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No 9, 1964

- North Vietnam -

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COMPLETE THE SOCIALIST  
REFORM OF HANDICRAFTS

[Following is a translation of an article by Ngo Minh Loan in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, September 1964, pp. 24-31.]

The results of the socialist reform of handicrafts during the past several years have served to strengthen the economic and political forces in handicrafts, to increase the socialist awareness of handicraft workers, and to open the way for handicrafts and handicraft workers to progress to socialism. The constantly developing cooperativized handicraft industry has provided an important part of the people's consumer goods, production means for agriculture, and goods for export. That victory is due to the correct paths and policies of the Party and the Government and to the fact that the economic and political stretch of the State is absolutely stronger than that of the capitalist class, and has therefore enabled the State to cut every economic tie between the capitalist class and the handicraft workers, stop the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism in the handicraft industry, and lead the handicraft workers onto the path of socialism.

The new production relations in the handicraft industry, however, have not been strengthened. The ideology of the small producer still persists in many cooperatives. Generally speaking, the managerial and technical levels of the cooperatives are still low, the production of the cooperatives still encounters many difficulties, and many products are low in quality and high in price. That situation has created difficulties for the strengthening of handicraft cooperatives and for meeting the needs of the people and of the building of socialism. That situation has caused us to see ever more clearly that the reform of handicrafts is a long and difficult stage; we cannot be satisfied with the initial accomplishments to the extent that we regard lightly the mission of continuing to complete the socialist reform of handicrafts.

The complicated and long-term nature of handicraft reform is due to the special characteristics of the handicraft worker -- that he is a small producer. Because of this characteristic we must regard them as allies, and not as members of the exploiting class; we must reform them by gradually transforming their individualistic economy into a collective socialist economy, and certainly should not overthrow them. Lenin taught that the reform of small producers is more difficult than abolishing the ownership rights of the exploiting class because "If we are to complete that task we must achieve a great advance in the development of production forces and overcome the resistance (usually negative and especially obstinate and difficult to overcome) of many vestiges of the small production economy; we must overcome the great strength of custom, which is associated with those vestiges." Therefore, "That cannot be done all at once. It is a much more difficult task, and must be a long-range mission. We cannot resolve that problem by overthrowing a class. We can

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resolve it only by reforming the entire socialist economy, by progressing from an economy of small, individual, dispersed producers to a great collective economy. This stage must, of course, be a long one. By using hasty legislative or administrative means we can only extend the stage and create more difficulties for it."

The handicraft worker is a small producer whose products are not consumed by them, but are marketed. Except for those engaged in repair or service work, the handicraft workers, generally speaking, are closely connected with the market. Their production activity is closely connected with exchange activity, which is very important to them, for only by exchange can they obtain raw materials and consumer goods, the two factors which determine their production cycle. They are usually most concerned with the selling stage, and endeavor to make all they can, for that stage has a decisive significance as regards their lives and production. And if they are to obtain the greatest benefit in consumption and come out ahead in the market competition, they must grasp the needs of the market, be knowledgeable in the sources of raw material supply, worry about economizing on labor costs, improve the quality of products, and produce their goods in accordance with the desires of the consumers. Therefore, the handicraft workers have production and business experience which can be used for service to the consumer if they are reformed well. But because they are closely connected with the market and are close to the capitalist class, many of them are soon dragged along the path of capitalism or profiteering; they use many clever tricks in speculating, competing, and swindling. Furthermore, during the past several years the infusion of great numbers of people of all classes -- small merchants, small proprietors, small capitalists, people who had no handicraft trade, etc. -- has also complicated the ranks of handicraft workers. On the other hand,

the production means of handicraft workers are simple production tools. They rely principally on their experience and skills in carrying out production. The important production materials are raw materials which the handicraft worker can obtain on the market. Because of the above characteristics, the abolition of ownership rights of production means is not a desperate matter. But the overcoming of the old ideology and business customs and the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism of handicraft workers, especially of small proprietors, is a complicated, long-term, and difficult struggle.

The selfishness and the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism of the handicraft workers have created many difficulties for the State. The recent struggle to stop the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism among handicraft workers, which was closely connected with the struggle against the speculation of the capitalist class, created conditions for the handicraft workers to enter onto the path of socialism. But now that most of the handicraft workers have entered cooperatives, the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism in many handicraft cooperatives has again become serious, and has resulted in bad activities in production and business, creating serious difficulties for the State and the consumer, while also adversely influencing the development of the cooperatives. Therefore, ideological education and the elimination of the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism on the part of handicraft workers must be a long-term undertaking; "they must not only be carried out constantly and systematically before the workers enter upon the path of collectivization, but must continue to be carried out for a long time after the workers have participated in the cooperativization movement."

The socialist reform of handicrafts is complicated and lengthy because it must closely unite the reform of production relations

with technological reform, in order to lead handicrafts and handicraft workers onto the path of socialism. At present, although the reform of production relations has been essentially completed, technological reform in the handicraft industry must be regarded as only just beginning. If we are to reform the technology of handicrafts, state-owned industry must provide the handicraft cooperatives with the essential machinery and equipment. Furthermore, and more importantly, the cooperatives must manifest a spirit of self-reliance in increasing their funds, raising their managerial and technical levels, and building their material and technical bases. With our circumstances, the two above tasks cannot be completed in a day, but require a long period, tied in with the period of industrialization of the homeland and with the gradual development of all aspects of the handicraft cooperatives.

