therefore, the history of technology has been closely linked to the history of work tools.

Also because the labor of Man has an objective, is performed by means of tools, and is performed in a technical manner, man did not immediately or instinctively learn to work, he had to learn to work. He had to learn to clearly understand the objective of his labor in order to understand the method of manufacture and function of his work tools in order to use them in such a way as to achieve the best possible results and serve his life as best possible. While working, man must use his mind and emotions and make use of all of his organs, particularly his hands. In man, the theory of labor and the practice of labor go hand in hand and are closely linked to each other. Theory is the result of the gradual accumulation of practical experience. Once experience is accumulated and applied many times, man gradually begins to work in a skilled, technical manner; in particular, the mind and hands of man become more and more intelligent and skilled through labor and, as a result, we call them the "creative mind" and "skill" of the laborer. Due to the special characteristics of the labor of man, namely, the need for theory and skill, man must study and train in order to understand the techniques of labor. The more sophisticated tools become and the more complex technology becomes, the more detailed is the training which man must receive.

In primitive society, very much attention was given to teaching children the skills and techniques of labor. This was a matter of survival to mankind. Moreover, it was also the most interesting and sacred of the jobs primitive man performed because each improved tool and each new tool represented a victory by man over nature but, because of his limited knowledge, man could not explain the reason for each of these victories.

When society divided into classes, the teaching of labor was not given attention by the ruling class of exploiters. Productive labor and manual labor were considered the "demeaning" work of slaves and the poor. The ruling class of exploiters took jobs which they considered "noble": religion, politics, philosophy, art, science, etc. They distinguished mental labor from manual labor. Their schools and books only taught abstract, idealistic theories which were divorced from reality. The techniques of productive labor were only transmitted from one laborer to another, from fathers to sons, and from senior workers and guild leaders to junior workers and the members of guilds. This transmission was of a person to person nature and generally took many years, sometimes a lifetime. Naturally, its scale and nature were very greatly limited. It was only suited to the small-scale, manual production of old modes of production. When the large-scale machine industry was born, the transmission of occupational skills and the techniques of labor could not be carried out within the framework of families or guilds any longer. It had to be done on a societywide scale.

The technological revolution and the birth of the heavy machine industry not only completely upset the division of labor among the various sectors and trades within society, but also resulted in a detailed division of labor among the laborers within a factory and plant and the laborers on a production line. From then on, the factory worker no longer produced an entire product by himself as did the handicraft worker before him; he only produces a part or piece of a product and sometimes cannot distinguish which part of the product he made. With heavy industrial production, the social nature of products and cooperation among workers become very deep. At the same time, technical progress also develops very strongly and always has an effect upon the division of labor within society and the division of labor within factories. This objective situation requires that laborers be provided with occupational and technical training on a large scale and on the basis of uniform scientific principles and comprehensive universal knowledge which is constantly being improved. Only in this way is it possible to meet society's general requirement of training many technical laborers to support the continuous development of heavy industrial production. At the same time, only in this way is it possible to meet the individual requirement of each worker of constantly improving his ability to use existing machines and preparing him to keep pace with future technical advances. Marx particularly emphasized the revolutionary nature and base of modern industry. Then, Marx pointed out how the industrial worker must be educated and trained: "It began in 1871 with the Paris Commune which provided the first historical lesson in the dictatorship of the proletariat style state which was followed by the great Russian October Revolution and will go on with the socialist revolutions of the future." (1)

This is the law of heavy industry. But, the capitalist class, while developing its enterprises, only pursues the profit motive and give no attention to these educational requirements of society and workers. For them, the worker is only a part, a component of machinery and the production line. Their mercantile and pragmatic minds make them want to hold expenditures on the occupational training of workers to the lowest level possible and limit the contents and time of training to that level needed by workers to perform the job assigned them at a machine or on a production line. When production techniques change, workers, due to the small amount of training they have received, are not suited to these new techniques and the capitalist class is ready to fire them and hire new people who know these new techniques. Thus, the capitalist class always has a corps of unemployed which acts as a reserve force of workers and workers who want to secure jobs must do it by themselves or learn new trades and new techniques.

Therefore, Marx wrote in "Capital": "While the capitalist class builds vocational schools, agricultural schools, and so forth for their children, and this is merely done to comply with the inner trends of the system of modern production, it gives the proletariat the shadow of an occupational education." (2) According to Marx, only the working class, after it seizes political power which it inevitably will do, "will put technical education, practical application, and theory into the schools of the people." (3) In 1866, in the resolution passed by the 1st Internationale, Marx raised the problem of coordinating academic training, physical

education, and technical training in all educational programs. Marx saw the need to begin teaching general technology even in general schools. This general technical instruction was designed to help children and teenagers gain an understanding of the basic principles of production processes and familiarize themselves with the use of simple production tools. In "Critique of the Goethe Program," Marx, while talking about schools again emphasized the need to "closely associate technical schools (theoretical and practical application) with academic schools."(4)

Only the socialist system is truly concerned with providing a comprehensive and thorough system of occupational and technical education for the young generation, in particular, and the laboring people, in general. The socialist system, which is completely different from the old social system, gives attention to technical education, knows the significance of the technological revolution and scientific-technical revolution to labor, and highly evaluates the knowledge and experience which has been gained, accumulated, and developed through the processes of productive labor and considers this knowledge and experience a very valuable asset of mankind. Without this store of production knowledge and technology, mankind could not build an increasingly rich and full materials and spiritual life for himself. On the basis of this concept, the socialist system considers occupational and technical education an indispensable, fundamental aspect of the training of the new laborer, the training of the complete man. The constitutions of many socialist countries state: every citizen of work age has the right and obligation to work, every youth has the right and obligation to study a trade.

In contrast to capitalism which only considers the worker a part of a machine and dependent upon a machine, socialism considers the worker the owner of the machine, the master of technology, and the collective owner of his enterprise, society, and country. On this basis, the objectives of occupational and technical education under socialism are defined as: comprehensively training the new worker and making him a person who has a basic knowledge of modern production technology, is skilled in a trade, has a definite level of education and a high level of political enlightenment, possesses the virtues of the revolutionary vanguard, industrial working class, and has the physical ability and talents required by his assigned occupation. With such comprehensive training, the worker is not only able to fully understand existing production techniques, but is also prepared to adapt to the requirements of modern production of constant technical progress; he is not only able to fulfill his task as a production worker and a collective owner of his enterprise, but is also prepared to fulfill the task of a citizen, a collective owner of his society and country.

Heavy industrial production requires a suitable system of occupational and technical training. This objective requirement must be met by capitalism and socialism as well but only socialism can meet it comprehensively and thoroughly.

Both socialism and capitalism were established on the basis of modern, heavy industrial production.

For a backward agricultural country with small-scale production to build a system of modern, heavy industrial production, it absolutely must carry out an industrial revolution. The industrial revolution, which is also called the technological revolution within industry, has the effect of bringing about deep changes in the entire social structure of a country. The appearance and widespread use of mechanized work tools causes society's productive forces to undergo unprecedented development.

In a backward agricultural system with small-scale production, the vast majority of labor is simple, manual labor. To use this labor force in support of industrialization, it is necessary to train it to become industrial, technical labor. The needs of industrialization for technical cadres and workers are very great and constantly rising.

