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SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION. THE COMMON CAUSE OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE.

(Contribution at the Seventh Session of the Party Central Committee.)

The realization of the law of development of our country is a process going from superficiality to profoundness, and from one-sidedness to all-sidedness, therefore one cannot require that today we must fully realize all questions. We will gradually amend our policies in the course of practice. pp 9-10

We take small production to large-scale socialist production, making it grow into large-scale socialist production parallel with the building of the bases for the large-scale socialist production in agriculture, construction, transport and communications, trade, etc. To bring about this growth, we have carried on socialist transformation in combination with socialist construction. Socialist transformation is aimed at turning capitalist production relations into socialist production relations under the form of joint state-private exploitation but in the main it is aimed at organizing the individual farmers and handicraftsmen into co-operatives which are collective production units growing from small to medium and large size. This organization is a transformation of the production relations but at the same time it is also the building of a collective production. At present our socialist transformation has been completed in the main, the new socialist production relations which appear under the national and collective forms have won supremacy but still rely mostly on manual labour. p 15

...we cannot in a short time provide new technique to all economic branches,- hence, adequate steps must be taken: *besides the highly modern technique, we must take many productive bases to semi-mechanization*, or continue to utilize the indigenous method but with a new labour organization, that is to say in our advance, there must be great leaps from manual labour to mechanization and at the same time gradual progress from manual labour to semi-mechanization and then to mechanization. In a not very short period of time, manual and semi-mechanized production still account for a fairly large proportion and play an important role in the social production as a whole. p 17

We must realize that the accumulation made in our country is essential. The source of this accumulation is our people's labour. The objective

requirements of production and enlarged reproduction want that one part of the total amount of wealth created by the people's labour in each period must be used to compensate the means of production which have been used up (seeds, raw materials, wear and tear of machines, etc.), ensure the activities of the state managerial apparatus and the reserve to face natural calamities or other unexpected plights. The remaining is to satisfy private and social consumption and to accumulate fund for enlarged reproduction. In substance this accumulation derives from the surplus-value of the labour devoted to society. Our superiority over capitalism consists in that our accumulation is concentrated in the hands of the state and co-operatives. But at present, as the work in our society is essentially done by hand and yields a very low productivity, what remains after consumption is too small and offers no great possibility for accumulations. To accumulate fund our people must have high sense of economy. We must practise thrift in production (raw materials and machines, rationalization of production...) and in consumption. Our policy is not to sacrifice consumption for the sake of accumulation; it is always to realize a fair ratio between accumulation and consumption in accordance with the economic and political situation of each stager in order unceasingly to raise the people's living standard and increase accumulation to develop production. The constant raising of the people's living standard is a requirement of the fundamental economic law of socialism; only by improving the people's livelihood can we strongly spur their zeal in production, but the constant development of production is also another requirement of this law; without the development of production the people's living standard cannot be raised constantly. In the first state of socialist industrialization, as social production and the people's living standard are still low, we must keep the ratio between accumulation and consumption in the spirit of gradually improving the people's livelihood and strictly practising thrift. pp 19-20

Therefore, the main source of accumulation is unceasingly to *raise labour productivity*. p 21

...the most fundamental method to increase labour productivity is gradually to improve equipment, in accordance with the line set for our technical revolution. To this end particular attention must be paid to the full use of the engineering capacities existing in our country, including the machines run centrally, locally and those of the co-operatives. We must not rely essentially on the importation of machines and equipment. We must attach great importance to minor technical innovations and the vulgarization of semi-mechanized tools, because this is what we can do on a large scale at present. To increase labour productivity in each

production unit, we must raise the cultural level of the workers and peasants, urge them to make good use of tools and machines and to improve technique. We must organize the work efficiently, rationalize production, improve management and better business accounting operations. We must endeavour to make each factory, each co-operative... a paying proposition. p 21

