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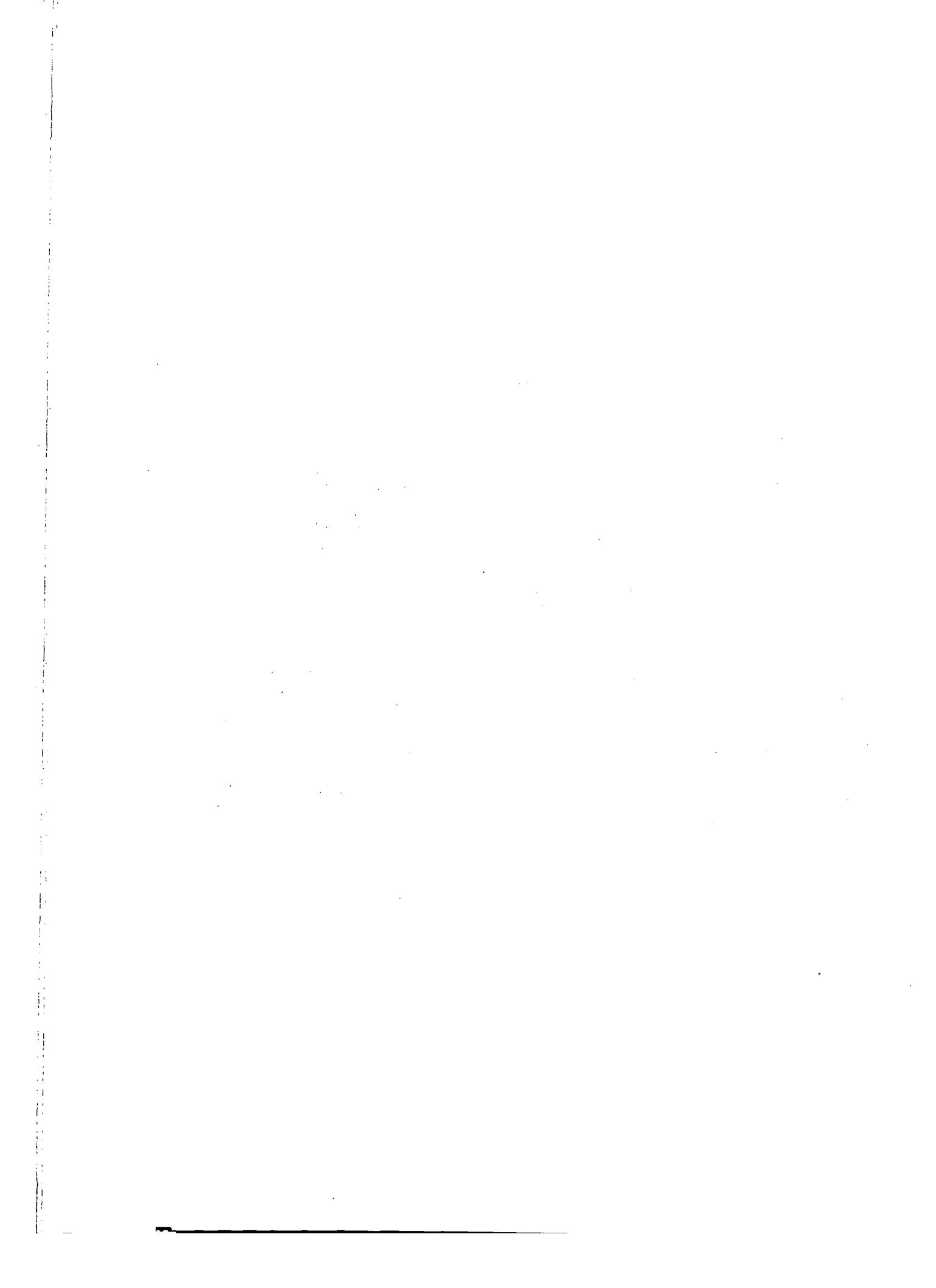
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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)
No. 8, August 1964, Part 1

[Following are translations of selected articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi, August 1964. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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BUILD UP THE PARTY BASE

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Chuong in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8, 1964, pages 22-29.]

At present, many new changes have occurred in the domestic and international situation, and the demands being made by the revolution are increasing daily. In response to these demands, it is necessary for us to strengthen ideological and organizational work in order to build-up the Party, since the Party is the leading nucleus of the revolutionary movement. Only by means of a positive build-up of the Party which is strong in ideology and organization, unified, loyal to the communist and socialist work, disciplinary, and which has the capacity and experiences to organize and lead the masses in the construction of a new life, can we successfully build socialism in North Vietnam, the base for the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country.

Illumined by the resolutions of the Fifth and Eighth Conferences of the Party Central Committee, and after many years of concrete studies, the Hai Duong Party Branch has ascertained, in a relatively clear manner, its agricultural duties and directions. It has also proposed many important measures with the aim to guarantee the successful materialization of the production plan. Having had correct and

effective production duties, directions, and measures, the decisive conditions for success are the following: organizing and guiding all levels and sectors of Party Branches for the realization [of the plan] through raising their fighting strength and capacity, the number and the quality of agricultural cadres, the capacity of all Party chapters, cadres. Party members in their production leadership, applying concrete plans and measures for the exploitation of all potentialities, mobilizing labor enthusiasm of the masses, and organizing and leading the masses to success.

Past experiences have indicated that in any region, cooperative, and enterprise, when the Party was united, when the cadres were well organized and equipped with lofty ideology and working spirit, and when they have had the confidence of the people, production at that place was developed, work was advanced, and duties were fulfilled. On the contrary, these activities were lacking in something when unification in the Party was falling, and when ideology and working spirit of the cadres were incorrect.

Up until now, more than 600 agricultural production cooperatives in the province of Hai Duong have been improved. After having gone through the campaign to improve management, many cooperatives have made definite progress. Many of them have even surpassed our expectations. A few of them, however, have not made any improvements after the campaign. This situation has occurred whenever the Party organization has been weak.

North Vietnam is at present carrying out the socialist revolution, the most penetrating and decisive revolution in our history, therefore, we need the firm leadership of the Party and of the working class. In fact, even if we want to industrialize our country, even if we want to reform small producers, even if we want to wipe out all capitalist factors, and even if we want to modernize our agriculture and build up our forces in the countryside, but if we are without a strong and firm association of the proletarian classes which are armed with Marxist-Leninist theories and the capacity and experiences to lead the masses, we will not succeed. We not only need the party of the proletarian class to build up socialism, but we also need it to successfully build up communism. Therefore, the build-up of the Party is a long-range and enormous task which can have decisive consequences.

The Hai Duong Party branch has paid special attention in recent years to the build-up of the Party. Since the 1961 rectification campaign, all Party branches were reminded that agricultural production is the primary activity of the province, and the agricultural front is its front line.

According to the resolutions of the Fifth Conference of the Party Central Committee, we have paid attention to the exchange of experiences and we have studied the characteristics and production directions of the province after each year of leading agricultural production. Since 1962, we have positively paid attention to the realization of the "four-good" chapters, and the perfection of these chapters. We have successfully materialized the study programs which were proposed by the Central Party. During training, we have paid special attention to the improvement of our ideology. For instance, when we studied the resolutions of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee, we carefully stressed the characteristics of North Vietnam in its progress toward socialism, the methods to industrialize the country, and the grasp of self-reliance and thrift in order to build up socialism.

As a consequence, the ideology, organization, and working spirit of cadres and party members were improved. Nevertheless, these improvements have not caught up with the revolutionary demand. The lack of unification still exists at many basic organizations and organs of the Party. The consolidation of the Party, particularly at places where the movement is weak, has not received suitable attention. The strengthening, selection, and promotion of cadres were slow. The political, theoretical, professional, cultural, and technical studies have not developed into a far-flung movement.

These situations exist because we have met with many difficulties in the build-up of the Party during the first stage of socialist construction. Many problems are complicated and require a long period of time for their solution. On the other hand, we also have the following deficiencies:

1. Party committees of all levels have realized the importance of the build-up of the Party, but because they have not had a penetrating and complete understanding of the matter, the build-up of the Party has not been regular

nor systematic. A quite widespread phenomenon noted is that we simply pay attention to our own occupations and production and we disregard political, ideological, and Party work.

2. The build-up of the Party is difficult and complicated, yet the Party committees have not paid attention to study the past experience and learn from them. As a consequence, the contents, directions, and measures to build up the Party have not been concrete and creative.

3. Lack of perfection exists in the organization and cadres who helped the Party committees to build up the Party. Cadres were transferred quite often. As a consequence, the required experience and continuity of programs could not be gained.

Refine the Class and Vanguard Nature of the Party and Link It with the Party Line and Duties

The resolutions of the Third National Congress of the Party pointed out that, "For the present stage, our Party should strengthen its leadership in socialist reform and construction, the struggle for the completion of the democratic people's revolution in the whole country, and in the realization of the peaceful unification of the Fatherland. To do so, it is necessary to strengthen the class and vanguard character of the Party, to strengthen the fighting strength of the Party, and to thoroughly understand these demands in our work for the build-up of the Party." ([Note]: Van Kien Dai Hoi (Congressional Documents), published by the central executive of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Vol. I, page 196.). They are the general ideological guidance in the construction of the Party. It is very important to firmly grasp these ideas and to apply them correctly according to the concrete conditions of the each Party branch.

Many comrades still only understand the class and vanguard features of the Party in a vague and abstract manner. They still separate these features from the political line of the Party.

The fundamental political line of the Party in North Vietnam is the socialist revolution which covers both socialist reform and socialist construction. These two tasks

are linked one to the other. After having completed socialist reform in a fundamental manner, the central activities should shift to socialist construction, and, at the same time, to complete the socialist reform.

To successfully build up socialist construction, it is necessary to embark on socialist industrialization. This is the central task of the transitional stage. This policy demonstrates the vanguard and far-sighted character of the Party; it also reflects the class features, the firm revolutionary position, and the determination of the working class and of the Party. It is also represented by the association of Marxist-Leninist theories with the realities of North Vietnam's society. Consequently, the refinement of the class and vanguard features of the Party has as its aim the cultivation among Party branches and members of the understanding and winning determination in the struggle of that political line.

In North Vietnam, at the present time, the concrete revolutionary duty is not fighting against the enemy, such as was the case during the resistance, but it is the build-up of socialism, economy, culture, industries, agriculture, commerce, and finance, etc. A successful development of industries and agriculture will bring about the strength of our fatherland and the happiness of our people. For the Hai Duong province, we consider that agriculture is our principal task there.