While forced to train technical workers, capitalism has ruthlessly strengthened the class of industrial workers by supplementing it with more people who "dig their own graves." This is an internal contradiction of capitalism, one which leads to its destruction. However, as socialism trains more technical cadres and workers, the size and quality of the modern, industrial working class, the revolutionary vanguard force, and the foundation of socialist society, are increased. Therefore, this training is totally consistent with the nature of socialism.

Under capitalism, the training of technical workers and the development of industry help the capitalist class intensify its exploitation and impoverishment of farmers, widen the gulf between the cities and the countryside, and intensify the opposition between the cities and countryside, between industry and agriculture. Conversely, under socialism, the more the working class becomes the owner of the system of modern industrial technology, the better able it is to help the system of collective agriculture advance to modern, large-scale production and, on this basis, gradually eliminate the gap between the countryside and the cities, between agricultural labor and industrial labor. The mobilization of the labor force in the countryside to study a trade and technology in order to work in industry or in agriculture has been warmly responded to by the mass of cooperative members, particularly youths.

Due to class objectives and viewpoints, capitalism distinguishes between the strata of scientific and technical cadres and the corps of technical workers when it comes to their training and employment. The strata of scientific and technical cadres is comprised primarily of the children of the upper classes who have been trained and given all the benefits of education in order to become managers, scientists, and inventors who competently support the rule of the capitalist class. The corps of technical workers is primarily comprised of the children of working people who receive limited training and little education; as a result, they not only have to work for hire for their entire lives, but they are always threatened with being fired or unemployed because they cannot keep pace with technical improvements and changes. Therefore, under capitalism, the separation and class opposition between mental laborers and manual laborers are constantly increased.

Under socialism, the situation is completely different; there is no class opposition between cadres and workers and the vast majority of scientific-technical cadres as well as technical workers are from working families. The mode of training, which closely links theory to practice and coordinates working and studying, is designed to train the fully developed man. When they go to work, both cadres and workers are given incentive and the conditions needed to learn more in order to constantly improve themselves in every respect and achieve higher levels of development (skilled workers, technicians, engineers, scientific researchers, etc.). Under socialism, mental labor is coordinated with manual labor by expanding and popularizing occupational and technical education together with popularizing general education and strongly developing higher level and vocational education.

The training of technical workers under capitalism is of a private and spontaneous nature and not consistent with the constant development of heavy industrial production; therefore, it is inherently contradictory. However, the occupational and technical training of laborers under socialism is of a society-wide, self-conscious, and planned manner and is totally consistent with the law and revolutionary nature of heavy industrial production. This special characteristic controls the scale and rate of development and the quality of occupational and technical education in the socialist countries.

Whereas the capitalist countries have had to spend hundreds of years to achieve industrialization, the first socialist countries have achieved industrialization in only 25 to 30 years. This achievement has been due, to a large extent, to occupational and technical education. After the victory of the October Revolution and before it began its industrialization, the Soviet Union was virtually a backward agricultural country (the number of industrial workers comprised 8 percent of the total number of people of work age while the number of agricultural laborers comprised 80 percent). Yet, in only 35 years (in which dozens of years were lost to war and postwar reconstruction), the Soviet Union became a country with a modern industry, the percentage of industrial laborers rose from 8 percent (1927) to 35 percent (1964) of the total number of people of work age, the percentage of skilled workers and technical workers rose from 59.8 percent (1925) to 98.8 percent (1961) of the total number of workers, and the percentage of unskilled workers fell from 42 percent to 1.2 percent. This 1.2 percent was primarily comprised of people who were too old or unable, for some reason or another, to further their education or study a trade. Practically all workers are youths who have grown up under the new system and become technical workers or skilled workers. (See the following statistical chart):

Percentage of the total number of industrial laborers (the USSR)\*

The type of labor	1925	1950	1961
Skilled workers	18.5	49.6	64.6
Technical workers	41.3	47.9	34.2
Unskilled workers	40.2	2.5	1.2

\* Do-vo-ru-kin: Science, Production, and Labor. Moscow, 1965. (Data from the Institute of Educational Science, Hanoi, November 1972).

Obviously, the soviet government's effective establishment and strong development of occupational and technical education for the working people has been a decisive contribution to bringing about a rapid change in the percentage of technical and skilled workers in the work force of soviet society. In 1920, Lenin signed a decree which established basic principles for the compulsory occupational and technical education of each young worker. There are trade schools and classes next to all enterprises, worksites, state farms, etc. In general schools, students are given a general technical education and occupational counselling. In 1940, after making many improvements, the Soviet Union organized regular vocational schools under the sole management of the state. There are now nearly 5,000 of these schools in the Soviet Union with more than 1,200 in the countryside. During the years preceding World War II, the Soviet Union trained 2,350,000 technical workers. Between 1940 and 1965, it trained 15,600,000 technical workers.

Since the 1950's, the socialist countries have, in the face of the strong development of the scientific-technological revolution, given their attention to strengthening and improving their occupational and technical education in order to keep pace with the technical advances of the world. The general trend in the developed industrial countries is to rapidly automate production processes. Such technical advances very greatly control occupational and technical education because each advance raises different requirements concerning the deployment of the labor force within industrial production. The requirements of training skilled workers, technical cadres (engineers and technicians), and research cadres become higher and higher (see the following statistical chart and legend).

The Structure of Labor in the Various Stages of Technical Progress(percentage)\*

Structure	Technical stages								
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Unskilled	15	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technical workers	20	65	37	38	11	3	0	0	0
Skilled workers	60	20	53	45	60	55	40	21	0
Technicians	4	6.5	8	12.5	21	30	40	50	60
Engineers	1	1.5	2	4	7	10	17	25	34
Research cadres	0	0	0	0.5	1	2	3	4	6

Legend:

Stage 1-2: Manual

3: Multipurpose machines

4: Semi-automated machines

5: Automated production lines

6: Automated machines

7: Partially automated equipment

8: Automated control equipment

9: Automated equipment which records the special indices of the production process

10: Automated equipment with programming systems

11: Total automation

\* A-nec-han: Technology, Skills, and Education, Prague, 1965. (Data from the Institute of Educational Science, Hanoi, November 1972).

In order to prepare for new stages of technical progress, the socialist countries have, in conjunction with improving the overall quality and the occupational guidance of general education, given their attention to strengthening and further improving the system of general education and occupational and technical education to insure the popularization of comprehensive general education and occupational and technical education for youths (70-80 percent of 8th to 10th grade general school students enter trade training and technical schools); they have also given their attention to heightening the overall level of school in order to train very many skilled workers and technicians and create favorable conditions for every laborer to study and adapt to each stage of technical progress and the development of the socialist system. Organizationally, they have given their attention to strengthening the leadership of the party and state in this work. They have streamlined responsible agencies (training agencies and research institutes) under their councils of ministers (the Soviet Union has established a State Technical and Occupational Education Commission).

The most decisive factors in the establishment of a system of comprehensive and thorough occupational and technical education are the level of production (a somewhat developed system of modern industry) and the social system as well. Only socialism has a genuine system of occupational and technical education. If a country which builds socialism is a country which has a developed, modern industry it can make full use of material and technical conditions to develop and rapidly popularize the system of occupational and technical education and constantly heighten its important, decisive effect upon the whole of large-scale socialist production as is now being done in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, etc. If the country is a backward agricultural country, the dictatorship of the proletariat state can take the initiative and begin to build and gradually develop a system of occupational and technical education together with the system of general school education and higher and vocational education considering this an important factor, an indispensable premise for carrying out the technological revolution and industrialization and building a socialist country which has a modern industry, modern agriculture, and progressive culture, science, and technology.