We must stand on the footing of collective masters of the social economy as a whole including the state-run sector and the collective sector to think of profits and losses. We must consider the profits and losses not only of a certain branch but of the social production as a whole; we must consider each economic activity and see whether or not it can step up the whole of social production at the most rapid rate; we must have a general view of the process of social production and reproduction and do in such a way that each of our economic activities which has an impact on other branches, will in the end help bring about enlarged reproduction on a largest scale. There can be certain activities which bring in profits for a particular branch but exert a bad influence on other branches and in the end make the whole process of production and reproduction increase slowly or stagnate. We must not embark on these activities. On the contrary there are other economic activities which do not bring in profits for a certain branch but exert a good influence on other branches and in the end boost the social enlarged reproduction on a larger scale. We must carry on these activities. Hence a number of plants though not bringing in profits must be built because they will increase social labour productivity, especially the plants serving agricultural production, though it seems that some of them considered individually, do not bring in profits. pp 24-25

...change in the division of social labour makes the proportion of workers in the branches of consumer goods industry (including food) decrease with every passing day, while increasing in the branches turning out means of production. Therefore, a fundamental condition which will help carry out this change in the division of social labour is to do in such a way that labour productivity in agriculture and light industry will increase day by day, hence we must attach the greatest importance to improving technique in agriculture and light industry, first of all in agriculture. p 26

There has not been so far any country which carries on socialist industrialization on such a small and weak agricultural basis as ours!
p 29

....as Stalin said when dealing with national industrialization and the rightist tendency in the Party, we must not forget that if industry is the main foundation, agriculture is the base for its development. p 29

.... only by making agriculture prosperous can industry develop vigorously.

At present industrial revolution is carried on parallel with agricultural revolution. Co-operativization has been completed in the main and is proceeding to higher level and technical revolution has begun. We must make these revolutions closely link to and impel each other; while developing, industry gradually helps satisfy the requirements of the revolution in agriculture; vice-versa in its process of development, agriculture gradually contributes to satisfying the requirements of revolution. Only by so doing can we progress most harmoniously. p 31

Socialist industrialization is a very profound revolutionary change from backward handicrafts to modern mechanized production, from small scattered individual production to large-scale collective production according to plans. This revolutionary change requires a *cultural and ideological revolution*, and a far-reaching revolutionary movement among the people, at the same time there must be a change in organization and leadership.....

We must *thoroughly grasp the guiding principle of democratic centralism in leadership and direction in industry*. First of all, we must clearly define the responsibility of the Party committees and the state organs. With regard to industry like to other activities of the society, the role of the Party committees is, in general, leadership and control, whereas the role of the administrative authorities at different levels is direction and execution. pp 33-34

Another problem which must be actively solved is the decentralization in the management of industry. p 34

....we must strengthen the role of collective leadership of the Party committees at the bases, correctly develop the role of the masses in their participation in the management of enterprises, and the role of the trade unions in encouraging, organizing and educating, and the leading role of the Youth Union, but, on the other hand, we must fully heighten the responsibility of the directors in the guidance of production, management and business, overcome all manifestations of irresponsibility, a serious

phenomenon at present in a number of enterprises, construction sites, as well as all manifestations of arbitrariness and bureaucracy.

The technical revolution like any other revolution, is the work of the masses. There must be a *profound change in the* consciousness and ideology of the masses, we must help the masses have ideas: the sense of collective masters, the spirit of self-reliance, industriousness and thrift in national construction, courage in labour, the sense of organization and discipline. These are ideas in line with the new production relations; at the same time, they are ideas required at present by technical revolution. We have begun to promote those ideas in the ideological remoulding of the last year, today, we must strongly push forward this ideological revolution to make it more far-reaching...

We must educate the entire people in the line and guiding principles for socialist industrialization, the line for technical revolution and for socialist accumulation, make them realize that socialist industrialization is the common task of the entire people aimed at building up the happiness of the entire people.....We must strive to do away with any wrong notions concerning socialist industrialization and the sign of dependence on others, laziness, lack of responsibility, liberalism and indiscipline, parochialism, corruption, waste, etc.