The above situation proves the correctness of the following Party decision: "After the three-year plan socialist reform will win a decisive victory....However, in agriculture, handicraft industries, and especially in small business, the individualistic economy continues to exist in part; most of the cooperative organizations in those sectors are still only semi-socialist and have not been strengthened ideologically and economically....We must endeavor to complete the building of socialist production relations, and must continue to strengthen all aspects of those relations. Therefore, socialist reform is still a very important mission."

The socialist reform of handicrafts is in reality a struggle against the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism in the handicraft industry, to cause the handicraft cooperatives to progress stably to socialism. A deep awareness of that struggle, and a correct affirmation of the class stand in the reform of handicrafts, are important factors in helping our cadres to overcome the error of rightism and to continue to do a good job of com-

pleting the socialist reform of handicrafts.

In the building of socialism the benefit of the handicraft workers is essentially identical to the benefit of the working class. But there is a contradiction: the special characteristic of the handicraft worker is that he is both a worker and a proprietor. Therefore, in the stage of advance to socialism, the working class must always keep its leadership role as regards handicrafts. In the policy toward the handicraft workers, the working class must clearly distinguish the two aspects of the handicraft worker. "The whole essence of socialism lies in making that distinction." That distinction is essential both before and after the handicraft worker participates in the cooperativization movement.

At the beginning of the campaign to cooperativize handicrafts, the handicraft workers wavered between the two paths of collectivistic and individualistic livelihoods. At present, although most handicraft workers have participated in the cooperativization movement, the struggle between the two paths has not ended, for some handicraft workers remain outside the cooperative organizations, and others have joined cooperatives but are not really part of them and have not decided to follow the path of collectivism. The principal task at present is that we must strengthen the handicraft cooperatives, transforming them into truly socialist economic organizations whose activities are in accord with the needs of building socialism. If we are to strengthen the handicraft cooperatives we must overcome the last vestiges of the small producer in all aspects of cooperative life-- in ideology, management, and technology -- for that is now the main obstacle for the progressive development of the cooperatives.

As regards ideology, many cooperative workers have positively contributed their labor toward the building of the cooperatives, and have endeavored to overcome the difficulties in the development of production. But alongside the good elements there still exist such attributes of the small producer as individualism, selfishness, conservatism, moonlighting, lying, adulterating materials sold to the State, etc. As regards management and commerce, many handicraft cooperatives have endeavored to meet the needs of the people and of the building of socialism, which are beneficial for both the State and the cooperative, to build up a fund for building the cooperative while also being concerned with the lives of the people; and to produce and do business in an organized, planned manner, while honoring the leadership and control of the State organs. But many cooperatives are still influenced by such small capitalist and capitalist managerial and business methods as being concerned only with their own benefit and the benefit of individual cooperative members, and not with the benefit of the State and the collective whole; of running after profit, being deceitful, and avoiding the supervision and control of the State; and of being wasteful, greedy, bureaucratic, and paternalistic. As regards the building of material and technical bases, alongside the emulative movement to develop initiative, improve technology, increase productivity, improve quality, lower production costs, become self-sufficient in the manufacture of machinery and equipment, and trugally build the cooperatives, in many cooperatives there still persist conservatism, backwardness, the use of ineffective handicraft methods, regard only for personal consumption, and a disregard for building a cooperative fund, expanding production, etc.

The above situation shows clearly that, although the cooperatives are predominantly positive, they are still beset with many deficiencies. We must continue to overcome the negative aspects and the vestiges of the small producers' economy, endeavor to develop the positive, and develop the socialist elements in all aspects -- ideological, managerial, and technical -- of the cooperatives. That is the new form of the struggle between the two paths in the handicraft cooperatives.

Because they did not grasp the class viewpoints and the class struggle, and because they did not stand on the standpoints of the dictatorship of the proletariat when observing and analyzing matters, some cadres failed to see that the accomplishments of the recent reform of handicrafts were the result of a long preparatory period which included such tasks as the restoration and development of handicraft industries in first few years of the peaceful building of the North; the reform of capitalist industry and commerce, the cutting of the economic relationships between the capitalist class and the handicraft workers and their substitution by relationships between the state-owned commerce and handicraft workers; the struggle to stop the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism in the handicraft industry; the strong development of state-owned industry, so that it played the leading role in the people's economy; political and ideological education to increase the socialist awareness of handicraft workers, etc. All of those undertakings are clearly characterized by the class struggle. Those cadres are quickly satisfied with the accomplishments and do not see that handicraft reform must still be carried out; they concentrate their efforts in promoting production, while regarding lightly the mission of continuing to complete handicraft reform, and ignore the struggle to overcome the negative manifestations of handicraft workers and strengthen the handicraft co-

operatives. This rightist error proves that those comrades do not clearly understand the class struggle in the transitory state, and that they do not clearly understand the role of the proletarian dictatorship in economic reform and development, or in persuading the workers who have always been small producers to follow the working class in advancing to socialism. That error has seriously impeded the continuance of handicraft reform in the North of our country.