To fulfill its function, the system of occupational and technical education must be a continuation of the system of general education and, together with the system of general education and the system of higher and vocational education form the complete educational system of the socialist system.

At present, North Vietnam is restoring and developing its economy, carrying out the central task of industrialization, and building the material and technical base of socialism. We are also beginning with a backward agricultural economy and small-scale, manual production.

To support socialist construction, our party has assigned the entire educational sector the task of "training the young generation to become laborers who own the country, have the spirit of socialist awareness, have a cultural and technical education, are in good health, and are fully developed people in order to build the new society..."(5) Our party and state have adopted a policy of "providing technical education in conjunction with cultural education; giving attention to the supplementary education of cadres, soldiers, workers, and farmers, strongly and steadily developing the systems of general and higher education, and expanding the system of professional education..."(6) Thus, our party and state have a high evaluation of occupational and technical education and consider it an important aspect of education in training new workers, fully developed people to build socialist society.

But, in reality, the correct educational and training line of the party is not being thoroughly or fully implemented. Whereas, in recent years, general education and higher and vocational education, although they are weak in several important areas, have been given attention and made stronger, more conventional, and more modern, occupational and technical education for working people has not been given attention. The training of technical workers is still very weak. Many of us fail to realize the importance and the position of occupational and technical training in the complete socialist system of education. In actuality, this system of education should include general education, occupational and technical education, and higher and vocational education. All three of these educational programs must directly support the target of training "fully developed people to build the new society" as required by the party. But, each educational program must fulfill this task within its own specific scope.

The function of general education is to teach children in the age group from kindergarten (3-4 years of age) through the completion of level II (15-16 years of age) or the completion of level III (17-18 years of age) general school to become youths who are politically aware, possess the basic virtues, have a general school level of cultural and technical knowledge, and possess the good health of growing youngsters in order to prepare them for the occupational and technical educational program and the higher and vocational education program.

The function of the occupational and technical educational program is to accept the majority of level II and level III general school graduates who are not going to college in order to train them to become technical laborers and skilled workers who are skilled in one trade, possess technical knowledge of a number of basic production sectors, have the level of political awareness and the basic qualities of the industrial working class, have a general cultural level, and have the health required by their assigned trade.



The function of the higher and vocational educational system is to accept outstanding graduates from level III general schools or technical schools for training as scientific cadres, engineers, doctors, and so forth, that is, training the new socialist intellectuals who have good political qualities, are skilled in their profession and can link theory with practice, and have the ability to organize the masses to carry out special work programs.

The three educational programs mentioned above are closely interrelated and each must be developed in a balanced, smooth manner. At the same time, all three of these programs must be developed in a balanced manner consistent with the rate and requirements of our country's economic development. Only by meeting these objective requirements can education and training competently support the socialist industrialization of the present and the large-scale socialist construction of the future.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx: "Capital," French version, Social Publishing House, Paris, 1948, Book I, Volume II, p 166.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume II, p 40.
5. "Congress Documents," published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Volume I, p 73.
6. Ibid.

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## Y YEN DISTRICT'S MANAGEMENT AND USE OF LAND

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 74-79, 89

[Investigation article by Nguyen The Y]

[Text] Y Yen is a principal rice-growing district in the 5th-month rice area of Nam Ha Province. Agricultural production cooperatives include 97.3 percent of the peasant households and account for 98.7 percent of the land in the district.

The land management sector of Y Yen District has formed a network organized from the district level to the base level, in which there are two land management cadres at the district level, 31 land management cadres at the township level, and nearly 100 land management cadres at the agricultural production cooperative level. During recent years the district's land management work has had the effect of directly serving the guidance of agricultural production and the strengthening of cooperative management. The land management sector there has created basic documents regarding land in order to facilitate keeping tabs on the continual changes in the land area, and has begun to enter into the improvement of land and the achievement of intensive cultivation.

However, Y Yen District's management and use of land has in the recent period had rather explicit deficiencies and weaknesses in all three spheres: the state sphere, the collective sphere, and the private sphere. Therefore, there have arisen many difficulties and complications which have directly influenced the consolidation of cooperatives and the promotion of agricultural production in the district.

Matters worthy of attention are that Y Yen's cultivated area has declined considerably during recent years, there have been many instances of very wasteful land utilization, and land belonging to the state and to agricultural production cooperatives has been seriously encroached upon. Therefore, the average per-capita cultivated area in the district declined from 1,320 square meters in 1960 to 1,008 square meters in 1972.

In examining the changes in the district's land area from 1960 to 1972 we see that the cultivated area declined by 2,696 hectares and the non-agricultural land increased by nearly 1,833 hectares. Therefore, the cultivated area there declined by an average of more than 225 hectares a year, which is equal to the cultivated area of a large agricultural cooperative. Townships in which there was a large decline in the cultivated area were Yen Bang, 201 hectares, a decline of 29 percent of its total cultivated area; Yen Binh, 145 hectares, a decline of 19 percent; and Yen Phuong, 75 hectares, a decline of 16.1 percent.

A major concern for Y Yen District and for many other districts is the necessity to determine what part of the lost cultivated land area had to be set aside for water conservancy projects and road development or for capital construction, and what part was land that was used wastefully or was taken over illegally. In the course of an analysis of 2,696 hectares of cultivated land lost in Y Yen District, it was found that 66 percent had been lost because of road-building and water conservancy projects; 25 percent had been lost because of excavations; 7 percent of the land had been used for capital construction; and 2 percent of the land had been lost because of the building of brick kilns, because of destruction by American bombs, etc. Therefore, the setting aside of some land for water conservancy projects and road-building, such as Y Yen did, was essential. But including both the area set aside for road-building and water conservancy and the area lost because of excavations caused by digging and embanking for water conservancy projects, that ratio accounted for more than 90 percent of the cultivated area that was lost. In comparison to the district's total cultivated land area, the cultivated area that was thereby lost amounted to 14 percent. That is unacceptable. At present there are nearly 75 hectares of excavated land and more than 30 hectares of abandoned land that must be studied in order to find a way to utilize them. The Co Dam major irrigation project is an entirely controllable irrigation and drainage project in Y Yen. But because the field projects have not yet been completed, or have been constructed sloppily, the effectiveness of the project has been limited and there has been damage to the fields. For example, because the canal segment flowing past the townships of Yen Khanh, Yen Loi and Yen Ninh is not assured by the field projects, there is much leakage, which creates waterlogging on dozens of hectares. The townships of Yen Hung, Yen Phu, and Yen Loi are townships which have excavated and embanked sloppily or have left field projects unfinished, which has also caused considerable waste of land.

A situation worthy of attention is that Y Yen District also lost cultivated land because of illegal occupation and granting. In the course of a sample investigation into the land that had been abandoned or taken over in the winter-spring season of 1970-1971, it was noted that there were varying degrees of improprieties in land utilization in all three spheres.