Therefore, the duty of each cadre and each party member is to work enthusiastically and urge for the development of agriculture and the construction of a new countryside. The vanguard feature of the Party will not be manifested if the Party branches or party members neglect or hesitate to engage in agriculture, or if they do not show the determination to fight against nature in order to eliminate misery and backwardness. The working class and the Party lead the people in their agricultural work according to advanced and civilized socialist line and measures. Therefore, to develop their vanguard character, the party branches and party members should form the core and should be the warriors who are tirelessly fighting to implement party agricultural directions, slogans, and measures.

Socialist construction in North Vietnam is not simply an economic development, but it is a class struggle,

and it is the ideological and political struggle between the socialist method and the capitalist method. This struggle is manifested in three improvements of the production relations: the reform of the capitalist industries and commerce, the reform of petty merchants and petty landowners, and the reform of agriculture. At present, these reforms have been fundamentally completed. The distinctions among the propertied class have been eradicated.

The majority of small producers that are composed of peasants, handicraft workers, and petty vendors have been reorganized. From individual producers, they have been transformed into collective producers. This does not mean, however, that the struggle between classes and the two methods of production have been completed. On the contrary it is developing in a complex manner in the political, economic, and ideological spheres. Our Party at present is working within the framework of the class struggle, but the contradiction between the two methods of production sometimes is revealed in the contradictions which exist between the enemy and ourselves, and sometimes it is revealed in the contradiction of the people themselves. Thus, many comrades have not realized this point.

Consequently, a thorough understanding of the struggle between two methods of production is necessary in order to have improvement of the vanguard and class characters of the Party. We demand that each cadre or Party member should profoundly understand the meaning of the class struggle. Each cadre or Party member should firmly stand on the proletarian position, the socialist revolutionary position. He should be loyal to the Party; he should be wholeheartedly in favor of the socialist collective economy; he should be determined to fight against the individual working tendencies, self-development of capitalism, and activities which endanger socialist construction. Only under such a class struggle can the construction and consolidation of the party branch be good, can the awareness of the party members be improved, and can the unification and fighting strength of the Party be fortified.

The experiences of Party branches at Tu Y (Thanh Ha), Dong Doi (Gia Loc), and Hoang Gia (Cam Giang) have pointed out that bad elements or reactionaries show their faces when the individual production and self-interest ideology

and the self-developing capitalist tendencies are strong. This situation has a bad effect on the internal situation of the Party, and on the morale of the Party members. As a result, the leading role of the Party members is present in the barest outline, the policies of the Party are not carried out, and Party discipline is destroyed. This weakness found in the Party will further debilitate the movement, and make it more difficult to be consolidated.

On the contrary, when the education on the struggle between the two methods of production is good, the movement is also good, and the internal situation of the Party exemplifies unity and fighting spirit. At many places, when the management of cereals was carried out satisfactorily, not only work of the cooperatives is well done, but the Party chapters are also more united. The emphasis on family economy has been neglected. As a consequence, all strength can be used for the construction of a better cooperative.

The people's revolutionary duties are the socialist construction and the completion of socialist reform in North Vietnam. At the same time, the people should struggle for the realization of the democratic national revolution in South Vietnam and for the peaceful unification of the Fatherland. Consequently, in the build-up of the Party, particularly from the ideological viewpoint, one cannot separate socialist construction from the liberation of South Vietnam and the peaceful unification of the country. We should use the sacrifices and the fighting examples of our people in South Vietnam to educate cadres and Party members, to elevate their patriotic spirit and their revolutionary enthusiasm. We should transform them into a powerful material strength for the construction of socialism in North Vietnam. Concrete experiences have demonstrated that cadres and Party members cannot develop their vanguard character if they do not have a complete understanding of the revolution in South Vietnam, and if their hearts do not join the people in South Vietnam in their struggle against the imperialist United States and its cohorts.

The resolutions of the Ninth Conference of the Party Central Committee have pointed out the position and the proposals of our Party. They are: unification of the people of the world; the struggle against imperialists and reactionaries led by the imperialist United States; struggle

for peace, democracy, independence, and socialism; determination to fight against modern revisionism; protection of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and the maintenance of the unification of the socialist bloc and the international communist movement. This struggle can have an influence on socialist construction, the liberation of South Vietnam for the realization of the unification of the country and people, and the spiritual and ideological activities of our cadres and Party members. Therefore, the build-up of the Party cannot separate itself from the international struggle. It is evident that if we do not fight against modern revisionism, bad effects will occur in our Party, and the ground will be prepared for the development of rightist tendencies, individualism, and liberalism.

On the contrary, if we clearly indicate the Party's international duty and role, and if we clearly draw the border between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, then we can raise the political and ideological level of cadres and Party members, consolidate and elevate the proletarian internationalist position, resolute in the socialist construction, and in the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country. At the same time, we will successfully fight against rightist tendencies, individualism, and liberalism, etc. All of these efforts will unite the rank and file of the Party, and will strengthen the fighting strength of the Party.

According to the general directions, conditions, and demands of the build-up of the Party, and based on the concrete situation of Hai Duong Province, we feel that it is necessary to strengthen the political and ideological activities of the Party, the build-up of the Party base, and the build-up of the Party at district and provincial organizations.

Strengthening Political and Ideological Work

The political and ideological work is not only important for the build-up of the Party, but it is also necessary for economic and cultural construction, etc. The work of the local Party branch can contribute a great fighting strength. The leadership must not aim its efforts at cadres and Party members only, but also at the peasants and workers.

In order to complete all urgent fighting duties and to lead a full-fledged and far-flung army for the worker socialist construction, it is necessary to develop to the highest degree the fighting character of the political and ideological task.

As comrade Le Duan has said, the ideological work must "create a situation in which the laborers would heroically and creatively engage in the production struggle against nature, and in the production revolution as they did during the armed resistance against the enemy." ([Note]: Le Duan, "Create a New Change in the Ideological Work," On the Socialist Revolution in North Vietnam, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, page 373.) We have emphasized the importance of ideological work during past years, and we have made certain efforts in this work. But, in reality, however, our political and ideological work has not caught up with the requirements of the political line and assignments.

To strengthen ideological and political work, it is necessary for the Party committees at all levels, leadership organizations, and cadres of the administrative organs, to understand the basic leadership principle of our Party: in any work, whether it is important or not, after having proposed the duties, indexes, and the slogan for the struggle, the most important task is guidance. Guidance for the realization of the task is composed of two aspects: political and ideological work, and the organization work which covers the work of cadres and inspections. It is very difficult to have a far-flung emulation movement for the realization of the proposed duties and indexes if political and ideological work is neglected, and if the cadres and masses do not consider that these duties and indexes are their own personal fighting slogans, their interests, and their duties. The political and ideological work is important not only because it is the primary measure for the successful completion of all tasks, but it also has an effect in elevating the class and vanguard characters of the Party and the struggle against non-proletarian ideologies which have penetrated the Party, and the victory of socialist ideologies over capitalist ideologies, and the formation of new men.

Therefore, neglect of the political and ideological task can bring about diminution of the leadership role of the Party, and the lowering of the Party's educational force

on Party members and on the masses. This neglect can also manifest bureaucratism and bossism. To overcome bureaucratism and bossism, each cadre and Party member should pay special attention to political and ideological work, and he should know how to perform that work. There are many ways and methods for carrying out political and ideological work, such as training, propaganda, introduction of the political and ideological nature into cultural, information, and educational activities, and the conferences of Party committees at all levels, all sectors, Party chapters, and mass organizations.

The contacts between the superior and the lower levels, and between the leaders and the masses are good occasions to carry out the political and ideological work. The problem is how to raise the quality of these meetings and lectures. Cadres engaged in leadership work at different sectors and localities should regularly study the policy, line, orders, and regulations of the Party. They should also penetrate into the movement and the masses, and they should strive to study the daily life and real situations. There are always new developments in the movement. There are also successes and failures. If the cadres strive hard to study the situation within the movement, their experiences will be richer, and their working capacity will be strengthened.

To do good political and ideological work, in addition to the firm understanding of the basic spirit of the decrees and regulations of the upper levels, it is necessary to study local conditions in order to find out what are its good points, its bad points, and what is the ideological understanding of cadres and the masses, and then, based on this information, to report and explain the policies, and to create an ideological change in the masses. During the process of study for the improvement of cooperatives, there were many cadres who had based their reports on the concrete situation of cooperatives, and on the ideological situation of Party members and the masses; therefore, their work was performed quite successfully. But there were also many cadres who depended entirely on existing documents, and they reported to the masses as they taught them; therefore, the theoretical nature of the documents did not fit with the concrete situation of the cooperatives and the ideological conditioning of the masses. As a consequence, the ideological level of Party members and the masses was not changed or elevated.

It is very important to pay special attention to ideological and political work in the process of daily leadership, and to link it with production and struggle. This can enable the political and ideological work of the Party to have a rich and dynamic contents, as well as a rich fighting character. But this does not mean that we can neglect the effects of schools, classes, in-service training, and other mass activities, etc. The Party committees of all levels and all sectors should strengthen their leadership, particularly on the ideological aspect with regard to those who are engaging in political, ideological, propaganda, and cultural work. They should reserve time and effort for these tasks.

Strengthening the Party Build-up at the Base

In the work of build-up of the Party, the build-up of the Party's base is very important, because the Party's base is the foundation of the Party, and it is the unit which is directly engaged in the fulfillment of the Party's tasks. At Hai Duong, attention given to the build-up and consolidation of the basic organization of the Party has had a good effect on the consolidation of cooperatives, the development of agriculture, and the construction of a new countryside. Progress in the effective composition of the Party's basic organizations has been made in recent years. But this progress has not answered to the demands of all activities, and the demands for agricultural development. The political and ideological level of Party members is still low, external criticism and self-criticism is irregular and weak. In many places, there is a lack of unification within the Party organization, and the relations between the Party and the masses is not close, etc.

To elevate the class and vanguard characters of the Party, and the fighting strength of the Party's basic organizations, the most important task is the positive build-up of the Party on the ideological and political levels. It is necessary to get cadres and Party members at basic organizations to understand that the common revolutionary tasks of the Party are socialist construction in North Vietnam and the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country. They should definitely understand the directions and policies concerning socialist construction, particularly socialist industrialization, self-reliance

and thrift in the socialist construction, development of agriculture, and the production directions of local regions. They should thoroughly understand the class struggle, the struggle between the two methods of production during the transitional period, and the struggle against revisionism. They should thoroughly understand the international role of our Party, its regulations, and the duties of each Party chapter and Party member. It is necessary to educate Party members, through the struggle, to realize all activities and production plans. At the same time, political studies, and perusal of the Party's newspaper at Party chapters should become a routine experience.

