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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 1677

HOC TAP, No. 3, 1975



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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi

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Summary

In the 16 years since its revolution animal husbandry and poultry raising in Cuba have achieved remarkable advances, through the application of industrial methods. Key factors in this success are the establishment of central breeding stations, organization of a national fodder production and processing system, quadrupling the number of tractors employed in feed production, construction of the La Sasa Reservoir and construction of two nitrogenous fertilizer plants.

THE ELECTION OF THE 5TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] The 6th of April 1975 will be a holiday for our people; for the fifth time since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 30 years ago, the people throughout North Vietnam will elect their delegates to the National Assembly.

The National Assembly election is a necessary and very important activity in implementing the people's right of ownership of the state.

Article 4 of our country's Constitution states: "All of the power in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam belongs to the people. The people exercise their power through the National Assembly and the People's Councils on the various echelons which are elected by the people and responsible to them."

Because it is elected by the people of the entire country, the National Assembly is the central symbol of the power of the people, it is the highest agency of power of the state; at the same time, the National Assembly symbolizes the bloc of solidarity of all the people based on the alliance of workers and farmers.

The National Assembly elects people and high level agencies to manage the state: the president and vice president, the chairman, vice chairmen, and other members of the National Assembly Standing Committee, the premier and other members of the Council of Ministers, the president of the People's Supreme Court, and the chief procurator of the People's Supreme Procuratorate. The Council of Ministers, the People's Supreme Court, and the People's Supreme Procuratorate are responsible and report on their work to the National Assembly; when the National Assembly is not in session, they are responsible and report on their work to the National Assembly Standing Committee.

The National Assembly determines the matters of greatest importance in the areas of the country's politics, economics, culture, and society, such as the state plan and the state budget, amnesty, war and peace, etc.

The National Assembly is the only agency with the power to make laws. On the basis of the lines and policies of the party, the National Assembly issues laws and transforms the will of the working class and people into the laws of the state. These laws, which are binding upon the whole of society, have the effect of guiding the activities of state agencies and citizens and providing a foundation upon which the people can control the activities of state agencies and citizens.

The National Assembly supervises the work of the Council of Ministers, the People's Supreme Court, the People's Supreme Procuratorate, and the entire state administration. This is a very important power, one designed to insure the full and correct implementation of the policies of the party and the laws of the National Assembly. To exercise this power, the National Assembly relies upon the activities of its various commissions, the various National Assembly delegations, and the National Assemblymen in localities as well as upon the active participation of the people in the

management of the state and society. The National Assembly employs many forms to exercise its supervisory power, such as listening to and discussing reports by the government, the People's Supreme Court, and the People's Supreme Procuratorate; government hearings, investigations, proposals, etc.

While carrying out their important tasks, National Assemblymen must correctly reflect the will of the people and be responsible to them. National Assemblymen must have a close relationship with the electorate, listen to the opinions of the electorate, report on their work to the electorate, and can be impeached by the electorate if they show themselves to be unworthy.

Thus, our country's Constitution, by defining the position, function, and tasks of the National Assembly, also succinctly, fully, and clearly defines the right of our people to own the state and the method for insuring the successful implementation of this right.

Our party has always been very concerned with heightening the role played by the National Assembly throughout the various stages of our country's revolution. President Ho, the great leader of our people, the founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, always guided the activities of the National Assembly and participated in all of its work.

In the new stage of development of our country's revolution, the National Assembly has an even more important role.

The resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum states:

"The revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam has won great victories but our people still face a long, difficult, and complex struggle to win independence and democracy in South Vietnam and peacefully reunify the country. Socialist construction in North Vietnam is facing us with many important tasks and making it necessary to overcome many difficulties. This situation demands that our entire party and all of our people resolutely and determinedly struggle to complete their glorious tasks."

The resolution also emphasizes:

"It is necessary to strengthen the leadership of the party and the power of the state and heighten the socialist collective ownership role of the masses."

"The party, the state, and the masses are the three important elements of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the party; these elements are closely interrelated and each has its own function but all of their activities must be closely coordinated and oriented in one direction; bringing about a change in the situation and successfully carrying out the large and pressing economic tasks of the 2 years 1974 and 1975 as well as fundamental and long range tasks. The line of the party must become the specific line and policy of the state, it must permeate the masses, it must be transformed into the revolutionary will and revolutionary movement of the masses."

As the agency which directly represents the people and has the task of maintaining a close and constant relationship with the people and as the highest agency of power of the state led by the party, the National Assembly is highly able to help increase the overall strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, build and develop the socialist system of democracy, transform the lines and policies of the party into the laws of the state and the will of the masses, actively help present the programs and policies of the party and laws of the state to the masses, supervise the agencies of the state in their implementation of these policies and laws, and increase the effectiveness of the state's management. For this reason, the Party Central Committee has, in the new stage of the revolution, clearly stated in its various resolutions the need to further expand the role of the National Assembly in economic construction and management, social management, and supervising the administrative agencies on the various echelons. The Party Central Committee has also emphasized the need to create favorable conditions for National Assemblymen to meet with the electorate to hear the opinions of the people and, at the same time, explain policies and laws to the electorate.

To strongly expand the role of the National Assembly, it is necessary to conduct a good National Assembly election.

The National Assembly election is a broad political campaign; all party committee echelons, all governmental echelons, and each citizen must clearly understand its importance and make every effort to achieve the greatest possible success.

Our people, through truly democratic discussions held with a high level of political enlightenment and under the clear-sighted leadership of the party, will elect a National Assembly which fully symbolizes the character of our state as a people's democratic state led by the working class which is based on the alliance of workers and farmers and elect a National Assembly which fully reflects the situation and requirements of the revolution in this new stage.

The National Assembly must be comprised of assemblymen who are workers, collective farmers, and socialist intellectuals, the people who make up the basic elements of North Vietnamese society; however, the leadership role of the working class must be clearly reflected by electing an appropriate percentage of worker delegates; at the same time, it is necessary to elect delegates of the other elements of the Vietnamese Fatherland Front, such as delegates from the various democratic parties, the mass organizations, the people's armed forces, the various tribes and religions, democratic personalities, etc. On the other hand, the National Assembly must be comprised of an appropriate percentage of scientific and technical cadres, cadres from South Vietnam who are working in North Vietnam, overseas compatriots who have returned home to work, party members and people outside the party, delegates on the central and local levels, experienced delegates and new delegates, etc.

On the basis of understanding the composition of the National Assembly, our people will elect to the National Assembly people who are truly deserving of representing them.

The National Assembly election involves the selection of outstanding people from the various strata, circles, sectors, and echelons who have the ability to play a role in the National Assembly and are prepared to win new victories in the immediate future.

In weighing the selection of candidates, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of Political Bureau resolution number 225 concerning cadre activities. In our system, it is the common desire that those people who are elected to the National Assembly be qualified to complete the task of the National Assemblymen with the support of everyone, be he a worker, farmer, intellectual, or member of some other element of society. These people must be absolutely loyal to the socialist system, obey the Constitution and laws, wholeheartedly serve the people, voluntarily and actively carry out the task of a National Assemblyman, have the ability to complete his task, and have the confidence of the masses as well as the ability to inspire them to enthusiastically implement each policy of the party and law of the state.

In our truly democratic system, the election of delegates to the National Assembly is not limited to the framework of simply casting ballots. Preparing for the election is an extremely important process and election preparations must become the work of the masses beginning immediately. The Vietnamese Fatherland Front and the mass organizations which form the various elements of the front play a particularly important role in mobilizing, educating, and organizing the masses to participate in the election.

The various party committee echelons must lead this work and insure that it is carried out very well.

It is necessary to respect the right of citizens to elect and be candidates. Democracy must prevail when selecting candidates and introducing them to the electorate. Concerned organizations must listen to the opinions of the masses, uphold the people's right of collective ownership, create favorable conditions for the masses to truly participate in the selection and nomination of people they trust as candidates, and combat each manifestation of bossism, pressure, and form for form's sake. On the other hand, it is necessary on this occasion to further heighten the awareness of the electorate and candidates of the relationship which exists between the electorate and National Assemblymen and, in particular, necessary to clearly define the responsibility of candidates and the winners of elections towards the electorate from the time of the election to the completion of their terms as National Assemblymen.

A special characteristic of our election system is that the people are in charge of the election. Therefore, we must be fully concerned with heightening the role

of the various organizations which take charge of the election on behalf of the people, such as the election councils, election boards, and election teams. These organizations must not only perform the administrative work related to the election but must also concern themselves with insuring that the election is carried out in a truly democratic manner which conforms with the law. These organizations must carry out all of their work in a very serious manner. The various party committee echelons and governmental echelons must wholeheartedly help these organizations complete their task.

One very important requirement is that the election must fully comply with the law. Our election law is designed to insure democratic elections. It is necessary to fully comply with the law in everything from the establishment and posting of candidate name lists and the establishment of organizations to take charge of the election to the casting of ballots, the organization of ballot boxes, the counting of ballots, the examination of citizen complaints, the publicizing of election results, etc. According to our election law, anyone who employs deception, bribery, or pressure to impede the right of citizens to elect and be candidates can be imprisoned for as many as 2 years; any member of an election organization who resorts to cheating to falsify election results can be imprisoned for as many as 3 years. Each citizen has the right to start legal proceedings when there has been a violation of the law and no one can impede or retaliate against him.

The day of the election must truly be a joyous, happy holiday for the people of the entire country. However, there must be order and a serious attitude at polling places. It is necessary to be vigilant and guard against acts of sabotage.

The election process carried out by the people consists of jobs which are very practical and of a very profound political nature. Therefore, they have a great educational effect.

We still remember the words of advice spoken by President Ho in a speech he delivered to the Hanoi electorate on 24 April 1960 when preparations were being made for the 2nd National Assembly election:

"The 2nd National Assembly must be a National Assembly which builds socialism in North Vietnam and lays a strong foundation for the struggle to reunify the country. Therefore, the National Assembly must be comprised of delegates who are truly worthy, delegates who wholeheartedly serve the fatherland, the people, and socialism."

"The selection of such delegates is both the right and obligation of the voter."

"The ballot has a very noble value: it is a symbol that the people truly own the state. Our people struggled long and heroically and made great sacrifices in the revolution and the war of resistance to win and keep the right to use this ballot. Therefore, for the sake of the common good of the fatherland as well as the personal interests of each individual, voters must fulfill their task of reminding and encouraging one another to cast a ballot on the day of the general election."

Through the election, our people will heighten their concept and role of socialist collective ownership, gain a clearer understanding of the obligations and rights of the citizen, and become more familiar with their state system and the revolutionary task awaiting them. The election of National Assembly delegates will further strengthen the political and spiritual unanimity of our people who are united around their glorious party, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the party of the revered President Ho.

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MAKING THE PARTY POLITICALLY, IDEOLOGICALLY, AND ORGANIZATIONALLY STRONG

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 7-16

[Article by Le Duc Binh]

[Text] By generalizing the rich experiences gained in party development, our Party Central Committee set forth the guidelines for party development, the first of which is: "the party must be strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally. Ideological activities and organizational activities must be closely coordinated to insure that political lines and tasks are correctly established, thoroughly understood, and successfully carried out." This is the most inclusive guideline because it sets forth the basic elements of the party development process and defines the position and relationship of the various aspects of party development. This guideline directs all party development activities.

Party development is a process involving political development, ideological development, and organizational development. Each of these elements occupies an indispensable position; at the same time, they are closely interrelated to create the overall strength of the party.

Party development must begin with establishing the political platform of the party on the basis of correctly coordinating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of the revolution in our country. It is not only necessary to set forth the general line for an entire stage of the revolution, but also necessary, on the basis of the development of the situation, to correctly establish the specific line and specific political task of each period and change the targets and guidelines of the struggle in a prompt and accurate manner. It is not only necessary to set forth the general line for the entire country, but also necessary to transform this general line into specific stages of development, plans, programs, and guidelines consistent with the realities of life within each sector, locality, and unit in order to guide the daily activities of party organizations, cadres, party members, and the masses. This is the essence of party political development.

A correct political line is the origin of the party's great strength, the root of each victory of the revolution. Only by setting forth a correct political line can the party strengthen its leadership role, unite and win the support of the masses, develop strong revolutionary forces, and constantly move the revolution forward.

A correct political line is a prerequisite to improving the quality of ideological and organizational activities. The political line is living Marxism-Leninism, it is the most basic viewpoint and stand of the entire party; it is the foundation for teaching party members and cadres, for establishing a unanimity of thought and action throughout the party, for pointing out and effectively struggling against erroneous ideological trends. The political line is the soul of the organization, the goal and the reason for existence of the party organization. It is one of the fundamental conditions for establishing and strengthening the discipline of the party. It determines the requirements of and guidelines for the selection of party members, determines the specific demands as regards the qualities and abilities of cadres, and determines the distribution of party member forces and the deployment of cadres to insure the implementation of this line. It also determines the form of

organization, the function, and the structure of the apparatus and the relationship and mode of operation of the apparatus which are best suited to the demands of this line. And, it is only in the process of struggling to meet the requirements of the political line and political task that the party is consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

The political line and political task determine the ideological and organizational tasks. If the political task is incorrect, ideological and organizational activities will also be incorrect; if the political task is unclear, ideological and organizational activities will fall into a state of confusion, groping, and lack of direction.

Looking back over the process of the development of our party, we can be very proud that our party has always had a correct and creative political line concerning both the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and in the fields of both domestic and foreign policy. This line set forth by our party is an independent line thanks to our party's understanding of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, its attention to summarizing the rich experiences of our people in their revolutionary struggle, and its selective use of the experiences of fraternal parties. This line is imbued with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the boundless loyalty of the party to the liberation of the nation and the ideals of communism and reflects the determined revolutionary fighting will of the party. This line accurately reflects the objective laws of the revolution and the development of our country on the basis of a scientific analysis of the comparison of forces between us and the enemy and the specific conditions in and outside the country during each period of time.

A correct, independent, and creative political line is the most significant strong-point, the basic source of strength of our party. As a result of having a correct line and knowing how to closely link ideological and organizational development with this political line, our party has enjoyed abundant vitality, continued to exist, and constantly grown despite the extremely difficult and hard circumstances of the struggle and despite having to resist the cruel acts of the enemy. Even at the turning points of the revolution and in the face of complex changes in the domestic and world situation, the entire party has always maintained a unanimity of will and action and maintained its discipline and the people have always united tightly around the party and struggled with confidence even though they had to face very great challenges and make very great sacrifices. As a result of being educated by this line and tempered in the struggle to implement it, the majority of our cadres and party members have a firm revolutionary stand, are politically mature, and have constantly heightened their qualities and abilities. As a result of having a correct line, our party won active assistance from the international communist and worker movement and the forces of national independence, democracy, and progress in the world.

The same can be seen in each of our party organizations. Strong party organizations are party organizations which thoroughly understand the line of the party and, in a strong revolutionary-offensive spirit, correctly establish their political task in a manner consistent with the specific conditions of their sector and locality; they are party organizations which know how to orient ideological and organizational activities toward the successful performance of this political task.

Our party has always struggled against the deviations and misconceptions of a number of comrades concerning party development activities who consider them purely party activities, only jobs involving ideological education, reorganization, the recruiting of new party members, etc. In some sectors, localities, and units, the movement has been weak for a long time and even stagnated at times, there is a lack of internal unity and unanimity, discipline is loose, and so forth even though many educational drives have been conducted at these places, their organizations have been streamlined, key cadres have been replaced many times, and some party members have even been disciplined; however, the situation has not changed. The primary reason for this is generally a political task which is not clearly defined and guidelines which are incorrect as a result of which the education of party members is not thorough, the evaluation of cadres and party members is not specific and is even incorrect at times, and the replacement of key cadres and the disciplining of party members are inaccurate in some cases. These places must clearly define their political task, adopt correct guidelines, enact suitable measures to carry out this political task, and then, on this basis, conduct ideological educational activities, restructure their organization, and efficiently deploy party members and cadres; only in this way can the performance of their political task be accelerated, can the mass movement have true momentum, and can party organizations and party chapters be strengthened.

In keeping with the Marxism-Leninist principles of party development and on the basis of the experience it has gained as well as the requirements of this new stage of the revolution, our party is now giving very much attention to the political development of the party in order to insure that its political line is always correct and creative. At present, our country's revolution is in a very important stage of the struggle to solve the problem of "who defeats whom" which exists between national independence and neo-colonialism, between socialism and capitalism. Our people are continuing to carry out their two very weighty strategic tasks. In terms of their content and scale, their form and methods, both of the strategic tasks have been and are presenting many new problems. The revolution of our people is taking place under international circumstances which afford us basic advantages; however, there are more than a few difficulties and complications.

In the face of these requirements, our party has made an effort to supplement and improve its lines and policies to be consistent with constantly developing objective realities and find accurate and prompt answers to the new, complex problems arising in the development of the revolution in North and South Vietnam. The party has given its attention to further concretizing its line in a number of areas and expressing it as the programs, guidelines, and activity plans of each sector and different field of activity and to strengthening the effectiveness of lines and policies as regards guiding the activities of the various party and state organizations and cadres, party members, and the masses.

To improve the quality of the development of lines and policies, we have been making every effort to gain a deeper understanding of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, learn the essence of the intelligence of the age, intensify our efforts to summarize the rich experiences of our people in the revolutionary struggle, and better organize research and investigations of the actual situation of our country.

The line of the party is the product of the collective intelligence and must receive the positive and creative input of the entire party. We should not think that party political development is only the work of the central committee, only the work of the upper level leadership agency. Each sector and each echelon, including basic party organizations, has the task of developing its party organization politically, that is, it must thoroughly understand and concretize the political line of the party in specific political programs, guidelines, and tasks suited to the actual conditions in its locality.

In the rich realities of their activities, each party organization, each cadre, and each party member is responsible for keeping abreast of the situation, reporting the thoughts, aspirations, experiences, and suggestions of the masses to the party, and proposing opinions to the upper echelon concerning the supplementation, improvement, and even the revision of party programs and policies. In reality, we have already seen that some of the jobs performed on the basic level and some of the experiences gained there, particularly at advanced model units, have been highly creative in both theory and practice, helped the Party Central Committee establish an important program or guideline for directing the entire country, and opened the prospects for a broad movement.

Each of our party organizations, cadres, and party members can and must be concerned with problems relating to the line of the party, try to heighten their command of theory and delve into everyday realities, take the time to study and think, and overcome each attitude of being passive and relying on others. The responsibility of each party organization and each of us is to always be conscious of maintaining and protecting the political line of the party while promptly uncovering and resolutely struggling against tendencies which are contrary to the party's line.

The party has not only set forth a correct political line and political task, but it also makes every effort to make itself strong both ideologically and organizationally.

Party ideological development insures that the entire party has the firm working class stand and viewpoints, is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and thoroughly understands the political line of the party and it improves the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members; it is a struggle against each expression of opportunism and each influence of non-proletarian thinking. In view of the fact that the party is leading the government, it has, in conjunction with intensifying activities designed to teach the theory of Marxism-Leninism and lines and policies, given very much attention to improving the cultural, scientific, and

technical knowledge as well as the organizational and managerial ability of cadres and party members.

Party organizational development involves building the system, structure, and apparatus of the party from the party committee echelon to the various departments and party factions, from the basic to the central level in keeping with the principles of the organization and life of the party; it involves building the corps of party members and the corps of cadres by means of selecting, training, distributing, and employing these forces; it involves clearly establishing the function and the relationship of the party to the state and the other organizations within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As we know, the political line and task, on the one hand, affect ideological and organizational development. On the other hand, ideological and organizational development have a reciprocal effect upon the establishment and implementation of the party's political line and political task.

To begin with, a correct ideology and a strong organization insure that the party can set forth an accurate political line and political task. Because, taking the firm working class stand and fully understanding the theory and methods of Marxism-Leninism are one of the most important prerequisites to establishing the political line and task. Because, only in a strong organization which has a corps of well qualified party members and cadres, beginning with strong leadership cadres, and which maintains the principles of democratic centralism is it possible to establish the correct political line and task.

After the adoption of the correct political line and task, ideological and organizational activities insure that this line and this task are successfully carried out. Through ideological activities, the line of the Party Central Committee is thoroughly and correctly understood by the entire party, by each person, and by each organization from top to bottom and they voluntarily act in accordance with the party's line. Through large-scale organizational activities, the contents of which are both vast and complex encompassing everything from the establishment and utilization of organizations and the deployment of cadres to the inspection of implementation, and so forth, this understanding is transformed into action and the political line and task of the party ultimately become reality.

In the process of guaranteeing the successful implementation of the political line and task, ideological and organizational activities are closely linked to each other and affect each other; each activity is indispensable and neither can be given light attention.

The party is the vanguard unit of the working class. Cadres and party members are voluntary revolutionary fighters. The more their awareness of political theory and their revolutionary feelings are heightened, the more active and creative they become in the revolution. Only with a strong ideology can an organization be strong; the reason why the organizational unity and the action unity of communists are strengthened and the discipline of the communist party is strict is because they are based on the ideological unanimity and the high political and ideological awareness of cadres and party members. As people who subscribe to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, we understand that the existence of society determines social consciousness; at the same time, we recognize the dynamic nature of ideology and highly evaluate the great strength progressive thinking has in reforming society and reforming the world. In the process of building the new style proletarian party, Lenin raised theory and ideology to a very high position. We all know his very famous argument that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." "Only a party guided by a vanguard theory can fulfill the role of a vanguard soldier." (1)

Our party has always given very much attention to developing itself ideologically and it has achieved excellent successes. Our party has constantly used Marxism-Leninism and its own lines and policies to teach cadres and party members; as a result, the theoretical and political qualifications of cadres and party members have been improved, there is strong unanimity concerning the lines of the party, and the majority of cadres and party members have shown themselves to be politically strong in the face of complex changes in the domestic and world situations and during times of advantages as well as difficulties. The cultural, scientific, technical, and economic management knowledge of cadres and party members has been increased as a result of which their ability to carry out revolutionary tasks has been increased. The party

has concerned itself with improving the revolutionary qualities, stimulating patriotism and socialist consciousness, and heightening the revolutionary heroism of our cadres, party members, and people.

At present, in view of the fact that the party is in political power and carrying out the two strategic tasks, party ideological development is of even greater importance and faces very weighty requirements. Socialism cannot be born in a spontaneous manner; it can only be the result of the creative actions of millions of people under the leadership of the party and the result of correctly understanding and consciously applying the objective laws of socialist construction. The party has given its attention to intensifying the research of theory, summarizing experiences, and drawing conclusions to serve as a foundation for the establishment of its line and helping develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism; at the same time, it harshly criticizes the maladies of subjectivism, empiricism, a disdain for theory, an administrative workstyle which is divorced from reality, and so forth. Present ideological activities are designed to equip the entire party with new thinking, new knowledge, and new abilities so that party members are worthy of being the vanguard warriors of the working class. In the face of the present weighty political task, our cadres and party members can only bravely struggle to overcome each difficulty and have the knowledge and creativity to deal with each complex situation and successfully complete each task assigned by the party when they are inspired by ardent revolutionary feelings and are guided by correct, scientific concepts and viewpoints. If they lack this knowledge and these revolutionary feelings and if they simply rely upon organizational and mandatory measures, cadres and party members will be passive, negative people, act in a blind manner, and, naturally, they will be unable to complete any task. Because the party is in political power, the cultivation of revolutionary qualities is even more pressing because it is necessary to stop the threat of degeneration and decay on the part of a number of cadres and party members and determinedly struggle against each manifestation of bureaucratic bossism, arbitrariness, special rights and privileges, and remoteness from the masses.

Our party has been and is criticizing and overcoming the tendency to give light attention to the role played by ideology and ideological activities. There are more than a few cadres and party members who do not clearly understand the role of revolutionary theory, who do little to improve their command of theory, and who do not realize that learning new revolutionary knowledge every hour of every day is an indispensable need in the political and spiritual life of the communist party member. When carrying out their political task, some places fail to make correct, closely coordinated use of educational, economic, and administrative measures, fail to give attention to man's consciousness, and give light attention to educational and persuasive measures. At many places, the quality of ideological activities is low, education is superficial, the spirit of militancy is low, and efforts to criticize and correct erroneous viewpoints and thought are neither effective nor timely.