To translate the Party's resolution into the determination of the entire people and the seething emulation movement of the masses, we must, parallel with ideological education, encourage and organize everybody to make efforts in raising their cultural, scientific and technical level, at the same time we must strive gradually to raise the people's living standard according to the development of production. Only on the basis of improving the people's livelihood can we step up ideological revolution unceasingly. pp 35-36

CLEARLY TO REALIZE THE CONTENTS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION

(Speech delivered at the conference for agricultural co-operativization in North Vietnam held on March 21, 1960.)

Our opposition to the relation of exploitation in the countryside is perfectly correct. Though weak in our country the rich peasants must be curbed so as to abolish the exploitation by their economy and to transform their ideology. Our opposition to spontaneous capitalism is also to differentiate between the exploiters and the exploited to curb and

finally to wipe out exploitation...Agricultural co-operativization is the transformation of individual production into collective production, it is the concentration of labour power and means of production for common work. p 39

..... it cannot be brought about like in land reform for example, by means of overthrowing the opponent party, but by education, persuasion, and by the change and transformation of individual production into collective production. The low-level, semi-socialist co-operatives, effective only in speeding up production to a certain rate, cannot completely and immediately wipe out the former method of production. p 40

Co-operativization is the change of the old into new method of production. The newest thing is the shifting from individual to collective production, from the management of the labour power of a family to the management of that of a larger collectivity. Naturally when there are many people, there are more innovations and greater force, common work is better than private work. But together with collective work there will crop up many new problems. To enable co-operatives to show their superiority, we must know how to organize and manage labour power and improve technique. In some places, this work has daily caused a great waste of working hours and sometimes delay in crop planting. Thus, superiority is not easily obtained. If the leaders fail to see the new problem or do not solve it satisfactorily, they will be unable to promote the superiority of co-operatives. p 41

.... we will just tell that individual production is not only disadvantageous but also dangerous, because it will gradually reduce their offsprings to poverty and ignorance and even their wives will have no money to buy medicine when falling ill. p 42

Man's thinking can be changed mainly through production. Individualism can be changed only through collective production. There must be strict regimes and rules to educate people in the labour organization and through collective life. p 44

The idea of private ownership is deep-rooted in the peasant's mind. Sometimes a lime pot is handed down for generations. p 45

The taking of the semi-socialist production relation to entirely socialist production relation must go through a powerful development of production. We must raise the production and income of co-operatives higher than those of individual production. P 46

.... if we cannot concentrate our efforts to increase production when co-operatives are still at a low level, their shifting to a higher level is very difficult. I repeat that it is not sufficient to rely only on ideological education to shift co - operatives from low to higher level, if production is not increased. p 47

But a number of Party provincial committees are giving a superficial political leadership; they lack knowledge in technique and in the leadership for production, hence they lack perspicacity and do not go deep into the masses to find out problems for the leading organs to solve. p 49

.... many members of the Party provincial committees have not sufficiently mastered technique but have only given a superficial leadership. p 50

Only by enlarging and increasing production can accumulation of fund be made; and only by greatly increasing this accumulation can socialist industrialization be stepped up. p 52

Only with the machines supplied to agriculture by heavy industry, that is to say only with a mechanized agricultural production can we closely seal the peasants to co-operatives and successfully carry out socialism. p 53

Only when the co-operatives show a marked superiority can they be consolidated and are the peasants really enthusiastic and confident. At present the upper-middle peasants still get the better of co-operatives. Their superiority lies not only in land, means of production, but also in the management. and organization of production. They know how to. save time, work against time, and grow crop in time. They raise more and fatter pigs which give a better manure. But the co-operatives have more conditions and possibilities. It is certain that they cannot for ever lag behind the upper-middle peasants. They must overtake and outstrip them. p 54

SOME OPINIONS ON THE MOVEMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVIZATION

(Talk at the meeting of cadres of people's administrative and Party's organizations of Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province - held in December 1958.)