First of all, we must consider how the state organs utilized land. It may be said that most of the organs did not correctly observe the regulations and procedures of the state in requisitioning land. Frequently observed

situations were the taking over of cultivated land without authorization papers from the organs with jurisdiction, the taking over of much land when little was needed, and the taking over of more land than was needed and then using the excess land to increase production for "self-improvement," and there were even places which abandoned such land. During an investigation of 14 organs, enterprises, and schools around the district it was noted that most of those organs had taken more land than was necessary and that they had taken good land. Of the 16 hectares of land that had been requisitioned, only about 11 hectares were properly utilized for the objectives; three hectares had been used for increasing production for "self-improvement" and two hectares had been abandoned. The relevant organs acknowledged that they had taken too much land, had used land wastefully, and had not properly followed state regulations. Before the investigation, the district's tractor station had voluntarily returned .36 hectares to the cooperatives and 14 other organs had offered to return to the cooperatives three hectares of land they had taken over to increase production for "self-improvement."

According to statistical data of the district's land management element covering the period up to 1972, the state organs, enterprises, and warehouses had utilized nearly 80 hectares of land, but of that total the administrative committees of the province and the district had authorized only a little more than 10 hectares. The rest had been granted by the township administrative committees and the cooperative management boards. That situation should have been ended immediately after the investigation. But during 1972 and 1973 there were still 12 instances in which state organs violated regulations regarding land utilization, and the area involved was more than five hectares of cultivated land.

And what was improper about the utilization in the collective sphere? The over-all situation was that land belonging to agricultural production cooperatives was often taken over in a manner contrary to principles and the stipulations of the cooperative statutes, and at the same time not in correct accordance with the policies and procedures stipulated by the state.

In the course of a preliminary investigation at eight townships -- Yen Phu, Yen Tien, Yen Hong, Yen Binh, Yen Ninh, Yen Bang, and Yen Nhan -- it was revealed that a total of 23 hectares of land belonging to agricultural cooperatives had been taken over. Of that total, nearly 20 hectares had been taken over for private production, more than two hectares had been taken over for building houses, and nearly a hectare had been taken over to dig ponds which encroached on adjoining land.

The cultivated land of agricultural cooperatives is usually lost in the following ways:

Cooperative members and individual peasants take over cooperative land. This form is rather widespread, especially in cooperatives with much land planted in subsidiary food crops.

The granting of land, selling of land, and giving of land in a manner contrary to principles. Such things are done by the cooperative management boards, and there are instances in which secretaries of production units also give out cooperative land.

The concealing of land and the changing of land categories by claiming that it is infertile.

Allowing the "5 percent land" of cooperative members to exceed the stipulated level.

Not bringing all land into the cooperative, but finding ways to retain some land for private use by calling it "old-age support land," "ancestor worship land," etc.

Let us examine the situation of violations of the collective ownership system regarding the land in a cooperative -- the Dung Quyet cooperative in Yen Phu Township. In that cooperative one production unit allowed the land for individual peasants and the "5 percent land" to extend to 3,840 square meters, and set aside 1,848 square meters of cultivated land for creating a fund, and another production unit allowed "5 percent" land to extend to 400 square meters, then auctioned off 168 square meters in order to obtain 60 dong. The secretary of a production unit on his own volition granted additional "5 percent" land and divided up 1,344 square meters of additional land in order to make up for "rope and cable" money. Three production units in the cooperative sold 1,682 square meters of land and two production units cultivated for themselves, outside the plan, 5,280 square meters. The "5 percent" land set aside for cooperative families was extended to nearly 2.5 hectares.

When there was an investigation of all of Yen Phu Township there were uncovered 413 households (including 29 Party members, eight members of the township Party committee, and five cooperative Party branch committee members) had committed the following specific violations:

Encroaching on land, digging ponds which encroached on adjoining land, and encroaching on land by extending hedgerows, all of which amounted to 1.25 hectares.

Receiving excessive "5 percent land," amounting to 5.5 hectares.

When forming the cooperative, the cooperative members took for their private cultivation nearly three hectares.

The cooperative members and individual peasants used more than 13 hectares of public land.

The above phenomena, which are not isolated instances, prove that land management in the townships and in agricultural production cooperatives is still very lax, and that although the land areas taken over by each household and each person are small, when they are added together in a cooperative

or a township the cultivated areas lost are considerable. Furthermore, although violations of land management and utilization policies and systems of agricultural productives partly result from self-serving attitudes on the part of some cooperative members, a matter worthy of concern is that many people in the cooperative management boards, and even in the command committees of the cooperatives' production units, have on their own accord granted themselves the right to ignore state regulations and the stipulations in the statutes of agricultural production cooperatives regarding the utilization of cooperative land.

The utilization of land in the private sphere, consisting of the land of individual peasants and of land used privately by cooperative members, must also be closely managed. The land now being used by cooperative members for private use usually includes the following categories: land for gardens and houses; the "5 percent" land set aside for cooperative households; land lent for cultivation on a temporary basis by the cooperative; land that has been cleared by the members themselves; land that has not yet been brought into the cooperative, inherited land, etc. Let us review in turn the management of each of those categories of land.

With regard to garden and housing land, a relatively widespread form is that of cooperative members, on the basis of the old garden and housing land, finding ways to extend their hedgerows and encroach onto cooperative land. Therefore, garden land, which has always had many irrational aspects, becomes even more irrational because of excessive disparity: some households have only five square meters, while others have from five-to seven-tenths of a hectare. Some families have withdrawn from the cooperative and then have requested the cooperative to grant them garden land and "5 percent" land, so they have two or three garden plots. According to a sample survey of 123 households, who encroached on land to build houses and extended their hedgerows onto cooperative land, three hectares had been taken over. After the first and second cycles of agricultural cooperative management improvement, a number of cooperatives entered into the management of ponds and gardens, or included them in the "5 percent" land, but many cooperatives do not yet manage such land. Therefore, among the cooperative households, as well as among the cooperatives, there have arisen much suspicion and comparing.

With regard to the "5 percent" land set aside for cooperative members, nearly none of it has been set aside in correct accordance with regulations, but usually been set aside in excessive amounts. An investigation of eight townships showed that the land set aside did not amount to 5 percent, but to 6 or 7 percent, and some cooperatives in Yen Phu Township set aside more than 7 percent.

Cooperative land lent to cooperative members is land the cooperatives are not yet able to manage, or is land which the cooperatives, because they lack manpower, allow the cooperative members to borrow in order to grow vegetables and subsidiary food crops and annual crops, and turn over some of the income to the cooperatives. When a cooperative must recover that land, it must be

returned immediately. But in some places the cooperative has lent the land but has not taken it back, or the cooperative members have built houses on it or have planted perennial crops, so it is difficult to recover it.

Land cleared by the cooperative members themselves is also national public land or collective land. But because the government and the cooperatives have not yet managed it, the cooperative members or individual peasants clear the land on their own accord; then, after many seasons and many years, it becomes their private land. Although that category of land does not amount to much, it usually exists in cooperatives along rivers and along roads, where people clear and use land on their own.

Cooperative members' land which has been retained and not brought into the cooperative is concealed under many different names, such as "old-age support" land, "ancestral worship land," the private land of old parents outside the cooperative, etc. In Y Yen District the cultivated land still retained by cooperative members for private use amounts to more than 100 hectares.