On the other hand, our party also criticizes and combats the idealist concept of the role of ideology and the tendency to magnify the effect of ideological activities. Some comrades consider ideological education and motivational activities all-purpose activities which can accomplish anything; they do not examine the effect of ideology under certain material conditions and they explain every success and feat as the result of ideology or primarily the result of ideology. In their performance of political tasks, a number of places go no further than providing abstract ideological leadership and conducting a general mobilization campaign; they do not closely coordinate ideological activities with organizational activities. In reality, this tendency has also lessened the role and effectiveness of ideology and ideological activities.

Together with developing itself ideologically, our party has also given very much attention to developing itself organizationally. The organization represents the material existence of the party. Before it was founded, there were ideological threads linking Marxists together but it was not until they were bound together organizationally through a uniform code of by-laws that the party was actually formed.

Ideology guides the organization and actions. On the other hand, ideology can only be developed and exist within a suitable organization. Only in a wholesome, revolutionary organization can a progressive, revolutionary ideology develop and be strengthened. And, it is through organization that revolutionary ideology is transformed into revolutionary action and yields practical results.

For a proletarian party, a revolutionary militant party which must carry out very weighty and difficult tasks, organizational activities are of very vital significance. A basic characteristic which differentiates the new style proletarian party of Lenin from the reformist opportunist parties is a tight organization. With regard to the strength of organization, Lenin said: "Give me an organization of revolutionaries and we will overturn all of Russia!"(2) He also said: "In the struggle to win political power, the proletariat has no better weapon than organization."(3)

Lenin not only actively struggled against opportunism in matters relating to the platform and strategy, but he also determinedly exposed opportunism in organizational matters. The opportunists argued that the platform and strategy were matters of content and, therefore, important and that organization was a matter of form and, therefore, only played a secondary role and need not be given much attention by the party. In his work "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," Lenin criticized this argument of the opportunists. It is true that the platform and strategy are matters of foremost importance but this never reduces the vital significance of organization in the victory of the revolution of the proletariat. The platform and strategy cannot be considered so important that they offer an excuse for justifying a weak organization or concealing steps backward toward an ungoverned state.

The mistake of political opportunism generally leads to organizational opportunism and, conversely, organizational mistakes can lead to mistakes in the political line. This is what happened at the 2nd Internationale about which Lenin had the following to say: "The 2nd Internationale (1889-1914) was an international organization of the proletarian movement which developed in breadth; this made it impossible to avoid a temporary lowering of its revolutionary level and brought about the temporary growth of opportunism, an opportunism which, in the end, forced this Internationale into disgraceful bankruptcy."(4)

After the proletariat seizes political power and begins leading socialist construction, organizational activities assume new and very important functions. The organizational task becomes one of managing the country, managing the economy, and organizing life in accordance with the principles of socialism. Lenin pointed out that after political power is won "the most vital and difficult area of the socialist revolution is the organizational task."(5)

This task is even more vital and difficult for our party which must now lead socialist construction under the conditions of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production without passing through the capitalist stage of development. Le Duan said: "In the advance from small-scale production, we are not only faced with two paths of economic development -- capitalism or socialism -- but also two methods of organization: small industry or large-scale industry. Choosing the wrong path will upset the guidelines for the development of the revolution and lead to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, if we choose the wrong management organization and use the concepts and methods of the small-scale producer with which we have been familiar for generations in the organization of management, socialism will be an impossibility because true socialism can only be achieved with a system of large-scale mechanized production."(6) Therefore, the victory of socialist construction obviously depends, to a large extent, upon the organizational ability of our party, the leadership nucleus of the dictatorship of the proletariat system.

Our party has always given much attention to developing itself organizationally and fully adhered to the organizational principles of Lenin's new style proletarian party. Both organizationally and in its internal activities, our party properly maintains the system of democratic centralism and determinedly struggles against each manifestation of arbitrary, bureaucratic centralism while combating everything which reflects a lack of discipline, decentralization, and a lack of organization. The party always concerns itself with maintaining its bloc of solidarity and unanimity and vigorously struggles against each act of division, factionalism, localism, envy of another's position, doing just enough to get by, or unprincipled struggle. In the selection of new party members, our party maintains rigid standards, employs correct methods of selection, gives its attention to qualifications, and combats the tendency to place heavy emphasis upon quantity. The party advocates the expulsion from its ranks of those elements who have degenerated and lost their good qualities as well as people who do not meet party member qualifications. In its cadre activities, the party has correct guidelines for selection and correct standards designed to build a corps of cadres who are absolutely loyal to the revolution of the working class and nation and have the ability to successfully

carry out the political task of the party. The party is concerned with constantly increasing the fighting strength and improving the leadership and organizational ability of the various party organizations and the corps of cadres and party members.

In the new stage of the revolution, our party is giving even more attention to insuring that each party organization and each cadre and party member has a clear understanding of the importance of organizational activities in order to overcome the practices of only providing general, superficial leadership and being satisfied with general programs and guidelines but not delving deeply into organizational activities, not investigating or researching the situation, and not developing specific measures and plans or closely inspecting and supervising work.

Organizational activities must comply with and support the requirements of the political task. These activities must always be responsive to and promptly change to be consistent with each stage of development of the political task. Our party criticizes and combats each tendency to consider party organizational development activities a purely professional matter and to allow them to not keep pace with the requirements of the political task and not support the successful performance of the political task as best possible.

The organizational activities conducted when the party is in political power differ from those conducted when it operated secretly and those conducted during the socialist revolution differ from those conducted during the national democratic revolution. Naturally, the fundamental organizational principles of the proletarian party do not change; however, it is not possible to automatically or simply apply the organizational forms and measures of one period in another period. To meet the requirements of the political task of the new stage, the organizational activities of the party have been and are resolving countless new and complex problems.

After the working class and laboring people won political power, the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat was formed and the party, the leadership nucleus of this system, had to establish correct relationships with the state and the various mass organizations; these relationships have had to be concretized within each sector and on each different echelon. In the past, there was only a small number of party chapters (rural party chapters and enterprise party chapters) whose main function was to organize and mobilize the masses for the political struggle; today, we have many different types of basic party organizations; only when the function of each type basic party organization and its relationship to the government and mass organizations at each installation are scientifically and accurately defined is it possible to accelerate the political task at these places. The party's corps of cadres has much experience and knowledge in the national democratic revolutionary struggle but it lacks knowledge of economic management and state management; rapidly organizing efforts to increase the overall knowledge of the party's corps of cadres is a major and pressing problem at this time. Party member standards must now be concretized to be consistent with the fact that the party is leading the government and carrying out the two strategic tasks. In the preceding stage, the party had to guard against the infiltration of its ranks by spies, A.B. / the punctuation marks and letters, A.B. appear here in the original text; they have no apparent meaning and possible represent a printing error /; now, it must guard against political opponents and, at the same time, adopt effective measures for preventing opportunists from infiltrating the party in search of prestige or personal status. Our party gained much experience in maintaining the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members under the difficult conditions of the period of clandestine activities and armed struggle; however, now that the party is in political power, it is necessary to develop effective ways to prevent and correct the loss of qualities and degeneration of a number of cadres, party members, etc.

It is truly a mistake to consider it inevitable for organizational activities to be backward and slow compared to the requirements of the political task. The present political task is a vast and complex one which has raised very many new organizational problems and made it impossible for organizational activities at some point in time not to be somewhat backward in comparison to the rapid development of the political task. However, it would be a shortcoming to allow this situation to continue. We can and must raise our level of organizational leadership to the point where it corresponds to our level of political leadership and bring about a stronger change in organizational activities in order to better meet each requirement of the political task including making active preparations to meet the requirements of the political task in the future.

In order for organizational activities to be closely linked to and successfully support the political task, it is most important that each echelon, sector, and unit rely upon the line of the party to correctly and specifically determine its political task by not only determining general programs and guidelines, but also specific stages of development, plans, and measures. Without this foundation, organizational activities cannot avoid becoming disoriented (naturally, we cannot be perfectionists; in a number of these areas of the political task, we must proceed with organization and implementation and then gradually make the political task more specific). On the basis of this foundation, organizational activities must keep abreast of the political task, involve efforts to gain an understanding of the contents of and each requirement set forth by the political task, and keep abreast of each change in the process of the performance of the political task so that suitable forms and methods of organization can be promptly established when necessary. The key is unifying the political leadership and the organizational leadership of the various party committee echelons; the person who sets forth the political task must also be the person who controls organizational activities (and ideological activities) as this is a sure way to guarantee that organizational activities are responsive and fully meet each requirement of the political task.

Gaining a full understanding of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, fully understanding the guidelines of party development, and making the party stronger politically, ideologically, and organizationally are the most important guarantees that the party can fulfill its historic mission in the new stage of the revolution and, as President Ho advised in his will, "be worthy of being the leader and truly loyal servant of the people."

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "On Party Development," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 7, 8, and 9.
2. Ibid., p 20.
3. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 7, p 481.
4. Lenin: "On Party Development,"... p 74.
5. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 2, Part 2, p 182.
6. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Liberty, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 132.

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A DISCUSSION OF REVOLUTIONARY FEELINGS AND REVOLUTIONARY KNOWLEDGE

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 17-26

[Article by Vu Khieu]

[Text] Feelings and Knowledge in Our Actions

Revolutionary feelings and revolutionary knowledge are the two most important conditions for carrying out a revolution. They are conditions about which Le Duan has frequently spoken.

Concerning revolutionary feelings, Le Duan wrote: "Of these two conditions, revolutionary feelings are the most important foundation because only when a person has full revolutionary feelings is he determined to study and increase his revolutionary knowledge." (1) This is very true, no matter how rich a person's knowledge might be, it does not lead to revolutionary actions if revolutionary feelings do not serve as the foundation. Without revolutionary feelings, an intelligent person, regardless of how learned he might be, is "indifferent" about the destiny of the nation. Without revolutionary feelings, a person who recognizes what is right does not have the bravery to protect it, criticize wrongs, overcome each difficulty, and move forward. Without revolutionary feelings, a person's intellect, no matter how sharp it might be, will, sooner or later, become dull under the influence of erroneous feelings.

Recognizing this strength that feelings have, our party has enhanced the nation's traditional feelings as highly as possible. These feelings include a fervent love of the fatherland and the people, pride in the honor and dignity of man, and deep hatred of countryrobbers and traitors! These feelings are the origin and foundation of the unyielding, indomitable will displayed by generation after generation, the motive of people who die for the country's salvation, and the spirit of being ready to jump into the fire, step on the tips of swords, and sacrifice one's youth and happiness for the common cause.

With the birth of the working class, the class which is growing up with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, the strength of these feelings of our nation was multiplied many times. Over the past 45 years, our cadres and party members and the revolutionary people of our country have, under the leadership and education of our party, been tempered in the great fight for independence, liberty, and socialism, the most noble ideals of the working class and our nation. Millions of hearts beat as one in happiness and anger, joy and sorrow, love and hate, enthusiasm, etc. The fires of the revolution burned away thoughts of selfishness and feelings of jealousy. Every person realizes that his happiness lies in the common happiness of the nation, the victory of the fatherland, the happiness of his compatriots. These revolutionary feelings are expressed every day in the lifestyle of cadres and party members, the lifestyle of "being concerned ahead of time and happy afterwards, being thrifty, and being honest" as taught by President Ho.

Under the leadership of the party, our revolutionary feelings have become deeper and more noble with each passing day. Our patriotism blends with proletarian internationalism, is closely linked to the love of socialism, and is oriented toward the brilliant future of the fatherland and mankind. These revolutionary

feelings have been transformed into unshakeable confidence in the line of the party and been expressed in true acts of revolutionary heroism.

However, revolutionary feelings do not develop naturally. They are the result of the process of the constant training of the revolutionary. Le Duan said: "If we see that we are not filled with revolutionary feelings it is because we have not fully trained ourselves." (2)

This training is not like the self-improvement and character development of the religion and ethics of feudalism. It involves the continuous reform and improvement of oneself in the fires of the mass struggle under the light of revolutionary knowledge. Therefore, revolutionary knowledge plays a decisive role in cultivating, guiding, and enhancing revolutionary feelings. This role of revolutionary knowledge has been defined by Le Duan as follows: "Revolutionary knowledge helps fully strengthen revolutionary feelings. If we only have revolutionary feelings but do not clearly see the goals of the revolution and do not achieve results in our revolutionary activities, these revolutionary feelings will not increase and might even decrease." (3)

Throughout the 80 years under the system of French colonialism, our people continuously waged a tenacious and unyielding fight. However, there were unavoidable times during the movement when some people became discouraged and somewhat less determined because they did not understand the laws of history and could not see the targets of the struggle or effective measures to take. Temporary setbacks caused them to vacillate, become pessimistic, and abandon the revolution.

The birth of our party 45 years ago was the greatest turning point in the history of Vietnam because it marked the coordination of the highest revolutionary knowledge of mankind, Marxism-Leninism, with the strong revolutionary feelings of the working class and people of Vietnam. The great victory won by our party and people over the past 45 years is a victory of this revolutionary knowledge in our country. By creatively applying this revolutionary knowledge to the circumstances of Vietnamese society, our party set forth correct lines, policies, and strategies and has guided the implementation of these lines, policies, and strategies.

Clearly aware of the dialectical relationship between feelings and knowledge, our party has constantly trained cadres and party members in both combat and classes. For this reason, each drive to carry out a revolutionary task is a drive to heighten the feelings and knowledge of cadres and party members. On the basis of patriotism, the love of socialism, and hatred of the enemy, our cadres and party members easily understand the lines and policies of the party and become strong and creative in their activities. Conversely, by comprehending the guidelines of the revolution and foreseeing the great prospects for the common cause, our cadres and party members become more enthusiastic, their willpower and confidence grow, and they are ready to overcome each difficulty and meet each challenge.

It is in such a process of training that our party has trained a corps of cadres who "are neither arrogant in victory nor discouraged in defeat," cadres who are brave and resourceful and ready to complete each task regardless of whether they encounter favorable or difficult conditions and regardless of whether they are in combat fighting the enemy or in peaceful labor building the country.

The New Stage of the Revolution and the New Demands of Feelings and Knowledge

We have entered a new stage of the revolution, one which offers bright prospects and involves great difficulties. Our people must carry out two very important and interrelated strategic tasks: completing the national democratic revolution in South Vietnam and building socialism in North Vietnam at a time when the international situation is undergoing complex change and the enemy of the nation, the United States and the puppets, are still very obstinate and crafty.

We are building socialism in North Vietnam under the conditions of a backward agricultural economy which has been ravaged by two very violent wars of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists and peace has not truly been restored in South Vietnam. Under these circumstances, new problems arise for which we cannot find ready answers. Our party must spend much time and effort thinking and is continuing to set forth guidelines based on the realities of our country which are best suited to the laws of development of society. To lead its forces into the new stage of the revolution, our party must not only thoroughly understand and creatively apply the principles of scientific socialism, but it must also reorganize its corps and

insure that everyone is fully prepared in terms of both feelings and understanding.

The socialist revolution is a thorough revolution in each field of activity. It demands a basic change in the whole of economic, political, ideological, and cultural life. It demands that everyone make an effort to make himself equal to the historic task. It demands stronger feelings, deeper intelligence, and heightened qualities on the part of the new man in his role as an owner who is conscious of the destiny of all of society and his own destiny.

Under the leadership of the party, our people have made independence, liberty, and socialism their *raison d'être* and devoted their full energy, intelligence, and talent to the struggle for the common cause. These great feelings have continued to be heightened in the new stage of the revolution.

In the socialist revolution and socialist construction in North Vietnam in particular, many new requirements have been raised concerning cultivating the revolutionary feelings and deepening the revolutionary knowledge of our cadres, party members, and people. In the past, we fought because we wanted to free ourselves from the misery of a life of oppression and exploitation; today, our actions are inspired and guided by a desire for the most brilliant future possible. In the past, we struggled to liberate the country and break the chains binding all the people. Today, in addition to this, we are working in a selfless manner for the prosperity of the country and the happiness and total development of everyone. This grand ambition is raising our feelings to a new level. Only with this ambition can we set aside each ordinary feeling, defeat each temptation of life, and overcome the desire to rest and take it easy, the psychology of enjoyment, the petty ties of family and personal happiness, and so forth.

Whereas in the struggle to win political power or liberate the country, our people's extremely brave spirit was displayed in the life or death fight against the enemy, in socialist construction, it assumes new forms in the movement to work, produce, and practice economy. It is a silent but vigorous, enduring type of bravery, an enthusiasm lasting for months and years, an unshakeable determination in the face of each challenge be it in a remote region, in strenuous and tense jobs, in a life filled with difficulties and shortages, and so forth. In the war, revolutionary qualities were displayed in the spirit of determination to attack outposts, destroy camps, and destroy the enemy; however, in socialist construction, revolutionary qualities of no less value are being displayed by people who are thinking and working hard in order to contribute a kilogram of paddy, an ounce of iron, a meter of cloth, and so forth to the country.

Over the past 45 years, our people, under the leadership of the party, have fought with a soul aglow with revolutionary ideals and with a deep understanding of the target of their fight, each stage of development of the movement, and their own specific responsibility. In the new stage, this self-consciousness is being raised to a new level.

Socialism represents the highest development of man's initiative in understanding and applying objective laws for the purpose of reforming the old society and building the new. It is a period in which the party constantly heightens its leadership role and increases the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and the right of socialist collective ownership of the people.

Socialism is the greatest period of mass change "from the kingdom of the inevitable to the kingdom of freedom." This change is both the result of and the prerequisite for the victory of socialism. Marxism-Leninism in the form of the system of ideology of all the people is the scientific basis of each of the thoughts and actions of man. The cultural achievements of mankind have been returned to the masses, thereby putting great creativity into the construction of the country and the organization of life. By understanding the laws of history, determining the targets and guidelines of the revolution, and employing specialized techniques and the most efficient measures possible in their everyday lives, our people are learning more of the very best revolutionary knowledge with each passing day and, on this basis, they are heightening their revolutionary fervor, strengthening their confidence, and meeting the requirements of history.

Putting a Stop to Each Mistaken Attitude and Endeavoring To Achieve the Most Beautiful of Revolutionary Feelings.

Our undertaking is ushering in a new period of revolutionary heroism. The working class and people of Vietnam are recording new achievements, they are excited over

the future, and they are confident in the party and themselves. Yet, at the same time, there are some people who do not see the noble goal of the revolution and have not determined their responsibility or combat position in this new stage. They believe that the tense and difficult days have past and that socialist construction will not be difficult; therefore, they are preparing to rest and enjoy themselves. They do not understand that building a socialist economy in an agriculturally backward country is an extremely difficult task and that it is difficult to avoid confusion and mistakes on the part of our cadres during the initial stage. Therefore, they are pessimistic in the face of certain negative phenomena which are very ordinary and even inevitable after a war.

Long ago, Lenin talked about the petty bourgeois origins of this negativism. He wrote: "In a country such as Russia, the great strength of spontaneous petty bourgeoisie influence and the ruination, impoverishment, disease, famine, extreme misery, and difficulties of the people, that is, the inevitable aftereffects of the war, created a particularly evident vacillation in the emotional state of the petty bourgeoisie and semi-proletarian masses." (4)

The circumstances of our country today are not the same as Russia's circumstances in the past. However, these words of Lenin are still of value as a universal law for countries with small-scale production which have experienced a war. The correct leadership of our party enabled our people to avoid the famine, disease, and impoverishment which occurred in Russia in the past. But, the aftereffects of the war are very great and they have caused very many difficulties which must be overcome. For many years, the party's policy very greatly limited the spontaneous power of the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie in our country possesses a revolutionary spirit and through the education of the party it has gained an increasingly correct understanding of the situation. However, in a country in which small-scale production has dominated economic life for several thousand years, we cannot sweep away the thoughts and feelings which are inherent in small-scale production all at once. For this reason, petty bourgeoisie vacillations are hard to avoid if our cadres and people do not constantly train and struggle with themselves.

If he is not strict with himself and does not struggle to improve himself, the petty bourgeoisie will surely become the victim of ordinary thoughts and petty feelings and gradually lose the good qualities of the revolutionary. At a time when virtually all of the people are concerned with the noble ideals of our party, the future of the nation, and the fate of mankind, some people are only worried about their position, their salary, and their benefit standards. At a time when virtually everyone is struggling to protect the principles of the party, the laws of the state, and the interests of the people, some people only pursue personal plans for their families, their wives and children, and their own pleasure. The acts of jealousy and factionalism of a number of people are also remote from revolutionary feelings. Their idle time is not devoted to studying and increasing their knowledge, rather, they waste it in an ordinary manner.

This psychological state and way of life is fertile ground for the growth of bourgeois thinking. To attack socialism, the bourgeoisie generally propagandizes liberalism and bourgeois humanism, resists the dictatorship of the proletariat, distorts the people's democracy, infiltrates our lives with the system of bourgeois ideology, and so forth. Under the leadership of the party, our cadres and people have always promptly smashed these "psychological warfare" actions of the enemy.

However, in the face of revolutionary changes and complex changes in the situation, a number of people who lack vigilance have adopted the liberalism of the bourgeoisie and endorsed the counter-propaganda arguments of the enemy. Due to their bourgeois democratic viewpoint, petty bourgeoisie easily fall into anarchism and, at times, have not agreed with the measures established by the state to force everyone to obey the socialist system of law, punish those who steal public property and disrupt public order, suppress reactionaries and smash each act of sabotage of the imperialists and their lackeys, etc. Without training in the proper stand and viewpoint, the petty bourgeoisie easily adopts bourgeois humanism and this leads them to be contemptuous of the class struggle and deny the role of revolutionary force and the revolutionary war. When not inspired by wholesome feelings and correct concepts, they cannot differentiate between right and wrong, good and evil, the beautiful and the ugly, the noble and the base, tragedy and comedy, and so forth. Their feelings become further and further removed from the noble feelings of the people and they become more and more alone in the new life. At a time when thousands and tens of

thousands of youths were bravely fighting on the frontlines, the petty bourgeoisie were crying tears of lament over a funeral scarf, a destroyed home, a bomb crater, and so forth. Our people obviously felt grief over a tragedy caused by the bombs of the cruel enemy. But, their revolutionary feelings caused them to overcome their grief in order to serve something more noble. Because, the grief of a person who has lost his country is 100 times more bitter. Therefore, our people endured each sacrifice in order to carry out their great war of liberation and win back their freedom and happiness forever.

The socialist revolution, on the one hand, must involve a constant fight on the ideological front in which each person has the responsibility of firmly maintaining the stand of the working class, constantly heightening his spirit of vigilance, promptly smashing hostile thinking, and putting an end to each negative manifestation in the spiritual life of society. Under the leadership of the party, our literature and art have accepted the glorious destiny on the cultural and ideological front of reflecting the great fight of our people and helping heighten the revolutionary feelings of the public. As Le Duan observed: "When we talk about art, we are talking about the special law of the feelings."⁽⁵⁾ A change in the feelings of society which is in the nature of a law is also a change in the nature of a law in the feelings expressed in art. Whereas the noble feelings displayed by our people in the revolution have been expressed in outstanding works by artists, the negative feelings in social life have also coincided with the negative feelings of artists and been expressed in a number of recent poems and novels. In the latter case, the artists failed to keep pace with the progressive feelings of the people and, as a result, they were unable to fulfill their responsibility of a soldier, of an "engineer of the soul." Rather, they became people who nurture and sow poisonous thoughts. When we criticize their erroneous thoughts, we are also criticizing the erroneous feelings and the misguided attitudes in society. This criticism insured the wholesome development of revolutionary feelings and the wholesome development of socialist literature and art under the leadership of the party.

The revolutionary must constantly cultivate his feelings on the basis of the greatest ambitions of the revolution. These great ambitions must become the fire of enthusiasm which consumes ordinary thoughts, petty feelings, etc.

Bourgeois theoreticians generally emphasize the biological factor in the feelings of man, they disregard the basic boundary between man and animals, and they consider the attributes and qualities of man nothing more than the continued expansion and simple accumulation of animal characteristics. On the basis of selfishness and a hatred of collectivism, they see the feelings of man as being oriented toward satisfying such biological desires as eating good food, dressing well, doing what one feels like doing, being promiscuous, etc. Such things as conscience, honor, duty, and devotion, love, and every other legitimate value of man is abolished or scorned as things which are outmoded.