At present, our Party's greatest difficulty is that the mind of many Party members in the contradiction between individualism and collectivism has not yet been solved correctly and these two ideologies are still in conflict. The most to be required of a Party member is the sacrifice of his personal interests for the benefit of the revolution. But the least he must understand is that his own interests, those of his family and the interests of the collectivity are one and the same; that his own interests and those of his family are ensured only when the interests of the collectivity are ensured. If for the time being his own interests and those of his family are somewhat impaired, in the future his life will be much more glorious, the society will be well ahead, then his own life and that of his family will be completely guaranteed. That is why there are no reasons for a Party member to oppose the movement for agricultural co-operativization. p pp 57-58

First of all, we must be well aware that the class line is not to be applied in the Party. As a rule, there should be no distinction of class origin between Party members, but as our Party members live in the countryside. are closely linked to their family's economy, their political consciousness is not yet high and their material life is still exerting great influence on their mind, at present, the poor peasant members are more active and enthusiastic than the middle peasant ones and the upper-middle peasant members being richer, are still less enthusiastic and some even go counter to the movement for agricultural co-operativization. This state of things is due to insufficient criticism and ideological education within the Party and should not have happened but as matters stand now, we must be aware of it to intensify the ideological education with regard to these comrades. p 59

The Party's class line in the countryside is to rely upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants, to unite closely with the middle peasants, to restrict and later to do away with the rich peasants' economy to prevent the landlords from raising their heads and help them transform themselves into new men. p 59

The aim of the present socialist revolution is to oppose capitalist exploitation and the tendency of spontaneous development of capitalism in order to release the productive forces, to emancipate labour power in the countryside, and to raise the living standards of the people. p 60

If we do not unite with the middle peasants who form 40 per cent of the rural population, the movement for agricultural co-operativization cannot be stepped up and the socialist revolution in the countryside will not go

ahead. As the middle peasants are slow in understanding the advantages of the co-operative we must resolutely convince them, talk to them day after day until we win them over. It is strictly forbidden to speak ill of them. Poor peasants and middle peasants should form a bloc. pp 61-62

If co-operatives are set up in great numbers without experiences and meet with failure, it would be very hard later to restart the movement. p 64

THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION (Speech at the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions held in February 1961.)

The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, private capitalist industry and commerce and small traders has won successes of decisive importance....The system of exploitation of man by man has been basically abolished and the system of individual ownership of the small producers which occupied a great part of the national economy has been turned into the system of socialist collective ownership. p 70

On the basis of the new relations of production, the industrial and agricultural production in the past few years have also developed rapidly. p 70

It is precisely our Five-Year Plan (1961 - 1965) that opens up this period. The principal aim of this plan is to build the material and technical basis of socialism, carry out socialist industrialization and complete socialist transformation. p 72

Our policy on industrialization consists in building a balanced and modern socialist economy which combines industry with agriculture and which has heavy industry as its basis, in giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry and at the same time striving to develop agriculture and light industry aimed at transforming our backward agricultural country into a country endowed with a modern industry, a modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science. pp 73-74

A modern industry requires a scientific labour organization and management and a severe discipline, however our competence in these respects is still low. in our enterprises, the management of labour is not satisfactory, discipline is loose, waste of time prevails, responsibility is lacking in the protection of public property, waste and corruption are still rife; irrational regulations in the management of enterprises are not

corrected in time; co-ordination is still loose between centrally-run enterprises and branches and the local ones; the business accounting system is not fully carried out, the elaboration of economic targets and technical norms is not widely applied in all enterprises. p 80

With our socialist consciousness and the revolutionary mettle of the working class, we must urge the working class enthusiastically to take part in the *patriotic emulation movement, fulfil and overfulfil the state plan for economic and cultural development*. The emulation movement is an important method to draw the majority of the masses into the management of production and the state. Through this movement we can rapidly heighten the sense of being masters and the socialist consciousness of the workers, raise their technical standard, fully develop their positiveness and creativeness and improve the management of production and of the enterprises in every respect. p 82

The tasks laid ahead of the working class and trade unions at present are very glorious but very heavy. Without a developed and powerful trade - unions organization, it is impossible to fulfil these tasks. We must endeavour to develop the trade union more powerfully, consolidate it ideologically and organizationally, raise its position in every branch of social activities so as to transform it into a firm basis for the Party and state. P 88

TO FULLY DEVELOP THE PEASANT MASSES'
REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM AND CREATE A STRONG
REVOLUTIONARY METTLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE
(Speech delivered at the closing of the Fifth Session of the Party Central
Committee in July 1961.)