In recapitulation, the above-mentioned negative phenomena in the management and use of land did not go unnoticed until the recent land survey. Such phenomena were uncovered and rectified during the campaign to implement Instruction No 15 and Circular No 22 of the Administrative Committee of Nam Ha Province and Resolution No 10 of the district Party organization, and especially after the investigation of abandoned and occupied land in 1970 and 1971. Matters worthy of attention are that although the investigation discovered irregularities in land management and use, the recovery of land that has been taken over is very difficult, the rate of rectification is very slow, and in a number of townships and cooperatives the situation of taking over and using land in a manner contrary to state policies is still taking place.

In 1972, immediately after the survey of land abandoned and taken over in 1970-1971, there still occurred in the district 103 instances of violations by cooperatives of stipulations of land management policies, which caused the loss of 30 hectares of cultivated land, and 615 instances of private individuals taking over land, which caused the loss of more than 20 hectares of cultivated land. That situation in part resulted from the fact that most cadres, from the district level to the cooperative level, have not yet firmly grasped the land management policies and regulations, and that the masses have also been only slightly exposed to, and have not carefully studied, those matters. Furthermore, it resulted from the fact that the Party committee echelons and the administrative committees from the district level to the township level, and the cooperative management boards, still lack a sense of responsibility toward managing and protecting land, while a number of cadres and Party members at the district, township, and cooperative levels violate management policies for their own benefit. Those are the main factors which have led to the situation of lax land management and which have caused the rectifying of instances of improper granting of land and the recovery of occupied land to be complicated and prolonged. One of the important reasons why the livelihood of some agricultural cooperatives has declined, they have internal confusion, and their cooperative members lack enthusiasm, is that

they do not manage land and the other collective property well, and have allowed some cadres and cooperative members to improperly use, or illegally occupy, cooperative land. Therefore, the Y Yen District Party committee has unanimously and positively implemented the policy of the Nam Ha provincial Party committee that the taking over of cooperative and state land must be ended by all means, and that that must be regarded as one of the requirements that must be definitively resolved in the present campaign to implement Instruction No 192 of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee Secretariat. In order to guide land management and use during the present campaign so that it achieves good results, the Y Yen District Party committee set forth the requirement that the Party committee echelons must be truly determined, the Party branches must thoroughly understand, cadres and Party members must be exemplary, and infractions must be resolutely corrected. And the slogan for carrying out the campaign is "study accompanied by action, inspection accompanied by correction, work from the Party branch outward to the mass cooperative members and from the Party committee echelons to ordinary Party members, use that method to activate the cooperative member masses to work together, and after the work is done have recapitulations and reinvestigations." According to a preliminary recapitulation at 19 township Party organizations, 155 Party members had taken over cooperative land. In Yen Quang Township, of 106 Party members 60 had committed errors in land utilization. Of 131 Party members in Yen Khang Township, 32 had taken over land, etc. And after an investigation of 19 township Party organizations, 134 comrades corrected their efforts and the occupied land was recovered and returned to the cooperatives in order to be used for collective production. Nearly all of the comrades in the Party committee echelons corrected their deficiencies. The attitude of self-criticism and of correcting errors on the part of cadres and Party members in the execution of land management policies had a real effect in stimulating the cooperative member masses to struggle to assist one another to return illegally occupied land to the cooperatives and the local governmental administrations.

Investigating and recovering improperly occupied or utilized land is not an easy struggle, so the comrades in Y Yen District clearly established the requirement of ideological activation, and the heightening of self-awareness and consciousness of collective mastery, among Party members and the broad cooperative member masses, while also advancing from voluntariness to compulsion in the return of land that was illegally occupied or improperly used. The problem posed for Y Yen District at the present time is to continue to develop the results of the campaigns and investigations in order to have good correction. Specifically, it is to positively do a good job of re-surveying and re-investigating all land of the district at the present time, while resolutely recovering the occupied land; to resolutely cease the granting of land to state organs which do not have sufficient documents and do not follow the procedures stipulated by the land policies; to closely manage and review the setting aside of land for building the material-technical bases of agricultural cooperatives and the townships' common service projects; and to end the granting of cultivated land so that it may be used as gardens. Land utilization has also been replanned, and that has been manifested in the district's guidance plan for the development of production during 1974 and 1975. The common direction is to go all-out to economize



on cultivated land to the highest degree and pay attention to retaining fertile land when building water conservancy projects and roads. With regard to excavated land, in general it should be transformed into places for raising fish and ducks. With regard to the places that can be filled in, specific norms should be assigned to each cooperative so that the land can quickly be brought into production. It is forbidden to use cultivated land to make bricks and tiles. The brick and tile kilns within the dikes will be moved to the river banks or to land not used for agriculture.

The Y Yen District Party committee clearly realized the importance and the necessity of strengthening and consolidating the land management element from the district level to the cooperative level, in order to cause land management to be of good quality. Previously, although there was a land management element in the district there were only two cadres. In the townships there was one person specializing in that subject, but most of those cadres were old and weak and had received little professional training, and there was no appropriate compensation systems and policies. Therefore, their enthusiasm for their work was limited. Furthermore, at the various echelons there was a lack of the necessary documents for comprehensively carrying out land management, such as land survey maps and the various kinds of journals, such as registry journals and land statistics, which in a number of cooperatives had been lost or were tattered and were not continually maintained. Therefore, when speaking of strengthening and consolidating the land management element it was necessary to resolve two problems: managerial cadres and documents for management. The comrades in Y Yen are going all-out to do a good job of resurveying and reinvestigating all land in order to, on that basis, create and reorganize documents from the district level to the cooperative level. With regard to managerial cadres, they are going all-out to strengthen them both numerically and qualitatively. With regard to the district level, only if there are from five to seven cadres can land management be grasped and guided comprehensively, i.e., be caused to be fully understood with regard to all three aspects: management of area, management of use, and management of fertility, in accordance with three contents -- laws, economics, and techniques.

The position and function of the district level having been affirmed as the echelon which directly guides agricultural production, represents the state, and reflects the benefit of the cooperative member masses, Y Yen District is concentrating on guiding the rectification of land management and utilization, in order to protect the cultivated area, protect the socialist ownership system regarding land, create conditions for consolidating the cooperatives, promote agricultural production, and implement the cooperative statutes.

Y Yen's deficiencies in land management and utilization, which have been discussed above, may be observed in many other districts. But a matter worthy of praise is that after realizing its errors the Party organization and people of Y Yen were determined to correct them, while also resolutely rectifying land management and utilization in the district and causing it to become of permanently good quality and be closely led by the Party committee

echelons and the local governmental administrations. The rectification of land management there must, of course, be done by the district itself, but there are also problems which must have the assistance of upper echelons. For example, land laws, systems and regulations regarding professional matters, models for journals, procedures for registering land transfers, etc., must be promulgated quickly. Land management must be based on plans for land utilization, and therefore the responsible organs must help the district level to quickly resolve those problems.

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## THE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES OF THE ECONOMY OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 74 pp 80-89

[Article by Nguyen Van Tho]

[Text] The economy of the capitalist world is passing along a very turbulent route. Inflation has developed to the greatest extent ever. There is no way of escape from the monetary crisis, which is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, at the end of 1973 the energy crisis arose, and many capitalist nations began to experience a new economic crisis. The contradictions among the imperialist nations and social contradictions within each country have become increasingly severe.

### Surplus Production Has Become Increasingly Serious

The crisis of 1969-1971 brought the economy of the capitalist world to a new period that is filled with difficulties: prolonged crisis and recession, slow and unstable recovery, development within a relatively brief period, and many profound contradictions.