We recognize that the first needs of man are such material needs as food, clothing, housing, procreation, etc. The first feelings of man are also closely linked to these needs; however, "feelings are not simply physiological responses, the majority of them are social products of a class nature."⁽⁶⁾ As soon as man separated himself from the world of animals, the feelings of man and all of the forces and skills in his subjective world were formed not by themselves but through the process of man's labor and social activities. Man differs from the animals in that man is a social entity and it is for this reason that the physiological needs of man differ from the needs of animals. Social relations are a vital need if man is to continue to exist and develop. Society is always moving forward and the needs of man are constantly becoming more diverse. Because of this, the system of needs becomes a measurement of the progress of society and each individual or, in other words, the history of the development of society is also the history of the development of needs.

Animals must find something to eat when they are hungry, find something to drink when they are thirsty, and always protect themselves. Man, too, must first of all satisfy these vital material needs. However, there have been many times when starving, thirsting people have been ready to leave their families, forsake their personal happiness, and contribute their all to the revolutionary cause. For these people, the most noble thing is not everyday material needs, but the needs of society: the independence of the fatherland, the freedom and happiness of the people, a deep love among laborers, a desire to reform nature, change society, and

improve man, etc. These needs are the *raison d'être*, the source of happiness, and the most noble feelings of revolutionary fighters.

When these feelings are not a source of motivation and the task of the revolution is not the highest goal, revolutionary feelings gradually cool, weaken, and turn toward the most superficial of needs involving very selfish and ordinary interests. This is fertile ground for personal considerations, concerns over status, jealousy and factionalism, and immorality and corruption which lead the cadre from degeneration in his personal life to political degeneration. Aware of this fact, the psychological war of the bourgeoisie constantly provoked lowly physiological needs in order to sabotage the qualities of cadres. Also aware of this fact, our party has constantly pointed out the noble target of the revolution, given cadres the most correct understanding possible of their task, and, on this basis, cultivated the deepest possible revolutionary feelings.

Heightening Revolutionary Enthusiasm and Endeavoring To Achieve a Scientific Method of Recognition

Now, at a time when a number of people are in a state of spiritual decline and degeneration in their daily lives, the vast majority of our cadres and party members are totally loyal to the ideals of the revolution and are devoted and enthusiastic in their daily work. However, success cannot be achieved through enthusiasm alone, this enthusiasm must be very highly coordinated with revolutionary knowledge. Now, more than ever before, our party demands that our cadres and people remember Lenin's advice: "Learn, learn some more, never stop learning"; they must enrich their minds with the newest knowledge of mankind, constantly improve their special skills, and most importantly, establish for themselves a scientific method of recognition.

Without a scientific method of recognition, we do not have the first condition needed to complete a task: a clear understanding of the situation and a full understanding of policies. Without this, we cannot be sensitive to new things which are developing, cannot recognize things which have become outmoded, and cannot make preparations to deal with changes which might occur. At the recent conference on agriculture held in Thai Binh Province, Le Duan pointed out this shortcoming again because a number of us have a "simplistic attitude," do not "remain calm or think deeply," and do not recognize "new things which are very important and very deserving of enthusiasm" and "new, rather strong factors which offer fine prospects in the advance of our country's agriculture." Without a scientific method of recognition, regardless of how enthusiastic we might be, we will still become confused in our work and not be able to avoid the mistakes of subjectivism, a narrow, onesided, conservative viewpoint, the mechanized, automatic, convenient way of doing things, and so forth. When a cadre begins work on a certain job, the scientific method demands that he spend as much time as necessary thinking, calculating, and deliberating in order to establish a plan, prepare stages of development, organize his forces, and provide concrete supervision of all aspects of the job. Without the scientific method, the cadre does not know where to begin, secondary jobs become jobs of major importance, and jobs which should be done last are done first. Our party has set forth the guideline of "controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the key one being the technological revolution." However, in the process of working, some cadres fail to see the dialectical relationship among factors and fail to see the extremely beneficial reciprocal effect between one aspect of the job and another. For this reason, they frequently give their attention to technical aspects but are unconcerned with consolidating and improving production relations; when efforts are being concentrated on reorganizing production, they give light attention to ideological and educational activities; when production tasks are being accelerated, they do not give an appropriate amount of attention to improving the standard of living, etc. When mistakes such as these constantly occur they cannot help but affect revolutionary feelings. If the cadre does not have a firm spirit and if he is not determined to rectify his mistakes he will surely be gradually pushed backward. Our party has long recognized this possibility of degeneration by cadres; therefore, it has constantly reminded everyone to make every effort to study and train: "A number of comrades, who fail to see that the desire to study is a revolutionary desire, are easy with themselves, they are lazy, or they use objective circumstances, the lack of time, their age, or their lack of ambition as excuses. A number of others are satisfied with themselves and will not study. These comrades do not realize that in the forward progress of the revolution, the masses are moving rapidly forward while they are gradually slipping to the rear."(7)

To avoid slipping to the rear and catch up with the rapidly advancing masses, the revolutionary cadre must urgently study to raise his political and educational levels, expand his knowledge of science and technology, and cultivate his specialized knowledge and skill. However, the key factor at this point in time in raising one's overall qualifications is the establishment of a scientific method of recognition for oneself, the method provided by Marxism-Leninism. Only with this method can the cadre be able to fulfill his obligations to fight, work, and study, constantly heighten his revolutionary feelings, and strengthen his confidence in the common cause. Long range training in the revolutionary struggle is the best way to prepare the stand, viewpoint, feelings, and will needed to accept Marxism-Leninism. The creative lines of our party are the highest models of the guideline of linking theory and practice, they are rich lessons in how to gradually improve our method of recognition.

However, to achieve a correct method of recognition, we must overcome a number of obstacles left behind by old social conditions.

The class of exploiters no longer exists in our society; however, the remnants of their ideology, psychology, and habits cannot be swept away all at once. Imperialism and its lackeys continue to search for every possible way to attack the thoughts and feelings of our people. This is something which we must be constantly vigilant against.

Together with the constant ideological struggle to block the infiltration of bourgeois ideology and each expression of other non-proletarian ideologies, we must eliminate the very outmoded way of thinking left behind by small-scale production and feudal society.

The small-scale producer, whose techniques, methods, organization, and guidelines remain the same generation after generation, has deeply entrenched thoughts and habits. His habit of being too lazy to listen, too lazy to think, and too lazy to learn has led to the maladies of conservatism, subjectivism, a fear of the new, and a fear of change. His practice of working by himself with very few ties to the society and economy has led to a regional mentality and partial psychology and led to the creation of a narrow, shallow way of thinking. These things have very greatly limited his desire to study and caused the small-scale producer to use his mind very little and put very little effort into understanding and considering each problem, thus, it is very difficult for him to achieve a scientific method of recognition.

As result of this system of small-scale production, feudalism intellectuals were no better in everyday life than peasants when it came to thinking. The textbooks which youths studied like parrots did not create a scientific method of thinking for them but only presented a formula for them to blindly follow. In the face of the complex problems presented by life, they did not look for answers in their own lives, but in the classical works of sages. Pressed into the mold of feudalism ethics, they were unable to think independently and creatively. They considered the past more important than the present, always looked over their shoulders toward the past, and were always conservative and afraid of the new. Their method of learning makes the mind rigid, causes it to wither more with each passing day, and is totally foreign to the scientific and creative method of thinking.

In a society based on such a system of small-scale production, the empiricism of farmers and the dogmatism of intellectuals supplement each other, harden the attitude of subjectivism and conservatism, cultivate minds which are too lazy to think, and impede the formation of a method of recognition which is based upon scientific abstractions and incorporates the factors of logic and the dialectic.

To achieve the level of recognition needed to meet the demands of the revolution today, it is absolutely necessary to eliminate the remnants of this old way of thinking.

Each stage of the revolution is a process filled with hardships, a challenge to the cadre. In the fires of the new fight, the revolutionary corps has been tempered even more, it has gained additional experience, it has sharpened its understanding and strengthened its will, it has matured in every respect, and it has become the most valuable asset of the party.

Each stage of the revolution is also a process of eliminating everything which is outmoded as thoroughly as possible. It involves a determined struggle to cast by

the wayside those degenerated elements who no longer have the qualities and abilities needed to meet the requirements of the new task.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism is being accelerated and yielding great victories for the working class and people of Vietnam. However, this struggle will still be complex and involve new advantages and new difficulties as well as reciprocal effects among the economy, politics, culture, and technology, between industry and agriculture, between accumulation and consumption, between the traditional and the modern, between today and yesterday, between the progressive and the backward in social life, between the right and the wrong in the thoughts and actions of each individual, and so forth. To rapidly accelerate the revolution under these circumstances, our party requires an extraordinary effort on the part of its cadres and all of the people. In the face of this challenge whether a person moves forward or is cast by the wayside depends on whether or not he makes an effort to accept the education of the party and train himself in revolutionary feelings and revolutionary knowledge.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Our Youths and the Socialist Revolution," Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, p 10.
2. Ibid., p 14.
3. Ibid., p 13.
4. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 2, Part 2, p 466.
5. Le Duan: "Bringing About a Strong Change in Ideological Activities," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 37.
6. Ibid., p 57.
7. "Congress Documents," published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Volume 2, pp 67-68.

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LENIN ON THE CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 27-34

[Article by Le Doan Ta]

[Text] In the process of working to build the new style party of the proletariat, Lenin frequently talked about "the glorious and very responsible title" of the communist party member and the character of the communist party member.

According to Lenin, the character of the communist party member is closely linked to the historical role of the party of the proletariat, the revolutionary tasks of the party, the tight organization of the party, and the revolutionary life of the working masses under the leadership of the party.

In many of his works, Lenin pointed out that the revolutionary task of a Marxist party -- the organized vanguard unit of the proletariat -- is to organize the class struggle of the proletariat and lead this struggle to the ultimate goal of winning political power and building socialism and communism.

Lenin pointed out: "Only a communist party, if it is truly the vanguard unit of the revolutionary class, if it is comprised of the most outstanding representatives of this class, if it is comprised of communist fighters who are totally aware and loyal and learn and are tempered through the experience of the unyielding revolutionary struggle, if it knows how to closely link itself to the entire life of its class and, through this class, to all exploited masses, and if it knows how to make this class and these masses totally confident in itself -- only such a party can lead the proletariat in the most resolute and forthright struggle against each force of capitalism."(1)

When the working class and laboring people won political power and the party became the leader of all of society, the leader of each aspect of the life of the country, and worked to advance the country to socialism and communism, Lenin pointed out: "For the first time in human history a socialist party has managed to complete in the main the conquest of power and the suppression of the exploiters, and has managed to approach directly the task of administration. We must prove worthy executors of this most difficult (and most gratifying) task of the socialist revolution. We must fully realize that in order to administer successfully, besides being able to convince people, besides being able to win a civil war, we must be able to do practical organizational work. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic foundations of life of scores of millions of people."(2)

To carry out this glorious task, the party must have a strong corps of party members comprised of people of quality and ability who possess the full character of the communist party member.

According to Lenin, the communist party member must first of all be a person who is aware of communist ideals, is totally loyal to Marxism and the cause of the proletariat, and is ready to make sacrifices and even "give his life" to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and laboring people.

Awareness of the ideals of communism and total loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are the most important yardstick for differentiating between the communist party member and a person outside the party. As a result of this awareness and this loyalty, the communist party member is willing to sacrifice his life for the interests of the revolution of the proletariat and laboring people. And, also as a result of this awareness and this loyalty, the proletariat developed its strength in the revolutionary offensive against the capitalist class and employs its forces and all of the initiatives as well as the energies of tens of millions of laboring people to become, for the first time, the master of society in the construction of the new society. Lenin emphasized: "The party is a special organization, the party must be comprised of enlightened people who are ready to sacrifice their lives,... The party leads and selects those people who clearly know the course they will follow and are clearly aware of the difficulties they will encounter."(3)

When the party is in political power, the party member must express his awareness and loyalty not only by fully complying with the line of the party, but he must also fully comply with the policies and laws of the proletarian state. Lenin said that any party member who does not do this cannot remain in the ranks of the party. In the draft resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party concerning the expulsion of X.A. Lozovsky from the party for his failure to comply with a party resolution(*), Lenin wrote: "Within the ranks of a party, it is impossible to work with people who deny the socialist tasks of the proletariat once it has seized political power and people who deny the responsibility of the trade union of undertaking the function of the state and, with boundless energy and wholehearted determination, carrying out the socialist reform of the production and distribution of products on a national scale; -- pay attention to this, the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party has resolved to expel Lozovsky from the Social-Democratic Labor (Bolshevik) Party and will make this resolution public immediately."(4)

Lenin particularly emphasized that it is the responsibility of a member of a party in political power to "bear a burden of uncomparable difficulty, namely, managing the state," know how to make himself "a model for the laboring masses of loyalty to the interests of the laboring people," and be able to think and develop every measure needed to overcome difficulties while knowing how to resolve difficulties in practice. He said: "The best working class people are those who not only preach socialism to others, but are themselves capable of realizing it, who are capable of showing that even under the worst conditions they can work along communist lines and help the surrounding masses in every possible way... On this question there can be no excuses;... This will be a test which, at all events, will enable us to say definitely to what extent the difficult task we have taken on ourselves has been carried out in practice."(5)

Lenin frequently praised examples of sacrifice and selfless labor and models of loyalty to the revolution, full compliance with the lines and policies of the socialist party and state and efforts to study and make innovations in order to carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned by the proletarian party and state.

He also mentioned that in a party which is in political power there are a number of people who generally "take advantage of the special privileges afforded them as a result of being a member of the party in power and do not want to bear the heavy burden of a job of sacrifice and devoted service to communism."(6) He demanded that "these 'influence peddlers' be driven from the party leaving within its ranks only those who are self-conscious and truly loyal to communism."(7)

According to Lenin, the communist party member of a party in political power must have the ability to thoroughly understand lines and policies and the ability to fulfill the responsibility assigned him.

Ability is the knowledge and understanding of the laws of things in order to reform them, the understanding of theory, lines, and policies and the application of them to the realities of one's job, specialized skills, and resourcefulness in the completion of a task.

The party member is the leader of the masses; therefore, he absolutely must have the ability to understand lines and policies and know how to transform the lines and policies of the party into the revolutionary actions of the masses. Depending upon his position, the party member must, in the performance of his leadership task, know how to delve into the realities of his job and, on the basis of them, inspect his

leadership activities "to determine where and under which conditions he has made progress and how much progress he has made or whether he is standing still or moving backward."(8)

As a member of a party in political power, the party member is assigned jobs in each activity involved in socialist construction and in each field of the country's political, economy, cultural, and social life; therefore, he must have a full understanding of the job assigned him, that is, he must have the required amount of knowledge and be skilled in his specialty. Lenin said: "Whoever understands life and has experience in life knows that management requires that a person be skilled in his specialty, fully and accurately know all of the conditions of production, understand the technology of this system of production, achieve the modern standard of this technology, and achieve a specific standard of science. These are conditions which we must have in their entirety regardless of what happens."(9)

In this spirit, Lenin constantly reminded every party member to make every effort to study and learn Marxism, learn culture, science, and technology, learn everything needed to complete the task assigned them.

He frequently emphasized the importance of studying the theory of Marxism because "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement" and "only a party guided by a vanguard theory can fulfill the role of vanguard warrior." In many of his speeches and writings, Lenin taught that only by fully understanding Marxist theory is it possible to avoid the malady of empiricism and possible to creatively study experience, because "it is necessary to critically analyze this experience and test it ourselves." In his work "What Is To Be Done?", Lenin repeated a famous passage from Engels' work "The Peasant War in Germany": "It will be the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clear insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied."(10)

He taught that attention must be given to the study of culture, science, and technology. Without science and technology it is impossible to build socialism because "socialism demands a step forward of a conscious and mass nature in order to achieve a higher labor productivity than the productivity of capitalism and on the basis of the results achieved by capitalism."(11) The problem here, as Lenin taught, is that "it is culture that is required" because we cannot build the country, build the state apparatus, and so forth "by doing things in a rush, by assault, by vim or vigor, or in general, by any of the best human qualities." He appealed that we not "compensate our lack of knowledge by zeal or haste" but that "we must at all costs set out, first, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn, and then see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase; that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life."(12) He harshly criticized "the malady of communist arrogance," being too lazy to learn, and the maladies of a number of responsible communists who, although "they are obviously sincere and devoted and have been imprisoned and bravely faced death," now "do not know their job and are even ignorant of this fact" and, as a result, "they have not learned" and "do not want to learn."

He also reminded communist party members to adopt a correct attitude toward specialists, lead them, help them, and rapidly learn from their experiences in organization and management on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. Lenin said: "The communist party member who has failed to prove his ability to bring together and guide the work of specialists in a spirit of modesty, going to the heart of the matter and studying it in detail, is a potential menace. We have many such communists among us, and I would gladly swap dozens of them for one conscientious qualified bourgeois specialist and study his profession."(13)

According to Lenin, the communist party member must be a person with a high sense of organization and discipline. A strong party is the result of a strong organization. "The strength of the worker lies in organization as does his salvation." He said: "Uniformity of action and freedom of discussion and criticism, these are our guidelines. Only such a discipline is worthy of the democratic party of a progressive class. The strength of the working class lies in organization. Without organizing the masses, the proletariat is nothing. With organization, the proletariat is everything. Organization is unity in action, unity in actual work. However, naturally, each

and every action is only of value when it causes the proletariat to move forward, not backward, when it unites and elevates the proletariat ideologically, not lowers, reduces, or weakens it."(14)

The organized and disciplined party member is, first of all, one who complies with the platform and statutes of the party, the lines and policies of the party, and the laws of the socialist state as fully as possible. And, loyalty to the party is the basic condition underlying a high sense of organization and discipline. Lenin said: "Loyalty is the basic condition for exercising and maintaining our very strict discipline because all of the old methods and old sources of power which we once relied on to exercise discipline have been abolished, thus, we only have thoughts and a high degree of self-consciousness to serve as the basis of our actions."(15)

Lenin also frequently emphasized that in a country where the majority of the population is peasants "they surround the proletariat on every side with a petty bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat, and constantly causes among the proletariat relapses into petty bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternating moods of exultation and dejection" and "in order to counteract this, in order that the organizational role of the proletariat (and that is its principle role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, and victoriously, the strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat."(16)

Lenin emphasized unity and solidarity within the party. He gave particular attention to combating "spontaneous anarchical petty bourgeois tendencies" considering them the "most dangerous enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat."(17) He said: "The difficulties caused by these spontaneous bourgeois forces are very large, and to overcome these difficulties we must have tight unity and not unity in form alone -- we must have unanimity and love and a single will because only when it has such a will can the proletariat of a peasant country carry out its great task of dictatorship and leadership."(18) He always reminded us that we "must have unity, autonomy, and discipline." He resolutely struggled against factionalism within the party. According to him, differing ideas can be expressed in discussions but these disagreements cannot lead to divisions. He noted that "everyone knows that big disagreements sometimes grow out of minute differences which may at first appear to be altogether insignificant" and "any difference, even an insignificant one, may become politically dangerous if it has a chance to grow into a split, and I mean the kind of split that will shake and destroy the whole political edifice..."(19) He considered "every faction an intolerable menace" and said that "we will not tolerate even the slightest tendency which results in disharmony."(20)

While struggling against factions and guaranteeing unity and iron discipline within the party, Lenin reminded us to struggle against bureaucracy, develop the democracy and initiative of party members, imbue each party member with a sense of ownership within the party, and heighten the spirit of enterprise of each party member in the party's revolutionary cause.

According to Lenin, the communist party member must be a person who is always very close to the masses, who respects the masses, and who knows how to propagandize, educate, mobilize, and persuade the masses. He pointed out that socialist construction is the work of the laboring masses which they carry out under the leadership of the party, "it would be extremely naive to think" that "we should only rely on the hands of communists to build socialism." "Socialist construction will not be the private work of the communist party -- the party is only a drop of water in the ocean -- rather, it will be the work of all the working people."(21)

However, the party member is the person who leads and guides the masses and helps them implement each program and line of the party and policy of the socialist state as best possible. Therefore, Lenin demanded that the party member enthusiastically disseminate among the masses the lines and policies of the party and raise the masses to the progressive, active level of the vanguard unit. At the same time, the party member must blend in with the life of the masses, humbly study them, and consider the strength of the party as lying in the working people. He said: "The working people support us. Therein lies our strength. Therein lies the force for world communism becoming invincible."(22)

As a result, according to Lenin, the party member must always maintain good and close relations with the masses, be able to develop within the masses their potential strength, and correct express their aspirations in order to lead them and take them

down the road of building the country. He said: "Only when we correctly express the aspirations of the people can we manage the state. If we do not, the communist party will be unable to lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not persuade the masses to follow it, and the entire machine will break down."(23)

Lenin also reminded party members in every position that they have the obligation to respect the masses, propagandize and mobilize the masses to carry out the lines, programs, and policies of the party and proletarian state through practical actions, and combat the maladies of bureaucracy, bossism, and the violation of the right of ownership of the working people. He said that we must carry out our propaganda work more by means of practical actions than empty words "because, now, you can persuade neither the worker nor the peasant with empty words, rather, you must use reality to persuade them."(24)

He severely criticized acts which violated the right of ownership of the working people and violated their interests, such as corruption, bribery, the abuse of authority, and violations of the state law and demanded that those who committed these violations be tried in court. He required that the party, which was in political power, not protect "its unprincipled members" and demanded that party members who commit crimes be punished "more severely than people outside the party."(25)

In order to meet the requirements mentioned above, the party member must make every effort to train himself. Lenin taught that only the revolutionary struggle can train strong communists, "heroes of the people," because it is "the proletarian revolution...which has given the heroes of the revolutionary struggle a genuine foundation, a genuine base, genuine conditions" for them "to train themselves in the superior ethics of the revolutionary through the challenges of the different periods and under the most difficult conditions of revolutionary activity."(26) He pointed out that it is by carrying out the political task of the party, working in the organization of the party, emerging himself in the feverish revolutionary movement of the masses, and making good use of the weapon of self-criticism and criticism that the party member matures, is tempered, and develops noble, beautiful qualities.

At the same time, the training of the party member is always closely linked to the concern of the various party organizations for educating party members. Lenin said: "The party has a responsibility to each of its members"(27) and the various organizations of the party must "by means of patient and systematic efforts...give all party members... a full and self-conscious understanding of the task of the party member."(28) He reminded party organizations to be concerned with teaching Marxist theory to party members and heightening the cultural, scientific, technical, and military art levels of party members so that they have the ability to complete the tasks assigned them. Lenin also placed emphasis upon using organizational measures and inspecting the character of the communist party member in order to keep the party pure. He said: "The general inspection...of the behavior of a party member in political activities creates a structure which has an automatic effect by bringing about what is called in biology 'natural selection.' As a result of this 'natural selection,' which is the result of a completely open system, elections, and general inspections -- each soldier is ultimately 'put in his place,' undertakes the task best suited to his strength and ability, bears all the consequences of his mistakes, and shows everyone that he can understand and avoid these mistakes."(29)

He considered the recruiting of outstanding workers, farmers, and socialist intellectuals in the party and the expulsion from the party of those elements who degenerate or lose their good qualities jobs which must be performed on a routine basis in order to make the party truly dynamic and insure that it meets the requirements of its leadership task in socialist construction. He reminded the party that it must train and challenge new members to insure that they can carry out the revolutionary task assigned them by the party.