Since the August Revolution and especially since the restoration of peace, under the leadership of our Party, North Vietnam has enough food to eat. p 92

.... increase the great potentialities of our tropical agriculture, at the same time to curb natural calamities by all existing means. p 94

A number of comrades have not yet fully realized the contents of socialist transformation in the countryside. We must know that such a transformation differs from the transformation of capitalist industry and trade in town which consists fundamentally in transforming the production relations based on exploitation of man by man, abolishing the

exploiting class, and at the same time promoting further the development of production on the basis of the existing great production.

As to the socialist transformation of agriculture in our specific situation, it is not mainly to transform the relations of exploitation since the exploiting landlord class has been overthrown and though the rich peasants still exist, their average land ownership does not exceed that of the toiling peasants, but precisely to transform all the means of production, turn the scattered individual production into collective production on a big scale, concentrate the labour force and means of production of the poor and middle peasants working individually in order to set up a new mode of production with a new organization and division of labour. pp 94-95

In China, Korea and Vietnam a new situation arises: the peasants are organized while machines are not yet available for agriculture. But the concentration of means of production and reorganization of labour force alone are able to create a new productive force. To create this productive force, the concentration of labour power must reach a certain extent to be able to engender a new division of labour and hence give rise to a rapid increase of the productive forces. That is why at present the problem of enlarging the size of co-operatives is of great importance. p 95

To bring the co-operatives to the size of a whole hamlet will lead to a new revolutionary upsurge in the agricultural development. p 96

.... the problem of management is very important. At present, it is their weakest point. p 96

In the management of the co-operatives, we must grasp their character of collective ownership, at the same time know how to combine the collective economy of the co-operatives with the additional economy of the co-op members' families. p 97

We must not be afraid that it will give birth to capitalism, because it is only an additional economy, the key positions in the economy being held by the state and co-operative economic sector. p 97

We must satisfactorily carry out the three managements: management of production, management of labour and management of finance as they are the most important points in the management of the cooperatives. We must rely on production teams, take them as basis to carry out three "jobs". (Workday, production volume, and production cost.) p 98

We must grasp the principle of distribution according to labour. This is a fundamental principle of socialism. p 98

We must correctly carry out the principles of voluntariness, mutual benefit, and democratic management of the co-operatives. p 99

The Party branch in the countryside has the task to lead the co-operatives, but not to replace the masses to manage them. p 99

We must make each producer see clearly the aim of production; this aim is the motive force to impel him to produce enthusiastically. The peasants must fulfil their duty toward the state, such as payment of taxes, selling a part of agricultural products in excess; this is not a sacrifice without return, but a duty of the peasants toward the state so that the state fulfils its duty toward the peasants; the peasants bring their contribution to the state so that the state carries out works in the interests of the peasants and the society in order to bring welfare and a pleasant life to them and their children, and to build their happy future. We undertake socialist industrialization to serve not only the interests of the state or the working class but the interests of the entire people, the overwhelming majority of whom are peasants. It is necessary to make the peasants understand the significance of their duty toward the state. *Besides this duty, any dealing with the peasants must be fair.* pp 99-100

Within our Party a number of comrades have thought that the interests of the peasants and those of the state are contending. This is a wrong view. Our state belongs to the workers and the peasants, to the entire people, and not only to a class. Every work done by the Party and the state must serve the whole toiling people's interests. The peasants have not fully realized their role of masters of the countryside. pp 103-104

With the peasants, we must tenaciously educate them, persuade them, and speak to them with sense and sentiment so that they gladly listen to us: it is absolutely impossible to use commandism and authority with them. We must remember that formerly due only to an unpleasant word our peasants sued one another even if they had to sell their houses to cover lawsuits expenditure. Therefore, *political and ideological work must be intensified.* If it is badly done the enthusiasm of the masses will be curbed. p 104

IN THE 1962 PLAN OUR INDUSTRY MUST SERVE THE
DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE WITH STILL GREATER
EFFICIENCY

(Speech at a Cadres' meeting held in Haiphong on January 18, 1962.)