While overcoming the error of rightism, we must be on guard against and overcome "leftist" distortions. These distortions result from undervaluing the role and use of handicrafts in the North; they stress the negative aspects of the handicraft workers and the deficiencies of the handicraft cooperatives, incorrectly evaluate the accomplishments of handicraft reform, etc. Those distortions are also caused by simple, one-sided work methods, which pay inadequate attention to production and to the lives of the mass handicraft workers. We should not overcome the negative aspects of handicraft workers to the point that we do not pay attention to the use and development of the positive aspects of the handicraft cooperatives as regards production and the lives of the people. During the recent period some places did not positively create conditions for the handicraft cooperatives to promote production, did not make full use of the positiveness, creativity, and production experience of the handicraft workers, and did not fully develop the latent capabilities of handicrafts. That not only created difficulties for the handicraft cooperatives, but was also harmful for the development of the general economy.

We continue the reform of handicrafts at a time when the North has essentially completed socialist reform and has advanced to the stage of concentration on the building of socialism. That

creates for us the mission of, when continuing to complete handicraft reform, relying on the development of production -- of making the development of production the goal in continuing to strengthen and perfect the new production relations, in order to promote the development of production forces. The continuation of the reform and the promotion of production development in handicrafts are two closely related aspects. If they are not based on the development of production and do not have as their goal the development of production, the continuation of the reform will not have a specific direction and will encounter difficulties. And if not based on a continuation of the reform, the development of production will be impeded. Therefore, we can ignore neither of these aspects. If the continuation of handicraft reform is to have a concrete direction and content, we must harmonize the actual activities of the cooperatives with the rules and regulations of the State and with the needs of building socialism.

Recently, handicraft production has encountered many difficulties, especially in some large cities; the production of the cooperatives and the lives of the cooperative members have not been stabilized. In order to overcome the above situation, we are now pushing forward a reorganization of handicraft cooperatives, based on a full consideration of the immediate and future needs, and of the supplying of raw materials and consumer goods, based on a rational division of labor between state-owned industry and handicrafts and between the various regions, with the aim of achieving the best use of all sources of labor. The continuance of socialist reform must be closely united with the reorganization of handicrafts, for the achievement of this matter will create conditions for the stabilization of handicraft production and of the ideology of handicraft workers. The above two matters are closely related, and must be solved immediately.

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We continue to complete handicraft reform essentially in order to strengthen and perfect the production relations which have been established in the collective sphere, although part of our concern is with the building of new production relations in the individual sphere of handicrafts. Therefore, the principal objective in continuing the reform are the cooperative organizations of the handicraft industry, from production teams to high-level cooperatives. We cannot, of course, regard lightly the continuation of the individual handicraft elements, for the development of the collective and individual spheres are closely related. In order to continue the completion of handicraft reform, we must stress the following essential points:

1. Strengthen political and ideological education, and continue to reform handicraft workers into collective socialist workers.

Since the formation of the cooperatives -- after many education cycles -- the level of socialist awareness of the handicraft workers has been raised step by step. The handicraft workers in many cooperatives have expressed a spirit of collectivism, creativity, self-sufficiency, and frugally building cooperatives. However, the various deficiencies in production, business, and management of many cooperatives in the recent period have proved that ideological vestiges of the small producer and the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism are seriously impeding the achievement of socialist managerial and business methods in the cooperatives. Therefore, if we are to strengthen the cooperatives we must, in addition to improving them, raise the level of management and technology in the cooperatives and strengthen the political and ideological education of the handicraft workers. This cannot be done on a

sporadic basis, but must be permanent, continuous, and systematic over a long period of time.

The strengthening of political and ideological education involves the opening of many classes and study cycles for the handicraft workers; we must especially improve the quality of that work, thus enabling the ideology of the handicraft workers to undergo a profound transformation. It that is to be achieved, the educational and ideological work must be sharp, practical, and related to the daily activity of the cooperative; we must avoid generalities or separating book learning from the actualities of work and production.

The content of ideological education must aim to strengthen socialist ideology and overcome the ideology of the small producer and the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism. In the past, when the handicraft workers stood at the intersection of the path of collective livelihood in the cooperatives and the path of individual livelihoods outside the cooperatives, we taught them to see clearly the superiority of the collective way, and therefore caused them to participate enthusiastically in the cooperative organizations. Now, the handicraft cooperative members have become collective masters, and participate in the management of the cooperatives; we must educate them to distinguish clearly between socialist management methods and the management methods of the small capitalist and the capitalist, and must help them achieve socialist business methods and cooperative management. The principal reason why the handicraft workers still manifest negativism is that in production, business, and management, they do not unite the interests of the State with the interests of the cooperative; they usually are concerned only with the interests of the cooperative, and do not correctly

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unite the interests of the cooperative with the interests of the cooperative members. Therefore, the ideological education of the cooperative members must aim to increase the spirit of collectivism, to increase their sense of responsibility, and to cause them to respect and protect the interests of the State and of the cooperative; it must cause them to be self-dependent, frugal, and be concerned with the long-term benefits of building the cooperatives; and it must struggle to overcome selfishness, individualism, and the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism.