With a full understanding of Lenin's viewpoints concerning the character of the communist party member and fully implementing his teaching to "constantly enhance the title and meaning of being a party member"(30), we are making every effort to train and improve ourselves in order to help strengthen our party so that it can lead our people in building socialism in North Vietnam, completing the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, advancing to the peaceful reunification of the country, and building a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity, and power.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, pp 227-228.
2. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, pp 303-304.
3. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, pp 68-69.
- * X.A. Lozovsky was then the Secretary of the Central Council of Russian Trade Unions.
4. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Russian Version, the Moscow Political Books Publishing House, 1969, 5th printing, Volume 35, p 214.
5. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 248.
6. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 70.
7. Ibid.
8. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 158.
9. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 546.
10. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 5, p 439.
11. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 311.
12. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 720.
13. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 182.
14. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, Volume 11, p 461.
15. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 619.
16. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 31, p 46.
17. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 241.
18. Ibid., p 225.
19. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 88.
20. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 526.
21. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 422.
22. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 30, p 72.
23. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 454.

24. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 526.
25. V. Lenin and J. Stalin: "Democracy and Discipline Within the Party," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 88.
26. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 29, pp 97-98.
27. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 6, p 537.
28. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 7, p 481.
29. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 5, p 573.
30. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 6, p 537.

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RESEARCH: SEVERAL THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE MATTER OF RAISING SOCIAL LABOR PRODUCTIVITY
IN OUR COUNTRY AT THIS TIME

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 35-45 and 56

[Article by Che Viet Tan]

[Text] Constantly raising labor productivity is an extremely important law of socialism, the basis for insuring the consolidation and strengthening of socialist production relations as well as the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. Increasingly high labor productivity on the part of the millions of working people in North Vietnam who are displaying the spirit of collective ownership and working in a diligent, brave, intelligent, and creative manner -- this is what underlies the birth and formation of the system of large-scale socialist production.

Establishing a New Division of Social Labor and Raising Labor Productivity

The division of social labor reflects the level of development of social productive forces; at the same time, each step forward in the distribution of social labor has the effect of stimulating the development of society's productive forces; the development of productive forces results in higher social labor productivity. Therefore, high social labor productivity is both the foundation and the result of the new division of social labor; high social labor productivity is what guarantees that the socialist mode of production will triumph over the old mode of production and its lower productivity. This is of even more important significance for North Vietnam which is advancing from a backward agricultural economy to large-scale socialist production and simultaneously carrying out two revolutionary strategic tasks: completing the people's national, democratic revolution in South Vietnam and stepping up socialist construction in North Vietnam while fulfilling its international obligation.

North Vietnam is moving forward to build its system of large-scale socialist production at a time when its material and technical base is still very small. This is the primary cause of our difficulties. However, we do possess factors which are in the nature of large-scale socialism. These include the fact that practically all of the primary instruments of production are under the control of the state and cooperatives which reflects the fact that socialist production relations and the two forms of national and collective ownership have been established and are being consolidated and strengthened. They include the great bloc of social labor which the socialist system can organize and utilize under the most efficient plan possible in order to create more and more products for society. They also include socialist distribution relations which lay the foundation for the good organization and use of social labor. Of these factors, social labor, one of the sources of all social wealth, is of particular importance. As Le Duan pointed out: "Today, mankind is in a stage in which all nations, regardless of their level of economic development, have the possibility of taking the greatest leap forward ever from the system of man exploiting man which has existed for several thousand years to the system of collective ownership by workers. This is the highest system of ownership in mankind's history, a system in which man is the owner of society, the master of nature, and the master of himself"(1) and "under the system of collective ownership, labor undergoes a qualitative change. It is the labor of people who are collective

owners whose creative spirit has been liberated and who have the ability to learn the highest scientific and technical knowledge. On the basis of the system of public ownership, labor can be deployed and utilized in the most efficient manner possible throughout society as well as within each production unit and can be coordinated well with labor objectives and constantly improved work tools."(2)

Capitalism was born and developed from the simple production of commodities to the production of capitalist commodities, from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production. To rapidly bring about the birth of the new mode of production, the capitalist class accumulated its initial capital by means of many barbarous and bloody measures; one of their very basic measures was to confiscate and transform the land of farmers into grasslands, pastures, and industrial crop land and transform the private farmer into a worker working for wages. This long process of confiscation was also the process of transforming the one-crop, subsistent system of agriculture of the middle ages into a centralized, specialized, large-scale commodity agriculture employing new techniques. It was also the process of separating industry from agriculture and, at the same time, widening the gap between the cities and the countryside. Disregarding the nature of capitalism, the path which the capitalist class followed by creating a new division of social labor beginning with redistributing the labor within agriculture is an economic inevitability in the shift from small-scale production to large-scale modern production for capitalism as well as socialism.

In the initial stage of the advance to socialism, North Vietnam cannot carry out the basic economic task of accumulating capital for industrialization and improving the standard of living of the people if it does not bring about a new distribution of social labor. Le Duan has written: "It must be deeply understood that the accumulation of initial capital as well as the improvement of the people's standard of living can only be carried out on the basis of redistributing social labor and redistributing labor among the various economic sectors, not on the basis of maintaining the present state of agricultural labor"(3) and he has stated that it is absolutely necessary to redistribute social labor in the advance from small-scale handicraft production to large-scale modern production.

The redistribution of social labor is an economic necessity in shifting the economy from the simple commodity production to socialist commodity production. As Le Duan has said: "The distribution of social labor is the basis of the commodity economy."(4)

Our most serious need in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale modern production is the need for the material-technical base of socialism, for a large-scale machine industry which can equip the entire national economy, including agriculture, with new technology. This explains why the technological revolution is of key importance. However, the technological revolution cannot deeply penetrate the system of small-scale production with the old distribution of labor. Only a large-scale machine industry closely linked to the redistribution of social labor corresponds to the system of large-scale, modern production. Therefore, in the initial stage in North Vietnam, the process of the technological revolution and socialist industrialization must not only be linked to the redistribution of social labor, but must also be gradually carried out together with the redistribution of social labor. As Engels said: "One of the strongest levers of production before the appearance of large-scale industry is the division of labor. The distribution of social labor is closely linked to production tools and the specific conditions of the system of social production; therefore, when large-scale production appears, it is an objective necessity, a pressing requirement of the system of social production."(5)

In North Vietnam, the redistribution of social labor is closely linked to the reorganization of production on a society-wide scale. In the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and from an economic structure with serious imbalances among the various sectors, areas, and the elements of social reproduction, the reorganization of production is an absolute necessity. Reorganizing production on a society-wide scale involves following the economic development line of the party during the initial stage, closely coordinating productive forces and production relations, redistributing productive forces, using labor, work tools, and work objectives in a balanced and the most efficient manner possible throughout the national economy as well as within each territorial area, establishing a good relationship among heavy industry, agriculture, and light industry and a good relationship among the supply of materials, construction, and

the production, transportation, and consumption of products, developing the state operated economic sector and the collective economic sector, coordinating the economy under the direct management of the central level with the economy managed by the local level, and creating an economic structure which has strong vitality and yields high returns. In our country's economic situation in which there is a very large social labor force and an abundant source of supplemental labor each year, the problem of key importance in the reorganization of production is reorganizing labor and establishing a new division of labor in order to make full and good use of each social labor force.

In summary, whereas the redistribution of social labor is an economic necessity in the process of change from small-scale to large-scale production, in North Vietnam the redistribution of labor, the technological revolution, and the reorganization of production are closely linked together, they exert a combined effect in the process of advancing North Vietnam to large-scale socialist production, and together they lead to the result of high labor productivity in social production as well as the various sectors of the economy. As Marx said: "The productivity of labor is primarily dependent upon...the distribution of labor"(6); and, as Engels said: "This distribution of labor allows people to produce products more rapidly and, as a result, more inexpensively."(7) And, as mentioned above, in this process and when the right of collective ownership of the working people has been established, the key problem is that of organizing and utilizing social labor, that of the redistribution of social labor.

The redistribution of social labor in North Vietnam which is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production absolutely must take into consideration the present scientific and technological revolution in the world and its two significant characteristics; science has become a direct production force and the entire system of science-technology-production has developed particularly rapidly. The redistribution of labor in North Vietnam must presently fully meet the requirement of consolidating the national defense system and being ready to deal with each situation.

In our opinion, the laws of the redistribution of social labor in North Vietnam (and our entire country in the future) can be summarized as follows:

1. The new distribution of social labor complies with the laws of an agricultural country with small-scale production embarking on industrial development patterned after the traditional form of industry and the laws of the redistribution of labor of the period of industrial development under the influence of the present scientific and technological revolution.

In the industrially developed countries, during the most prosperous period of the first industrial revolution, industrial workers generally comprised 30-45 percent of the social labor force, agricultural labor comprised approximately 25-45 percent, and service workers comprised 19-24 percent (in our country, the corresponding percentages now are 16.7 percent, 52 percent, and 11 percent). However, in the present scientific and technological revolution, agricultural labor has declined to roughly 20 percent of the labor force in industrially developed countries, industrial workers have declined to about 25-35 percent, and the number of laborers in the various service industries has increased to 31-51 percent. In our country within the next 20 years, agricultural labor will comprise approximately 20-30 percent of the social labor force; one laborer will be working approximately 4 cultivated hectares and supporting approximately 10 people; industrial workers will comprise 30-40 percent and service workers about 30-40 percent. The redistribution of labor from agriculture to industry and the increase in the percentage of service workers will not follow an orderly cycle (that is, from small-scale production to large-scale production through the traditional form of industrial development and then, on the basis of traditional industry, redistribute labor in accordance with the laws of industry under the influence of the present scientific and technological revolution), rather, they will occur together over a short period of time during the process of the completion of industrial development.

With the impact of the scientific and technological revolution growing very strongly, the labor force will undergo a very large change in its occupational structure and skill level in keeping with the following general trend: technical labor will comprise an increasingly large percentage of the social labor force; the percentage of skilled manual workers and cadres with a vocational middle school and college education will increase rapidly with the number of vocational middle school cadres rising more with each passing day and cadres with a college and vocational middle school education becoming direct production workers.

2. The completion of the redistribution of labor within agriculture (the redistribution of labor among areas, crops, and the species of livestock and between the two major sectors within agriculture, farming and livestock production) is carried out together with the completion of the redistribution of labor from agriculture to industry over a relatively short period of time.

North Vietnam is advancing from agriculture to socialist industrialization with a very small amount of farmland (13 percent of its land area) and an average of 12 people per hectare of farmland. In the next 15 to 20 years and as a result of the rather rapid growth of the population, the problem of increasing the amount of farmland will become an extremely pressing problem which must be resolved so that agriculture can serve as a firm foundation for industrial development.

The amount of land which can be cleared for farmland in the next several years is rather large, in the millions of hectares. Together with increasing the amount of farmland, another very important and pressing problem is that of mobilizing millions of people to move from the Red River delta and the lowlands of Former Interzone 4 to the Viet Bac and Tay Bac regions, the seacoast, western Former Interzone 4, and other areas of the country. Closely linked to these jobs is the need to actively practice intensive cultivation to increase crop yields, increase the number of crops grown per year, increase the turnover of land, and rapidly increase the amount of land under cultivation. Only in this way is it possible to meet the requirements of increasing the amount of land cultivated by one farm worker from the present level of 0.7 hectares to 1 hectare in 1980 and 2 hectares in 1990; shift agricultural labor to the other sectors and trades and insure that the percentage of agricultural laborers declines; increase the number of laborers engaged in the cultivation of industrial crops and exported crops while reducing the percentage of laborers engaged in farming and increasing the percentage of laborers engaged in livestock production from 5 to 20 percent.

In conjunction with the redistribution of labor within agriculture, it will be necessary to shift a significant percentage of agricultural labor to industry and the various service sectors and increase the percentage industrial, construction, transportation, and service workers comprise of the social labor force.

3. The simple labor force is to be transformed into a technical labor force with a sector-trade structure based on the requirements of mechanized-automated industry.

In our country, although there are many types of natural resources needed for the development of the country and socialist industrialization, the reserves of these resources are not very large (relatively speaking, that is, in comparison to larger countries). However, we have a particularly important advantage, namely, our nation is very young and we have abundant sources of laborers whose virtues are diligence, intelligence, and bravery. The present drawback of the labor force is that its educational, scientific, and technical levels are low and its skills are underdeveloped.

A very pressing requirement in rapidly raising labor productivity and rapidly increasing national income is that of strongly raising the problem of training technical cadres and workers in order to develop labor potentials and create a source for accumulating capital from labor. To take advantage of the abundant source of labor in the near future, we must, on the one hand, distribute and employ labor well; on the other hand, we must actively train and improve the quality of the work force. We must have a highly qualified technical labor force which includes a well structured corps of cadres who are truly the experts of the ruling working class, adhere to the communist philosophy of life and the scientific world view, are loyal to the fatherland, and have the scientific knowledge needed to reach the pinnacles of world science and technology; in addition, we must have a highly skilled professional technical labor force which has high labor productivity, can resolve technical problems arising within the country, and can carry out export contracts with many countries in order to create a national income which provides more capital for accumulation.

Thus, the scale of the training of technical workers and vocational middle school and college cadres must be greatly increased. With respect to workers, attention must be given to training high level skilled workers whose knowledge of trades is both specialized and general, who are skilled in one trade but familiar with many. There must be an appropriate percentage of middle school cadres and their number must be balanced and coordinated with the number of college cadres. The

training of college and post-graduate cadres must be comprehensive in nature and coordinated with practical training so that they can specialize in a trade. Of particular importance is the need to heighten the educational level of the people. It is necessary to reform the entire national educational system and lay the groundwork for the training of the corps of technical workers in the reform of general school education.

4. National defense labor comprises an appreciable percentage of the social labor force.

In the face of the plots and acts of aggression of the imperialists, we have always maintained a high level of vigilance, actively strengthened our national defense system, and always been ready to deal with each situation. In carrying out the national defense task, we have given particular attention to closely coordinating economic construction with the consolidation of the national defense system in a manner consistent with the special characteristics of the revolution and the people's war in our country as well as with the revolutionary situation and task of our entire country.

As regards manpower, the various economic sectors, economic units and localities must, on the basis of the state's overall distribution of labor, regularly prepare enough manpower qualified in terms of morale, organization, specialized skills, technical skills, military skills, physical conditioning, and so forth to meet the requirements of the national defense system. An appropriate armed force must be maintained during each period of time. The economy must supply the army with a corresponding percentage of technical labor and, each year, it must train and supply to the army enough cadres with a college and vocational middle school education and well as technical workers to meet the army's various requirements.

5. The division of labor and working cooperation with the socialist countries and the other countries of the world must be expanded.

We have given very much attention to expanding our economic relations with the countries of the world, primarily the socialist countries, and expanding our exports, primarily the export of tropical agricultural products and manufactured export goods. Export activities are not only designed to make full use of labor and favorable natural resources and accumulate capital for socialist industrialization, but they are also an important way to increase agricultural labor productivity.

Above, we have tried to present some of the characteristics which have the nature of laws of the redistribution of social labor in North Vietnam in the process of socialist industrialization. Redistributing labor in the ways mentioned above will result in a new distribution of labor in North Vietnam in its process of socialist industrialization. Redistributing labor in the ways mentioned above will result in a new division of social labor which can be called the labor model for North Vietnam in the initial stage of its advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

One problem which must be emphasized is whereas, in North Vietnam, we have relied upon the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective ownership system to carry out agricultural collectivization and use the dictatorship of the proletariat and the cooperative system as the primary force behind all other revolutionary changes within agriculture and the birth of large-scale production and large-scale industry, we can also use the dictatorship of the proletariat and the system of collective ownership to simultaneously carry out the redistribution of social labor and reorganizing labor on a large scale, beginning with the reorganization of agricultural labor, considering this the key to raising labor productivity and increasing the volume of products for society in view of the fact that our industry is still small and agriculture is not receiving much support from industry and the other sectors of the national economy. As Le Duan said: "Beginning the process of socialist construction by establishing the system of collective ownership is a special characteristic of the process of the historical development of our country, an important aspect of the theory of social science in Vietnam." (8)

Several Immediate Problems Involved in Raising Labor Productivity

Everyone realizes the need to make every effort to raise labor productivity and realizes the particularly important and pressing significance of raising labor productivity in the present situation. As Le Duan pointed out: "Once it seizes

state power, the proletariat has one basic, vital interest, namely, increasing the output of products by increasing the scale of society's production capacity." (9) Today, increasing the volume of products for society is even more pressing for us because North Vietnam's poor, backward economy which has been heavily damaged by continuous war cannot provide the materials and goods needed to meet requirements, the economy is still imbalanced in many areas, etc.

In the next several years, the need to rapidly increase the volume of products for society will become even more pressing in order to help stabilize the economic and social situation and meet the rapidly rising needs of economic reconstruction as well as prepare for the start of the second 5 year plan (1976-1980) and meet the following targets: increasing the production capacity of society, each economic sector, and each economic unit in 1975 to the highest production levels achieved in 1965 or 1971; rapidly increasing the social product and national income to provide funds for social consumption and increase the accumulation of capital from the domestic economy. Increasing labor productivity and rapidly increasing the social product are also an important basis and foundation for successfully struggling against negative phenomena in society.

The present problem of raising labor productivity is closely linked to organizing and making full use of social labor in production. These two problems are closely interrelated. In our country, the present potential of the economy is very great; raw materials are still being wasted, only a small percentage of the capacity of machinery and equipment is being utilized, farmland, in particular, is not being efficiently utilized, and so forth; meanwhile, full use is not being made of the labor in the various sectors. The pressing problem is that of finding every possible way to employ all those who can work in production and making the best possible use of the existing labor force, materials, and equipment in order to produce many products for society; mobilizing and organizing the social labor force to participate in production and construction with a feverish revolutionary spirit; making the best and most effective use possible of "the work time fund," -- the most valuable asset we have, in order to fulfill the three obligations of working, studying, and defending the fatherland. Employing everyone in work and production and organizing and carrying out the redistribution of social labor is the primary way to raise social labor productivity. This is a very basic guideline for opening many new sectors and trades; developing the potential of the lowlands, midlands, mountains, and coastal region; developing the potential of the artisan and handicraft industry in municipalities, cities, and even at agricultural cooperatives; establishing the specialization and cooperation of labor within each production unit, etc. All of these methods will have the result of increasing social labor productivity many times.

The problem of raising labor productivity involves raising the labor productivity of each individual and each unit as well as raising the labor productivity of an entire sector and locality and raising social labor productivity. Recently, the labor productivity of individual workers and individual production installations in many basic units has been rather high; many emulation warriors and progressive workers, displaying a high spirit of collective ownership, have made every effort to make innovations, improve techniques, display an exemplary spirit in production, and excellently complete the task assigned them with high labor productivity. They have routinely surpassed planned quotas. However, generally speaking, the labor productivity of entire units has increased very slowly, the labor productivity of entire sectors has increased more slowly or not at all and, as a result, the momentum of the increase of social labor productivity has been slowed. The primary cause of this situation lies in the organization and management of production and construction. It is necessary to strongly improve the establishment of production plans, construction plans, and so forth and properly organize the supply of materials, the supply of energy, transportation, consumption, etc. The problem of organizing labor is of very great significance. It is necessary to guarantee that workers work the required 8 hours a day and overtime when necessary. The indirect production apparatus must be streamlined; tens of thousands of students of work age must be organized to participate in production in suitable "work-study" programs. The management of labor should be carried out under advanced, scientifically based quotas. Organizing the service and distribution network in a more efficient and convenient manner is also a very important prerequisite in insuring that workers can concentrate the majority of their efforts on their production and work. These are particularly important jobs in insuring that the labor productivity of an entire unit, an entire sector, and all of society can be raised in a uniform and continuous manner -- this is the highest requirement of raising labor productivity in the present situation.

When we talk about raising labor productivity in North Vietnam at this time, we must give particular attention to raising agricultural labor productivity, particularly the labor productivity of grain producers. At present, approximately 52 percent of the social labor force is engaged in agriculture and approximately 80 percent of the agricultural labor force is engaged in the production of grain. Marx said: "...It is evident that the number of workers in the processing industry, and so forth, who are totally separated from agriculture (they are, to use Stewart's term, 'free agents') is determined by the volume of agricultural products produced by agricultural laborers which exceed the needs of their personal consumption." (10) To expand the scope of the use of labor and the redistribution of labor, increase the labor force of non-agricultural sectors (such as industry, construction, transportation, and so forth), and invest additional labor in the new economic areas in the midlands, mountains, and coastal region, it is absolutely necessary to accelerate the increase of agricultural labor productivity in conjunction with practicing intensive crop cultivation and livestock production in order to increase their yields. We must step up the total development of agriculture and develop many sectors and trades in order to make efficient use of the labor in the countryside. At the same time, we must step up socialist industrialization and, in particular, rapidly develop the machine industry, which is a key industry, because only modern industry has the ability to create high labor productivity in the various economic sectors and open many new production sectors which are increasingly large in scale and employ more and more social labor.

According to initial calculations, in the next 5 years, that is, by approximately 1980, the mechanization of the preparation of farmland will be increased from the present 9 percent to approximately 30 percent (the target must be 60 percent), farmland water conservancy systems will be completed for approximately 1 million hectares, 500,000 to 600,000 more improved vehicles will be in use, approximately 10,000 more rice threshers will be in use, the organization of labor will be improved, etc. We can increase the labor productivity within farming 23 percent or an average of 4.5 percent per year. Each farm laborer will be working 1 cultivated hectare instead of 0.7 hectare. Within the agricultural labor force, the number of farm laborers will be reduced from 82 to 78 percent and the number of laborers engaged in livestock production and the various subsidiary trades will rise from 18 to 20-22 percent. By meeting this target, 500,000 to 600,000 agricultural laborers will be ready to be shifted to land clearing operations, afforestation, the cultivation of industrial crops, large-scale livestock production, development of coastal resources, and so forth to help enrich our fatherland.

A very large percentage of present agricultural labor is in the collective economic sector; in addition, the collective economic sector also includes artisan and handicraft workers. When we talk about present labor productivity, we must give attention to raising the labor productivity in both the state operated economic sector and the collective economic sector. There are now approximately 750,000 handicraft and artisan workers producing approximately 1 million dong in output value. This is a sector which produces an important volume of consumer goods to meet domestic needs and export goods. We must correct the tendency to over emphasize the present negative aspects of the artisan and handicraft industry and actively assist it so that it further expands the important role it plays in stimulating the redistribution of labor and raising labor productivity with its products of great significance: ordinary farm tools, improved farm tools, processed grain, processed food products, etc. In the next several years, particular attention must be given to developing such sectors as the export goods production sector, the building materials production sector, the fishing sector, the salt production sector, the timber felling sector, etc. The number of laborers in these sectors will be increased by 1.5 to 2 times. Assistance from responsible agencies in stabilizing production guidelines and tasks, implementing policies designed to provide incentive for production (a price policy, a technical materials supply policy, a policy for strengthening the material-technical base, a loan policy, etc.), and the training of technical workers is of particular importance in raising the labor productivity of handicraft workers and strongly developing artisan and handicraft production.

Efforts to raise labor productivity throughout society as well as in each sector, locality, and installation are very greatly affected by management and planning by sector in coordination with management and planning by territory. Management by sector has the effect of accelerating the process of scientific and technological development and the agglomeration and specialization of production because it provides the conditions needed to centralize investment capital and new technical equipment. The development of productive forces leading to agglomeration, centralization,

specialization, and cooperation in production is an objective necessity. On the basis of the economic-technical nature and characteristics of the various types of production and economic installations and on the basis of the level of development of productive forces and production relations as well as the level of management of cadres and workers, we will merge or combine production units within the same economic-technical sector in many different forms and scales of production organizations; at the same time, an important part of the sector's production units and scientific-technical design and research units will be placed under the agency managing the entire sector. Management by sector is consistent with the law of development of an economy advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production but it must be coordinated with management by territory. Whereas centralization by specialized sector has the effect of accelerating the process of centralization and specialization and results in high labor productivity, management by territory has the effect of utilizing the labor, production capacity, and natural resources of a territory as best possible, achieving high regional labor productivity and economic returns with the lowest possible regional expenditures, and making very important contributions to increasing socialist accumulation.

The specialization and centralization of production and organizing management and planning by sector virtually insure high labor productivity (within individual enterprises, federations of enterprises, and specialized sectors as well as throughout the entire national economy). The problem presently faced in our country is that of stabilizing production and gradually specializing the production of basic enterprises, intensifying management by economic-technical sector, selecting suitable forms of and gradually establishing production federations, etc. Naturally, this work must be performed on the basis of pilot projects and carried out in a gradual manner based on experience as well as the special characteristics and level of development of each sector.