After the fundamental completion was effected of agricultural cooperativization, the duties and power of the Party chapters in the countryside have become enormous. The Party chapters not only exert leadership in political work, but they also lead all phases of production and distribution. There are two common situations, first, the leadership can be weak, or it withdraws from its leadership role and follows the masses; it does not positively educate and convince the masses in order to materialize the Party's line and policies; second, the leadership is positive, but it is coercive and bureaucratic; and it does not listen to the opinion of the masses. Both of these situations are wrong. They force the Party to separate itself from the masses, and they create ripe conditions for bad elements to seduce the masses and get them to fight against the policies of the Party.

Therefore, it is necessary to educate cadres and Party members on the mass line of the Party; it is necessary to overcome both of these situations. It is necessary to get cadres and Party members in the countryside to understand that the strength of the Party is its close relations with the masses, its attention to the welfare of the masses, and its confidence in the masses. Among the masses, there are advanced as well as backward people. But generally speaking, the masses are good and revolutionary. If the cadres and Party members are patient and positive in education and persuasion, they will be able to develop the strength of the masses and successfully fulfill the revolutionary duties.

Another important point is the attention given to external criticism and self-criticism in the Party chapters. This policy will strengthen unification, develop superior

points, overcome weaknesses, and step up working activities. In the Party chapters, there are positive and enthusiastic members as well as backward, selfish, position-minded people who are lazy in doing collective work, etc. From experiences at many places, it is clear that if these incorrect views are not overcome, they will have bad influences on the Party chapter and the masses. They will disrupt Party discipline and the fighting strength of the Party.

On the contrary, when external criticism and self-criticism are strong in some places, the Party chapters at those places are united and the movements are advanced. For instance, Dai Xuan Party chapter (Ninh Giang) is patient and persistent in its struggle against the position-minded attitude of some members of the Party committee; therefore, the Party chapter was consolidated, and the leadership of cooperative was good. The Party members said, "For us, these sessions on external criticism and self-criticism are penetrating lessons on the characters of the Party members."

Among our Party branches are good, average, and poor Party chapters. We feel that we must have a long-range plan to help these poor party chapters; and we had sent members of the Party committee or cadres who have the capacity to regularly help them and follow up their work. Experience indicates that to consolidate and effect new changes in the poor Party chapters, we must be patient and careful in discovering what are the causes for poor quality in order to have concrete measures to correct this. In the work of consolidation of Party chapters, it is necessary to nurture local cadres and Party members so that they can do the work by themselves. We should not neglect our leadership with regard to having good Party branches and Party chapters. It is necessary to prevent self-complacency, self-sufficiency, bureaucratism, bossism, corruption, bribery, and wastefulness. We have had good experiences on these subjects during the past years.

Another important task in the build-up of the basic Party organization is cadre work. Whether a Party branch is strong or weak is mainly determined by the quality of the core leaders. In our Party branch, one-third of the secretaries of the Party committees or district Party chapters are weak because of their age, or because they do not command the confidence of the people. Many comrades are of

poor caliber, or they have committed mistakes, but the leadership cannot replace them because of the shortage of personnel. This situation demands that we have better control of the cadres of districts and cooperatives, particularly core cadres, such as secretaries, assistant secretaries, chairmen of the community, secretary of the Party chapter, and director and vice-director of cooperatives, etc.

Before the election takes place of the Party committee, chapter committee, and the executive committee, the district Party committee should evaluate the core cadres at communities and cooperatives in order to arrange them appropriately, particularly at weak localities. We can only have a reserve army of cadres who are ready to engage in political work if we plan to train or to search for loyal cadres and Party members who have been tested by the movement, and those young cadres and positive women who have bright prospects.

For our Party branch, we should strive harder in the development of the Party. The number of Party members in the province is only two percent of the total population. For many districts, such as Cam Giang district, the number of Party members amounted to only 1.3 percent of its population. We propose that the development of the Party should be regularly stepped up (particularly in regions where the percentage of Party members with regard to the whole population is low) both in quantity and in quality. We should build up the Party and accept more members through the reform movement, and the movement for production increase.

The Party branch at Hai Duong has made great efforts in the build-up of "four-good" Party chapters during the past year. This movement has already produced positive effects. But we think that in the expansion of the movement, it is necessary to exert an even tighter leadership. We should not think of quantity to the neglect of quality, because the "four-good" Party chapters should have all of the four-good, and should not have only one-good, or even be poor. The Party chapters which want to become "four good" chapters should follow these directions:

- They should have positive and correct production directions;

- They should maintain a clear-cut socialist ideology and position; they should carry out satisfactorily the policy and the management of cooperatives;

- They should have as their primary steps a good tradition in all activities, studies, external criticism and self-criticism;

- They should have a majority of positive Party members in the chapter.

It is necessary to get everybody to understand that to become a "four-good" chapter is an honor, but it requires much effort. For Party chapters at enterprises and organizations, the concrete conditions should be different, but the quality should remain high. In addition to the work of consolidation of Party chapters, it is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the leadership with regard to the mass organizations, such as the Lao Dong Youth League, the United Women Organization, the Elders' Organization, Children teams, and the militia organizations, etc. Only then can the Party chapter be linked closely with the masses, and only then can it develop the strength of all sectors, and classes in order to successfully fulfill the missions entrusted to it by the Party.

Party Work at the Provincial and District Levels

If the build-up of Party basic organizations is important because they are the foundation organs of the Party, the build-up of the Party at the district and provincial levels is important too, because they are the places where many leading organizations exist, and their work covers the whole province, and many core cadres are concentrated there also.

In the build-up of the Party at the district and provincial levels, the important aspect is still ideological and political work. This applies to the Party committees of all levels, state organs, and mass organizations. Measures concerning the political, economic, production, educational, and cultural directions, and the build-up of the Party should be reflected in the work and achievements for the realization of the Party committees. It is clear that general directions and important measures and policies are

determined by the resolutions and instructions taken by the Party Central Committee. But the problem is how to apply them correctly to the local conditions in order to have good results; this is a fundamental problem which requires the attention of the provincial and district Party committees, comrade secretaries, and assistant secretaries, and the standing committees in the development of the movement. Experiences of our Party branch during the past years, has taught us that the movement can effect a good change only when the provincial and district committees try to solve local political and production problems. The movement will not be successfully fulfilled if these fundamental problems are not thought over carefully or are done in a mechanical, negative, and non-creative manner.

The provincial and district leading organs should view as their principal task their service to basic organizations and agriculture, and they should closely attach themselves to these tasks. But to serve basic organizations successfully, the work at these organs should be improved. These two problems are interrelated. The service to agriculture and the close attachment to basic organizations are directions and conditions for the improvement of the organs themselves. At the same time, work improvement at these organs, improvement of the professional level of cadres at these organs are important require measures to satisfactorily serve basic organizations.

Party committees of all levels and all sectors must consider concentrating all efforts on a certain task and the appointment at a trial region as a necessary principle. The time span of this work can be short or long and leadership influence can be on an overall basis or only on a certain specific phase of the movement. Many Party committees and comrades in charge of these sectors have not seriously considered these tasks as important. They do not understand that they should participate in these tasks, and follow them up from the beginning to the end. They should combine the selection of a trial region with the overall movement, since the trial region is used to guide the whole movement. Experience indicate that these focal points and trial regions, if they have good conditions, can help a certain Party chapter to become an advanced chapter or the banner of the movement, or they can help the leadership to firmly grasp the situation of the basic organizations in order to have concrete experiences in their thinking and

in their guidance of the general movement. Therefore, the Party committees of all levels and all sectors should try to maintain the focal points and the principle of trial units in their work.

Our Party and our people are faced with complicated and great revolutionary missions. This situation requires the further strengthening of the Party leadership and the thorough understanding of the advanced and class nature of the Party, particularly in the ideological and political facets. Having understood the decisive meaning of the build-up of the Party, we are determined to overcome all difficulties, to do good work in the build-up of the Party, and to step up the movement to have "four-Good" Party chapters and Party branches. We want the Party organizations to be worthy of the political leading organizations of the masses.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THAI BINH PRODUCTION

[Following is a translation of an article by Ngo Duy Dong in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi, 1964, pages 30-33.]

Thai Binh was a province which had few rice fields, its population was crowded, its agricultural production was backward and typified by monocultural, and its material and technical foundations were poor. Having these conditions in mind, and having based on the resolutions of the Fifth Conference of the Party Central Committee, Thai Binh Party branch held a meeting in 1961, and it proposed the following directions for agricultural development: "the production of food is its principal task, but it at the same time must pay attention to the development of industries, livestock rearing, and all the trades." Its concrete slogan was, "intensive cultivation for the increase in productivity, and the positive expansion of cultivated land through multi-crop program and land reclamation." In July 1963, based on the resolutions of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee, the meeting of the Party branches determined the basic duties of the province as the "three attacking lines" (see note) with their aims as the development of existing capacities and full utilization of local potentialities, the overcoming of all difficulties, and the stepping up of an overall, firm, and strong development of agriculture.

([Note]: First, full and rational use of the wealth and the land for intensive cultivation, increase in the number of crops per year, increase in productivity, development of livestock rearing, trades, and auxiliary trades; second, positively step up the exploitation of the coastal region; and third, mobilize the people to participate in the development of the mountain economy.)

After more than two years of hard struggle for the elimination of monoculture, the stepping up of an overall, firm, and strong development of agricultural production, the province of Thai Binh has achieved good results. The percentage of cereals as a part of the total food plants has gradually increased. It has just accelerated the development of food production, and it has created favorable conditions for the development of livestock rearing which is the basic foundation for the realization of intensive cultivation and increase in productivity. The materialization of multi-crops is an important achievement because it has solved the contradiction between the crowded population and the scarcity of land, it has balanced out manpower and draft power, and it has increased the sources of fertilizer.

Moreover, it has opened up a new path for the development of cereals and industrial trees, and yet, it still maintains the output of rice which is a type of food plant in which the people at Thai Binh have better experience in production. From the technical point of view, the rotational utilization of land has helped to improve the fertility of land and the productivity of the plants.