If we are to strengthen the political and ideological work in the handicraft cooperatives, it is most essential that we strengthen the leadership role of the Party in those cooperatives. We must develop and strengthen the Party cells in the handicraft cooperatives. In the education of Party members we must cause them to understand clearly the stands and viewpoints of the working class, overcome the ideology of the small producer, and resist the influence of the capitalist ideology. The Party cells must strengthen the political and ideological work in the cooperatives and penetrate deeply into the leadership of production, but should not replace the administrative committees of the cooperatives. We must also develop and strengthen the youth and women's organizations in the handicraft cooperatives, in order to develop the vanguard role of those organizations in the achievement of the paths and policies of the Party and Government in the handicraft cooperatives.

2. Promote technical improvement and build material and technical bases for handicraft cooperatives.

The building of new production relations in the handicraft industry has created the essential conditions for achieving technical improvement and building material and technical bases in the handicraft cooperatives. In the course of the emulative

movement to develop initiative, improve technology, and frugally build cooperatives, there appeared a number of cooperatives with a sufficiently high technical level to increase production volume, improve quality, and produce industrial goods. The cooperatives, however, must continue to promote technical improvement and strengthen the technical and material bases; only thereby can the cooperatives develop production further, better meet the ever-increasing needs of the people, and assure the constant development of the cooperatives.

At present, the providing of technical equipment to handicraft cooperatives is still dependent on the reorganization of the handicraft industry, for only on that basis, and with a clear production direction, can the direction of technical equipment for the cooperatives be clearly defined. As regards the cooperatives of a number of sectors and trades, we must advance handicraft production to mechanized production, transform the cooperatives into light-industry cooperatives, and, after achieving a specific production direction, affirm the direction of technical equipment and achieve step-by-step semi-mechanization and mechanization. But for the present, at a time when we have no long-range direction for technical equipment, these cooperatives must stress the rationalization of production and the improvement of technology, with the aim of developing production, improving quality, and lowering production costs. The mass handicraft workers of many cooperatives have been inventive, improved technology, and made their own simple, inexpensive machinery. These good experiences must be developed, in order to achieve technical reform in handicrafts. It must be stressed that the technical equipping of the cooperatives must aim toward practical benefit, must take into consideration the economic efficiency of investment capital, must avoid waste, and must make full use of the production of machines and equipment.

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The cooperatives of the artistic goods sector, the mat-weaving sector, the embroidery sector, etc., must, in the future, continue to carry out production by handicraft methods. Here, it is essential that we promote the improvement of production technology and improve the skills of the workers, while stressing the improvement of tools and, when necessary, achieving the mechanization of each step, in order to increase labor productivity and improve the working conditions of handicraft workers.

We must also pay more attention to improving the skills of handicraft workers and to developing the production experience of handicraft workers in traditional tradés, including trades which produce goods which, although they do not meet the needs of the masses, reflect the art of an ethnic group. Those production experiences are valuable capital of the people which we must search out, collect, improve, and develop, in order to increase the production of well-known goods. The acceptance into handicraft cooperatives of workers who have no handicraft trade has an adverse influence on the over-all labor productivity of the cooperatives and on the quality of handicraft products. As regards the workers who want to become expert, therefore, we must positively improve them and raise their professional level. As regards the workers who do not desire to become expert, we must have other methods of providing them with jobs without making them a burden on the cooperatives.

3. Improve management and strengthen the managerial organizations of handicraft cooperatives.

It is not easy to build a managerial system for handicraft cooperatives, for handicraft production has an industrial character, but at the handicraft level. The various sectors and trades in handicrafts have differing production characteristics; the production means of handicraft cooperatives, although

collectively owned are at differing levels of socialization. In the stage of progress to socialism, some cooperatives must advance their level of industrial technology, and others must have long-term management of handicraft production; the production situation of many cooperatives still encounter many difficulties; and the level of cadres of many cooperatives is low. This situation prevents us from building a really good managerial system in the immediate future. We will have to learn as we go along. For the immediate future we must endeavor to build for the handicraft cooperatives a relatively appropriate managerial method, which will resist individualism and "family-ism," but which will not mechanically copy industrial management methods. This means that the managerial work of the handicraft cooperatives cannot yet become truly scientific: those things which can be done scientifically should be done scientifically; those things which cannot yet be done scientifically must still be done by handicraft methods; and some things must be done half-scientifically, half by handicraft methods.

The interior rules systems, regulations, etc., of handicraft cooperatives must be simple, easily understood, easily carried out, etc., and must not be burdens for the masses. The contents of the rules and regulations must have specific, practical aims; first of all, they must attempt to stop the shortcomings and deficiencies which are harmful for the State and the cooperatives, fight bad production and business methods, waste, and greed, and assure that the cooperatives achieve socialist production and business methods.

Alongwith the improvement of cooperative management, we must stress the strengthening of managerial organizations, achieve the principles of democratic management, assure the authority

of the cooperative members' assemblies, strengthen the managerial committees and the professional apparatus of the cooperatives, stress the creation of managerial cadres and professional cadres who are skilled, ideologically sound, and virtuous.