Management and planning by sector coordinated with management and planning by territory is totally consistent with the line of "simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development." As our party has frequently pointed out: simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development is an integral part of the party's economic development line in the initial stage. This correct line, which is the application of the laws of economic development from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, has the effect of mobilizing each capability of the national economy as best possible, developing the initiative and creativity of each sector, echelon, and basic installation, bringing about the birth and growth of large-scale socialist production in each element of the national economy, and helping meet the requirements of accumulation and consumption as best possible; in addition, it insures expanded reproduction, improves the people's standard of living, and is consistent with the need to consolidate the national defense system. By successfully implementing the principle of management and planning by sector coordinated with management and planning by territory, the central economy will be constructed and the local economy will be constructed and developed without conflicting with each other.

Increasing the amount of technical equipment the worker has is a factor of foremost importance in raising labor productivity. As everyone knows, increases in labor productivity are dependent upon many factors. To raise social labor productivity in North Vietnam at this time, we must give particular attention to the following factors: increasing the amount of technical equipment the worker has; reorganizing production; improving management and expanding the emulation movement to work, produce, and practice economy in socialist construction; intensifying efforts to teach the sense of collective ownership, raising the level of political and ideological awareness in conjunction with implementing policies designed to provide incentive for production, etc. Of these factors, increasing the amount of technical equipment the worker has is the factor of foremost importance.

As our party has pointed out, socialist industrialization is the central task during the period of transition. Socialist industrialization creates the agricultural machine industry, that is, it creates a true technical base for socialism which is the basic condition needed to transform small-scale production based on manual labor into large-scale, modern production and replace manual labor and its low productivity with highly productive labor utilizing machines; as a result, industrialization has a decisive effect upon raising labor productivity. As Le Duan emphasized: "Raising labor productivity primarily requires that the material base of large-scale industry be established, that the fuel, corn, machinery and chemical sectors develop..."(11)

The basic feature of socialist industrialization is the universal transformation of manual labor into labor utilizing machines in all sectors of the national economy; therefore, the essence of socialist industrialization in our country at this time is carrying out the technological revolution about which the Party Central Committee has stated: "Our country's technological revolution must, on the one hand, make full use of each existing technical capability within the country in order to gradually raise our country's level of production from manual production to semi-mechanized and mechanized production or from semi-mechanized to mechanized production. On the other hand, it must rely upon mutual help and cooperation between our country and the socialist countries to directly advance our country's system of production to mechanization and automation." (12)

The above points out the particularly important position of the machine sector in raising labor productivity. Therefore, North Vietnam's machine sector has been strengthened rather significantly and its production capacity has greatly increased. The problem of pressing significance now is concentrating our efforts on stepping up the production of machines in order to fully meet the need for ordinary farm implements and work tools and improved tools for agriculture, water conservancy, construction, and so forth and rapidly increasing our ability to produce machines, equipment, and spare parts for the various sectors of the economy and for industry itself. And, to accomplish this, we must begin establishing both immediate and long range production tasks for enterprises, improve and expand the scale of a number of factories, and carry out the redistribution of labor and establish close coordination among machine enterprises (of the central level, local level, national defense system, the machine network of cooperatives, etc.) based on specialization and cooperation in product groups.

In North Vietnam today, as a result of increasing the leadership ability of the party, upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people, and increasing the economic management efficiency of the state, we have all the favorable factors needed to constantly raise labor productivity and increase social labor productivity as well as the labor productivity of each sector, locality, and installation much more. The problem of extremely important significance in the immediate future is that of heightening the emulation movement to work, produce, and practice economy in socialist construction and encouraging everyone who can work to work in an organized, disciplined, technical, and highly productive manner in keeping with the teaching of the revered President Ho: everyone must emulate to perform twice as much work for the sake of socialism and the reunification of the country. To accomplish this, the agencies of the state and the various economic organizations have a very heavy responsibility in organizing and guiding the movement, in providing the conditions needed for productive labor, and in serving and meeting the needs of everyday life. A feverish, continuous, and widespread emulation movement will help strongly stimulate the improvement of economic organization and management, stimulate the redistribution of labor and the reorganization of social production, and lead to higher labor productivity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech delivered at the ceremony commemorating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party, HOC TAP, No 2, 1975.
2. Ibid.
3. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Liberty, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 100.
4. V. Lenin: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," Collected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 3, p 27.
5. F. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 499.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 1, p 509.
7. F. Engels: "The Principles of Communism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 9.
8. Le Duan-Pham Van Dong: "The Reorganization of Production and the Improvement of Agricultural Management in Keeping with the Guidelines of Large-Scale Socialist Production," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 33.

9. V. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 2, Part 2, p 573.
10. K. Marx: "The Theories of Surplus Value," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, p 54.
11. V. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 323.
12. The resolution passed by the 7th Party Plenum concerning the task and guidelines of industrial construction and development, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 11.

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RAISING THE ECONOMIC RETURNS WITHIN THE COLLECTIVE HOG PRODUCTION SECTOR

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No3, Mar 75, pp 46-56

[Article by Nguyen Duy Binh]

[Text] To help upgrade livestock production to a main production sector, the state annually invests roughly 15 million dong in the livestock production sector to help cooperatives build their material and technical base, meet the sector's need for money to meet production expenses, and "consolidate the existing mode of livestock production while boldly implementing the new mode." (1)

The percentage of long term capital invested in the collective hog production sector has increased from 4.8 percent in 1970 to 18.8 percent in 1971 and 20.7 percent in 1972 of the total amount of long term capital invested in the collective economic sector, in general. Since 1973, loans for the construction of new pens with expensive materials have gradually been limited and emphasis has been shifted to building up the brood sow herd at cooperatives; therefore, this item comprises roughly 15 percent of the total 10 million dong invested.

We have found that the collective hog production movement has achieved a number of results over the past several years as a result of the use of Bank credit. Collective livestock production installations have been developing on an increasingly large scale. Compared to 1971, the collective hog herd increased 18.3 percent in 1972 and 27.6 percent in 1973. The sow herd has grown more rapidly; it increased 25.7 percent in 1972 and 70.6 percent in 1973 compared to 1971. As a result, the percentage the sow herd comprises of the total herd increased from 10.3 percent in 1971 to 13.7 percent in 1973. Each year, collective hog production farms supply the state with a relatively stable volume of pork even though the percentage of total output supplied to the state is low. In a number of areas, brood sow installations have been constructed on the basis of technical requirements and these areas have gradually achieved self-sufficiency in breeders and begun supplying good breeders to cooperative member families; in these areas, the collective hog production sector with its increasingly improved material base has been supplying an appreciable quantity of manure to the farming sector, thereby creating conditions for raising labor productivity and crop yields. A balanced relationship between farming and hog production is gradually being established.

The results and progress mentioned above are clearly evident in the key areas. Nam Ninh District in Nam Ha Province, for example, through self-reliance and material and capital assistance from the state, has gradually balanced its hog production with farming and increased the size of its hog herd from 65,000 to 100,000 hogs in the space of 5 years (1969-1973). Of this number, the collective hog herd comprised more than one-fourth, an increase of nearly 300 percent, and cooperatives with collective hog production were raising more than 98 percent of the herd on a scale which increased from 95 hogs per cooperative in 1970 to 294 per cooperative in 1973. The rice yields of this district increased from 4.2 tons per hectare in 1969 to 5.7 tons per hectare in 1973.

In Vinh Phu, 95 percent of the agricultural cooperatives within the province raise hogs collectively. This includes 327 installations which breed pure bred hogs and have constructed their initial material and technical bases. The model units in this area are the Dong Xuan and Yen Binh Cooperatives in Vinh Xuyen District, the

Kha Do Cooperative in Kim Anh District, and the Van Quan Cooperative in Yen Lang District.

In Hanoi, during the first several months of 1974, the hog herds in the various districts in the outskirts of Hanoi were maintained and developed although many difficulties were encountered with livestock feed. The number of crossbred commercial hogs has constantly grown to the point where it now comprises nearly 60 percent of the total hog herd. The movement to raise hogs which have a high market-time weight is being expanded in all three sectors: the state operated farm sector, the cooperative sector, and the cooperative member family sector. Raising hogs according to technical regulations is a new stage of development in the livestock production of the districts in the outskirts of Hanoi. To accelerate the farrowing cycle of sows and reduce breeder production costs, many cooperatives have begun weaning piglets early at 50 or 55 days after birth. During the first 6 months of 1974, 115 Youth Group chapters raised 12,000 hogs (35 percent of the collective herd) which weighed 100 kilograms or more at market time. Some 14 cooperatives achieved this average and, in particular, the Duong Xa Cooperative in Gia Lam District averaged 140.6 kilograms per hog at market time.

Under the conditions of a system of small-scale production which is gradually advancing to large-scale socialist production and the circumstances of the resistance against the wars of destruction of the U.S. imperialists and in the face of natural disasters caused by typhoons and floods, the above mentioned achievements recorded by the collective hog production movement over the past several years have been the result of efforts by production installations together with the supervision provided by the various sectors and echelons in the process of implementing the resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum. However, we have also displayed weaknesses and shortcomings. These have partially been the result of objective circumstances; but, they have also been the result of things relating to the responsibility of production installations and the various sectors and echelons, including the responsibility of the bank credit sector.

Through data compiled on the basis of investigations and research conducted at a number of cooperatives and in a number of localities, we have pointed out several problems existing in the organization of production and management of the collective hog production sector; at the same time, we have shown that the economic returns of the collective hog production sector, in general, and the returns from credit investments, in particular, are low and not commensurate with the amount of labor, money, and materials invested.

When we talk about economic returns in collective hog production, we are talking about satisfying three interconnected economic interests. These are: meeting the requirement of increasing the volume of products and commodities for society, in general, and the volume of products and commodities sold to the state, in particular; economizing on living labor and past labor per unit of livestock product; the requirement of increasing the income of the livestock production sector in order to improve the standard of living of cooperative members and insure that basic economic units can accumulate profits for carrying out expanded reproduction; and, on this basis, establishing fair credit relations with the bank. In recent years, the development of collective hog production at many cooperatives and in a number of localities has revealed a rather marked trend toward quantity, toward large-scale herds simply for the sake of having large herds without carefully considering the conditions needed to raise hogs well and achieve practical economic returns. This is one of the many reasons why hog production costs have risen to unreasonable levels and the economic returns from hog production are low, so low they have even caused losses.

In our present situation, establishing the correct relationship between increasing the size of hog herds and increasing the weight of hogs by means of "intensive production" is a matter of important significance in rapidly increasing the output of hog production and reducing production costs. Because, the weight of hogs and the size of hog herds are two factors which directly influence the output of hog production. As a result, to increase this output these two factors must be made to change in the most positive directions possible.

The output of hog production can be increased by increasing the weight of hogs and increasing the size of hog herds; it can also be increased by increasing the weight of hogs and maintaining or reducing the size of herds but the rate of reduction must be slower than the rate of increase of hog herd weight. Because it is closely linked to constantly improving the techniques of hog production and

to improving the quality of hog herds, this is the only way to insure that the output of hog production increases rapidly and steadily.

There is another way to increase the output of hog production, namely, increasing the size of hog herds and maintaining or reducing the market weight of hogs; however, the rate of reduction must be slower than the rate of increase of the size of hog herds. In this case, the increase of hog production output is only temporary because increased output is only the result of a simple increase in the number of hogs in the herd, whereas the techniques of hog production and the quality of the hog herd are not improved and sometimes even decline.

Therefore, the problem faced is that of increasing the size of hog herds and rapidly increasing hog weight. However, if, because of limited material and technical conditions, cooperatives cannot meet both of these requirements at the same time, they should, generally speaking, stabilize the size of their herds in order to concentrate on improving the quality of their hog production and increasing the weight of hogs. This is the guideline for the development of hog production which yields the highest economic returns. If, under the conditions mentioned above, emphasis is placed upon the requirement of increasing the size of the hog herd, the success achieved in implementing the various techniques of hog production will be limited and livestock production yields will decline.

The realities of the collective hog production situation over the past several years show that because cadres think only in terms of size, the establishment of the scale and structure of hog herds at a number of places has not been based on an actual economic foundation and not resulted in the establishment of a balanced relationship among the breeders, feed, pens, and organizational-management ability of each production unit, in particular, and each area, in general. This situation has not only resulted in underweight hogs and lengthened the time needed to raise hogs, but it has also resulted in very high production costs and larger losses in hog production.

As regards breeding stock, although cooperatives have made an effort over the past several years to build up their sow herds and have destroyed a number of poor quality sows, their breeders do not meet standards; however, many cooperatives still do not have many pure bred domestic sows; therefore, they are unable to establish reserve herds. As a result, many cooperatives are still maintaining their existing sow herds and this is affecting the quality of the hog herd. On the other hand, the techniques of raising brood sows have improved slowly. The basic sow herds of many cooperatives only farrow one litter per year per sow; meanwhile, present techniques enable sows to farrow 1.8 litters per year. According to data compiled from research conducted at 14 cooperatives in the outskirts of Hanoi, only 3 collective hog production installations average 1.1 to 1.5 litters per sow per year; at the other installations, sows farrow an average of 1 litter or less and, at 4 installations, sows only farrow 0.4 to 0.9 litter per year. There are 559 basic sows at these installations but only 408 of them farrow during the year.

Facts show that cooperatives which seek to increase the size of their hog herds must first of all give their attention to developing a sow herd and raising sows well. Places which gradually improve and build up their brood sow herds in order to eventually gain self-sufficiency in breeders develop stable hog production, reduce their costs, and create the conditions for gradually putting hog production on a profitable basis. Conversely, at places which only emphasize the size of meat hog herds and rely upon the breeders supplied by cooperative members or purchase breeders at markets, the size of hog herds might increase rapidly for a time, but these places do not have stable production, their production costs are high, their hogs are susceptible to diseases, and the end result is generally hog production which operates at a loss.

The realities of the Nam Son Cooperative in Nam Ha Province prove this fact. In 1971, the cooperative had no sow herd and relied primarily upon the outside for breeders; therefore, to produce 100 kilograms of pork, live weight, it had to spend 60 dong for breeding which comprised 23 percent of its material costs. In 1972, the cooperative established a good herd of breeder hogs, practically all of which were grade 1. Sows farrowed an average of 1.7 litters per year with 10 to 13 pigs per litter. Their average weight ranged from 0.4 to 0.5 kilograms per pure bred "I" / a Vietnamese breed of hog / pig to 0.7 to 0.8 kilograms per crossbred commercial pig. When weaned at 2 months of age, the "I" pigs weighed 4-4.5 kilograms apiece and the commercial crossbred pigs weighed 8 to 10 kilograms apiece.

In 1972, the cooperative's sow herd produced 342 breeders, thereby supplying 64 percent of the breeders needed during the year; as a result, breeding costs declined from 23 to 19 percent of material costs and the production of 100 kilograms of pork, live weight, only required 48 dong for breeding.

To actively meet breeder requirements, in addition to the breeder production farms of the state, it is necessary to establish a unit within the collective hog farms of cooperatives to specialize in the production of breeders. This unit would be in charge of raising good breeders which have been carefully selected to gradually replace the breeders of the cooperative. At places which raise hogs on a large scale, this breeder production unit could be established as a separate breeder hog farm in order to supply good breeders to the cooperative's collective hog farm, supply good breeders for the hog production of cooperative member families, and supply some breeders to neighboring cooperatives until they are able to establish good sow herds. Cooperatives must give priority to supplying these breeder production farms with good types of feed and sending them skilled technical cadres and livestockmen who understand the techniques involved in production, have a high sense of ownership, and are enthusiastic over working in livestock production.

The problem of feed for hogs, primarily green vegetables, is still a problem which is not being resolved well in collective hog production. During the past several years, the production of green vegetables has been marked by both confusion and stagnation. On the one hand, because cooperatives have placed heavy emphasis upon quantity, green vegetable production plans have not been consistent with plans for the development of hog herds, consequently, they have created shortages which should not have existed. On the other hand, as a result of giving light attention to the intensive cultivation of green vegetables for hog herds, serious shortages of green vegetables have developed.

In Dong Anh District in Hanoi, although 119 hectares of land have been allocated for the production of green vegetables for hogs, not one cooperative has zoned areas or adopted measures for intensively cultivating green vegetables and not one has adopted a vegetable production plan which is balanced with the plan for the development of the hog herd, consequently, there have been very serious vegetable shortages at times. There have also been times when there was a surplus of vegetables but these have only been temporary in nature. Many cooperatives within the district do not have plans for processing or drying subsidiary farm products, as a result of which they had no source of fodder for storage. A number of cooperatives have hundreds of hectares of peanuts and sweet potatoes but there is a shortage of feed for their hog herds practically every year. A number of other cooperatives have let out the land allocated for hog production under contract to cooperative members for the production of green vegetables, consequently, they cannot provide the quantity or quality of vegetables needed to meet the daily requirements of their hog herds. Many cooperative member families give cooperatives overripe, spoiled vegetables which hogs cannot eat.

On the basis of the above, we see that only cooperatives which give their attention to producing green vegetables for their hog herds, zone areas for intensive and specialized cultivation, establish an efficient allocation of vegetables, and achieve yields of 150 tons per hectare or more can provide the fodder needed by herds. Moreover, only in this way is it possible to economize on land in the production of green vegetables and reduce production costs in the raising of hogs. At the Nam Son Cooperative, each hog used to require 72 square meters of land under the cultivation of vegetables; however, each hog now only requires 58.7 square meters because the cooperative has stepped up its intensive cultivation and raised its vegetable yields. Here, 188,573 kilograms of vegetables are being harvested per hectare, an increase of 84,873 kilograms over 1971, and production costs have fallen from 2.05 dong to 1.55 dong per 100 kilograms of vegetables.

As regards solving the problem of pure feed for hog herds, there are many shortcomings but they are being corrected slowly. The 2 percent of grain output allocated to assist cooperative member household hog production is still being mixed in with the grain allocated for collective hog production. Some places use grain allocated for collective hog production to assist cooperative member household hog production. But, in reality, many cooperative member families only use a small amount of this grain in hog production.

Deserving of attention is the fact that the storage and use of grain allocated for collective hog production are not good and there are still many cases of spoilage.

loss, corruption, and abuse of power. Investigative data compiled by the bank shows that the D.T. Cooperative in Thai Binh Province took enough paddy to raise 1,000 hogs as stated within its plan but, as of October 1972, it had only 500 hogs. The cooperative used the surplus paddy to give something extra to tractor drivers and pump station workers and distributed some for the management committee conference, local review conferences, and use in the training of militia and self-defense forces. In 1973, according to data which has been compiled, 15 cooperatives in Thanh Tri District, Hanoi, lost 39,396 kilograms of bran and 70,753 kilograms of flour and seven cooperatives in Dong Anh District lost 27,000 kilograms of cornstarch. Deserving of attention is that many cooperatives receiving pure feed from the state to raise hogs under contract to the state have sold it to cooperative members and some places have sold it on the free market or used it in parties and banquets.

Many cooperatives do not have places for storing grain for collective hog production. Many places handle grain for hog production in a very haphazard manner without weighing or measuring it. Some cooperatives only have temporary storage areas which hold enough feed for 1 day or 1 week. Consequently, the people whose job it is to raise hogs do not know how much grain they have for their hogs or what types of grain. Thus, they cannot properly mix feed for hogs. Sometimes, hogs are fed nothing but wheat flour for months, then they are fed nothing but cornstarch for months, and they are switched from cornstarch to bran. Due to these sudden feed changes, hogs are "off their feed" for a few days and this is enough to affect their weight gain.

In the allocation of land for the cultivation of hog feed crops, crops must be fully planned and suited to the requirements of the hog production cycle. It is important to use the land allocated for hog production many times a year in order to raise many feed crops with the highest possible protein content per unit of area in order to provide a full, year-round supply of the types of feed suited to the needs of the hog herd while giving attention to nourishing and improving the soil. In addition, it is also necessary to take into consideration the allocation of crops and the use of companion crops and overlapping catch crops for the purpose of having additional products for hog production in each cooperative and district in order to have the feed needed to develop hog herds.

To store feed and improve the quality of feed, attention must be given to processing. Only by improving the processing of livestock feed is it possible to make full use of agricultural byproducts and discarded products and the natural sources of feed in hog production; this yields many economic benefits for collective hog production.

As regards the construction of hog pens, the general trend over the past several years, particularly in 1971 and 1972, has been to construct pens which are ostentatious in nature, pens have not been built on the basis of calculating or determining the efficient scale or structure of herds or being fully conscious of the need to economize on labor, materials, and capital. Many cooperatives have constructed very large pens which remained empty after they were constructed because these cooperatives did not have enough hogs to put in them. At many places, all of the materials used in the construction of pens have been scarce, expensive materials. One cooperative tore down its old pens in order to build a system of new ones with expensive materials even though its old pens only required a little repair work. This situation has created a rather large waste of the labor, materials, and liquid capital of cooperatives.

Data compiled in 1972 at 37 cooperatives in 10 provinces which raise hogs collectively showed of the 926,806 dong of fixed assets of the collective hog production sector, funds used for the construction of pens comprised 60.4 percent, funds used for subsidiary projects comprised 23.6 percent, and funds used for the purchase of implements and equipment used in hog production comprised 16 percent. The value of subsidiary projects equalled 32 percent of the value of hog pens. The amount of land used for hog pens and the amount of land used for subsidiary projects were approximately equal. At some cooperatives, the value of subsidiary projects was higher than the value of hog pens; for example, at the M.D. Cooperative in Hanoi, the value of subsidiary projects was 38,500 dong and the value of hog pens was 36,300 dong. One cooperative even constructed a separate meeting hall for its collective hog farm (the D.T. Cooperative in Thai Binh Province). An investigation of 22 cooperatives in the outskirts of Hanoi showed that 14 of them have a total of 1,425 square meters of empty pen space. The large amount of empty pen space has resulted in a low output of pork per unit of area. At these cooperatives, 1 square meter of pen space only produces 12.3 kilograms of pork, live weight; meanwhile, the economic-technical requirement of hog production is an average output of 60 kilograms per square meter of pen space with a pen turnover rate of 1.5 times per year.

Therefore, in the construction of hog pens, it is necessary to practice strict economy with each type material and make full use of existing local raw materials; at the same time, pens should only be built when there are hogs to put in them. On the other hand, attention must be given to the need to raise labor productivity in hog production together with making full use of manure sources and designing and constructing pens suited to the sanitation and disease prevention requirements of livestock.

Pork production costs: there are many factors which affect pork production costs; therefore, we must examine many areas. In this article, we will only deal with one major problem, namely, the fact that many collective hog farms have failed to establish a good relationship between the investment of living labor and materialized labor per hog in order to increase the weight of the hog herd. The investment of labor and increasing the weight of hogs are two factors which directly affect pork product production costs. These production costs are reduced if the amount of labor invested per hog (including both living and materialized labor) decreases and the size of the herd increases, if the amount of labor invested per hog remains unchanged but the weight of the herd increases, and if the amount of labor invested increases but at a slower rate than the rate at which the hog herd is gaining weight. Thus, efforts to reduce pork product production costs must be closely linked to efforts to increase the weight of hogs on the basis of "intensive hog production."

Investigative and research data compiled at a number of collective hog production installations show that high pork product production costs are the result of investing much living labor per hog and very low labor productivity within hog production; on the other hand, they are also the result of very large expenditures for materialized labor.

Reducing the amount of labor invested per hog does not mean reducing the application of the technical measures involved in hog production. To the contrary, cooperatives can reduce the amount of labor invested per hog and, at the same time, properly implement the various technical measures involved in hog production on the basis of actively improving their tools and efficiently reorganizing their labor in order to achieve high labor productivity, reduce their investments in uneconomical areas, and concentrate on investments which directly affect efforts to increase the weight of the hog herd.

The low labor productivity within collective hog production is also the result of the failure to organize labor along specialized lines. Although hog production units have been established at many places, these units are not truly stable. Many places have failed to give attention to assigning healthy workers who have a high spirit of responsibility and good management and technical skills to hog production units. Particularly deserving of attention is the fact that the three contracts system (the output contract, the expenditures contract, and the workpoints contract) in hog production has not been widely implemented and the system of appended bonuses and penalties is also not being fully implemented.