Many advanced units have appeared, and the production movement was stepped up as a result of these directions on agricultural production and other concrete measures which suited local conditions and the capacity of the masses as well as the production requirements. In addition to these, there was also the support and encouragement of the State. As a result, the province scored, in spite of long and serious natural disaster, an increase of 1.5 percent in its 1963 agricultural production as compared with 1962, and its cultivation sector increased by 2.7 percent.

These achievements displayed the correctness of the results of the Party Central Committee and of the Thai Binh Party branches. One important reason for these achieve-

ments was the role of many leader cadres in the party branches who have understood the new production directions, and who have used this understanding to guide production, to support and stimulate the development of new elements, and to create an ideological change in the Party members and the masses.

These ideological changes, however, are just primary changes. The agricultural rate of development in the province, generally speaking, was slow, and it has not answered to revolutionary demands. The principal causes for these weaknesses are the existence of conservative thinking and the fear of difficulties among cadres and Party members.

Up until now, many regions in the province have not succeeded in changing their production directions. To change a traditional habit is, of course, difficult. It requires new experiences and techniques, and the understanding of the biological aspects of the new plants as well as weather conditions, and many other problems. But the greatest obstacles are the fear of difficulties and the existence of conservative thinking which in turn creates suspiciousness and hesitancy. They also restrict the development of the spirit of daring to think and to work. Many comrades thought, for instance, that multi-crop measures could be applied only at places where the average land per capita was low, but they do not understand that these measures should also be applied at places where the average land per capita ratio is high. Thi Doc cooperative (Duyen Ha district), for instance, is a place where the average land per capita ratio is high. However, with the application of the multi-crop measures, the cooperative can regulate manpower, draft power, and fertilizers.

Its cooperative members have work to do all year long; the number of work days increases and there is no shortage of labor during the busy season, such as during plowing, harrowing, harvesting, and transplanting time. With regard to food obligations, many comrades think that it can be materialized only at places where the average land per capita ratio is high, but they do not think that it can be realized by the ideological nature of leader cadres. At Tan Phong cooperative (Thu Tri), the average land per capita ratio is one sao six thuoc.

However, with multi-crops and the increase in the cultivation of cereals, the cooperative can plant industrial trees over 20 percent of its land. As a consequence, it not only has more agricultural products; it has moved from a food shortage area to a self-sufficient or even surplus area. It has sold surplus yam and paddy to the State. Many places have not set appropriate indexes during their period of making production plans because they fear difficulties and are resistant to new ideas.

Many places grow more cereals without taking into consideration the increase in the number of crops in a unit of land. As a result, the rice acreage decreases. What has happened was just an exchange of yam and corn for rice. Many other places have withdrawn from the application of the multi-crop system because they did not completely apply all technical measures.

The productivity of the land has increased greatly in many places as a result of better improvement of production tools and the land, etc. Many other regions, however, have not positively campaigned for the improvement of techniques because they were dominated by objective difficulties, such as the lack of draft power, fertilizers, and the high cost of production, etc. In the improvement of the soil, for instance, lime is needed to fertilize the soil, but many regions did not temporarily stop construction in order to use lime to fertilize the rice fields. Many other places even used the portion of lime reserved for fertilizing the soil in the construction.

As to irrigation, many comrades considered that their irrigation and drainage systems were relatively good; they did not have to improve or develop small irrigation networks. In many places which have difficulties, many comrades fold their hands and wait for the help from the State, or from "God." (!)

In the work of consolidation of cooperatives, many comrades have not really paid attention to the strengthening of the collective economic force. In recent years, the income from the collective sector has increased, but it has been reduced as compared to the development of an auxiliary economy. Many cooperatives are afraid of loss and complicated management; therefore, they are not determined to develop different trades and livestock rearing. Many cooper-

atives have taken care of the cattle, but they want the members to take care of the manure with the excuse that the cooperative members can do a better job (!) Many Party members are still thinking of their individual problems when they discuss the business of the cooperatives. In many places, collective animal rearing was undertaken without any real substance. For instance, they have built a few dozens of pigsties, but they have only ten or fifteen hogs. In these cases, conservative thinking is concealed by large-scale show cases exemplifying their real nature: wastefulness and irresponsibility.

These different phenomena have indicated that conservative thinking and the fear of difficulties are quite common among the basic organizations. They also exist at the district and provincial Party committees. Many comrades have not fulfilled their duties concerning inspection, and the encouragement of basic organizations in the setting up and materialization of production plans. Other district Party committees retreat before difficulties. They only see objective difficulties, but they do not see the positive force which can overcome all difficulties.

They do not develop their creativity to the highest degree nor do they try to seek out measures to help the lower levels to overcome their difficulties. They are not brave enough to fight against conservatism and hesitancy. These deficiencies are clearly reflected in the materialization of the State indexes in many provinces. In a mass movement, there are always new and positive elements, and the leaders should always try to find out, to study, and to support new ideas and new elements. They should try to develop these individual models into common examples in the collective. They should also detect and prevent negative elements. In other works, the leader cadres should summarize the experiences of the masses; they should draw upon good experiences in order to popularize them, and they should detect bad experiences in order to avoid them. Experiences have indicated that if the Party committee level should observe these experiences, advanced models can be developed and built up, and the movement advances firmly, and the economic efficiency is quite definite. Many regions have neglected or destroyed good elements of the movement because they became self-satisfied with their primary results, or they were unable to catch up with the rapid objective developments. The following two examples prove the results of a good and a bad leadership method.

Buom cooperative has had many great experiences in the planting of industrial trees in spite of the fact that its average land per-capita ratio is low. When the prices of foodstuff in the "free" market increase, the masses have the tendency to plant food plants. Seeing this, the village Party committees have combined the demands of the State with the suitable desires of the people. They mobilized the people to increase the number of crops per year in order to plant more industrial trees, but they also fully utilized the land for growing food plants. The district Party committee also encouraged and helped village Party committees to make rotational production plans, and to increase the cultivated acreage. As a result, this cooperative has raised the average value of industrial trees from 13.30 piaster (1961) per person to 35.00 piaster (1963). At the same time, it can produce enough foodstuff to feed itself.

Hiep Hoa cooperative used to be a model in the intensive cultivation of rice, in the development of different trades, and in auxiliary work. Many other cooperatives came here to study and observe. But the leader cadres of the cooperative were subjective. They were satisfied with their accomplishments and did not want to surge ahead. The district and provincial committee levels did not correct the incorrect or misguided ideologies. They did not try to help the relatively good cooperatives to study the advanced units. Hiep Hoa cooperative has become a backward cooperative as compared with other advanced cooperatives.

These lessons have indicated that the ideologies of the leader cadres have a direct influence on the development of the mass movement. If the leader cadres possess advanced and revolutionary ideologies, the movement will develop, no matter how difficult the situation is. On the contrary, if the leader cadres are conservative, the mass movement will gradually weaken. In some regions in our province, the conservative thinking of some leader cadres in the district and provincial levels have created a negative chain reaction on Party members, core cadres, and the masses who used to have a creative labor tradition and the spirit of accepting new ideas.

The following are some reasons for the emergence of this conservative thinking.

First, ideological understanding does not catch up with the development of the situation; the urgency of a new mission was not realized; new elements in the movement, existing as well as potential elements in the region, were not recognized.

Second, there is a lack of regular study for the improvement of one's technical and scientific knowledge, or the study of fraternal units because one is satisfied with his achievements, experiences, and creative thinking in production.

Third, the cadres were influenced by rightist pro-pertied tendencies; therefore, they are passive when they are facing difficulties. They do not try to develop their revolutionary spirit in order to overcome difficulties and to step up the development of the movement.

Four, having been influenced by individualism and liberalism, the cadres do not solve correctly the interests of the individual and the common interests, and the long-range and immediate interests. They have suspicions or they hesitate when they are defeated or if their interests were involved. They lack the organizational and disciplinary spirit, the responsibility spirit to be linked with the Party and the masses.

The agricultural production movement of the Thai Binh province has made definite changes from a backward and monocultural stage, after many years of hard struggle. In spite of continuous natural calamities, the low average land per-capita ratio and the rapid growth of the population, we not only have solved the food requirement in our province, but we have also continuously raised agricultural output. We have achieved these results because our Party branch has seriously carried out the resolutions of the Party Central Committee. We have also utilized these resolutions in a manner which is applicable to our local conditions. We have also succeeded in determining the correct directions for agricultural production which are compatible with the demands and capacities of the masses. Moreover, all Party committees of all levels, Party members, and the masses have realized and grasped the demands and the new duties, and they are determined to struggle for the overfulfillment of the indices set in the State plan.

The new production directions which were proposed by the meeting of our provincial Party branches in July 1963 have many concrete measures which are designed to eliminate monoculture and to create an overall, strong, and firm development of Thai Binh agriculture. With a determination to increase the number of crops per year and to plant more cereals, we can overcome all difficulties, no matter how numerous they are. Thu Tri district, for instance, had nearly 10,000 mau of rice fields which were flooded in 1963. But with our determination to increase the number of crops and to develop the cereals' acreage, the food problem was not serious during the period between the two harvests.

On the contrary, if a region has conditions for the development of agriculture, but there is no change in the ideology of cadres and Party members, the development of cereals' acreage will be affected, and it will have a bad influence on the production of foodstuff, and livestock rearing which in turn will affect the source of fertilizers used for the intensive cultivation; which, in turn, determines the fulfillment of the food obligations. Industrial trees will not be developed which will restrict the source of materials used in industries, and the abundant labor force in the region cannot be used to develop handicraft industries and agricultural products.

The production movement at Thai Binh province has just entered its first stage because there are not great changes in the ideologies of the Thai Binh Party branches. The principal obstacles for the development of the present movement are the fear of difficulties and the existence of conservative thinking, and the manifestations of rightist propertied ideologies.

To answer to the emulation movement "each person doing the work of two in order to pay tribute to the kinfold in South Vietnam," the most pressing problem is to overcome rightist conservative tendencies. To step up the movement, we decided that we should wage a positive ideological struggle and carry out a fervent fight against nature. The success achieved in the fight against nature will prove the failures of conservative thinking; and, vice-versa, the struggle against conservative thinking is the base for the fight against nature. Therefore, in the fight against rightist conservative thinking, not only is it necessary to pay

attention to political and ideological levels, but it is also necessary to study in order to raise the scientific and technical knowledge of Party members, cadres, and the masses.