At present, some localities are beginning a campaign temporarily called the "improve business viewpoints, improve cooperative management, and improve technology" movement in some handicraft cooperatives. The main aim of this campaign is to continue the socialist reform of handicrafts. Its content, therefore, must include three important matters: the strengthening of political and ideological education, the improvement of cooperative management, and the improvement of technology. That campaign must be carried out extensively in all handicraft cooperatives. Some comrades think that this campaign must especially stress the improvement of cooperative management, that therefore we need only have this campaign in cooperatives with a certain level of management, most of them high-level cooperatives, and that in the other cooperatives we need only continue the reform. Such an understanding is incorrect, for it will cause an undersluing of the completion of socialist reform in many cooperatives, of the ideological education of handicraft workers, and of the improving of technology in the cooperatives.

In continuing the completion of handicraft reform, we must pay attention to transforming low-level cooperatives into high-level cooperatives, to determining the scale of the cooperatives, and to reforming individual handicraft workers.

The cooperativization of handicrafts is a step toward concentrated production, for collective production is on a larger scale than individual production. But the ever-developing cooperatives are constantly expanding. The enlarging of the scales

of the cooperatives must be based on the needs of achieving labor distribution and technical improvement, in order to benefit the development of production, serve the consumer, and strengthen the cooperatives, and is not determined by the subjective desires of cadres. With appropriate scales, the new cooperatives have conditions for the rationalization of production and the improvement of technology in order to increase labor productivity. On the other hand, if the scale of the cooperative is too large or too small, and is not appropriate to the over-all situation of the cooperative, difficulties will arise in the development of production and in the supplying of raw materials and consumer goods, thus influencing the lives of the cooperative members. To determine the scale of a handicraft cooperative is not a simple matter, for each sector and trade has its own production characteristics and technology. The production conditions of urban cooperatives are different from those of cooperatives in the countryside. And within a trade, the products are quite different, so the arrangement of production cooperatives cannot be the same. We must, therefore, consider the characteristics of each region, sector, trade, and cooperative in determining an appropriate scale for each cooperative; we must avoid inappropriately expanding the scale of a cooperative, causing handicrafts to lose an important characteristic: that it is flexible and serves closely and timely the market needs of the people.

We must continue to transform some cooperatives from a low level to a high level when they are ready. While resolving this matter we must pay attention to the special characteristics of some sectors and trades of a number of cooperatives in which the cooperative members do not have separate production means, but only hold stock, or have separate production means, but of insignificant value. As regards those cooperatives, we must dis-

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cover how the socialization of production means should be done in order to be appropriate, and in order to avoid doing unnecessary things. In some cooperatives in which the members have relatively valuable separate production means, they often want to assure that work is steady, but they pay little attention to the distribution of profits. Therefore, the elimination of separate ownership rights of production means in these cooperatives may be done relatively easily. In such conditions we can promote even more strongly the complete socialization of production means, and should not allow the handicraft cooperatives which have the necessary conditions for advancement to remain at the lower level.

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As regards non-collectivized handicrafts, it is essential that we strengthen the management of the State in all aspects of production, materials, prices, and marketing; we must stop the tendency toward spontaneous capitalism of the handicraft workers. That is not only beneficial to the guidance of the activities of the individual handicraft workers, but is also beneficial for the strengthening of the handicraft cooperatives. In individual handicrafts, as regards the handicraft workers in the sectors in which private production is not fully beneficial (for example, the handicraft workers who produce goods or use raw materials which must be managed by the State), we will, according to the specific situation, urge them to form cooperatives, or accept them into existing cooperatives. As regards the workers engaged in repair and service which is necessary for the daily lives of the people, we must control their dispersed activities, in order to facilitate service to the consumers; we must strengthen management and political education, in order to improve their service to the consumers.

Socialist reform as regards handicrafts has won a decisive victory; we must, however, continue to perfect the new production

relations and strengthen the handicraft cooperatives, with the aim of meeting the needs of building socialism and improving the lives of handicraft workers. Therefore, our cadres must correctly define the stands and viewpoints of the proletariat class as regards the handicraft workers and overcome the error of rightism, in order to prevent "leftist" distortions and do a good job of fulfilling the mission of continuing the socialist reform of the handicraft industry.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

[ Following is a translation of an article  
by Nguyen huu Khieu in the Vietnamese-  
language monthly magazine, Hoc Tap (Studies)  
Hanoi, September, 1964, pp. 32-38. ]

### The Economy of the Cooperatives Is the Basic Economy of Our Peasants

In the agriculture of North Vietnam at present there are many components: the agricultural sector owned by the state, the individually-owned sector of a small number of peasants who make a living by themselves, and the agriculture of the cooperatives. The agricultural sector owned by the state has a leadership role and is presently developing at an increasing rate. But at present it only occupies a small place in the overall value of agricultural production. The individually-owned sector does not have the capacity to turn out much agricultural produce. At present the effective economic force of the cooperatives has become the greatest force, especially in the field of agriculture, because it involves most of the ma-

terial and the labor in agriculture. The development of that economy will have a very large role in the progress and development of our economy, for the fulfillment of the State economic development plan, for the improvement of the life of the peasants, and also for the stabilization of the struggle for socialism among the peasants.

The campaign to improve cooperative management, to improve technique, which we are emphasizing, is aimed at developing and also strengthening the cooperatives, making the economy of the cooperatives develop and ceaselessly grow stronger, stimulating all parts of the socialist agricultural economy of our country to become powerful and stable.