A study and analysis of the production costs at the X.D. and B.Y. Cooperatives in Vinh Phu Province show that their high production costs per unit of product are the result of not making full use of hog production equipment and particularly the result of having many empty pens, high capital depreciation, and high feed costs. These two cooperatives only utilize 45 percent of their pen space, their capital depreciation is roughly 60 dong per brood sow, and the value of assets wasted and unused is 2,186 dong at the X.D. Cooperative and 1,265 dong at the B.Y. Cooperative; the production costs of 1 unit of fodder are 94 percent above the ceiling and pure feed costs are 47 percent above the ceiling as a result of which hog production costs have risen to 10,827 dong at the X.D. Cooperative and 9,140 dong at the B.Y. Cooperative. On the other hand, production costs per unit of pork product are also high due to loose labor management, an inefficient distribution of labor, low labor productivity, and the failure to meet many quotas. The workers who raise hogs only met 30 percent of their boar quota and roughly 20 percent of their meat hog and reserve sow quotas. Indirect workers only met 15 percent of their quotas. Only the brood sow quota was implemented relatively well, roughly 85 percent of it was met. As a result, the total number of mandays wasted compared to the economic-technical quota in 1973 was 1,617 mandays at the X.D. Cooperative and 1,963 mandays at the B.Y. Cooperative. All of this inefficient waste of living labor and materialized labor caused the 1973 pork product production costs to increase by 32 percent at the X.D. Cooperatives compared to 1972 and by 22.2 percent at the B.Y. Cooperative.

Facts show that collective hog production cooperatives which improve their operations from losing ones to ones which break even or earn a small profit do so as a result of raising their labor productivity by fully implementing the system of the three contracts together with measures designed to strengthen their management and reduce unreasonable expenses in hog production. As these places, the proper implementation of the system of the three contracts to strengthen the system of responsibilities and the good implementation of hog production plans and economic-technical quotas have resulted in a marked increase in labor productivity. As a result of doing the same thing, the Nam Son Cooperative in Nam Ha Province reduced the number of mandays needed to produce 1 quintal of pork, live weight, from 58 in 1971 to 39 in 1972; the productivity of 1 worker rose from 2,880 kilograms of pork to 4,500 kilograms; the average number of hogs raised by 1 worker increased from 68 to 80. As a result of increased labor productivity, production costs per unit of product declined from 3.88 dong to 2.13 dong; the income per workday of hog production workers rose from 0.46 dong to 1.24 dong and, in 1972 the cooperative accumulated 2,120 dong.

It is clear that in our present efforts to guide the development of collective hog production, raising labor productivity and reducing hog product production costs must be made the primary goals. Only in this way can collective hog production develop strongly and steadily. To accomplish this, it is necessary to initiate cost accounting and give attention to the quality and the economic returns which the collective hog production sector has achieved during each given period of time. Only by organizing the recording of scientific information is it possible to have the conditions needed to accurately determine the results and progress which have been achieved, point out the weaknesses which exist in each area of production, determine their causes, and develop effective measures to correct them.

However, cost accounting is still not being given an appropriate amount of attention by the various party committee echelons on the basic level and agricultural cooperative management committees. Financial management at many collective hog farms is loose and expenditures and the use of the various types of capital are random and haphazard in nature.

It is the poor management of production costs, the distribution of income in ways which do not comply with established principles and policies, the loss and stagnation of capital in many areas of production at a time when there is little capital, thereby making it necessary to borrow more and more from the state, weak and haphazard cost accounting, and the failure to tightly manage the assets and liquid capital of collective hog farms that have created the conditions for the birth and growth of waste, corruption, and the abuse of authority.

An investigation of the 105 collective hog production installations in the outskirts of Hanoi showed that only 54 have established separate cost accounting systems for their hog production. In Gia Lam and Dong Anh Districts, the number of installations which do not have separate cost accounting systems for hog production comprises 60 percent of collective hog production units. This is the quantitative aspect of the problem. Qualitatively, many cooperatives have separate cost accounting systems but they are systems in form only, books are not kept on a daily basis. The T.V. Cooperative, which has a relatively large-scale hog production operation, has received 437,272 dong in subsidies from the local budget and more than 300,000 in state investments but it has not balanced its hog production books for 2 years.

Loose financial management has led to improper methods of operation and inaccurate reports which artificially increase the amount of income earned and reduce costs; for example, fixed asset depreciation is reduced, feed costs are reduced, and the weight of hogs carried over from the previous year is increased in order to increase the amount of income earned per day, etc. During the 2 years 1971 and 1972, the T.V. Cooperative in Thai Binh Province calculated its hog production costs at 13,424 dong in order to raise the income per day of those engaged in hog production from 1.35 dong in 1971 to 1.62 dong in 1972; in 1973, the H.T. Cooperative in Thai Binh Province reported highly exaggerated earnings from hog production in order to put an additional 12,227 dong into its distribution plan; the L.H. Cooperative in Hanoi increased its fixed asset depreciation 3.3 percent and the V.H. Cooperative increased its fixed asset depreciation 2.1 percent above the actual level of depreciation.

Therefore, a pressing problem is that of strengthening financial management, establishing operations based on plans and cost accounting, and determinedly combating convenient methods of operation and the habit of carrying out production at "any cost." Only in this way can we achieve the highest possible economic

returns from hog production and insure that livestock production gradually becomes a main production sector. As regards bank credit, in the future and on the basis of close coordination among the technical and material supply sectors, it is necessary, on the one hand, to actively expand the investment of credit capital in keeping with economic-technical requirements in order to step up the development of hog production in the state operated sector, the collective sector, and the cooperative member household sector; on the other hand, it is necessary to strengthen the function it has in providing monetary supervision in order to help and encourage production installations to improve and strengthen their management of hog production for the purpose of achieving higher economic returns from hog production, in general, and credit investments, in particular.

FOOTNOTES

1. Resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum.

7809

CS0: 4909

A NUMBER OF THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION WITHIN LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION
IN NORTH VIETNAM

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 57-66 and 71

[Article by Tran The Thong]

[Text] In our country, livestock production is still basically subsistent in nature, it is small-scale production with backward techniques, and it is dependent upon farming. The percentage of land allocated for livestock production and the establishment of grasslands is low, consequently, there is no stable feed base; not many breeds of livestock have been improved and not much is being done in the area of managing livestock breeds; veterinary services are not good and diseases persist; the material and technical base of livestock production is underdeveloped and industry does not have a strong impact or effect upon livestock production.

However, compared to the period of French domination, our livestock production sector has taken a number of noteworthy scientific and technical steps forward in the areas of livestock breeds, livestock feed, and the initial material-technical base of large-scale livestock production.

Deserving of attention is the fact that the strong development of the farming sector toward intensive cultivation, increasing the number of crops grown per year by growing crops during the winter season which shows prospects for becoming a main season supplying feed for livestock production, and opening new farmland in the mountains demands that the livestock production sector be developed in a manner in which it is balanced with farming and, at the same time, creates new advantages for the development of livestock production.

Moreover, in this new period, we have the conditions needed to seek assistance in the areas of breeds, equipment, and technical advances from the fraternal countries and the countries with which we have economic and cultural relations.

In view of the economic and technical characteristics and conditions mentioned above, the technological revolution within livestock production must help resolve the conflict between the underdeveloped material-technical base of small-scale livestock production and the need to develop livestock production toward large-scale socialist production and resolve the imbalance between livestock production and farming in order to meet the great need of our country to fully resolve the food problem for the purpose of improving the diet of the people, providing raw materials for the processing industry, and gradually increasing the volume of export goods.

1. The Goals, Guidelines, and Stages of Development of the Technological Revolution Within Livestock Production

The 19th Party Plenum pointed out: "The pressing task of agriculture is to virtually resolve the grain problem, step up food production, and upgrade livestock production to a main sector."

At the conference on agriculture held in Thai Binh Province in August 1974, Le Duan said: "In the next several years, we must bring about a change in livestock production in order to produce more food for society and fertilizer for farming and help expand

export activities and accelerate the redistribution of labor." He also pointed out the guidelines for the development of livestock production toward large-scale production in the initial stage: "Livestock production must encompass many species of livestock (buffalo, cattle, hogs, goats, etc.), poultry (chickens, ducks, geese, etc.), and fish" and "can take the form of state operated production, collective production, or household production but household livestock production, which is presently a very important form of livestock production, must become an integral part of the general livestock production system."

To carry out the task and guidelines for the development of livestock production mentioned above, the goals of the technological revolution within livestock production are to upgrade present livestock production with its manual labor and rudimentary techniques to a system of large-scale socialist livestock production employing advanced, modern techniques; upgrading livestock production from a subsidiary sector to a main sector within agriculture so that it, together with the farming sector, serves as a firm foundation for industry, export activities, and the improvement of the people's standard of living. This not only means that we must successfully resolve many problems of the technological revolution within livestock production, such as those related to mechanization, electrification, the application of chemistry, livestock breeds, livestock feed, the protection of livestock, livestock pens, technical management, cadre training, etc.

During the next several years, the technological revolution within livestock production must have the objective of raising livestock yields, the volume of livestock products, and labor productivity and gradually building the material and technical base of large-scale livestock production, primarily the system of breeds, the livestock feed production and processing system, and the veterinary system.

The guidelines of the technological revolution within livestock production during the initial stage must be to help gradually implement the guidelines for the comprehensive redevelopment of livestock production toward large-scale production by raising the major species of livestock found in the lowlands, midlands, mountains, and coastal regions, coordinating manual labor and machines, making use of our good livestock production experience, and applying the achievements of the world's advanced science and technology, particularly those in the fields of genetics and selection, biology, and nutrition. They set forth the structure and requirements for building the material and technical base of livestock production, rapidly, strongly, and steadily upgrading livestock production to a main sector, making full use of our capabilities and advantages, developing livestock production quantitatively, thoroughly implementing the viewpoint of "intensive" livestock production, creating a new balance between farming and livestock production, and correctly coordinating applied scientific research with the research of matters of a long range nature. Moreover, as regards the science of livestock production, the structure of the livestock production system in our country must be pyramidal, consequently, state operated livestock production, collective livestock production, and household livestock production have markedly different tasks but they must always be closely linked to and assist one another in order to form a single system in terms of breeds and meat-egg-milk products as well as technically and economically.

In our country, the technological revolution within livestock production is being carried out by means of "orderly development and leaps forward to mechanization and automation, beginning with mechanization."

The resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum states: "It is necessary to consolidate the existing mode of livestock production and, at the same time, implement the industrial mode of livestock production."

Consolidating the existing mode of livestock production means producing an increasingly high volume of meat, egg, and dairy products with the existing material-technical base and the land now allocated for livestock production at cooperatives and state farms. It also means that all three livestock production sectors must be strengthened in order to stimulate one another's development.

To consolidate the existing mode of livestock production, it is necessary to have a full understanding of our present livestock production.

In our country, household livestock production occupies an important position and more than 80 percent of the pork purchased by the state each year is purchased from

this sector. However, the number of families only raising a few hogs or no hogs at all is high. If the more than 3 million farm families raised 1 more hog apiece, including under contract, the number of hogs and the total output of pork would increase appreciably. To accomplish this, we must correctly implement policies designed to provide incentive for the development of hog production, popularize the new science and technology of livestock production among cooperative members and provide them with necessary instruction, and, at the same time, prevent and control livestock diseases well. In the future, the state will have many good breeds and some industrially processed feeds for sale to the household sector so that it can raise meat and eggs in the most economical manner possible.

In order to consolidate the collective mode of livestock production, we must endeavor to rapidly make it a business sector within cooperatives which earns a profit and produces many products and commodities. To accomplish this, the size of livestock herds must be consistent with the amount of capital invested in pens and labor and, in particular, must be balanced with the supply of feed (or the amount of available land) allocated for livestock production. At the same time, it is necessary to initiate "intensive" livestock production, that is, necessary to build the material and technical base of livestock production, such as feed installations, high quality breeder production installations, pens which meet specifications and are sanitary, and livestock disease prevention and treatment facilities; it is also necessary to efficiently mobilize labor for livestock production and to train a corps of skilled livestockmen who have a knowledge of the technology and economics of livestock production. Livestock production management regulations must be quickly strengthened in order to increase the volume of livestock products, raise labor productivity, and produce many products and commodities at low costs. More help is needed from the state in the areas of capital, equipment, pens, breeds, feed, technology, and so forth so that collective livestock production can rapidly advance to large-scale production and a unit specializing in the management of collective livestock farms must be established on the central level.

To consolidate the state operated mode of livestock production, we must first of all review this entire livestock production system because, at present, it is not playing a model role in the areas of technology and business management due to the fact that the guidelines for its development are unclear and its material base is weak and decentralized. It is necessary to establish and stabilize the livestock production guidelines and plan of the state operated sector and then have the state strengthen its material and technical base and provide it with additional cadres so that state farms can, within the next few years, supply increasingly more high quality livestock products, truly become centers of livestock production technology, and become model units of economic and technical management and be worthy of being the "moving force" of the livestock production sector. The future of large-scale socialist livestock production primarily lies within this sector because it has much land, an advanced material and technical base, rather highly skilled economic and technical cadres, and assistance from the state in various areas, particularly investments. The failure to consolidate and develop state operated livestock production will be very detrimental to the development of livestock production in general.

Together with consolidating the existing modes of livestock production, we must boldly apply the new mode of livestock production which is centralized along industrial lines to insure that the volume of livestock products produced is commensurate with the quantity of feed used to raise livestock. When the new mode of livestock production begins to have an effect, production capacity will increase very rapidly, the volume and quality of products will be stabilized according to the plan, and, as a result, the other industrial enterprises supporting livestock production will also have more stable operations.

Centralized industrial livestock production assumes many forms. One form is that employed by the Hanoi Chicken Enterprise which is a modern form similar to that used in foreign countries. In the future, we will have many such enterprises if they rapidly raise output and reduce production costs. But, the Phuc Loc Chicken Enterprise in Haiphong, which was constructed by using nothing but our own material base, and the Phap Van Duck Farm in Hanoi also represent a form of centralized industrial livestock production, one which we must continue to observe in order to draw proper conclusions.

We must establish more specific investment guidelines and measures so that we can implement the mode of industrial livestock production, particularly for poultry.

It must be stated that this mode will be the most revolutionary mode if we become self-sufficient in poultry feed. We must review our plans and make selective investments in major cities, industrial areas, and export areas in order to successfully develop the industrial mode of livestock production. If it meets the three basic targets of high productivity, a high volume of products, and low production costs, the mode of meat duck and laying duck production now being employed at many cooperatives can be considered a form of large-scale production even though it is now being conducted on a seasonal basis. If we become self-sufficient in poultry feed and if this feed fully meets nutritional requirements, we will be able to eliminate the seasonal nature of this mode of livestock production at cooperatives. Thus, the new mode of livestock production requires a livestock feed production industry which can produce a large and stable volume of feed.

Several Problems Which Must Be Fully Understood and Properly Resolved in Order to Accelerate the Technological Revolution Within Livestock Production.

We are carrying out the technological revolution within livestock production by following the best and shortest possible paths.

Due to our natural, economic, and technical conditions, we cannot rapidly modernize the livestock production system in a short period of time as the developed industrial countries have done. In the next several years (1975-1980), we will develop livestock production in both an orderly manner and by leaps and bounds by coordinating manual labor and machines; at the same time, we must resolve many practical and pressing problems concerning the basic contents and measures of the technological revolution within livestock production.

1. Livestock feed: livestock feed is the key problem faced in the development of livestock production. Because there is a shortage of feed and because the supply of feed is unstable, the supply of livestock products is unstable and the volume of products produced is not high. At present, hog and poultry feeds are dependent upon the yield and total output of grain crops, agricultural and industrial byproducts, and the modes of processing, storing, and maintaining feed. An important part of this feed is supplied from the 5 percent plots of cooperative member families and 5 percent of the land of cooperatives; however, the majority of this land is allocated for the production of grain for human consumption; therefore, increases or decreases in livestock herds and poultry flocks are the result of the success or failure of crops. Moreover, because livestock feed is not industrially processed feed, livestock production is not stable.

As regards feed for buffalo and cattle, which consists mostly of grass, we primarily rely upon natural grasses and natural pastures; therefore, there is generally a shortage of buffalo and cattle feed during the hot dry season.

To resolve the problem of feed for livestock, we must adopt measures suited to each livestock production sector.

a) The household livestock production sector:

In the immediate future, 5 percent plots must be solely for the production of livestock feed crops. Later on, the state will have a number of feed supplements, such as minerals, protein, yeast, vitamins, and so forth, which it will sell to families raising livestock at low prices. Eventually, the state will have livestock feed processed by enterprises and will supply it directly to installations for cooperative members raising livestock. Then, the state will breed and sell good breeders to cooperative members. Thus, the state will control the two main factors of production, industrially processed feed and good breeders, and it will be the job of the people to raise livestock. If these three things are done well, household livestock production will develop toward large-scale socialist production. It is necessary to research the contract form of livestock production, but livestock feed must truly be livestock feed and it must be managed very well. High yield livestock feed crops must be put into wide use. The techniques of processing and mixing feed and raising each specie of livestock must be disseminated to each family.

b) The collective livestock production sector:

In the immediate future, we should make it a policy to calculate livestock products and manure on the basis of the land allocated for livestock production. However, this must be done in a manner consistent with the crop yields of each area. Very

good use must be made of this land. The most efficient thing to do would be to only increase the amount of land allocated for livestock production at those places which make good use of the 5 percent of their land now allocated for this purpose.

A plan must be adopted for allocating a specific percentage of grain for processing as livestock feed. And, once there is a supply of livestock feed, society will surely have a stable supply of livestock products.

As regards feed for buffalo and cattle, many cooperatives in the lowlands have learned to make full use of dike banks to plant grasslands and they have achieved noteworthy results from this effort. For every 2 kilometers of dike, there is 1 hectare of grassland. Many cooperatives in Nghia Hung District, Nam Ha Province, have been planting grass on dikes and developing their production of brood cows. Cooperatives in the midlands and mountains can apply the techniques and experiences employed by My Giang and Ba Vi in Ha Tay Province in establishing their grasslands.

c) The state farm sector:

State farms can rapidly produce good breeds of livestock, high yield livestock feed crops, and livestock feed supplements, process, store, and utilize livestock feed in the most efficient manner possible, use implements and machinery in the processing and transportation of feed in the best manner possible, and so forth in order to raise their livestock productivity so that they become technical centers assisting both the household and collective livestock production sectors. The establishment of intensively cultivated grasslands must be carried out by building fields, constructing water conservancy projects, using chemical fertilizers, and dividing fields into lots and areas for rotation grazing and the production of grass to be dried and stored. However, due to our shortage of livestock feed, attention must be given to both natural grasslands and improved grasslands. Improving and making good use of natural grasslands and grassy hills and establishing pastures are pressing jobs which state farms must perform first and they can perform these jobs if they are considered to be the same as laws of the state. The state farm sector has established technical regulations for the establishment of perennial grasslands and combating erosion and protecting the soil so that it yields high economic returns. Each hectare of grasslands and grassy hills established in this manner requires an investment of approximately 1,000 dong and can support five head of cattle, 10 tons more than when cattle were being grazed on natural grasslands (0.5 head).

It is necessary to adopt a policy of expanding the establishment of pastures to other areas and necessary to adopt a specific plan for the use of natural grasslands, grassy hills, and pastures. We must, within a short amount of time, be producing a volume of meat, eggs, and milk which corresponds to the actual amount of land in grasslands and grassy hills.

To resolve the livestock feed problem, we must also give attention to the common livestock feed problems of all three sectors, particularly the problem of providing protein rich feed.

We have not solved the protein problem chiefly because we do not have a full understanding of the role played by protein in both humans and livestock and have not adopted concrete guidelines for providing livestock with protein. Livestock production installations still rely upon the state for their supply of protein, they do not produce it themselves nor do they give their attention to using hilly and mountainous land to produce protein.

In the years to come, we must have a plan for providing protein in many ways. The realities of countries which have developed industrial production and developed livestock production show that feeding vegetable protein to livestock is the primary way to resolve the protein problem.

In many countries, dried soy bean oil is the principle protein rich feed used in livestock production. In our country, we must adopt a policy for strongly developing the production of peanuts, soy beans, Cao Bang meo beans, and the other plants of the bean family in a manner suited to each area. This is the most practical way to increase the sources of protein for livestock production.

Animal protein is one of the most valuable types of protein. The sources of animal protein in our country are the residue of fish used to make sauce, fish powder, fish bones, meat, etc.

Our country lies in the hot, humid tropical zone, it is affected by seasonal winds, it has a long coastline, and it has much area in ponds, lakes, rivers, and streams; however, not enough attention is being given to the cultivation of fish. Specific programs, plans, and measures must be adopted for developing the fishery trade in order to serve the needs of humans and livestock production.

Solving the protein problem by means of chemical synthetics and micro-organisms is designed to transform abundant sources of inexpensive raw materials into protein rich feed for livestock.

In our country, the production of industrial yeasts is encountering a number of difficulties but we have made use of Chinese medicinal yeasts, isolated a number of valuable varieties of yeast, and widely implemented the technique of raising hogs on "fermented feed," which has raised their productivity in a very economical manner. We must give our attention to feeding urea to buffalo and cattle, particularly during the winter. A program must be established for building chemical feed factories.

2. Livestock breeds

In livestock production, the specie most widely talked about is hogs followed by buffalo and cattle. Little attention is given to poultry, goats, and rabbits. Under the guidelines for the comprehensive development of livestock production, we must give an appropriate amount of attention to each specie.

a) Work involving hog breeds: recently, we have concentrated our efforts in this area on a number of jobs and achieved results. However, there are many places which are not doing good work. The advanced livestock production systems of the world confirm the following fact: good breeds can increase livestock yields by 25 to 30 percent. Moreover, breeding techniques require little money but yield very high economic returns.

In order for genetic improvement to take place, work with breeds must be carried out in a systematic and long range manner. Genetic improvement means that each year the biological yield of livestock is better than the year before. To achieve this result, the state must have outstanding breeding stock installations on the central and provincial levels which form the nucleus of the entire country's breeding stock. To improve all the breeds within the country, the state need only control about 10 percent of all breeding stock. These breeding stock installations must be model units in the breeding stock business and supply reserve boars and selected sows which meet breeding stock standards to the hog production facilities of cooperatives. Cooperatives will only use the breeding stock of the state to produce grade 2 breeding stock and supply reserve hogs and shoats to be raised for meat to cooperative member families. Eventually, cooperatives must take about 40 percent of the breeding stock from the central, provincial, and district levels for the purpose of producing good hog breeders. Then, breeds will improve very rapidly and yields will constantly rise. Cooperative member families must continue to raise a number of brood sows for a long time to come in order to have hogs to raise for meat; these hogs must only be raised for meat, they cannot be used for breeding purposes (with the exception of a number of breeding areas which have the permission of the state and in which the state manages breeding stock). Present investments in breeding stock installations from the central to the provincial and district levels are meager. Whereas we realize that good rice seed production farms are a necessity, so too good hog breeding farms are of no less importance.

Only when there is a good herd of basic hog breeding stock under the systematic management of the state will the improvement of the hog herd be successful. The norms governing breeding, farrowing, the elimination of stock, and so forth must become legal norms within hog production plans. We should prohibit the use of poor breeds and consider their use an act of sabotage against production.

It is necessary to construct artificial insemination centers on the central and provincial levels and supply them with modern equipment.

It is also necessary to establish national breed improvement boards on the central and provincial levels.

b) Work with buffalo and cattle breeds:

At present, little work is being done with buffalo and cattle breeds. To be successful, work with buffalo and cattle breeds in the immediate future must primarily support the

need to supply draft power and some fertilizer for farming and supply some meat, milk, and other subsidiary products for the people and for industry. Over the long range, work with buffalo and cattle breeds must primarily support the need to supply meat and milk for everyday life and supply some draft power and fertilizer as well as other subsidiary products.

Thus, work with these breeds must gradually transform the present draft buffalo and cattle herd into a beef and dairy buffalo and cattle herd.