The development of the mass movement depends first of all on the ideological changes of leader cadres of all levels. Therefore, to launch a mass ideological movement, it is necessary to push ahead the ideological struggle within the Party, particularly among Party committees. Cadres of all levels should pay attention to the control of the ideological situation of cadres and Party members. They should regularly conduct external criticism and self-criticism which must be an important political activity of the Party committees, Party organizations, and particularly the Party chapters. The Party committees, from the provincial to the community levels, should re-examine the production plans according to the spirit of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, and of the provincial Party conference. They should depend on these resolutions to discover their weaknesses in order to raise their sense of responsibility, to step up the movement, to develop in a rapid, firm and strong manner, and to satisfactorily solve important problems such as food, export goods, labor, and distribution, etc.

On the other hand, leader cadres should go deeper into reality, and they should harden themselves based on those realities. Realities are the sources of perception, the foundations for the development of knowledge, the measuring rod of the truth. Only by living in realities can we catch up with the development of new situations, be sensitive to new problems, rapidly detect new elements in the movement, and overcome rightist conservative ideologies.

The Party committees of all levels and Party members are strengthening their unification in the fight against conservative ideologies, the fear of difficulties, and all other rightist propertied ideologies. The Thai Binh Party branches are determined to transform their perception into a violent change in ideology and action. They are determined to create a strong and fighting revolutionary and labor enthusiasm in order to give a timely answer to the development of socialist construction in North Vietnam and the struggle for the unification of the country.



THAI BINH EXPERIENCES DURING THE CAMPAIGN FOR
IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT

[Following is a translation of an article by
rham Bai in the Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi, 1964,
pages 34-37.]

Thai Binh province has undertaken three phases of the campaign for the improvement of agricultural cooperative management. We would like to introduce some experiences and results in the build-up of the Party chapters during our first two phases in order to exchange our experiences with other Party branches.

Of the 240 units which had engaged in the first two phases of the campaign for the improvement of the agricultural cooperative movement, there were 217 party chapters. In other words, 90 percent of the cooperatives have Party chapters. According to the classification of these two phases, the number of good Party members accounted for from 56.9 percent to 57.9 percent. The number of average Party members accounted for from 33.3 percent of 34.1 percent, and the number of members of poor or very poor quality accounted for from 8.8 percent to 9 percent. The internal situation of the Party is in general united. The Party chapters have made great efforts in production leadership and in the build-up of cooperatives; therefore, the cooperatives were in general stable. Among the 167 cooperatives which had embarked in the second phase of the campaign, 50

percent of them belong to the average class, and one percent belongs to the below-average class.

There were some weaknesses and deficiencies in organization and leadership. They were : 10 percent of the cooperatives have not had Party chapters; 50 percent of production brigades have not had Party cells; only 40 percent of the brigade leaders are Party members; Party members are still influenced by conservative thinking and the fear of difficulties; the preoccupation with family's interests; the lack of a sense of responsibility, good examples in production. Many Party members have not penetratingly led production and managed cooperatives; some Party chapters have still carried out the policy in a casual manner; they had become corrupted, or did not want to fulfill the food obligations, and they hid their real agricultural produce. Many Party chapters have not determined their production directions according to the conditions of the cooperatives; and they were still inexperienced in the management of cooperatives, etc.

After the first two phases of the improvement of the cooperatives, as compared with the demand for the strengthening of Party leadership, we have achieved following results in the consolidation of the Party:

The awareness of Party members to socialist revolutionary duties in the North, the position of industries and agriculture, and the relationship between these two sectors has been raised. Each comrade has realized the role and duty of each Party chapter; each Party member in production leadership and in management of cooperatives has also realized this. The Party members have been strengthened in their work, their economic management level has been raised, and core cadres have begun to control professional management. With this new thinking, the Party chapters have re-examined, in a careful manner, their activities concerning production leadership, management of cooperative, and execution of orders. The Party members have practiced external criticism and self-criticism. Party chapters and Party cells have concentrated their efforts on evaluation, analysis, and criticism of incorrect thinking or action of each Party member, particularly those who were influenced by conservative thinking and negative attitudes, those who were not the examples in labor production or in the execution of the orders, and those who were preoccupied with the interests of their own families, or those who were corrupted, individually or collectively.

As a consequence of their improvement in ideology and awareness, many cadres have shown their vanguard character in leading the masses during the campaign for the improvement of cooperative management and increased production. They have worked positively and wholeheartedly without considering difficulties. After the completion of the second phase of the campaign, the number of positive Party members reached 74 percent (or an increase of 13.4 percent as compared with the period before the campaign), the number of average Party members accounted for 26.4 percent (or a decrease of seven percent). The number of below-average Party members accounted for only 2.3 percent (or a decrease of 6.5 percent.)

With regard to the organizational aspect, there was a rational arrangement of Party chapters and cells at places which have established adequate conditions: 91.7 percent of cooperatives which passed through the first phase of the campaign had Party chapters (or an increase of 6.7 percent as compared with the period before the campaign), and 94 percent of Party chapters had Party chapters after the second phase of the campaign (or an increase of 12 percent.) The number of Party cells which engaged in production leadership also increased. Members of the Party committees were re-elected. More than half of them belong to the poor peasant class. Good Party members were placed in important positions. The number of Party members who were director, vice director, production brigade leader, and assistant brigade leader also increased.

Improvements were scored in the leadership role of the Party chapters. The Party chapters really led the cooperatives in their management and in the determination of production directions. As a result of really understanding their role, Party chapters have, in spite of drought and flood during the mua and chiem season, successfully led in production. Through the improvement campaign, the role of the Party chapters among the masses has been raised, and the relationship between Party members and the masses has become closer.

The build-up of the Party chapters at Thai Binh, however, has had some limitations. Party members have not really understood the priority given to the development of heavy industries, and the relationship between accumulation and consumption. The development of industrial trees and

the movement to develop the mountain regions have not been satisfactorily solved. There were no clear-cut changes in the working methods of Party chapters, Party committees, and in the relationships between Party organizations and the administrative committees of the cooperatives with regard to leadership and guidance for the realization of the work. The plan to build up "four-good" chapters has not really been linked with the contents of the campaign for improvement of cooperative management, it has no concrete measures, and it was not adopted at the beginning of the first phase of the campaign.

The following are some experiences that we have gathered in the build-up of the Party chapter during the two phases of the campaign for improvement of agricultural cooperatives.

1. In order to have good results in the improvement of cooperative management and techniques, and to maintain and develop these results after the campaign has been completed, the most important measure is the strengthening of Party leadership, particularly leadership at the level of the Party chapter. At Thai Binh, the absolute majority of cooperatives which have passed through the improvement campaign have shown their effectiveness, with the exception of a few which are worse than the pre-reform period. After having re-examined the situation, we realized that the situation arose because the build-up of the Party chapter during the campaign has not been done correctly. For instance, To Hai Party chapter (An My community, Phu Duc district) was not united before the campaign, and they were jealous with one another with regard to the corruption of some Party members. These problems were not satisfactorily solved; therefore, the leadership of the Party chapter with regard to the cooperatives has not been strengthened after the campaign.

The leadership of the Party is an element which can determine the success of the revolution. Nearly everybody agrees to this truth. But in many regions, not all cadres and Party members agreed or acted accordingly. Many Party members and cadres neglected the build-up of the Party chapter or separated that work from the improvement of cooperative management. This weakness is reflected in the work of those cadres who have paid attention to the situation of the cooperatives only without taking into consideration the situation of the Party chapters and members in

their determination whether or not the improvement of the cooperative management should be done immediately or in the future. At Thai Binh, there were 21 cooperatives which failed during the first phase of the campaign and had to be transferred to regular consolidation because the cadres failed to understand that Party members at these cooperatives were weak, and that the the spirit of leadership in these Party chapters was negligible. Some cadres evaluated only the reports of the administrative committees on the work of these cooperatives without paying attention to the reports of the Party chapters; nor did they help Party chapters to solve important problems concerning their internal situation. They usually neglected the requirements concerning the build-up of the Party chapters.

We feel that we have failed to get the cadres who are in charge of the movement, particularly core leader cadres at the district and community levels, to understand the demands for the build-up of the Party chapter during the campaign for the improvement of cooperative management. On the other hand, we know that the improvement of the cooperative movement is a great task which requires comprehensive information and the time to carry out the campaign is very pressing. Meanwhile, the bookkeeping of some cooperative is very poor. As a consequence, the build-up of the Party chapter is neglected, and emphasis was given to the general campaign. We have wanted to rationally solve and arrange the work and the time, and to pay more attention to the build-up of the Party chapter; we do not want to shy away from our errors.

2. The build-up of the Party chapter during the campaign for improvement of cooperative management should pay special attention to ideological education raising the awareness of the Party members, and perfecting organization. This work must be done thoroughly in terms of these three aspects: elevation of awareness and ideology, and strengthening the managerial level for Party chapters, cadres, and Party members; the perfection of the organization of the Party chapter; and the changing of the working method. These three aspects are interrelated with each other, and they mutually support each other. They will help to build the Party chapter up in an overall manner.

We should give special attention to the ideological education of Party members because one must have revolutionary ideology in order to have revolutionary action.

The resolutions of the Fifth Conference of the Party Central Committee clearly pointed out that, "The basic organization of the Party in the countryside is the advanced organ of the working class in the countryside. It represents the interests of the working class, the socialist state, and the peasants." To achieve this goal, each Party chapter, Party member in the countryside should be the representative of the ideology and position of the working class. In rural Party chapters, nearly all Party members come from the peasantry. Party members of chapters in the rural regions have been trained in the democratic people's revolution, but they have not been trained and educated much on the position and ideology of the working class.

At the same time, in the countryside, the struggle between the collective and the individual ideologies -- between the socialist and the capitalist methods -- are continuing under complicated and delicate forms. This struggle will continue to develop during the transition period to socialism. The knowledge and ideology of Party members will be influenced by outside ideologies. Therefore, the Party chapters cannot become the nuclei of the Party in the countryside if education on the position and ideology of the working class is neglected. Experience has indicated that in all revolutionary work if Party members are thoroughly equipped with the ideological knowledge, they can lead the masses toward materializing all of the tasks, no matter how difficult they may be. If we do not pay attention to raising the knowledge and ideology of Party members, but only pay attention to measures concerning organization and arrangement of members to a certain position, we will have a hard time developing the positive character of the Party members.

In addition to ideological education, if we pay attention to strengthening the chapter's organization, and to the consolidation of the Party's chapter committee, and the management staff according to the class line of the Party, then the Party's policy and instructions will be rapidly carried out, and they will be received favorably by the masses. On the other hand, a good working method will help the Party chapter and Party chapter committee to be free from bureaucratism or to replace the administrative committee of the cooperatives. It will help the Party organization to penetratingly do the work of inspection and

leadership, and to develop the positiveness and leading character of the management and the director of the cooperative in solving daily problems.