Haiphong which is a city of workers and enjoys a long-standing revolutionary tradition, therefore has favourable conditions to be able to take the lead in the industrial emulation movement. p 107

We are carrying out the socialist revolution, which is the greatest, but at the same time the most difficult and complicated revolution ever known in history. The most difficult and intricate problem is how to grasp firmly the laws of socialist revolution, and the economic laws of our country in order to utilize them correctly. The errors we have committed in leading our economy over the last period were not solely due to the weakness of our leadership in execution, but also to the fact that we have not yet firmly grasped the laws of economic development of our country. pp 108-109

...the ideological and cultural revolution. This revolution must be closely linked with socialist construction. It is crystal-clear that if the people are not made to understand the advantages derived from socialist industrialization, and to work enthusiastically for it, it is not possible for us to build up socialism successfully. p 111

The city's local industry must first aim at serving its agriculture and help raise the value of workdays in agricultural cooperatives. Local industry must not wait and see whether the co-operatives require its assistance; whether they are in a position to pay for manufactured goods, before mapping out its plan of production; instead, its responsible cadres must go down to the villages and co-operatives to inquire about the needs of agricultural production and to see what the city's industry can do for them. p 114

During the Resistance war, Party members and cadres sacrificed themselves to kill the enemy and save the country; today, in peace, they must give up themselves and endure hardships to work out correct trends for a better, greater, more rapid and cheaper production. p 115

We must bear in mind and have a deep hatred for the poverty and backwardness suffered by our country and people in the past and be determined not to allow this situation to drag on; only by hating that poverty can we mobilize our revolutionary feelings. pp 115-116

Let us consider the food problem for example. We have been so far used to eating rice, but we know that rice-planting is easily subject to natural calamities, one or two crops out of three or five would fail. If we eat only rice, its supply cannot be ensured satisfactorily owing to its unsteady production. Therefore, we have to eat subsidiary crops in addition to rice. The subsidiary crops such as sweet potatoes, cassava roots, maize, etc. are good foodstuffs, containing many nutritive elements as have been shown by a scientific analysis. Subsidiary crops are less subject to natural calamities and usually yield great output. To cut the consumption of rice, we must eat subsidiary crops instead. This is a necessity; Cadres, Party members and soldiers must set good examples in the implementation of the food-saving policy. p 116

To have commodities for export, sometimes we must cut or abstain from the consumption of the products which are not yet actually necessary in the country. For example, in the near future, such agricultural products as groundnuts, tea, jute, castor-oil seeds, etc., will be reserved mainly for export. There will be no harm if we temporarily abstain from eating sweets made of groundnuts whose export will give us in exchange machines, textiles and many other consumer goods we need. We must realize this to willingly practise thrift. p 117

The most important thing in a revolution is its objective which will not be reached if we have no revolutionary attitude and methods. Therefore, each of our cadres must *build for himself a correct revolutionary attitude*. In the recent ideological remoulding drive, we paid attention to educating the toiling people as a whole in the consciousness of being collective masters. p 119

Some of our cadres and Party members are influenced by the way of life of public servants of the former regime, and hence their sense of responsibility is not high enough. They practise red-tape and bureaucracy, stand aloof from the masses, work perfunctorily, thinking that in any way they receive their salary at the end of each month. This is not a revolutionary attitude. At present as our wages are paid according to our labour, some get higher wages than others, depending on the quantity and quality of the work done. This is the most rational method to speed up production. But some have failed to realize this and are jealous about wages and thereby their sense of being masters and their revolutionary consciousness regress. No difference in wages can limit our sense of being masters which, on the contrary, wants us clearly to realize that the work done to the society must be duly paid, those whose contribution to

the society is greater and better must be paid higher wages than those whose contribution is smaller and of a lower quality. pp 120-121

Revolution is the work of the masses. Therefore, we must go deep into the masses, know how to mobilize them and make them clearly realize that socialist construction is a work of their own so that they may be more enthusiastic, bold in thinking and doing, and devote all their strength and abilities to socialist construction.