Work with buffalo and cattle breeds must also be carried out in the pyramidal system of the state operated, collective, and household economies. The guideline for work involving buffalo breeds is to improve the quality of breeds by using good selected bulls, destroying poor quality bulls, and maintaining an efficient ratio between bulls and cows based on the circumstances of villages and hamlets as well as grazing conditions. It is necessary to select a number of good buffalo cows to be crossbred with Mura buffalo in order to develop a dairy buffalo herd. Attention must be given to work involving dairy breeds of buffalo because we have three times more buffalo cows than we do regular dairy cows and because buffalo are acclimated to the hot, humid climate.

The guideline for work involving cattle breeds is to gradually shift to dairy, dairy-beef, and beef breeds. In large herds, it is necessary to increase the weight of cows from 160-180 kilograms to 230-250 kilograms by crossbreeding them with our Golden Sindhi cattle or using good local bulls to improve herds. Some cows weighing more than 200 kilograms can be crossbred with temperate zone cattle, such as Holstein or Brown Swiss. In high mountainous areas where the weather is cool and there are many grasslands, high yield cattle herds must be rapidly established.

In this manner, we will establish breeding centers producing bulls and cows and establish artificial insemination centers. We must also have centers for the crossbreeding of buffalo and cattle and many dairy buffalo and cattle units at state farms, cooperatives, and even among cooperative member families. These units will be included in the breeding plans of the central level and the various provinces.

In the immediate future, it is important that work involving buffalo and cattle breeds focus on stock which can be used for both breeding and draft purposes. The calving rate of cows must be increased and the percentage of calves surviving birth must be higher; the specific target is: within the next 5 years, the lowlands must become self-sufficient in draft power and places with more draft stock than they need must supply draft buffalo and cattle to places in need. We must adopt a plan for developing buffalo and cattle cow herds and selecting and making good use of bulls. Of the various technical factors, particular attention must be given to "breeding." If raised well and bred properly, the cows of a number of our buffalo and cattle breeds can annually bear 500,000 calves; this would enable us to increase the number of buffalo and cattle 40 percent each year and at least double the output of beef.

c) Work with breeds of chickens:

Large-scale chicken production has recently developed strongly. The industrial style of chicken production offers many prospects if we provide a better supply of chicken feed and improve our veterinary care.

However, the number of chickens being raised by industrial methods comprises a small percentage of the total number of chickens. As a result, in the immediate future, we need only to concentrate on eradicating chicken diseases in order to double chicken output. Because there has never been a breed improvement program, the yields of our breeds of chickens are low. Moreover, our chickens are raised for a dual purpose, not especially for eggs or meat.

Research results show that the chicken production of the cooperative sector will not develop strongly in the next several years due to the limited supply of feed.

To develop chicken production in the immediate future, we must strictly adhere to disease prevention procedures and consider them the same as laws. A plan must be adopted for supplying localities with chicken pestilence vaccine. Chicken flocks must be rapidly increased in size by breeding our hens with foreign roosters in order to increase the output of meat and eggs. The crossbreeding of chickens must be carried out in a systematic manner because it is part of our country's chicken improvement plan.

Ducks have long been raised on a centralized, large scale and produce many products and commodities because their production is closely linked to rice fields and rice comprises some 95 percent of the business of cooperatives. On each sao of rice field on which 3 or 4 kilograms of paddy have been dropped during harvest, 1 meat duck weighing 1 kilogram can be raised. Thus, with the land we use to raise two rice crops per year, we can raise tens of millions of ducks.

We have more than 65,000 hectares of ponds which contain very much aquatic food for raising ducks. In addition, the raising of ducks and fish can be coordinated in a very economical manner. Duck manure increases fish yields 25 percent. When fish byproducts are used to raise ducks, ducks lay many eggs. At present, practically all the eggs being purchased by the state are duck eggs. Some cooperatives have sold the state hundreds of thousands of eggs.

In our hot, humid climate, ducks have very good growing conditions; ducks are suited to our rudimentary mode of duck production but they can be raised on a centralized, large scale. Ducks not only provide us with meat and eggs, they also provide us with down which is a valuable export product. The duck can be called "the tropical zone sheep" because the down of 200 ducks is equal in use value to the wool of 1 sheep. To further develop duck production, attention must be given to inoculating ducks against cholera. Attention must also be given to selecting and properly raising drakes for release in hen flocks and to providing protein rich feed for ducks and paddy for "out of season" ducks. We must eventually develop duck production along industrial lines as has been done in Korea. If we develop the production of ducks well, we will have a very appreciable quantity of protein because ducks produce products very rapidly. Duck production can be developed on a large scale more easily than chicken production can because investments in duck pens are very much less than the investments required for chicken coops.

3. Protecting livestock.

Due to our hot, humid tropical climate, many diseases develop and pose dangers to livestock production. Also as a result of these climatic conditions, and our poor techniques for maintaining livestock feed, feed easily spoils and this is one of the factors causing livestock to contract diseases. Recently, a number of new diseases have appeared as we have begun to establish centralized, specialized livestock farms. However, the veterinary care provided at cooperatives and in production is very haphazard in nature and, as a result, diseases are still widespread. Veterinary regulations have been in effect for quite some time but livestockmen know little about them. All successful livestock producers know "veterinary care does not simply mean combating disease." It is extremely important to prevent disease. The following measures must be taken on a routine basis and carried out in accordance with disease prevention regulations: pen sanitation, livestock sanitation, feed and drinking water sanitation, and sanitation in the transportation of livestock to pens. The practice of going to markets and buying many head of livestock in order to rapidly increase the size of herds must be absolutely forbidden because it easily results in the development of diseases. When a few head of livestock on a farm are sick or die, the veterinarian must be informed so that he can diagnose the disease or perform an autopsy. These are the minimum requirements of veterinarians and, if they are met, livestock output can be increased many times and livestock production will be stabilized.

We have the ability to eradicate a number of the primary diseases which pose a constant danger. We have manufactured many types of effective medicines. Our veterinary cadres are not lacking the necessary skills. The number of veterinary cadres is not small. We must consolidate and reorganize the veterinary sector in order to successfully resolve the many veterinary problems we face.

In order for the veterinary sector to competently participate in upgrading livestock production to a main sector, it is necessary to establish a highly effective veterinary system extending from the central to the district levels and make the district and township levels better able to prevent livestock diseases. We must clearly define the function of veterinarians and give them the full authority to make decisions concerning diseased livestock.

Part of the Institute of Industrial Chemistry and the Central Veterinary Pharmaceuticals House will become two centers supporting the "application of chemistry in livestock production." Basic veterinary science research must be accelerated. These things require that cadres be rather highly skilled and have a modern material and technical base so that they can apply the achievements of world veterinary science.

4. The application of chemistry.

The application of chemistry is one of the key problems in raising livestock productivity by means of "intensive production" and helping us take leaps forward in livestock production. The application of chemistry within livestock production encompasses very many areas: drugs to prevent and eradicate livestock diseases, minerals, vitamins, growth stimulants, livestock feed protein supplement, primary elements and trace elements, etc.

Livestock feed, if it becomes industrially processed feed, must contain relatively full amounts of the elements and nutrients required by the physiology of each species of livestock. Only in this way will it be possible to confine livestock in pens and still have them produce meat more rapidly than when they are grazing.

With the present level of development of our chemical industry, we can successfully resolve the majority of the problems mentioned above, including that of producing the chemicals needed for the livestock feed industry. Our Institute of Industrial Chemistry has begun to achieve a number of good results in this field. It is necessary to adopt clear guidelines for the production of chemicals in support of livestock production.

5. Mechanization and electrification.

Our country is presently experiencing a very severe shortage of electricity and mechanized equipment. Therefore, we cannot widely distribute these forces. We must concentrate our efforts on achieving mechanization and electrification in the centralized livestock production areas and at a number of state farms and cooperatives which have relatively large-scale livestock operations so that they can serve as models; however, because this problem is a comparatively complex one, mechanization and electrification cannot be expanded until later. At these places, it is necessary to utilize electricity and machines in those jobs which require the most labor, jobs which can rapidly increase labor productivity, primarily the following four:

The processing of feed: at present, we have blueprints for the various livestock feed processing machines, such as grinders, vegetable cutters, feed mixers, and so forth. The task of mass producing these machines can be assigned to our machine works.

The transportation and distribution of feed: small, hand-operated, improved vehicles can be used to haul feed. In the future, conveyor belts or cables will be used to move feed from the processing house to pens. Pipes will be used to deliver water to hog pens.

Pen sanitation: there are separate systems for removing solid and liquid wastes and providing water for cleaning pens. Either underground culverts or covered ground level drains can be used. In the future, trucks with "xi tec" will have to be used to remove manure and liquids from manure processing plants. Pen sanitation requires very much water, pumps, and mechanized transportation equipment. As a result, attention must be given to these factors when pens are being constructed.

Water: farms raising 100 hogs require high pressure pumps drawing water from deep wells. Farms raising 300 to 500 hogs must have reservoirs. With a good supply of water for hog production, labor productivity and livestock yields increase greatly.

6. Providing the water needed for livestock production:

Livestock production requires just as much water as crop production does. Water must be delivered directly to pens for livestock to drink, for cleaning pens, and for bathing hogs. Bathing hogs during the summer can be considered almost the same thing as feeding them because it reduces their body temperature. A farm raising 1,000 hogs requires approximately 80 to 100 cubic meters of water a day. Providing water for livestock production also includes constructing water conservancy projects for grasslands and areas under the cultivation of livestock feed crops, particularly in the midlands and mountains.

7. Technical management:

Technical management not only makes it mandatory for livestock production to comply with rules and regulations, but it also constantly improves product quality so that products

meet the standards of domestic consumption or exportation. It also contributes to the full and widespread application of technical advances and, as a result, increases the productivity of livestock production, increases labor productivity, and lowers production costs.

Recently, our technical management has been weak. Even the state operated and collective sectors have not been raising livestock in accordance with rules and regulation, rather, they have been lax in the application of techniques and this has adversely affected the results of livestock production. The proportion of livestock products has been declining at an annual rate of 40-50 percent.

We must consider technical management a law. A unit on the central level must be put in charge of this work. Within the livestock production sector, there are more than 50 rules, regulations, and economic-technical quotas. We must manage them well when applying them in production so that livestock production develops more smoothly toward a scientific and economical method of operation.

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SEVERAL EXPERIENCES IN PROPERLY ORGANIZING A STORE'S DISTRIBUTION

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[Article by Tran Thi Xuan]

[Text] The Thuong Tin District Pharmacy in Ha Tay Province has been distributing pharmaceutical products well for many years. The store is recognized as the leader of the state operated pharmaceutical sector, it has been a socialist labor team for 10 consecutive years, and it is one of the advanced model units of our country's public health sector.

The cadres, workers, and personnel of the pharmacy correctly realize that the pharmacy, as well as all other business units, must operate in the commercial cost accounting mode of business; however, due to its special characteristics, namely, the fact that it does business in products which directly support the treatment of illnesses and the maintenance of the people's health, the pharmacy must make serving public health requirements well its main task and must manage its business well in order to provide good service. The pharmacy manages and distributes products which are managed and distributed solely by the state, it sells its products on the basis of stipulated state prices, it cannot increase or reduce the prices of its products, nor can it forget its service requirements for the sake of pursuing profits and a high volume of sales. The main task of the pharmacy is to support production and life well, specifically to support the requirements of preventing and combating diseases and epidemics and protecting (restoring, maintaining, and improving) the health of the working people.

The Thuong Tin Pharmacy has clearly established who the customers it serves are, it distributes products to the correct customers, and it maintains close contact with the customers it serves. The scope of the pharmacy's service encompasses the people of the 32 townships within Thuong Tin District and nearly 100 public health units of agencies, enterprises, worksites, and state farms on both the central and local levels. In addition, the pharmacy is also responsible for serving three large public health installations, namely, the District Hospital, the Central Mental Hospital, and the Western Convalescence Camp of the Ministry of Water Conservancy.

To serve these customers well, the pharmacy has allocated 60 percent of its specialized medicines, special drugs used in the treatment of diseases, and valuable tonics, such as ginseng, "nhung," and so forth, for distribution to the various hospitals. As regards the drug dispensaries of public health stations as well as the public health clinics of agencies and enterprises, the pharmacy has a plan for distributing to them an appropriate quantity of pharmaceutical products based on the number of people they serve. In addition, tonics and ordinary drugs which are available in large quantities are widely sold at the pharmacy and its retail counters to serve the people and tourists. By managing the inventory and quality of pharmaceutical products well and with this mode of distribution, the Thuong Tin Pharmacy has provided pharmaceutical products to the right customers and prevented speculation, hoarding, and the selling of its products on the basis of "personal connections," as a result, it has the confidence of the people.

To provide good service, the pharmacy has given its attention to improving its mode of service and, at the same time, maintains close relations with public health clinics and the District Hospital in order to adopt a plan for providing effective and timely service. In addition to establishing a number of retail counters at a few communication centers within the district, the Thuong Tin Pharmacy put a dispensary in the District Hospital soon after the pharmacy was established

in order to expand its service network. Facts have shown that this increased the effectiveness of its service because the pharmacist on duty can promptly inform attending physicians of the amount of medicine available so that they can write prescriptions accordingly; by participating in the hospital's communication network, the pharmacist can also keep abreast of diseases and the signs of potential epidemics in order to notify the pharmacy to promptly prepare the necessary drugs; moreover, the installation of a dispensary in the hospital has also enabled patients to buy medicine there and not have to spend much time traveling somewhere else to buy their medicine and they can have their prescriptions promptly changed if this is necessitated by the availability of medicines.

The Thuong Tin Pharmacy has been trying to develop additional sources of products by using local drugs in order to increase the effectiveness of its service. In our present situation, a situation in which we are unable to produce many pharmaceutical products and our imports of these products are limited, taking the initiative to develop sources of products by using local drugs is both necessary and beneficial. For this reason, the pharmacy has coordinated with the district hospital to organize the manufacture and production of a number of ordinary medicines, such as eye drops, nose drops, disinfectants, and a number of serums to support the emergency treatment of war injuries and eradicate epidemics. The pharmacy has also manufactured a number of ointments and pills, such as "lien thao hoan," a prescription which is frequently written at the mental hospital, "stomach pills," for treating dysentery, etc. To supplement the antibiotics of Western medical science, the pharmacy has organized the processing of a very good "sai dat" syrup for treating inflammation of the throat and abscesses of children. Fully aware of the effect of *Leonurus sibiricus* plant on the health of women, the pharmacy organized the processing of an ointment from this plant and, during the days of the strategic air offensive waged by B-52's, a number of the pharmacy's cadres, without regard for the dangers involved, produced 10 kilograms of high quality *Leonurus sibiricus* ointment in an area which was a key enemy target.

To provide good service, the Thuong Tin Pharmacy has also given its attention to assigning pharmacists and assistants who are well qualified in their specialty and profession and have a good service attitude the job of selling its products. The salesperson must, on the one hand, pay very much attention to instructing customers in how to take their medicine, how to prevent illness, and, when necessary, change the patient's medicine; on the other hand, he must promptly inform his superiors of any serious disease people might have. The pharmacy has tried to follow President Ho's teaching: "The good doctor is like a kind mother." The pharmacy has also launched a movement to study the spirit of unconditional service and the sales methods of its emulation warrior, Van Thi Phu. As a result, the cadres and personnel of the pharmacy have a good service spirit, are cordial to customers, and exercise care in reading and filling prescriptions.

For decades the Thuong Tin Pharmacy has continuously met and surpassed its business norms, such as those governing the index of sales and purchases, the purchasing of drugs, etc. The most significant thing is that the pharmacy has managed its business well in order to provide good service.

Throughout the several decades it has been in operation, the pharmacy has tightly managed and correctly distributed its products; as a result, it has been able to prevent the misuses or loss of its products and avoid the unfair practice of selling products on the basis of personal feelings as well as taking advantage of personal connections in the distribution of products. In coordination with ideological education designed to imbue everyone from the pharmacy manager to the warehouse custodian and sales personnel with the spirit of honesty, the pharmacy has also employed administrative measures to check its cadres and personnel. For example, when a shipment of ginseng arrives, it is immediately weighed, put into individual packages, labeled to guarantee clarity and accuracy, etc.

To manage its business well, the Thuong Tin Pharmacy has fully implemented the principles of economic management. First, it established the specific function of each cadre and personnel; on this basis, it can accurately and fairly evaluate how well each person performs his task and make awards or take disciplinary action accordingly. The pharmacy has properly implemented the system of initial records well which is an important measure in combating loose economic management. This is something new which, when first proposed, many people feared and did not want to implement. Some people opposed it because they were afraid they would not be able to "make some extra money." Others were worried about time consuming paper

work, and so forth. To remold everyone's thinking and, at the same time, point out the benefit to be derived from keeping initial records, the pharmacy conducted a pilot project to explain how to sell products, how to keep initial records, etc. Once everyone had a clear understanding of the matter, the keeping of initial records was implemented throughout the pharmacy and has now been put on a regular basis. The result has been that the percentage of in excess or below sales receipts has markedly declined (it now stands at 1/10,000 to 2/10,000). At a time when the allowable amount of shortage or overage per every 10,000 dong in receipts is 5 dong, the Tia Railroad Station counter had receipts totalling 200,924 dong during the first 9 months of 1973 and was only short 24.48 dong. By giving attention to keeping statistics and maintaining its books and by routinely checking to insure that receipts are made out in a manner which complies with financial principles, the pharmacy has tightly managed its money and products and prevented the loopholes which loose management create.

Storing products well is a necessary job in helping tightly manage products and business operations. The pharmacy has shown very much concern for maintaining its products well. When picking up and transporting products, the pharmacy's workers make sure to keep the percentage of damaged products as low as possible; when products arrive at the pharmacy, they immediately inspect the entire shipment in order to promptly determine how many products have been damaged and how many have been spoiled so that appropriate steps can be taken. Although the drug warehouse is filled to capacity, the workers have efficiently arranged it so that warehouse sanitation regulations can be maintained. The regulations governing the checking of product expiration dates and drug quality classifications are fully implemented. The pharmacy rejects grade C pharmaceuticals and does not sell them to its customers. Drug compounds and preparations are maintained in accordance with technical rules and regulations as a result of which they can be used for a longer period of time. The pharmacy uses metal containers with lids for storing bulk pharmaceutical products, not burlap bags; to avoid confusion, each product is labeled; specific storage regulations including schedules for turning over and drying drugs and many methods for exterminating rats and termites and preventing mildew were discussed and implemented. The pharmaceutical products which the pharmacy purchases, processes, and sends to the state operated warehouse and the Level I warehouse always meet qualitative specifications and not one has ever been returned. Its raw drugs and prepared medicinal herbs are fragrant, clean, and never mildewed. The result is that the percentage of product losses below the state's ceiling is: the percentage of loss established by the state operated pharmaceutical sector is 32,000 dong for every 1 million dong spent but the pharmacy's norm is only 29,000 dong which represents a savings of 3,000 dong.

The Thuong Tin Pharmacy has also succeeded in improving its purchasing of pharmaceutical products. In keeping with its guideline of being self-reliant and developing additional product sources by using local pharmaceutical products to supplement the products it receives from the central level, the pharmacy launched a program whereby the people raise medicinal plants and the pharmacy buys these products from them. On the basis of a number of township medical aid stations and a number of families experienced in raising medicinal plants, the pharmacy propagandized the benefit derived from raising medicinal plants, provided widespread instruction on the techniques involved in raising them, and mobilized residents of townships to sell medicinal plants. From then on, the raising of medicinal plants developed rather strongly and the quantities purchased have constantly increased. In the process of making these purchases, the pharmacy has encountered a number of difficulties, such as where to find the necessary funds; how to purchase and systematically handle large quantities during the peak harvest season; and how to insure that purchasing cadres can accurately classify pharmaceutical products so as not to cause the state or the people to incur any losses and, at the same time, insure that they are honest and do not seek personal gain and adversely affect public funds in the process. To resolve these difficulties, the pharmacy requested a loan from the bank with the guarantee that it would be repaid in full and on time. The pharmacy initiated a system designed to provide the people with incentive for raising and selling many pharmaceutical products which includes selling 20 percent of its valuable drugs to families recording achievements in this area as a bonus and buying many pencils and much paper for sale as bonuses to school children. As regards the cadres whose job it is to purchase pharmaceutical products, the pharmacy has selected people who are resourceful, experienced in encouraging the people to raise medicinal plants, are loyal and honest, and have the trust of the pharmacy and the people. By trying one thing after another and gradually gaining experience, Luong Van Thang discovered the secret to transplanting and raising the Angelica anamala

tree and then informed the people of his experience; as a result, many more Angelica anamala trees have been transplanted; on the other hand, the pharmacy also used this opportunity to establish new guidelines for the purchasing of Angelica anamala, thereby saving the state roughly 50,000 dong during each purchasing season compared to the old price. In 1973, when the pharmacy was purchasing Angelica anamala and was filled with both products and people, a person shoved 100 dong into the pocket of the purchasing cadre as he was beginning to weigh another person's products because he wanted his own products graded higher; but the cadre did not accept the money and he forthrightly criticized this person, telling him that it was wrong to do such a thing. This action made the people more confident in the pharmacy and they eagerly sold the state many products; as for the pharmacy, it promptly praised this good action in order to provide a lesson in ideology for everyone. The pharmacy has so far purchased large quantities of Angelica anamala, Achryranthos hidenata, creeping vine root, date pits, and so forth and has manufactured grade A dried "dragon's eye" from fresh longan it has purchased. In its purchasing of pharmaceutical products, the pharmacy has given its attention to keeping statistics on each objective, each season, the requirements and sales potential of the various townships, and so forth in order to adopt very accurate purchasing plans and prepare forces for the peak harvest season.

In its 12 years of growth, the pharmacy has been recognized as a socialist labor team for 10 consecutive years; this is the result of a process of determined struggle by the collective of cadres, workers, and personnel of the Thuong Tin Pharmacy under the leadership of its party chapter. The party chapter of the Thuong Tin Pharmacy understands that "there can be no advanced unit without a strong party chapter," therefore, it has strengthened itself and given its attention to teaching party members and those outside the party the spirit of providing unconditional service and the attitude of fully complying with each regulation and policy of the party and state, in general, and the principles and regulations of pharmacy management, in particular. Each cadre and party member always fulfills his role of setting examples in the performance of each task and, at the same time, propagandizes and disseminates the resolutions of the party chapter to each cadre and worker outside the party. The party chapter has also given its attention to surrounding itself with a corps of people outside the party who are loyal to the revolution and enthusiastic; at the same time, it uses the unity and unanimity within the party chapter and between the party chapter and those outside the party as the firm foundation for completing each task. The pharmacy's party chapter has also given its attention to providing training in order to have management personnel who are loyal and honest, enthusiastic and capable, and virtuous and exemplary; As a result, the party chapter has led the development of the pharmacy well, thereby insuring the good implementation of the lines and policies of the party and state concerning the distribution of products and serving the people well.

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THE MOVEMENT TO PURCHASE, READ, AND WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH NEWSPAPERS IN TIEN SON

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 72-77

[Article by Nguyen Tien]

[Text] For the past several years, Tien Son has been the leading district in Ha Bac Province in the movement to purchase, read, and work in accordance with newspapers. This movement is primarily reflected in the number of newspapers purchased. It can be said that the number of newspaper and magazine subscriptions the installations, cadres, party members, and people in Tien Son have is relatively high (see Chart 1).

Publication	Number Purchased
NHAN DAN	1,040
HA BAC	1,150
TAP CHI HOC TAP	225
PHU NU	291
TIEN PHONG	308
NONG NGHIEP	629

In addition to the newspapers and journals mentioned above, many installations in Tien Son have also placed subscriptions to other newspapers, journals, and magazines such as THIEU NIEN TIEN PHONG, LAO DONG, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, etc. Some installations, such as the Duong Loi Cooperative, regularly subscribe to six newspapers and journals and the Trang Ha Cooperative and the Tam Son Level II School regularly subscribe to 16 newspapers and magazines. In some townships, such as Lien Bao Township, each party member family has placed a regular subscription to the HA BAC NEWSPAPER. In some schools, such as the Tam Son Level II School, each student has a subscription to THIEU NIEN TIEN PHONG.