3. From our regional experiences, we feel that the separate report of the Party chapter has had good effects on the leadership: in preparing the report and discussing it, the responsibility spirit of Party chapter and members in production and cooperative leadership will be raised. If there is only the management board of the cooperative, the Party chapter and members would neglect their responsibility, and they would not clearly know their leadership role toward the cooperative.

We think that it is necessary to separate the report of the cooperative and of the Party chapter. They should not be combined into one as is the common practice in many places. The Party chapter and the cooperative, the Party committee and the management board of the cooperative, all of these have different roles and missions.

The report of the Party chapter is the report on the internal situation of the Party. The Party chapter, from the point of view of the leader of production and of cooperative, evaluates important measures and directions on organization for their realization. It evaluate ideological work, political education with regard to cooperatives, education and mobilization of the mass organization to serve production and the cooperative.

In addition, it also evaluates many problems within the Party, such as the ideological level of the Party members, and the arrangement of Party members into their important positions on the cooperative, etc. The report of the cooperative is, based on the observation of the Party chapter, to evaluate all managerial aspects of the cooperative. It should indicate concrete work in order to materialize all directions and resolutions of the Party branch and chapter. The report of the Party chapter will have a great influence on the members from the point of view of training, if it is a good and penetrating report. To compose that report, the Party chapter should use all previous experience and learning to evaluate production leadership, and the management of cooperatives in the past.

It should aim at the consolidation of the theoretical understanding of the Party members and it should help them to do their own work in the future. The report of the Party chapter should not list many tasks, but it should concentrate on certain important tasks which are the principal affairs of the leadership of the Party chapter.

4. The practice of external criticism and self-criticism in front of the masses, and mass criticism of the leadership of the Party chapter have good effects on members. This measure has helped the Party chapter and members to understand themselves better, to evaluate correctly and objectively their leadership role, their position, and their prestige among the masses. The masses welcome and support this measure. The opinion of the masses is generally right. The masses have in many cases pointed out incorrect work and have helped the Party chapter to discover errors and correct them. To Xuyen cooperative, for instance, has criticized the bureaucratic manner of the Party chapter. The masses pointed out to the Party chapter that production teams have declared an addition of 64 persons in order to reduce their food obligation part.

Based on criticism of the masses, the Party organized an investigation and agreed that they were right. The masses also want to contribute some constructive ideas on some individual Party members. With regard to this problem, we think that self-criticism within the Party is based on self-enlightenment of Party members, but the opinion of people from without will help the Party member have a better evaluation of himself.

It will help the Party organization understand the cadres and members better. It also educates the members and cadres to raise their responsibility toward the masses. The sincere practice of self-criticism by the Party chapter in front of the masses and its response to mass criticism will help to tighten the relationship between the Party chapter and members and the masses. It also raise the leadership and prestige of the Party chapter.

PARTY BUILD UP AT HA HOA DISTRICT

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Ngoc Thai in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi, 1964, pages 37-40.]

Since the restoration of peace, Ha Hoa district has been leading the province of Phu Tho in the build-up and consolidation of agricultural cooperatives, production increase, increase in cultivated acreage, improvement of agricultural tools, and irrigation work, etc. But during the two years 1960-1961, all of these activities were weakened. Our district did not even fulfill the food obligations and the sale of other agricultural products to the State. As a consequence, the provincial role in the implementation of the State plan was affected.

One of the major causes of this situation was the poor method used and the low spirit of the district leadership. Proposals and policies of the Party were discussed only among the members of the standing committee of the district Party committee, and then they were dispatched to members of the district Party committee and other sectors. There was no united action in the materialization of these tasks. Each Party committee's member worried about the work of his own sector; each sector organized its own meeting, and it sent numerous official letters to the communities, and this has led to a situation in which there was plenty of

paper work and meetings. Sometimes, there were two or three district cadres in a community, yet the work was not done and cadres at the basic organizations were confused.

The Party committee in the district had seriously criticized this working method in order to overcome these deficiencies. All sectors and Party committees in the communities also examined their working methods in front of the cadres and members. We proposed many positive measures for the strengthening of the concentration and unification of the leadership of the Party committee with regard to all activities. The district Party committee held monthly meetings with those comrades in charge of different sectors to re-examine and discuss their work. After having evaluated the achievements and the situation as well as the demands of the coming month, members of the district Party committee in different sectors proposed their own work for the coming month. And it was on this basis that the Party committee made a general plan for the whole district.

Each sector, therefore, knew its duty in the general plan, and thus, it developed its positive and active role in implementing the central work of the district, and there was no duplication of work. Comrades in the Party committee firmly controlled the work of their own sectors, and the work of other sectors as well; therefore, once they went to the basic organizations, they could readily help and examine the work realistically.

To further control the situation in the district and to help cadre leaders at basic organizations understand the intentions of the Party committee, it also held meetings of core cadres in the district in order to exchange ideas concerning the implementation of the Party's policies and proposals, and the plan for the coming month. During the meeting, comrades in the community Party committees expressed their views on the leadership of the district Party committee, and directly received their assignments for the coming month. Different sectors can use this meeting to transmit the sector's plan to comrade leaders in the community.

As a consequence of the broad discussion between the Party committee and other sectors in the district and with the members of the community Party committees, the leadership of the district Party committee was unified. We have just reduced the number of meetings held by the district

Party committee or other sectors in the district by 50 percent, and the number of papers sent to the communities were reduced by more than 50 percent. Thanks to these measures, cadres at basic organizations has secured the conditions to concentrate their efforts on local activities, and cadres at the district level can enter more deely into the basic organizations and can help them solve problems which arise in the mass movement.

In addition to the changing of the working methods, we also assigned the work to each comrade in the district Party committee in order to develop the sense of responsibility, the creative nature, and the active role of each person. Comrade secretary of the Party committee controls everything, but he should emphasize agricultural production and cooperatives. He should penetrate into cooperatives and production brigades in order to detect their problems, and to timely propose measures and means to complement the movement.

In order to help the district Party committee to follow the movement closely, we also divided the district into many groups. Each group is composed of many communities which have the same economic and social characteristics. Each member of the standing committee is in charge of certain activities, and he also oversees a group which has many difficulties, or a community which is weak or has an important economic role. Each member of the district Party committee also is in charge of a group or an important sector. One-third of the district Party committee's members are secretaries for the communities or directors of the agricultural cooperatives. With this assignment of work, the district and the concrete situation of basic organizations.

We have also determined exactly what the standing committee should solve, and what should be discussed by the executive committee of the Party committee. The standing committee discussed at each meeting some problems which have just arisen, and it listened to the reports on the situation of a group, or discussed a special topic reported by a member of the standing committee. The district Party committee also held periodic meeting in order to listen to reports of comrades in charge of different sectors and to make suggestions.

Every month, the standing committee holds a special meeting with those comrades in the district Party committee who are directly engaged in the work of basic organizations in order to listen to their reports and to improve their leadership level. In addition, it also sends its members to those communities which were led by members of the district Party committee in order to inspect the situation, to detect problems, to remedy deficiencies in order to develop the role of members of the district Party committee, and to collect good experiences for the improvement of the leadership of the district Party committee.

With this clear-cut assignment of work, many comrade members of the district Party committee have reserved two-thirds of their time, and many comrades in the standing committee reserved more than half of their time, in order to encourage and help basic organizations in their work. The close leadership of members of the Party committee encourages cadres in different sectors and leadership cadres in the communities to work at cooperatives and production brigades.

The distribution of responsibility has created conditions for members of the district Party committee to arrange their work, and to participate in the affairs of production organizations in an active manner. During harvest time, many comrades of the district Party committee have found errors in the plan for the distribution of cooperative income, and they helped them to set up a correct distribution plan. Therefore, they have helped some cooperatives to eliminate the two distribution plans, corruption, bribery, and the concealment of their produce, etc.

Our district Party committee considers the control of production brigades as fundamental. When we were working at basic organizations, we paid special attention to nurture the heads and deputy heads of production brigades. After each harvest or each large production campaign, members of the district Party committee went to each group and met with the production brigades' heads and deputy heads in order to listen to their reports, solved difficult problems, and helped them to improve their professional level and their understanding of the policies and leadership methods.

Through this work, the district Party committee has, on the one hand, seen the true situation, and on the other hand, timely corrected mistakes of the production brigades.

Therefore, they are very encouraged. At the same time, we regularly raise the leadership role of the Party organizations at the base, determine the duty of the Party chapter and Party cell, that is to build up strong production brigades. Members of the community Party committee also paid attention to the build-up of production brigades, and the Party members are also in charge of each production brigade. As a consequence, there is firm control of the production plan. The movement to build up production brigades are developing satisfactorily.

Thanks to the close control of the movement, members of the Party committee have not only realistically helped in popularizing the Party's policies among the masses, and strengthening leadership cadres at basic organizations, but they have also timely detected new problems and set good examples for the mass movement. At each group, many good model units have emerged, such as the model in overall leadership (Lien Phuong community), in taking care of fields (Tien Phong community), in planting tea (Phu Ich community), and in irrigation work (Bao Toan community), etc. At present we are building models in high productivity in production and in livestock rearing (Tran Phu community), and in the consolidation of cooperatives (Au Co community), etc.

We have also detected individual models, such as comrade Nguyen Thi Dang who has five children, but she still fulfills the task of secretary of the Party chapter head of a production brigade. The provincial Party committee has launched a movement to learn from Nguyen Thi Dang. On the basis of these good models, we organized on-the-sport seminars for each sector and each task, and we used these good experiences in order to guide and to encourage the movement, and to create a fervent emulation movement in the whole district.

Ha Hoa district has made real progress as a result of the change in the method and spirit of their leadership. From the economic viewpoint, Ha Hoa was a district which did not have enough food to feed itself in 1962, it has become a district which has overfulfilled its food obligations and the sale of its agricultural products to the State. We overfulfilled all acreage indices in the State plan during the winter-spring season of 1962-1963 and during the fall of 1963. The spiritual and material life of the cooperative members has been improved.