From mid-1969 to the end of 1971 the economies of the capitalist countries were in the phase of the most prolonged crisis and recession of the post-World War II economic cycles. In America the economic crisis began in August 1969 and reached its peak in November 1970. Not until May 1972 -- 17 months later -- was the pre-crisis level restored. Industrial production in Japan began to decline and stagnate in August 1970; only in March 1972 did it gradually regain its developmental spurt. In West Germany, the industrial production index declined in June 1970 and from that point alternatively increased and declined until May 1972. In a period of 4 years, from 1969 to 1972, the economy of England practically stood still. Therefore, the crisis and recession set back America's production 33 months, Japan's production 18 months, West Germany's production 23 months, Italy's production 24 months, and England's production nearly 4 years. That economic

crisis caused the industrial production development rate of the capitalist world to decline during 1970 and 1971 until it was equal to only one-third of the normal rate of development. In order to escape from the situation of prolonged crisis and recession, and in order to increase competition, the capitalist corporations increased their investment, especially investment in renewing fixed capital. In 1973 alone total investments in the production of the capitalist nations increased by 10.8 percent over the previous year, with America's investment increasing 11.6 percent, Japan's 18.2 percent, West Germany's 11.5 percent, England's 7 percent, and Canada's and France's 6.9 percent. Therefore, the activity of industrial production again picked up. Another measure for increasing production of the capitalist nations was the promotion of exports. In 1972 the exports of the capitalist nations increased 17.5 percent over 1971, and in 1973 they increased 27.2 percent over 1972.

Therefore, the economies of the capitalist nations during 1972 and 1973 changed over to a phase of development. Industrial production increased rapidly, especially in 1973. But there was one thing that was different than in the past: development took place under very complicated conditions and severe contradictions. Although production activity was seething, the labor market was not tight. Unemployment continued at a high rate. Inflation increased by leaps and bounds. The eruption of the energy crisis shook the economic life of the capitalist countries in many ways. Due to the effects of inflation and the energy crisis, before long the phase of the development of production had to end. Since the end of 1973 the economies of the principal capitalist countries -- America, Japan, West Germany, and England -- have again fallen into a new crisis. During the recent economic cycle America's production development phase lasted only 20 months, Japan's 21 months, West Germany's 18 months, and England's more than a year. Therefore, in contrast to the previous economic cycle, the period of production development was shorter than the period of crisis and recession.

The above situation revealed the severe contradictions in the process of capitalist reproduction, especially the contradictions between production and consumption and between capital and labor. Serious surplus production in the capitalist countries was another signal that the coming days would be even more turbulent.

### **Inflation Increases as Rapidly as a Flying Horse**

An organic and dangerous disease in the economic life of the capitalist world is inflation. The rate of increase of the quantity of money thrown into circulation is higher than the rate of increase of the Gross National Product, and the disparity between the two rates steadily increases. During the 1951-1960 period the Gross National Products of the capitalist countries increased an average of 4.7 percent a year, but the volume of the money supply in circulation increased an average of 7.2 percent. During the 1966-1970 period the Gross National Products increased an average of 4.7 percent a year but the volume of the money supply increased 9.6 percent. Inflation

is still an organic disease of the capitalist economy, but during the present phase it has the characteristic of being bound to and accompanied by recession. That has caused the process of capitalist reproduction to become increasingly distorted and confused. During the past 25 years the capitalist world has never experienced such great inflation.

The volume of money put into circulation being greater than actual needs has caused the prices of goods to increase more and more. The cost of living in the capitalist world increased 3.8 percent in 1965 (over the previous year), in 1970 it increased 5.7 percent, and in 1973 it increased 9.1 percent. The cost of living in a number of capitalist countries increased at even higher rates.

As prices increase, the profits of the capitalists also increase, which encourages them to compete in investing in production in order to increase their profits, which leads the economy to a situation of "over-heating." On the contrary, high prices reduce the purchasing power of consumers and cause the people's lives to become increasingly more difficult. The contradiction between production and consumption becomes increasingly severe. Inflation increases more rapidly than salaries, which forces the working class and laboring people to resolutely struggle to demand salary increases to make up for the losses caused by inflation. That situation naturally causes inflation to undergo spiral development, which creates conditions for an economic crisis to rapidly occur. That is a flame which leads to a crisis of surplus production, social crisis, and fierce class struggle.

The present inflation is the inevitable product of the reactionary internal and external policies of state monopoly capitalism -- participating in an arms race, militarizing the economy, and economic expansion abroad -- which were intended to assure the stupendous profits of the monopoly capital cliques. It is also a consequence of the monopoly capital cliques' policy of increasing prices in order to have high profits. The governments of the capitalist countries have come forth with many measures to counter inflation, such as restricting credit, restricting salary increases, etc. Such measures are only malicious blows against the working class and the laboring people. Those measures cannot end inflation, but only cause the economic crisis to become more serious because they further reduce the purchasing power of the laboring people.

#### There Is as Yet No Escape From the Monetary Crisis

The monetary crisis in the capitalist world, which began with the devaluation of the English pound in November 1967, is still developing. Nearly all of the currencies of the capitalist countries have been drawn into that prolonged crisis. The principal currencies of the capitalist countries have been devalued or revalued upward. The monetary market has been continually upset. The price of gold has risen to the highest level ever.

The crisis has fundamentally disintegrated the capitalist monetary system (the gold exchange standard system), of which the American dollar is the

backbone. The material base and prestige of the dollar have been seriously weakened. America's gold reserves have been greatly reduced, while the number of dollars America owes abroad has increased greatly. In actuality, America is no longer capable of keeping the pledges it made in the treaty which established a world monetary fund at Bretton Woods in 1944 (that treaty was the legal basis for the establishment of the supreme position of the American dollar).

At the end of 1973 America officially and completely abrogated its responsibility to exchange dollars for gold, which also served to officially announce the death of the hegemony of the American dollar. The capitalist monetary system, which was based on gold and the dollar, was disintegrated.

The collapse of the capitalist monetary system is at present also manifested in the fact that the system of a fixed exchange rate between the various currencies has been shattered, and the fact that the capitalist countries had to put into effect a system of floating exchange rates (which change freely, according to supply and demand on the monetary market).

During recent years the capitalist countries have concentrated all efforts on strengthening a system of stable monetary exchange rates, in order to create favorable conditions for the clearing of accounts between nations and the development of international trade. But all of those efforts have been defeated. After the American dollar was devalued for the second time, in February 1973, the world monetary market of the capitalist nations was even more seriously upset. Against that background, the Japanese yen, the Canadian dollar, the Swiss franc, and the English pound were in turn allowed to float. Following that, the European Common Market countries collectively floated their currencies. Thus on 19 March 1973 the old fixed exchange rate system was replaced by a system of floating exchange rates. The monetary market became even more unstable. The monetary crisis became even more profound. The capitalist nations adopted a system of floating exchange rates and abandoned the old monetary system, but those nations are still confused and have not yet established a new monetary system that is more suitable and stable; the present basis of the exchange rate relationships between the various currencies is not strong. The relative strength of the principal currencies continually changes: at times some become temporarily stronger and some other currencies become weaker, and at times the reverse is true. The monetary war among the capitalist countries is waged fiercely and undergoes complicated changes; at times the Western European countries are predominant, but at times predominance temporarily belongs to America, etc. That competition is also a reason why the monetary market of the capitalist countries is unstable.