But the results of agricultural production during the past several years, especially the results in terms of irrigation, in opening up new lands and increasing the harvest, in bringing about changes, have only begun to change the structure of the branches of production and to increase agricultural production. However, they have proved the importance of the agricultural cooperative movement. If there were no force of cooperatives and no economy related to them, we would have had difficulty in overcoming problems resulting from natural disasters in the last few years and could not have brought about a change in agriculture. Naturally, we also could not have decided on a way to take care of planting, cattle, agricultural tools, etc. In the cooperatives, there has immediately developed the spirit of new production relations. In the desire to develop new production relations an important condition is that after organizing the peasants in a cooperative, it is necessary to pay attention to the strong development and good

management of the cooperative.

The reason why the cooperative must develop well is that the production of the cooperative must be the essential means of attracting the peasants who belong to the village. Meanwhile, it is necessary to ensure the implementation of the State Plan. The quota for the cooperative member belonging to the collective economy must be higher than that for the person associated with the family economy. Belonging to the collective economy emphasizes taking care of and nourishing the animals, while belonging to other branches of agriculture only emphasizes personal advantage. Therefore, if we wish to develop the cooperative economy, we must hold firm to the matter of vaccinating the animals, while positively developing the collectivist work of the cooperative. It is only by holding firm to the principle of vaccinating and caring for the animals that the cooperative can give absolute priority to the matter of providing food and other important agricultural products for the life of the peasants and the needs of the State.

Other aspects of cooperative business also need to be developed ceaselessly in order to increase the income of cooperative members, to make cooperative members increasingly confident, more attached to the cooperative and increasingly taking a positive role in raising the production of the cooperative.

The practical experience of the cooperative movement has shown that the cooperatives which progress steadily are the cooperatives which know how to pay attention to and develop properly their own economic activity. Here, each aspect of

cooperative management aims at properly developing the capabilities of the cooperative, making their economic force ceaselessly greater, and becoming a strong point worthy of the trust of the peasants belonging to the cooperative. With their economic strength growing stronger each day, the cooperatives will only then have the objective conditions for increasing production, developing the various branches, developing the material facilities and the technical capacity of the cooperatives, with the result of broadly increasing production in the cooperatives. The production of the cooperatives is developing rapidly, resulting in increased income for cooperative members and ensuring that their livelihoods are properly protected and improve ceaselessly. With the development of the collectivist economy, the cooperatives again have the opportunity to build up their programs of socialist culture and welfare, making the spiritual life of the cooperative members change for the better. The political level of the cooperative members in this way can also gradually be raised. All of these things have created material facilities and steady thought processes in support of the dictatorship of the peasants in North Vietnam.

Conversely, what the cooperatives as a whole lack is a properly developed economy. There are cooperatives which have been established for a long time, but their economic life is growing very slowly, their production is increasingly slowly, the life of the cooperative members is encountering difficulty. Such conditions of course will cause problems for the cooperative members, will reduce their faith in the cooperative. Paying little attention to or not sufficiently considering the matter of economic development will certainly result in not holding firm to the objectives for which the cooperative was org-

anized. In this way it will not be possible to continue strengthening and developing the agricultural cooperative movement.

Developing the economy of the agricultural cooperatives is an objective requirement of the process of building the material and technical facilities for agricultural cooperativization. At present the transformation of agriculture is the essential function of cooperative agriculture. The development of agriculture and the help of the Socialist State are essential conditions in the transformation of our agriculture. But only with the creation of these internal conditions in the cooperatives, such as accumulating the capital of the cooperatives to the necessary level and gradually raising the standard of management and the technical qualifications of the officials and of the cooperatives, will the cooperative be in a position to purchase agricultural machinery and have the ability to use and control the machinery. Developing the economy is the most fundamental task and is the most realistic method to increase gradually the accumulation of capital of the cooperatives, gradually to raise the level of development of agriculture, and to consolidate the cooperatives.

Developing the economy is still the urgent task of socialist industrialization and the development of the people's economy. At present socialist industrialization requires that agriculture provide increasing quantities of agricultural produce (including foodstuffs, raw materials, and export items). In order to meet those requirements, we need to develop agricultural production in accordance with a new pattern, with a new and stable rhythm. We must change the structure of agricultural production from an individual, scattered basis from

top to bottom, moving gradually into specialization in a proper way. At the same time we must continue to develop methods aimed at overcoming difficulties, expanding planted areas, increasing production, and developing the branches of production in the agricultural field. Apart from the state-owned sector of the economy, we must develop the rest of the economy, because only with a properly functioning economy will productive capacity develop according to plan and achieve a continuing expansion of production, guarantee that agriculture can meet the growing requirements of industry and of the national economy.

At present the agricultural cooperatives are a place for providing the essential quantities of important agricultural products such as foodstuffs and industrial crops to the State. But, for example, the agricultural production of the aforementioned cooperatives is still inadequate. Other produce, such as animal products, vegetables, and fruit, provided by the economy for the masses, is still in short supply. That situation has had a bad influence on the matter of producing according to plan, from the speed of agricultural development to the question of increasing exports and accumulating capital, to the status of overall prices of the market. Therefore, the development of the state-owned agricultural sector and the development of the economy of the cooperatives ensure that the economy can guarantee to provide agricultural produce to the State.