We Party members and cadres, must know how to follow the *mass line* in every work, hold with the masses democratic discussions, give ear to their suggestions, have confidence in and really rely upon them. If we do not rely on the abilities and wisdom of the masses and together with them think out, research and study, we cannot find a correct production trend, overcome difficulties in production, rationalize production, improve technique, etc. p 121

CONCENTRATION OF LEADERSHIP, CONSOLIDATION OF CO-OPERATIVES, DETERMINATION TO WIN DECISIVE SUCCESSES IN AGRICULTURE IN THE COMING YEARS

(Speech delivered on August 31, 1962, at the conference on the Development of Agricultural Production in Mountain Areas.)

...recently many of our comrades carried out the directives and resolutions of the higher levels stiffly, mechanically, without creativeness, sticking to each sentence and each word. p 126

We must know that the road we are embarking on is a new one; it directly takes our small individual production to a large-scale socialist production without passing through the stage of capitalist development. It is new not only to our country but even in our camp, there is not yet a comprehensive theory concerning this problem. At the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin said that the communists must clearly expound and theoretically demonstrate the principle of directly advancing toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. The theory on agricultural co-operativization referred to in the present textbooks is the general not ion of the typical experiences gained by the Soviet Union in which the movement of all-out co-operativization took place at the same time when the state equipped the collective farms with a great number of tractors. At present in our camp, besides Mongolia, three countries — China, Korea and Vietnam — are carrying out agricultural co-operativization in their advance towards

socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. As the work is underway, only some experiences are not sufficient to be summed up. While our understanding of the subject is only based on experiences and not on theory, we cannot solve the ideological problem radically. Hence, if practical conditions are favourable such as bumper crops, increase in income, improvement of the livelihood, etc. things will go smoothly, but if any difficulty crops up, doubts and confusion will easily arise.

We must not base ourselves on incomplete experiences to assess the whole movement. The road of development of history is a road forward not in straight line, but tortuous. Usually after a long distance forward, there is a short distance backward which as a rule prepares for longer distances forward and is called the turning point of history. The period of transformation is an important turning point in history and generally speaking, it is quite possible that production does not develop and even temporarily decreases. This is a normal course. pp 128-129

Under these circumstances, when we say that agriculture is a basis, it is in some sense similar to what was done by the capitalists formerly when they carried out industrialization (naturally with quite a different class contents and method), that is to say *we must accumulate funds from the labour of the peasants and workers, and develop agriculture before embarking on industrialization.* p 132

The only path is to bring agriculture under co-operativization, rally the peasants to create a new division in production and farming, a new division and a more rational utilization of labour, in order to produce food more abundantly, grow industrial crops, rear cattle, etc., thus providing greater supply of marketable foodstuffs and raw materials, and increasing the income of the peasants who will then be able to contribute to socialist industrialization. p 133

To make agriculture the basis of industrialization we must *develop agriculture and industry harmoniously step by step and to this end we must first of all bring agriculture under co-operativization.* If we wait for industry to develop before bringing agriculture under co-operativization there will be no means to help agriculture and industry develop harmoniously and industrialization will be impossible. Or to create this equilibrium for industrialization without bringing agriculture under co-operativization, we have no other way than to follow the path of capitalist and rich peasant economy and exploit the peasants and workers to the utmost. We are determined not to do that. p 134

As for the very important contents of co-operativization which is realization of new division of labour, new trend for production, new organization of labour, it was not sufficiently emphasized. Even at present many comrades do not fully understand this contents. I think that the weakness of a number, of co-operatives lies mainly on the obscure understanding of these contents. p 137

We must develop the possibilities of the co-operatives whereby collective production is better than individual one. p 138

..... co-operation alone can create new productive forces and raise labour efficiency. p 139

Unfortunately, a number of co-operatives utilize more labour than individual farmers. p 139