Faced with such an increasingly serious monetary crisis, the capitalist countries all realize the necessity to create a new monetary system that is more appropriate to the changed conditions of today; but because of the profound contradictions regarding benefits among the capitalist countries, principally between America and the Western European countries and Japan, those nations have still not yet attained the desired results. The capitalist

nations compete with one another with regard to three major matters: the selection of a common unit for reserves and for clearing international accounts; the determining of the role of gold in reserves and the clearing of international accounts; and the resolution of the problem of the dollars floating around the world.

If the capitalist countries are forced to reach an agreement to form a new monetary system, the monetary market will not for that reason be stabilized over a long period; if there is stability it will be only temporary, and after that a new monetary crisis will arise not over gold, but over paper gold (the "S.D.R.'s," or Special Drawing Rights); the relative strength of the capitalist nations will continue to change, and the economies of those nations will continue to have many serious deficiencies in the coming period.

### The Social Crisis Becomes Increasingly Profound

The great difficulties in the economies of the capitalist countries have directly exerted adverse influences on the lives of the working class and the laboring people, and have caused class contradictions and social contradictions to become increasingly fierce.

Unemployment has become serious in the capitalist countries. Even in 1973, a year in which the production of those countries increased rapidly, the unemployment index continued at a high level: a total of 9.3 million people were completely unemployed, of which America accounted for 4.3 million, and that does not include the semi-employed and the completely unemployed who are not registered because they know that they will be unable to find new jobs. Since the end of 1973 the economic development of the capitalist world has even declined in a number of nations. Therefore, the number of people unemployed has increased. For example, from November 1973 to March 1974 there were an additional 525,000 people unemployed and the unemployment rate increased from 4.6 percent (in October 1973) to 5 percent (in April 1974). In West Germany, in May 1974 the number of people unemployed, which was more than double the rate of the previous year, increased to 457,000 (and that does not include 160,000 semi-employed people).

The workers with jobs have also encountered many difficulties. In the technological race and the profit race, the capitalist companies are employing women and youths and are paying them low wages, in order to replace male workers. For example, the proportion of women among the total number of employed workers increased from 32 percent in 1955 to 40 percent in 1973. The wage of a female worker in 1955 amounted to only 65.9 percent of the wage of a male worker, but in 1973 it amounted to only 59 percent. In 1973, of the new workers recruited in America 55 percent were women and 22.5 percent were youths.

At a time when employment is becoming increasingly serious, prolonged inflation is creating additional difficulties for the lives of the working class and laboring people. If inflation is a scheme of the state monopoly

capitalists to surreptitiously plunder, price increases are a plot to openly exploit the consuming masses. According to calculations of American economists, in 1974 Americans will have to spend 150 dollars to buy goods and services valued at 100 dollars in 1967.

Prices have increased, and at the same time the governments of the capitalist nations have restricted wage increases, which has caused the workers' real wages to decline. According to published data of the capitalist nations, real wages in America in March 1974 were 4.7 percent less than in March 1973; in Japan they were 8.5 percent less, and in England they were 4.6 percent less.

According to the evaluation of the "American National Consumer Credit Fund" (which is of course far from the truth), the number of American families encountering serious financial difficulties doubled in 1973. The American sociologists have had to admit that "Recently, the number of divorces and suicides have reached record levels because of economic and financial difficulties."

At the same time, the profits of the capitalist companies have increased rapidly. The profits of the American companies in 1973 increased 34 percent after taxes over the previous year and amounted to 74 billion dollars.

The above situation could not but create an increasingly higher wave of anger within the working class and the laboring people. Their work slowdowns and strikes in demand of increased wages and improved living and working conditions have continued to take place on an increasingly larger scale. In the capitalist countries, in 1950 the number of people participating in strikes was 26 million. That figure increased in 1960 to nearly 58 million and in 1970 to 70 million. Recently the social crisis has been one of the reasons why the premiers of a number of capitalist countries have had to "resign" and a number of cabinets have collapsed.

### The Energy Crisis Fiercely Arises

The higher capitalism has developed, the more serious the scarcity of energy and raw materials has become and the greater has been the dependency of the capitalist countries on external sources of supply for energy and raw materials. In October 1973, in order to counter the American imperialists' giving aid to the Israeli reactionaries to wage a war of aggression in the Middle East, the Arab nations decided to forbid the shipment of oil to America and Holland, reduce the production of oil, and at the same time increase the posted price of oil four-fold. That has shaken many spheres of the economic life of the capitalist world. And the international oil companies have had an opportunity to "fish in troubled waters" by limiting the supply, and increasing the selling price, of oil. Those acts have caused the oil crisis in the capitalist countries to become even more serious.

The oil crisis has caused inflation to become even more serious. The increase of oil prices stimulated price increases of many raw materials. For example, in 1973 the price of copper increased 88 percent, tin 268 percent, lead 77



percent, zinc 68 percent, silver 60 percent, natural rubber 150 percent, wool 25 percent, cocoa 24 percent, cotton 130 percent, sugar 43 percent, coffee 24 percent, etc. The increases in raw materials prices also caused prices in the capitalist countries to increase greatly in 1973. The energy crisis also struck heavy blows against many important production sectors and created many imbalances in the capitalist economies.

The oil crisis was the inevitable result of the imperialists' policy of plundering and exploiting the oil resources of the developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and of the monopoly capital cliques' pursuit of profits, which creates imbalances in the energy balance.

In addition to controlling the sources of energy raw materials and exploiting lowly paid workers, the capitalist countries also, by exchanges of unequal value, buy cheaply and sell dearly the exported raw materials of the developing countries and cause heavy losses for those countries: in 1950 the exports of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries accounted for one-third of the total value of exports of the capitalist world, but in 1972 they had declined to less than one-fifth. The Gross National Products of the capitalist countries increased from 874 billion dollars in 1954 to 2,093 billion dollars in 1970. During the same period, the Gross National Products of the developing countries only increased from 153 billion dollars to 406 billion dollars.

The contradictions between the developing countries and the capitalist countries is becoming increasingly severe. That has been the basic factor for the increasingly strong development of the movement for national independence and national liberation. That movement is today changing over to a new state -- the struggle to win economic independence, after political independence has been essentially won. Therefore, during recent years the movement for national independence and national liberation in the above-mentioned countries has had new contents: the regaining of sovereignty over the natural resources of the nation and the demanding of price increases for their export goods (especially raw materials).

The matter of obtaining oil in particular and raw materials in general will continue to be a great difficulty for the capitalist countries. The struggle of the people of the countries of the Third World against the old colonialism and the new colonialism to win both political and economic independence is certain to become even more fierce and win many even greater victories.

Because of "inflation accompanied by recession," the economic situation of the capitalist countries in 1974 is died a dark color.

During the first 6 months of 1974 the Gross National Products (calculated in fixed prices) in comparison to the same period last year declined 1.3 percent in America, 3.5 percent in Japan, 2.6 percent in England, etc. According to the observations of many Western observers, in 1974 the Gross National Products of the capitalist countries will increase only about 1.5-2 percent, one-third of the 1973 rate.

In America, industrial production began to decline in December 1973, and by August 1974 had declined 2 percent since November 1973. During the first 6 months of 1974 industrial production in Japan declined by 1.7 percent in comparison to the same period of the previous year. In England, the decline was 3 percent, and production in West Germany and France also stagnated.