This is a major objective and an important influence in our cooperative agriculture. At the same time it is also a realistic way of taking part in the socialist industrialization and the economic development of North Vietnam. Our attitude

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towards the economy is also our attitude with regard to the course of the cooperativization of agriculture and the task of building socialism in the countryside. At the same time it is also our attitude with regard to the matter of serving the objective of the socialist industrialization of the country and the development of the national economy.

In reviewing the results of the economic activity of the cooperatives, we can appraise the viewpoint and thought of the officials and Party members, consider the level of awareness of cooperative members and the physical capabilities of the cooperatives. Only by making an effort to develop the economy of the cooperatives every day more strongly can we successfully build socialism among our peasants. On the other hand, if we allow the cooperative economy to fail, capitalism will bloom and make the peasants of North Viet-Nam turn back on the path of suffering and poverty. We can only choose the first path, the path which leads onwards and upwards to socialism.

Relationship Between the Cooperative Economy and the Secondary Economy of the Cooperative Economy

The cooperative economy has become the principal economic force among the peasants of North Vietnam. But closely related to that economy is the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member. The existence of two types of economy is advantageous for agricultural production in our country. It guarantees the most rational use of labor and land, strengthens production, satisfies the needs of society and of the peasant cooperative member. Regarding the two kinds of economy, our Party advocates concentrating forces on the matter of developing the cooperative economy, which is the prin-

cipal one, while properly guiding the secondary economy of the cooperative family.

Developing the cooperative economy is especially important in the task of providing direction to and guiding agriculture. In particular, it is necessary to concentrate forces and create conditions favorable for the development of the economy. Regarding production materials, it is necessary to ensure that the economy will have the best kind of raw material. We must tirelessly develop plans for the use of existing raw materials, but we must still not fail to provide many new production items for the cooperative. Regarding production, this must be based on existing conditions in order to expand trade, making the economy concentrate on the most important branches of production (like rice, corn, cattle, industrial crops, planting forests, raising fish....) and ensuring the supply of needed products to cooperative members and to the national economy. Slowly, this will change in character from an economy focused on the real needs of the cooperative member to a higher level of focusing on the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member. Regarding the management of labor, the distribution of materials, the use of capital, the assignment of officials, these must all give way to the matter of developing production. In this way all the activity of the cooperative must aim at serving economic development. On the other hand, State institutions related to agriculture must all strive to help the cooperatives. That is, to develop the activity of the economy, to stimulate the powerful expansion of agricultural production, to make the cooperative member feel strongly linked to the cooperative and to consolidate the cooperatives more fully.

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While developing the economy of the cooperatives is the most important task, we need to provide proper direction to the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member. In terms of its nature, the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member does not belong to the exploitative sector of the economy and also is not a part of the socialist economy. But it is also not a form of the individualist economy like the economy of the peasant working by himself. This is a different form of individualist economy, objectively surviving for a long period of time in the new system of production of the peasants of North Vietnam.

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At present the income from the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member still occupies a rather important position in the real income of the cooperative member. The secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member provides an important proportion of agricultural produce to society, such as animal products, vegetables, and fruit. Further, the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member also produces fertilizer and has a place in providing a part of the labor of the cooperative. The secondary economy of the family, added in proper fashion, will have an important, supplementary value for the economy, contributing additional labor power. During the free time of the cooperative member, it will contribute more produce to society and create the conditions for making the daily life of the peasant cooperative member more abundant. That is the positive aspect of the secondary economy of the family. But, looked at from the point of view of ownership, the system of labor, the system of distribution of production, the secondary economy of the family of cooperative members still contains petty bourgeois characteristics. Therefore, in a real sense, the secondary economy

of the family has its negative aspect. If we allow the secondary economy of the family to grow beyond needed limits, it will have a negative influence on the economy as a whole, affecting the situation of the cooperative member, and can directly threaten the existence of the agricultural producers cooperative.

The chief orientation of the secondary economy of the family is caring for livestock and domestic animals and producing vegetables and fruit. In the mountains alone it can take care of additional numbers of water buffalo, cattle, and horses, as well as plant more flowers. Apart from that it is also suitable for the cooperative member to make a number of small products which the cooperative doesn't manage to sell. The principal means at the disposal of the secondary economy of the family is the 5% of the land which has been specially set aside from entering into the cooperative. Labor for secondary family occupations is chiefly composed of auxiliary labor and is usually composed of the free hours not needed for the development of the cooperative economy. Overcoming the limits of the three factors of production--land and labor--it will gradually lead to harmful excesses in the cooperative movement in the countryside.

Resolving the relationship between the cooperative economy and the secondary economy of the family of the cooperative member, on the principle of developing the basic economy, is a fundamental point in the task of administering the agricultural economy. But the results that have been achieved in the agricultural cooperativization movement during the last several years, especially the results of the advanced agricultural cooperatives, have proved that wherever the coopera-

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tive concentrates its efforts in determined fashion on development of the economy, while properly directing the secondary occupations of the families of cooperative members, the development of production and the life of the cooperative members can be clearly improved, the quantity of agricultural produce sold to the State can be greatly increased, and the cooperative can become stronger. On the other hand, wherever the relationship between the collectivist economy and the secondary economy of the families of cooperative members has not been resolved, the production of the cooperative usually encounters difficulty, the cooperative member is not enthusiastic, and the cooperative movement is hard to stabilize.