One of the most important factors to complete co-operativization is the *assistance given to the co-operatives by the socialist state*. This is an indispensable lever to push forward the new production relations and make them mature. This is a principle put forth by Lenin when he dealt with cooperativization in the Soviet Union. Our state has done this work so far, but to be in earnest, it is still negligible. pp 144-145

.... the co-operativization movement enjoys all objective conditions for its success. The fact that the movement meets with some shortcomings is not due to the erroneous policy on co-operativization, or to the mistake in the essence of the co-operativization movement, or to other factors which do not allow us to accomplish our task satisfactory, but obviously it is due to the fact that personally we have shortcomings, our endeavours are relaxed or the time assigned is insufficient. pp 145-146

.....according to the figures supplied by the General Department of Statistics, a co-op member draws from 5 per cent of the land left for his own use a production representing 60 to 70 per cent of the value of the production derived from the 95 per cent of the land he had pooled in the co-operative. p 147

It is precisely because collective economy provides the co-op members with this means of existence that they are able to develop family's additional economy and draw a substantial income from it. In other words, it is collective economy which vouches for the family's additional economy.

Suppose there is no collective production, and land is left to individual farmers. On this private land, the peasants have first to grow food crops for their own use and for discharging their duty vis-à-vis the state.... However to obtain this result, they and their families would have to devote nearly all their efforts to growing this food crop. p 148

Under such conditions it would be impossible for them to derive the same income from family's additional economy and industrial crops as they draw at present; beside their income from food crops. p 149

We must correctly realize and make the peasants correctly realize the most important role played by collective economy vis-à-vis the entire people and vis-à-vis their own life so that collective economy can be developed and consolidated. p 150

Not only is family's additional economy necessary to the co-op members it is also necessary to the society and the national economy at large. p 150

Here there is no contradiction but *unity between individual farming and collective farming, between collectivism and state undertaking by the entire people*. Our method is to consolidate and strengthen collective economy and, on this basis, to develop family's additional economy. With such a method the ratio of collective economy in the co-op members income will rise gradually and the percentage of income derived from family's additional economy will be lowered, but the volume of both of them as well as the whole income of the co-op members will be increased in an absolute manner. p 151

Life requires not only food, clothing and housing, but also culture, medical care, etc. There are two ways to meet these requirements; either to produce agricultural products in great quantity and sell them to build schools, hospitals, cultural houses, etc. or directly to build these institutions with our own hand. We must do this in a most economical way and according to each circumstance and locality. At present there is redundancy of manpower in the countryside. The most economical way is not only to follow the first method but also the second. Therefore, after utilizing labour in collective production and individual production, it is necessary to *harness collective labour to building schools, hospitals, clubhouses and digging public wells, etc.* By so doing, we are in a position to satisfy the cultural and intellectual requirements of the

peasants without waiting for agricultural production to develop to a high level. Only collective labour can do such a work. p 153

At a time when there is no great change in tools of production, it is precisely the new division of labour which gives the co-operatives superiority over individual farming. pp 154-155

As formerly the peasant remained idle for six months in a year, the organization of trades is now of utmost importance. p 156

At a time when managerial cadres are lacking, the hamlet-size co-operatives make it possible to concentrate competent cadres on the management of cooperatives. p 158

In a word, it is rational to set up hamlet-size cooperatives but production brigades should be taken as the bases to lead production.... even equipped with machinery, the co-operatives.... should not be established on a larger scale. p 158

....we must call up as much as possible cadres of district level from central, provincial and district offices to give them some months' training on the state plan, the provincial plans and agricultural technique, then to send them as reinforcement to the cooperatives.....When the line and plans of production are drafted and good and able cadres have come to reinforce the co-operatives, we will launch a large-scale and powerful mass movement among the peasants to discuss the plans of production, build the material and technical basis for the co-operatives, criticize and overcome bureaucracy, commandism and arbitrariness to bring about an atmosphere of enthusiasm, joy and easiness in the countryside as well as genuine democracy and vitality. p 160

In rocky mountains, goat breeding is possible. At this conference little has been said of goat breeding. p 164