The material foundation of agricultural cooperatives has been strengthened; the ideology of cooperative members has been stabilized, and the number of people who join the cooperative are increasing. As a result of production increase and the improvement of the living standard, there are also improvements in other activities, such as commerce, handicraft, culture, social activities, military, and security, etc. The build-up of the Party has achieved a good result. We practically have no poor Party branches or Party members. Six advanced Party branches have been built. The development of the Party is relatively good; the number of new members has reached 13.79 percent of the total number of members in the Party branch. On the average, each member in our Party branch leads 28 non-Party members. We have trained a relatively solid army of cadres, in which the number of young cadres are increasing.

All movements at Ha Hoa Party branch are changing to a right direction and they are surging ahead. These concrete results reaffirm our understanding on the importance of the improvement of the working spirit and method. We also think that we should be determined to overcome existing deficiencies in our leadership, and the leadership of the district Party committee should be closer to basic organizations, production, and real life.

THANH MIEN EXPERIENCES IN THE BUILD UP
OF A "FOUR GOOD" PARTY CHAPTER

[Following is a translation of an article by
Vu Dinh Chieu in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi,
1964, pages 40-43.]

Having realized that the improvement of the fighting strength and overall leadership capacity of the Party chapter in the countryside is an urgent problem which enables a particular chapter to play a decisive role in socialist reform and construction in the countryside, Thanh Mien district Party committee (Hai Duong), in 1961, proposed that the activities of the Party chapter should have continuity and permanence, and that advanced Party chapters should be built. The attention given this question by the district Party committee has brought many changes.

A number of chapters have practiced democratic centralism in their internal activities, and they have combined democratic discussion with clear-cut division of work and duties. Many chapters have determined their directions on penetrating into cooperatives and on production leadership. Great progress has been made in the execution of the policy, particularly on food.

The revolution moves along, however, and the political demands are increasing. Many Party chapters have not been able to meet the new situation and duties. The political and ideological level of Party members was still low, and the class and vanguard nature of the Party has not been manifested. In all Party chapters, besides those comrades who were positive in their work, who had a collective awareness, there are many comrades who were lazy, selfish, sectarian, etc.

External criticism and self-criticism have not been firmly and regularly practiced. Liberal and irresponsible and the fear of hatred and vengeance were quite common. These situations have limited the development of the Party chapter in all respects, and also limited the leadership of the Party over the mass movement. They have also deepened the gap between the revolutionary duties and the leadership level of the Party chapter. The vanguard character of the Party member has been restricted. The campaign to build up "four good" Party chapter proposed by the Party Central Committee was a revolutionary measure to solve these problems.

In order to have a good campaign to build up a "four good" Party chapter, our district Party committee guided some Party chapters and used them as models for other chapters to visit and draw conclusions before we enlarged the movement. It was the same at the community level; each community Party committee tried at a Party chapter before it enlarged it to other Party chapters. Up till now, nearly all chapters and members have a plan to struggle according to the "four good" standards. Some branches, chapters, and many Party members have been recognized as having achieved the "four good" standards.

The campaign to build up Party chapters has gathered preliminary results which have important consequences. In the past, it was quite popular for the Party chapter to "run around" the cooperative. This situation has been fundamentally changed. As a result of the sense of responsibility, the majority of the Party members have volunteered to work. Thousands and thousands of members have participated in the management and inspection committees of the cooperatives, or they are directly working as heads or deputy heads of the production brigades. Thuy Lam hamlet which was led by three non-Party members has one member of the chapter committee and two Party members as the heads of their production brigades.

Pham Ly hamlet with four production brigades has one chapter committee's member and three Party members as the heads of their production brigades. There were only seven comrade members of the Party committee and chapter committee acted as heads of production brigades in 1962, but this number has increased to 43 as of present. This organizational change has created favorable conditions for Party chapters to really exert their leadership over cooperatives and agricultural production.

In the campaign to build up "four good" Party chapters, the vanguard character and the leadership effect of the members have been raised also. The number of fair or poor members has been decreased. Since the quality of the members has been raised, the number of poor chapters has decreased. Of a total of 85 small Party chapters, 36 Party chapters are good in every respect, 30 of them are good in one aspect, and only 19 of them are poor. Huu Chung Party chapter used to be divided, but it is now united. Dao Lam Party chapter has 40 members, and 37 of them scored "four good" standards. Toan Dung Party branch has four chapters; after a year of struggle, all four of these chapters reached the "four good" standards. Of the 83 Party members of Doan Tung Party branch, 59 of them reached the "four good" standards, and 61 of them were elected "advanced cooperative members," etc.

In addition to the consolidation of the chapters, the development of the Party has made new progress. The entire district had only 72 new members in 1960, but in 1963 there were 394 new members. The Party branch of Ngo Hung community had 49 new members in 1963. The number of new members are generally "famous fighters," or "Dai Phong boys and girls." Thanks to the good changes taking place in terms of quantity and quality, the leadership role of the Party chapter has developed strongly, and it has a good influence over the mass movement. Drought prolonged during the chiem season in 1963, and there were difficulties in production.

However, the examples set by Party members, and the determination of the Party chapters in their leadership; therefore, the masses were mobilized, and tens of thousands of work-days were used in irrigation work from the beginning to the end of the season. Progress also occurred in other activities as a result of the movement "four good" Party

members. The improvement and application of new techniques were used everywhere. The roots of rice seedlings transplanted over 85 percent of the chiem acreage were dipped into manure. Lentils were grown over 50 percent of the rice fields. Using rakes to rake grass was quite common. Attention was given to the timely care of the plants and the utilization of lime to fight against soil acidity. We can say that Thanh Mien district made great changes in 1963 with regard to production and the improvement of planting techniques.

As a consequence, the output of the chiem crop still increased by 767 tons as compared with the 1962 chiem season, in spite of severe drought.

With regard to food obligations, many places sold more to the State than the plan called for. Hung Son surpassed the plan by 5,000 kilograms; Cao Thang, 2,413 kilograms; Doan Tung, 1,640 kilograms. Of special attention was Dien Hong, a community which has never fulfilled the plan, for it surpassed it by 1,941 kilograms. For food-stuffs alone, the plan called for 380 tons. Thanh Mien sold 498 tons and 798 kilograms, or 118 tons 798 kilograms over the plan. Progress was required in other activities, such as cultural and social activities, and health and disease prevention, etc. The movement to read and to apply what has been read, and the mass cultural activities were also developed satisfactorily. Many places have had clubs in their production brigades, such as at Dao Lam and Doan Tung. The movement to implement cultural knowledge was also developed. At present, the entire district has tens of hundreds of wells, tens of thousands of pigsties.

Our district Party committee has had the following experiences after two years of engaging in the campaign to build up "four good" Party chapters.

1. It is impossible to have a "four good" Party chapter without "four good" Party members. The Party chapter is a place which organizes and leads the masses for the realization of the Party directions and policies. All activities will be good if the Party chapter is good. As we all know, a Party chapter is weak or strong depending on the quality of the members. In order to build up "four good" chapters, it is necessary to have Party members who will voluntarily struggle according to the "four good" standards. After the

Party chapter has proposed slogans, directions, and the goals of the chapter, each member should make a concrete struggle plan and indexes according to his concrete situation. The Party chapters and cells should regularly inspect and encourage the materialization of these plans. For instance, the Party chapter proposes to intensively cultivate in order to raise productivity, to improve techniques, and the quality of the soil, and to have two tons of organic fertilizers over one North Vietnam mau of rice field; to step up livestock rearing, each family has on the average from 1.7 to 2.7 pigs, etc, then the Party member should have concrete plans such as, how many pigs he should raise, how many tons of fertilizers he should sell to the cooperative, etc. In short, it is necessary to do good ideological work, and to develop the responsibility and the vanguard role of the Party members, so that each Party member will propose, by himself, a struggle plan which is based on the common standard of the Party chapter.

Experience has indicated that the build-up of the "four good" Party chapter is just a vague slogan if the Party members do not struggle to reach the "four good" standards. But we must remember that it is necessary to fulfill the 10 duties of a Party member as written in the Party regulations in order to have foundation for the realization of the "four good" standards.

2. Emphasize ideological work; firmly grasp external criticism and self-criticism. Party members in the countryside work in an environment which is completely different from the organizations, construction sites, and enterprises. They live in the collective economic installation of the cooperatives, but they have daily contact with the remnants of the individual economy. Moreover, in addition to the collective economy, there is also a part of the family economy. Therefore, their ideologies are always shifting.

We should agree that the majority of Party members in the countryside are basically good. They are loyal to the revolution. They were trained during the resistance and during the socialist revolution. But they also have deficiencies and weaknesses. Of special attention is the low level of socialist awareness among the Party members, so is their responsibility spirit. Many comrades are afraid of difficulties and are conservative when they have to carry out the policy of the Party and government. These non-

proletarian ideologies have limited the development of the members and restricted the leadership capacity of the chapter. Therefore, the build-up of the "four good" party chapter is a hard and strenuous educational process. Experiences indicated that when a place does not pay attention to ideological education, and when the Party members do not understand the meaning of the campaign, then the results of the campaign are quite low. Therefore, the Party committees should help members to understand the goals and the demands of the campaign to build up "four good" Party chapters. During the studies, it is important to practice external criticism and self-criticism. The deficiencies and the capacity to advance of Party chapters in general, and of Party members in particular should be pointed out. Only then can we create a strong change in ideology, and favorable conditions for the setting concrete indexes and the determination to realize them.

3. The resolution of the Party committee and Party chapter; the Party cell control and encourage Party members for the realization of the plan. Party committee and Party chapters are core leadership strength of the Party basic organization. All their work can be done satisfactorily if they are resolute. Past experiences have indicated that the build-up of the Party chapter was successful only at places where the Party committee and Party chapter have realized the decisive effects of the build up of the Party chapter with regard to local movement, and when they are determined to follow closely and firmly guide the movement. At Vo Hoi and other Party chapters, the results were limited because of the lack of resolution and loose leadership by the Party chapter.

We should emphasize the importance of the Party cell here because it plays a very important role in the control and encouragement of the members in their realization of the proposed indexes. For instance, An Nghiep Party chapter, as a result of the determination of the chapter Party committee, and the Party cell in the encouragement of Party members in their work, therefore, production and livestock rearing were good productivity was high, and they have plenty of food and foodstuffs. As a consequence, it sold more than two tons of pork to the state in one day, and it fulfilled its food obligations in three days.

On the contrary, An Binh Party chapter determined to sow rice seeds from 15 to 17 kilograms per sao; however, the Party committee and cell neglected their task and let cooperative members do their job by themselves. As a consequence, tons and tons of rice seeds were wasted in just a season. In addition, the Party committee proposed to fish lentils out in order to raise fish in their ponds, but the Party cell did not control and inspect it, and thus, by the end of the year, the ponds are covered with lentils and no fish.