The principal industrial sectors, such as housing construction, automobile production, petrochemicals, metal refining, textiles, ready-made clothing, etc., experienced crises. Also during the first 6 months of 1974, the housing construction industry in America declined by 30.6 percent, West Germany's production declined by 20 percent, England's production declined by 9 percent, etc.

The crisis has caused the profits of the monopoly capital cliques in the capitalist countries to begin to decline, and the number of bankrupt enterprises, companies, and banks to greatly increase. During the first 6 months of 1974 the number of bankrupt enterprises increased 7 percent in America and 122.9 percent in Japan. Those bankruptcies even included powerful companies and banks. For example, on 8 October 1974 the "Franklin National Bank" in New York officially declared bankruptcy. The assets of that bank had in the past been nearly 4 billion dollars. When it announced its bankruptcy that bank owed nearly 3 billion dollars. In West Germany, four banks recently became bankrupt, including the Helmstedt Bank, which belonged to the very large category. Three hundred enterprises also were bankrupt in West Germany.

The utilization rate of factory capacity in the capitalist countries has declined and the number of unemployed has increased universally.

While production has stagnated and has declined, the prices of goods have continually increased. During the first 6 months of 1974 the cost of living increased 12 percent in America, 16.7 percent in England, 16 percent in Italy, 24 percent in Japan, 13 percent in France, 7.5 percent in West Germany, etc.

Another major difficulty now being encountered in the capitalist countries is a serious deterioration in the balance of trade. During the first 5 months of 1974 America's exports only equalled imports, and for the year as a whole may be heavily in deficit. During the same period Japan's trade suffered a deficit of 8 billion dollars, a deficit 4.3 times greater than the deficit for all of 1973. England's trade suffered a deficit of 2.62 billion pounds sterling during the first six months of 1974, a deficit greater than the entire deficit for 1973. During the first 4 months of 1974 the deficit in France's balance of trade increased to 5.2 billion francs, a two-fold increase over the same period last year, and Italy's deficit increased to 2.766 billion lira, a three-fold increase.

Faced with an increasingly tense situation of "inflation accompanied by recession," many figures in the governments of the capitalist countries have had to express their pessimism and worry over the "bleak future" of their economies.

The above situation shows that in the process of change of the economies of the capitalist countries, in addition to the old diseases many new diseases have arisen, which have caused the old diseases, which were serious, to become even more serious. The old diseases and the new diseases are eating into the economic body of the capitalist world and are causing it to become increasingly weaker.

The above situation also clearly indicates that the present crisis in the capitalist countries is not exclusively economic, but is comprehensive in nature, that it has occurred not in only some countries, but throughout the capitalist world, that it is not short-term but prolonged, that it is becoming increasingly serious, and that there are no policies that can save the situation.

Why does that situation exist? First of all, it is the inevitable result of the development of state monopoly capitalism, of the direct intervention of the monopoly capital state in economic life. Internally, it feverishly strikes at the rights of the working class and laboring people in order to assure maximum profits for the monopoly capital cliques. Externally, it implements the policies of the arms race and of the expansion of economic power abroad, in order to compete for markets and raw materials and intensify the exploitation of the people of the countries of the Third World. Those reactionary policies cannot but cause the contradictions in the process of capitalist reproduction to become increasingly profound.

Second, the weakening of imperialist America, the chief imperialist, has affected the entire capitalist system. After World War II, America became the economic, trade, and monetary center of the capitalist world. With that powerful position America, through its anti-revolutionary world strategy, has controlled many aspects of the economic activity of the capitalist world. But because the effects of the development laws have not been uniform, the comparative strength of the capitalist countries has increasingly changed, to the disadvantage of America. Especially, after the years during which the American imperialists were bogged down and heavily defeated in their war of aggression in Vietnam and Indochina, America's position in the world in general and in the capitalist world in particular declined even more seriously. These new, dangerous symptoms in the economy of the capitalist world began in America, and America became the point from which they spread to other capitalist countries. America's decline has also created conditions for the West European capitalist countries and Japan to compete fiercely with America, not only in order to further their own interests but also with the hope of overthrowing American hegemony and changing the old economic order, in which America occupied the controlling position.

Third, the socialist countries, which have grown in strength economically and with regard to national defense, are manifesting the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. Especially, the movement for national independence and national liberation of the Asian, African, and Latin American nations to win political independence and the right of

mastery over their natural resources, and to eliminate the special rights and benefits of the imperialists, is becoming increasingly widespread and seething, and the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people to demand the right to livelihood, democracy, and social progress is developing even with the lair of the imperialist countries. Those three great revolutionary currents not only exert a great influence on the economies, finances, and currencies of the capitalist world, but also cause the world social crisis to become increasingly fierce.

In that general crisis, the economy of the capitalist world will have to cope with many even more serious difficulties. That is the inevitable development tendency and reflects the decline of capitalism in the present historical stage.

#### Figures and Facts

The economic development rates of the capitalist countries have clearly declined: from 1966 to 1970 the Gross National Products increased by an average of 12 percent a year, but from 1971 to 1973 that rate declined to 6.2 percent. West Germany's rate declined from 2.35 to 2.05 percent. France's rate declined from 5.9 percent to 5.7 percent, and Italy's rate declined from 6.8 percent to 3.5 percent.

The rate of industrial production development of the capitalist countries in previous years (percentage compared with previous year):

	Average 1961-1970	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973*
Capitalist World	5.6	7.0	7.4	2.7	2.0	7.0	8.9
Developed Capitalist Countries	5.6	6.9	7.4	2.6	2.0	7.0	9.0
America	4.5	4.2	4.5	-3.0	1.0	7.9	8.9
Japan	13.9	17.3	16.8	16.2	2.7	7.2	17.0
West Germany	5.6	12.3	12.5	6.3	1.6	3.4	7.0
France	5.7	4.2	12.7	5.6	5.3	7.4	8.0
England	2.6	6.2	2.5	.8	.8	2.6	7.0
Italy	6.8	6.3	3.7	6.4	-2.7	2.7	8.0

\* Preliminary figures

(Excerpted from the French newspaper LE MONDE, 25 December 1973.)

The cost of living in the capitalist countries has continually increased during recent years (average annual percentage rate of increase):

	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1973	1973
America	2.2	2.75	4.5	6.3
Japan	4.6	5.65	7.75	11.6
West Germany	-	2.90	5.75	7.0
England	4.1	4.00	8.60	9.0
France	-	3.60	4.30	9.1
Italy	3.1	3.95	7.10	11.0
Canada	2.25	2.75	5.00	8.1

(From the Soviet journal ECONOMICS, April 1974)

The struggle of the working class and laboring people of the capitalist countries against the monopoly capital cliques to demand the right to livelihood, democracy, and social progress is more and more gaining the participation of the various categories of people; during the 1956-1960 period an average of 7.78 million people a year participated in strikes, but from 1961 to 1965 that figure increased to 10.4 million. From 1966 to 1969 it increased to 15.2 million, and in 1969 it reached 20.6 million. In 1973 the number of people participating in strikes was very great, especially in America, England, Italy, France, Japan, Denmark, etc., including large strikes by workers of automobile producing companies in America and France, by workers of machine-building companies in Italy, strikes by state civil servants and coal miners in England and of students in America, and especially the traditional "spring" struggle of the workers and people of Japan, in which millions of people participate.

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