Newspaper subscribers are also rather uniformly distributed throughout the population. In past years, agencies, schools, and township party committees were practically the only newspaper subscribers in Tien Son; the majority of the cooperatives and mass organizations in the various townships did not have newspapers. Thus, a large number of agricultural production cooperative members and rural youths had no newspaper to read. As a result, their understanding of everything was limited and this adversely affected the performance of the locality's political tasks. Today, this situation has been remedied. All basic party organizations, local governments, and mass organizations subscribe to newspapers (see Chart 2).

All of the basic organizations of the party and local governments have subscribed to newspapers; in particular, a rather high percentage have subscribed to the party newspaper. However, the percentage of production units, Youth Group chapters, and Women's Federation chapters on the township level which have subscribed to the party newspaper is low (less than 50 percent). This is an average of only one NHAN DAN NEWSPAPER subscription for every 2 production units, one for every 4 township level Lao Dong Youth Group organizations, and one for every 4 township Women's Federation chapters.

CHART 2:

Subscriber	Quantity	<u>NHAN DAN</u>		<u>HA BAC</u>	
		# of units subscribing	%	# of units subscribing	%
Township Party Committees	28	28	100%	28	100%
Agricultural Party Chapters	81	81	100%	81	100%
Agricultural Cooperatives	78	78	100%	78	100%
Production Units	32	32	100%	32	100%
Agency Party Chapters	586	280	45%	586	100%
Township Youth Groups	28	6	24%	28	100%
Township Women's Federation Chapters	28	7	25%	8	27%
		<u>HOC TAP</u>		<u>NONG NGHIEP</u>	
		# of units subscribing	%	# of units subscribing	%
Township Party Committees	28	28	100%		
Agricultural Party Chapters	81	73	90%		
Production Units	32	32	100%		
Agricultural Cooperatives	78			74	93%
Agency Party Chapters	586			545	94%
		<u>TIEN PHONG</u>		<u>PHU NU</u>	
		# of units subscribing	%	# of units subscribing	%
Township Youth Groups	28	28	100%		
Township Women's Federation Chapters	28			28	100%

The ratio of the various newspapers and magazines per capita in Tien Son is also relatively high (see Chart 3).

CHART 3:

Publication	Laborers/ subscription	Party members/ subscription	Key township cadres/subscription	Youth Group members/ subscription	Women's Federation members/sub- scripti
NHAN DAN	42	3.6	0.2		
HA BAC	39	3.3	0.18		
HOC TAP	195	17	0.90		
NONG NGHIEP	70				
TIEN PHONG				18.7	
PHU NU					120

In coordination with the movement to purchase newspapers, Tien Son District has also organized a rather good newspaper reading program.

In the past, newspapers and magazines were not widely distributed in Tien Son District, rather, they were generally "hidden" in the briefcases of the cadres in charge of agencies or "concealed" in desk drawers within the offices of party committees, administrative committees, or cooperatives. Today, depending upon their unit's specific situation, all agencies, schools, townships, cooperatives, party chapters, and party cells have various forms of newspaper reading programs and read newspapers on a regular basis. These forms include: reading newspapers before daily workpoint review sessions are held in production units; reading newspapers before going to work at agencies; reading newspapers after lunch at a number of schools, selecting interesting articles for broadcasting each day over the public loudspeaker systems in townships; posting newspapers on public bulletin boards or at places passed by many people, and so forth are being widely applied in Tien Son.

At the Duong Loi Cooperative, each production unit has one NHAN DAN NEWSPAPER subscription and one HA BAC NEWSPAPER subscription. During the evening meeting each day and before production units award workpoints, all cooperative members listen to their unit's secretary read the newspaper. In order for these newspaper reading sessions to achieve good results, the management committee assigned the secretaries of the various production units the task of reading the newspaper first and then selecting interesting articles consistent with the propaganda and work requirements of the locality. The person who reads the newspaper must also give his attention to

pronouncing words clearly and distinctly and placing emphasis where necessary. Each cooperative member family need only send one person to the daily sessions to award workpoints in production units; however, because of the newspaper reading program, many families send two or three people to listen to the newspaper being read. Collective newspaper reading has become a way of life for the cadres, party members, and cooperative members at the Duong Loi Cooperative.

The Trang Ha Cooperative, in addition to organizing a collective newspaper reading program in its production units, has also organized a newspaper reading program at its library. The Trang Ha Library has 16 newspapers and journals. The library opens at noon and during the evening each day for people to read newspapers. The librarian routinely puts summaries of the contents of a number of major newspapers, such as NHAN DAN, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, TIEN PHONG, AND PHU NU, on blackboards in front of the library for the benefit of readers. In addition, the members of the Trang Ha Cooperative regularly listen to interesting articles and news of contemporary events broadcast over the cooperative's loudspeaker system.

After lunch each day -- when everyone is most alert -- the teachers of the Tam Son and Lien Hao Level II General Schools gather to listen to the reading of the newspaper. They comment on interesting articles and feverishly discuss contemporary matters related to their work.

In addition to the daily collective newspaper reading program, many installations in Tien Son have established special subject newspaper reading programs. In 1973, the Duong Loi Party Chapter mobilized its cadres and party members to concentrate on the special subject "improving and heightening the quality of party chapter life" in their reading of the newspaper. In order to achieve good results from the special subject newspaper reading program, the party chapter required that each cadre and party member make a conscious effort to read newspapers articles and books related to this matter and note the main ideas and basic concepts presented in them in order to prepare for discussions during the special subject meetings of the party chapter.

The Tam Son Level II School has used special subject articles in newspapers and magazines to supplement its teaching program. There is a special subject article for every matter recorded in the teaching program of each subject. All special subject articles are assembled in a separate volume consisting of newspaper articles, newspaper passages, the words of President Ho and the leaders of our party and state, pictures, and so forth printed in newspapers and magazines which are related to the contents of lessons. For example, in the history program, for teaching the history of the Vietnam revolution since the founding of the party, teachers utilize such special subject articles as "The Founding of the Indochina Communist Party," "The Period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939)," "The Successful August Revolution and the Birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," and so forth. When teaching students about the activities of President Ho, they employ such supplemental special subject articles as "The Youth of President Ho," "President Ho in France," etc. The teachers of the Tam Son Level II School have hundreds of volumes of these special subject articles.

The Dai Dong Township Women's Federation Chapter selects special newspaper articles to support its work, such as "The Equality of Men and Women," "The Marriage and Family Law," "The Lifestyle of the New Woman," "Raise Healthy and Obedient Children," etc. Such subjects are also used as the themes of the activities of Federation chapters and sub-chapters.

Practically all of the installations in Tien Son have been and are trying to overcome the practices of reading newspapers simply for the sake of formality, only because they have to be read, or in a "superficial" manner instead of reading newspapers in a self-conscious manner, in a spirit of truly wanting to learn, and in order to work in accordance with what is contained within them. For this reason, newspapers and magazines (particularly the party newspaper) have had a positive effect upon the cadres, party members, and masses of Tien Son in all areas of their work and life.

As a result of routinely reading newspapers, the Duong Loi Cooperative was able to quickly respond to a new situation. In 1972, when the U.S. pirates renewed their heavy attacks against North Vietnam, the party adopted a policy for reorienting all activities to be consistent with the new situation. As a result of routinely reading newspapers, the Duong Loi Cooperative quickly gained an understanding of this policy of the party, it learned that the enemy could concentrate their attacks on dikes during the rainy season and destroy densely populated areas, it learned that

difficulties would be encountered supplying electricity and gasoline for production, and so forth; therefore, the cooperative took the initiative and established a specific plan for its locality and did not wait for a directive from the district level. Scores of trenches were dug; a combat alert unit was established and the cooperative equipped its production units with enough suspended buckets and bailing buckets to use in place of pumps in case of a shortage of electricity and gasoline. As a result of making these thorough preparations, there was ample water for Duong Loi's fields during the 1972 10th month season despite a prolonged drought. The Duong Loi Cooperative also uses newspapers and magazines to learn and apply new knowledge of agricultural science and technology in production. The head of the cooperative reads books and newspapers whenever he can. An avid reader, he makes use of the good experiences of other localities and boldly applies the latest achievements of science and technology. When he read in a newspaper that transplanting rice by the "palms up" method is fast and results in the rapid recovery of rice plants, he suggested to the management committee that it send someone to attend a class on this transplanting technique. At first, many people did not believe him and maintained that the old method was both quick and easy. He suggested that a transplanting contest be held between people using the new method and people using the old method. The result was that those using the new method planted more than 3 sao in 8 hours while those using the old method only planted slightly more than 1 sao.

As a result of routinely reading newspapers and magazines, the teachers of the Tam Son Level II General School have an understanding of the lines and policies of the party and their overall qualifications have been markedly improved. They have applied this knowledge in their lessons which has improved the quality of their lessons and provided their students with the latest knowledge and supplemented the lessons already in their textbooks. One of the school's history teachers used to be a Level I teacher, but, as a result of training himself by studying newspapers and magazines in order to improve his ability, he has become one of the Level II school's best teachers. In his more than 10 years of teaching, he has, as a result of being an avid reader of newspapers, collected more than 100 specialized articles to support his teaching work.

The children of the Tam Son Level II School, the home of the "1,000 good deeds" movement, consider the THIEU NIEN TIEN PHONG NEWSPAPER a close friend of theirs in cultivating their ethics and increasing their overall level of knowledge.

Many of the party organizations and party chapters in Tien Son use newspapers and magazines to support the party development activities of their locality. The Duong Loi Party Chapter, as a result of reading special articles on party development and organizing the thorough study and discussion of them, has recorded good experiences in its party chapter activities, thereby helping it become one of the strong chapters of the Tien Son District party organization. In particular, marked progress has been made in the party activities of the Duong Loi Chapter. The party chapter has oriented its party activities toward consolidating its internal unity and increasing its fighting strength, thereby insuring the good performance of the locality's political task. The activities of the party chapter are practical and interesting. The party chapter gives its attention to many matters, both minor and major; however, it does not concern itself with miscellaneous administrative matters nor does it undertake the work of the cooperative management committee or other organizations. It also deeply discusses selected special subjects; at the same time, it has adopted a clear organizational and division of labor plan which includes thorough inspections.

The movement to purchase, read, and work in accordance with newspapers in Tien Son District is not simply the movement of the several installations mentioned above, rather, it is a broad mass movement throughout the district. Nearly 80 percent of the townships, cooperatives, and schools within the district are participating in it. The movement is still weak at a number of places, such as Dong Ky, Da Hoi, Gioi Ke, Xuan O, and so forth, chiefly because reading and working in accordance with newspapers has not been given attention nor become a habit.

The movement to purchase, read, and work in accordance with newspapers in Tien Son has made the progress it has primarily because of the particular attention given it by the district party committee. In keeping with the resolution of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee concerning purchasing, reading, and working in accordance with newspapers, the Standing Committee of the district party committees assigned the District Committee of Propaganda-Education and Posts-Telegraphs the job of carefully studying the distribution and use of newspapers and magazines within

the district. After this study was conducted, the district party committee convened two special conferences to discuss press activities (one conference of agricultural representatives and one conference of agency and school representatives). At these conferences and on the basis of the press activities of the district, the district party committee concentrated on resolving a number of problems concerning understanding and organization, such as the effect of newspapers and magazines, particularly the party newspaper, on each area of work, production, combat, and the organization of life; the responsibility of the various party committee echelons, local governments, mass organizations, and press distribution agencies to press activities; the sources of money for purchasing newspapers; how to organize efforts to read, study, and work in accordance with newspapers, etc. Under the close supervision of the district party committee, many problems are being resolved well. The various party committee echelons have given more attention to press activities. Many party committees and party committee chapters have adopted separate resolutions concerning purchasing, reading, and working in accordance with newspapers. The distribution of newspapers and magazines has also been made more efficient. The distribution agency has been working to deliver newspapers to readers on the day they arrive and deliver NHAN DAN NEWSPAPERS no later than 1700 hours in the afternoon. Methods for creating sources of money for buying newspapers, such as collective work, increasing production, savings banks, and so forth, are being widely utilized throughout the district. A number of party chapters have adopted resolutions requiring each party member within the chapter to raise one chicken, called the "newspaper and magazine chicken," which will be sold to the state in order to earn money with which to buy newspapers. A number of agencies and schools have organized the use of personal savings banks to obtain money for newspapers. These savings banks are also called "newspaper and magazine banks."

The Tien Son District Party Committee has been and is adopting specific measures designed to maintain and develop the movement to purchase, read, and work in accordance with newspapers more with each passing day.

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TWO YEARS AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.S. EXPEDITIONARY ARMY FROM VIETNAM;
RETURNING TO THE PARIS AGREEMENT IS THE ONLY HONORABLE COURSE OPEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 75 pp 78-82

[Article by Huong Nam]

[Text] In the more than 25 years of their war of resistance against aggression, our people twice witnessed the withdrawal of the armies of two imperialist powers.

On 26 May 1955, as the red flag with the gold star fluttered in the breeze over Haiphong, the last French colonialist soldiers departed North Vietnam forever under the shadow of a lone flag flying from a French warship. One year later, the remnants of the French expeditionary army assembled in South Vietnam finally had to pack up and get out and give way to U.S. military forces who appeared first as military "advisors" and later as a huge expeditionary army numbering more than one-half million men. On 30 March 1973, the British TIMES NEWSPAPER observed: "They came to Vietnam as young, enthusiastic American soldiers who were naively confident that they could win victory where the French had been defeated." But, the newspaper continued: "Today (that is, 29 March 1973 -- H.N.), they left Vietnam; a line of tall men with meditative, silent faces passed in front of the small faces of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese officers wearing dark green uniforms who were at the former airfield of the United States at Tan Son Nhat to inspect and take pictures of these last U.S. soldiers."

The intervening 2 years have given us the time and facts needed to gain a deeper insight into the reason for this "departure," analyze the intentions of the U.S. imperialists, and evaluate how well they realized these intentions.

Both the introduction of troops to Vietnam and the withdrawal of their troops from Vietnam were based on the global strategic interests of the U.S. imperialists. In the 1960's, clearly aware that the greatest direct threat to their interests was the national liberation movement, the U.S. imperialists, within the framework of the "flexible response" strategy, prepared sufficient military forces to crush insurrections by oppressed nations everywhere in the world. Kennedy declared: "The United States will pay any price, bear any burden, and endure any difficulty to help any friend and fight any enemy for the purpose of protecting the free world." Our people, with the offensive strength of the two great revolutionary movements of the age, namely, socialism and the national liberation movement, were then the most dangerous "enemy" of the "free world" of the United States. To crush this enemy, the United States planned to use a military force for a relatively short period of time and, at the same time, wage a small-scale war in Vietnam to stimulate the stagnating U.S. economy. However, and this was not foreseen by the United States, the stubborn war of resistance waged by our people which had the warm sympathy and support of the socialist countries and progressive mankind forced the United States to pour manpower and money into the bottomless pit in Vietnam for a long period of time. The myth of unimaginable power of the United States was smashed to pieces. The United States encountered serious political and economic difficulties. The balance of power between the United States and the other imperialists, on the one hand, and the socialist countries, on the other hand, and the balance of power between the United States and the other large capitalist countries in the West underwent changes unfavorable to the United States. Whereas it was once carried out to serve

the global strategic interests of the United States, the war in Vietnam rapidly became a threat to these strategic interests and ultimately developed into a factor which destroyed them.

Herein lies the reason for the "departure" of the United States from Vietnam and the simultaneous revision of its global strategy. This departure and revision would not have been difficult if the U.S. imperialists did not cling to their ambition to impose the ruling yoke of neo-colonialism in South Vietnam and continue to try to be the ruler of the world. The "Nixon doctrine" on a world-wide scale as well as the application of this doctrine in Vietnam contained an inherent and very deep contradiction between the grand objective of the United States and its declining and increasingly limited capability following its defeat in Vietnam, a contradiction which no devisive trick, piece of deception, or attempt to confuse could mend.

After playing the role of the first U.S. president to visit Peking and Moscow and begin the so called "process of detente" in the world, Nixon explained that the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam in accordance with the Paris Agreement represented the victory of his doctrine and the revised global strategy. The Nixon administration's intention in Vietnam after being defeated in an extraordinary effort to weaken the opposition through the cruel strategic offensive by B-52's against Hanoi and Haiphong and hastily strengthen the military forces of the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime was to have Thieu tread on the agreement and continue to carry out the "Vietnamized" war in order to improve the puppet administration's situation at the best or at least maintain the status quo so that the United States would be free to implement the Nixon doctrine at other strategic places of direct and vital importance to the U.S. imperialists. Nixon and Kissinger declared 1973 the "year of Europe," the year of the "new Atlantic charter" which encompassed not only Western Europe, but also Japan. The goal of the United States in its "post-Vietnam" global strategy is to quickly deal with the danger of crisis threatening the capitalist system, mend the splits which separate the imperialist countries, maintain U.S. control of Western Europe and Japan, and create favorable external conditions for continuing to develop its declining domestic production.

However, in 1973 and 1974 the situation developed in a manner contrary to U.S. intentions. At a time when capitalist production was stagnated, thereby reflecting the constant contradiction between production and consumption, the October 1973 war in the Middle East followed by the use of petroleum by the Arab countries as a weapon further exposed the increasingly sharp contradiction between ungoverned capitalist production and limited natural resources which were no longer under the control of monopolistic capitalists. The economic difficulties accelerated the political struggle in the United States, deepened the crisis of confidence of the American people in the government, and deepened the antagonisms among the capitalist groups in the United States. The Watergate incident, the root of which was the bitter dispute over ending the war in Vietnam, became such a sordid political affair that, for the first time in the history of the United States, a president such as Nixon who was at the pinnacle of his achievements in "global diplomacy" was forced from office in order to make way for the first non-elected president in the history of the United States. The general crisis of the United States coincided with the general crisis in all the capitalist countries, thereby making it very difficult for the United States to push its difficulties off on its "allies" and rally them to deal with the repeated blows being dealt by the three revolutionary tides in the world.

In "detente," although they are still in a sharp struggle with the socialist countries, the United States and the developed countries of the West are in an unfavorable position; the general crisis and the difficulties and disruptions in capitalist society have further accentuated the superior nature of the socialist system which insures the smooth and increasingly high development of production and the stable and constantly improved standard of living of the people.

On the basis of the existence and support of the socialist system and inspired by the victories of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, the national liberation movement and the movement to protect national independence, which have continuously attacked imperialism and its system of neo-colonialism, have, for the first time, opened an economic front in which they have united in the use of economic weapons and demanded the right of a country to control its natural resources as well as fair prices for the raw materials and fuels which the imperialists once stole at low prices.

The recession and the worsening inflation which the monopolistic capitalists seek to put on the shoulders of the working people have had the harmful effect of rapidly enlightening the working class in the United States and the other countries of the West and exposed their empty arguments about the "consumer society" and the "people's capitalism." The struggles of workers for democracy and the welfare of the people and against the high cost of living and job layoffs have developed on an unprecedented scale over the past several decades and, as a result of the level of technology and the interrelationships of modern production, have had very harmful consequences for capitalists. A work stoppage by 120,000 American coal miners which only lasted 24 days caused U.S. coal production to decline by 75 percent and cost U.S. capitalists 6 billion dollars.

As a result of its position as international gendarme and the ringleader of imperialism, U.S. imperialism is the target of attacks from all sides in the development of the four fundamental antagonisms of the age. Not only have the three revolutionary movements launched repeated attacks against U.S. imperialism, but the other imperialist countries in the West have taken advantage of the confusion and decline of the United States to escape U.S. domination and operate independently with the socialist countries and nationalist states in an attempt to find a way out of the raw material, fuel, and consumer market crisis.

At a time when the "Nixon doctrine" without Nixon is encountering such difficulties everywhere, the "Nixon doctrine" applied in Vietnam is encountering no less difficulties.

In Vietnam, the Nixon doctrine has primarily been implemented by means of the formula the puppet administration and the puppet army + U.S. military "aid" and advisors together with the deterrent force of the United States in Thailand and on the 7th Fleet in the South China Sea coordinated with "global diplomatic" efforts designed to block or at least reduce international sympathy and support for the struggle of the Vietnamese. Over the past 2 years, all four of the above mentioned factors of the Nixon doctrine applied in Vietnam have developed in a direction unfavorable for the U.S. imperialists.

The Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime, the tool of neo-colonialism which is being maintained to continue the "Vietnamized" war, is in its death throes in a state of military defeat, political and ideological isolation, and economic difficulties. The puppet regime, which the United States hopes can take over the gendarme duties of the U.S. army which was forced to withdraw, has suffered a rapid decline in its ability to fight and its fighting morale, is spread thin and stretched out across South Vietnam, and is falling into an increasingly defensive position. Meanwhile, the continued supply of U.S. military aid and advisors to the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime is being increasingly limited by the difficulties of the U.S. economy and condemned more and more by the American people who demand the complete withdrawal of the United States from the quagmire of the Vietnam war of aggression.

The deterrent effect of the U.S. forces around Vietnam and in the Pacific has not only declined because the participation of these forces in the war failed to prevent the defeat of the U.S. imperialists, but now the maintenance of these forces has created a counter-reaction. Following the Paris Agreement and the complete withdrawal by the United States of its expeditionary army from South Vietnam, the broad strata of people in the countries of Southeast Asia cannot tolerate the existence of U.S. military bases and the U.S. army of occupation which tread upon their national rights and pose potential disasters to regional peace and security. The uprising by the Thai people which led to the overthrow of the fascist militarist clique in Bangkok forced the Thai rulers to withdraw their troops from Laos and have created pressure for demands for withdrawal by the United States of its troops and military bases from Thailand.

By means of deceptive and crafty "global diplomatic" tricks, the United States seeks to remove the Vietnam problem from the attention of the people of the world, primarily U.S. public opinion, and limit the support of the fraternal countries and our friends throughout the world for the struggle of our people for independence, liberty, and socialism. As a result of the bold and systematic acts of violation of the Paris Agreement by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and the serious threat they pose to peace, the realities of the past 2 years have made the Vietnam problem front page news in the world press again. The resolute stand of the people of Vietnam who respect and protect the Paris Agreement, the independent, autonomous international line of our party and state, and the just nature and inevitable victory of our people's struggle have further elevated the objective and important position of the Vietnam problem in the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

Against the framework of an increasingly critical economic crisis, the "Nixon doctrine" and the revised global strategy of the United States face serious challenges everywhere and particularly serious challenges in what has always been a weakpoint of the United States, South Vietnam.

In a speech delivered at a formal meeting commemorating the 45th anniversary of the founding of our party, Le Duan stated: "The United States must choose one of two courses: peace or war. It is up to the United States which course it chooses. However, the United States should remember that if it continues to sabotage the Paris Agreement and continues to obstinately pursue its bankrupt policy of neo-colonialism, it will suffer an even more tragic defeat. For sure, time is not on the side of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The 20 years the United States has clung to South Vietnam have been 20 years of continuous defeat for it. The United States should wake up and think about the lessons of Vietnam. The warmongers will have to pay a high price for obstinately pursuing the same course."

Twenty years ago, the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam opened the way for the French to completely withdraw French expeditionary troops from Vietnam and created an opportunity for France to establish new, equal relations with Vietnam of benefit to both countries. Refusing to see the end of colonialism, France, in the end, failed to take advantage of this opportunity and abandoned its interests in this region. Eighteen years later the U.S. imperialists, who accomplished no more than the French colonialists, were forced to sign the Paris Agreement and withdraw U.S. expeditionary troops from South Vietnam. This "departure," which was consistent with the aspirations of the American people and the honor of the United States, was an irreversable process. Rebelling against this process, the U.S. government has thought and presently thinks that it can use the Paris Agreement as a screen for continuing the "Vietnimized" war and maintaining the ruling yoke of U.S. neo-colonialism in South Vietnam. The past 2 years have shown that the road of war is a deadend, a road to humiliating defeat. The United States should not follow in the tracks of the French but must take advantage of the opportunity provided by the Paris Agreement. The United States has only one honorable course to choose, namely, that of truly returning to the Paris Agreement and implementing this agreement in a scrupulous and thorough manner.

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