4. It is necessary to launch a mass emulation movement in order to support the campaign to build up the Party chapter. The Party chapter is among the masses. When it is strong, the mass movement will develop strongly. On the contrary, when the mass movement is strong, it will have positive effect on the build-up of the Party chapter. Therefore, in order to have good results in the campaign to build up "four good" chapter, it is important to mobilize the mass movement to support it. As the leading force in the countryside, it is natural that the Party chapter and Party members should show their vanguard and model role and should be the core of the mass movement. But realities indicate that a fervent mass movement requires really active Party members, including poor Party members. It is for this reason that the district Party committee has, together with the campaign to build up "four good" Party chapter, paid special attention to the launching of mass emulation movements such as "six-first" youth, "five-good" woman, "three-love" elders, "three-first" militiamen, and advanced cooperative member, etc. Thanks to the combination of the campaign to build up Party chapter with the mass emulation movement, the movement has developed strongly, firmly and overall.

5. The build-up of the Party chapter is a permanent duty, but it is necessary to combine it with the production season and other unanticipated important and heavy work. We know that the build-up of the Party should serve the political mission of the Party, and it should combine with the realization of the political missions. The principal task of the Party chapter in the countryside is to guide cooperatives, production. But agricultural production has different seasons. It is necessary to concentrate the leadership at a certain season in order to solve immediate problems, such as fighting against drought or flood, etc.

It is at this moment that positive elements in the Party and masses emerge; negative elements also appear during this time. To know how to link the seasonal work with unexpected work is very important for the consolidation and development of the Party. It will join the build-up of the Party chapter with the political work, and, as a consequence, it will give to the political and ideological education a content, and it will realistically raise the economic and technical leadership level of the Party chapter. It is also a way to materialize the slogan "learn and practice at the same time," and "theories go hand in hand with practice." This working method is suitable to the countryside and to the level of the Party members at the present.

However, we should not neglect the build-up of the Party in a permanent manner. We should pay special attention to the education of basic theories to Party members, and we should maintain periodic activities of the Party chapter in order to inspect and raise the level of Party members in a fundamental manner.

6. Concrete and dynamic measures; firm leadership organization. The situations of cooperatives and Party chapters differ from one another. A Party chapter is strong in a point, and it is weak in another. It is the same with Party members. Their working capacities and levels are different. Therefore, in the build-up of the "four good" Party chapter, it is necessary to rely on the concrete situation of each chapter and each member in order to propose plans and fighting indexes. We should not apply them in a mechanical way. For instance, we should consider as important land reclamation at a place where land is scarce and labor is abundant. If the food policy has not been carried out satisfactory, it should be done accordingly; if the internal situation of the Party lacks unification, the problem to be solved is unification, etc. The best way is to base actions on the production plans of the cooperative and the indexes of the Party committee in order to set up fighting indexes for each Party chapter and each members.

The agitation for all Party chapters and members to register and to struggle to attain the "four good" standards is an important step, but the realization of these indices is most important. Therefore, Party committee of all levels should firmly guide and regularly inspect and

encourage the realization of these indexes. There must be a summary every year, and a pre-summary every six months in order to timely acclaim those places which have done good work, criticize those which have not, and set up new fighting directions. In the guidance of the campaign to build up a "four good" Party chapter, it is necessary to give importance to the strengthening of models, organizing on-the-spot observation in order to bring about a strong and expanded movement.



TAN PHONG EXPERIENCES IN THE BUILD UP OF THE PARTY

[Following is a translation of an article
By Doan Dinh Hong in the Vietnamese-
language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No.8,
Hanoi, 1964, pages 43-45.]

Tan Phong has fertile land. The average land per capita is about four sao. It is also one of the communities which launched the movement early in the district of Kien Thuy (now belongs to Hai Phong). The party chapter was founded early in 1946. The people of Tan Phong had a high revolutionary spirit, and they wholeheartedly followed the Party in its revolutionary task. During the resistance, in spite of the fact that the enemies were stationed in the community and they armed the local reactionaries in order to oppress the movement, the people of Tan Phong were united; and they struggled against forced labor and forced draft. They protected the cadres, Party organization, and they also played an important part in the famous battle at Cat Bi airport. Since the restoration of peace, the people at Tan Phong have continued to develop their revolutionary tradition, engaged in labor production enthusiastically, and positively carried out the policies of the Party and the State.

Two-thirds of the Tan Phong population were undernourished. In the past few years, their living standard has

been improved clearly. It not only has sufficient food to feed the people now, but it also has surplus food to sell to the State. Other activities were also in the right track.

But in recent years, the movement at Tan Phong community developed a wrong direction. The agricultural output fell short of the production plant. The annual total food output decreased gradually. Tens of mau of rice fields were left fallow during the 1963 chiem season at many cooperatives. It has not fulfilled its food obligations toward the State. The agricultural cooperativization movement was not consolidated. Some cooperatives had 50 families, but 20 of them left the cooperative and detached their land from it to work it individually.

Some labor cells had 13 families, but nine of them asked to leave the cell in a row. Other activities were also sluggish and had degenerated.

Why had the movement at Tan Phong become so poor despite its possession of a revolutionary tradition and many achievements during the resistance and during peace time? Having based on the general principle, the activities of a place run smoothly when its Party chapter is well organized, and vice-versa, the Hai Phong provincial Party committee determined to investigate the situation of Tan Phong party branch. The results of that investigation indicated that the principal reason for the backward development of the movement at Tan Phong was the lack of Party members who are models, and the Party chapter has not really developed its nucleus of a leading role.

The Tan Phong Party branch has more than 70 party members. The number of party members is not too small, but unity was lacking in the Party chapter; the Party members have not set good examples in the execution of the policies of the Party and government, therefore, they have had bad influences on the masses. The most outstanding examples are Kinh Truc Party chapter and Tan Thanh Party cell (Lao Phong hamlet Party chapter). Kinh Truc Party chapter has ten members, seven of whom did not set good examples in carrying out the Party and government's policies, such as distillation of alcohol, gamblers, and they did not fulfill their food obligation to the State, etc. During the 1962 chiem season, the comrade secretary of the Party chapter discussed with cooperative members to conceal their agri-

cultural production in order to avoid fulfilling their food obligations. Actually, the cooperative should sell 26 tons of rice paddies to the State, but they sold only seven tons because the Party members did not set good example. During the 1962 mua season, the upper level required from Trung Tien 18 tons of rice paddies, but this cooperative sold only 14.2 tons.

Comrade Loc, for instance, assistant secretary of the Party committee and chairman of the cooperative who was directly in charge of the Party chapter and Trung Tien cooperative, had on the one hand pushed cadres to encourage members of the cooperative to fulfill their food obligations, but he himself did not sell anything to the State. His family should sell 710 can. Moreover, he complained that he did not have enough rice in order to buy 110 can at a regulated price, and then sold it with a higher price.

With regard to the build-up of the Party, Kinh Truc Party chapter has not had any new member since 1957. The political and ideological education to the Party members was neglected. During the past two years, the chapter held only five meetings in order to spread the resolutions of the government, but never did the members attend in full. Whether they want to fulfill these resolutions or not, nobody cares. Tan Thanh Party cell alone has 11 members, two of whom did not accept the work assignment, seven of whom did not set good example in the carrying out of the policy, and one of whom is corrupted and has used money, rice, or work points of the cooperative. The Party cell has not had any new Party member since 1962.

The errors and deficiencies of the Tan Phong Party branch in general, and of Kinh Truc Party chapter and Tan Thanh Party cell in particular have had influences on the relationship between the Party and the masses, on the materialization of the policies of the Party and government, and on the build-up and consolidation of cooperatives and the development of agricultural production.

During recent investigations, these errors and deficiencies were analyzed and criticized by the Party chapter. The Party members who have committed grave errors were disciplined. In spite of the short span of the investigation, it has nevertheless created a new change in the Party branch and in the people at Tan Phong. Many inactive Party members

have become active. Some advanced cooperative members were admitted into the Party. As a consequence, the Party chapter has been consolidated and developed, and thus, the mass movement is developing satisfactorily.

During the past mua season, all cooperatives fulfilled their plans, and some cooperatives transplanted their fields ahead of time. Cooperative members who previously left the cooperatives asked to return again. Some cooperatives have successfully launched the campaign to improve management and techniques.

The Party committee of the community has had concrete plans on regionalization, fighting against waterlogging, breed fish, rear livestock etc., in order to step up the over-all production and to transfer a number of rice fields to plant the mua crops and to multiply the number of crops per year.

The experiences of Tan Phong Party branch has proved once more the decisive role of the Party basic organization in the mass leadership for the materialization of the policies of the Party and government. It reminds us that we should always pay attention to the build-up and consolidation of the Party chapter. This is a problem which has a theoretical character in the leadership of the Party committee of all levels. If we do not adhere to this principle and follow simple economic and administrative measures, or if we neglect the consolidation of the Party chapter, we will definitely produce bad results. A strong Party is predicated on having a strong Party chapters which, in turn, are determined by the enthusiasm and examples of Party members.

Therefore, speaking of the consolidation of the Party chapter is really speaking of the improvement of the quality of the Party members. The experiences of Tan Phong Party branch indicated that in spite of favorable conditions such as fertile land, the average land per capita ratio is high, and the industrious character of the people, etc., but without good examples from the Party members, the movement cannot develop.

The key problem in the raising of the class and vanguard nature of the Party chapter and Party member is the maintenance of the Party chapter's activities. It is necessary to use the activities of the Party chapter to raise

the political and ideological level of Party members as well as their understanding of the Party's policies. It is only on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, the struggle against incorrect ideologies and activities, and the respect for Party discipline that we can strengthen the unification of the Party. One important cause for the prolongation of the poor situation at Tan Phong Party branch was the negligence of the Party committee on the political and ideological activities of the Party chapter. The irregularity of the activities, or the absence of activities for the whole year have not only seriously violated the Party regulations, but they also created conditions for the development and existence of non-proletarian ideologies. Kinh Truc Party branch could not practice criticism and self-criticism in order to control and educate Party members because it did not maintain regular activities.

Finally, the strengthening of Party inspection has contributed positively in the build-up of the Party. It is thanks to the inspection that the Party committee has been able to detect and timely correct errors committed by cadres and Party members in the execution of the Party's policies and regulations. It has also enforced Party discipline, and it also helped Party chapters to develop and to become the solid leading nucleus in the countryside.

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