Resolving the relationship between the working economy and the secondary economy of the families in the cooperatives is a complicated struggle between two paths, the path of socialism and the path of something that is not socialism, like that between two kinds of belief--progressive and backward--in the villages.

We know that since the cooperativization of agriculture has been basically completed, the situation of the peasants in North Vietnam has involved basic and profound changes. The question of "who defeated whom," between the two paths of the collective and the individualist economies has still not been completely resolved. The worker peasants have joined agricultural cooperatives, but old beliefs and practices of the individualistic way of life still survive rather widely. Since entering the cooperatives, on the one hand, many peasant members of the cooperatives want to develop the collectivist economy to improve their way of life and build socialism. On the other hand, many people do not yet believe fully in the

spirit of the collectivist economy, that is, in the initial period, in the matter of administering cooperatives and developing the collectivist economy with little experience to go on and with various difficulties. Criminal, capitalist tendencies among a number of cooperative members, as among cooperative members who are middle class farmers and above, are still clearly in evidence. Under the circumstances the struggle about whether the development of the collectivist economy of the cooperatives or the secondary economy of the family is the more important, between the conviction of positively and industriously building the cooperatives and the view which only wants to work for individual profit, between progressive beliefs which want to move forward and backward beliefs which want to hold back the collectivist economy, is taking place in a rather complex manner in the cooperatives. The most suitable attitude for us at this time is to guide the mass of cooperative members to concentrate their minds and efforts on the development of the collectivist economy. With regard to the means of developing the collectivist economy, the most important is gradually to guide the cooperative members to build the secondary occupation of the family, criticizing those views which deprecate the collectivist economy and emphasize the secondary occupations of the family, the activity of working for oneself rather than for the collective, even violating the interests of the collective, taking advantage of the name of the collective to make themselves rich. Every effort that releases or stimulates the secondary economy of the family to develop in a disorderly fashion leads to serious harm to the collectivist economy and to the whole cooperative movement in the countryside.

Developing the collectivist economy especially emphasizes

properly guiding the secondary occupations of the family. This does not mean strangling the secondary economy of the family so that the collectivist economy can develop, or letting the family economy gradually gnaw away to the point where it will encroach upon the collectivist economy. The shortcomings of many regions and cooperatives recently show incorrect resolution of the relations between the collectivist economy and the secondary occupations of the family. First of all, many places have deprecated the role of the secondary economy of the family in the determination of production in the countryside. Therefore, they have sought to limit the secondary economy of the family in a subjective manner, not letting it exceed 5% of the land allotted to the cooperative member as a matter of policy, they have sought to manage the commercial sale of everything produced by the cooperative member. At present there is also a tendency in the other direction, to expand the opportunity for the secondary economy of the family to grow in a disorderly manner and to disregard the strengthening of the collectivist economy. This condition shows clearly in some places: administering the production materials of the cooperative in a careless way, letting cooperative members take care of or clear too much additional land, not positively administering the commercial sale of crops and failing to organize collective animal husbandry, seeking to join the fields of the cooperative and fields reserved for collective animal husbandry so that the cooperative member can work them on his own and benefit personally; failing to invest additional capital and additional effort in construction of physical facilities, in improving technique, and in developing the production of the cooperative; failing to increase the savings of the cooperative in order to develop production.

The reason why there are such shortcomings and failures is that many of our comrades only see the positive side but have not yet realized the negative aspects of the secondary economy of the family. For that reason and because of a lack of determination in overcoming temporary difficulties in order to develop the collectivist economy of the cooperatives. Further, because of the distorted views and beliefs of a number of officials, the cooperative members, faced with a struggle between progressive and backward beliefs which have emerged in the cooperatives, in many cases are not determined to hold on to their beliefs, do not hold fast to the development of the collectivist economy, let backward views spread and prevail. Practice has demonstrated that if we do not concentrate our forces on the development of the collectivist economy, if we do not administer the production materials of the cooperative carefully, and do not carry on socialist education efforts in a regular manner, naturally the cooperative members will turn to the task of developing the secondary occupations of the family and, in that way, whether we like it or not, the secondary economy of the family will become an obstacle for the collectivist economy. It is only by standing on the correct position of the working class, holding fast to the path of the policy of the Party, concentrating our efforts on the development of the collectivist economy of the cooperative as the most important task, while properly guiding the secondary occupations of the family, that we can properly resolve the relationship between the collectivist economy of the cooperatives and the secondary economy of the families of the cooperative members. We should aim at the development of production, the improvement of the life of the cooperative member, and the proper consolidation of the socialist system of production in the countryside.

Of course, the material and technical condition of our agriculture is still backward, the task of administering the cooperatives still needs further experience, and a considerable number of difficulties are emerging in connection with the development of the collectivist economy of our cooperatives. But we need to understand that those are only temporary difficulties and can be overcome. It is only by practice in production and by going into the development of the collectivist economy that we will gain experience and be able to perceive our direction and the methods for overcoming difficulties in order to progress towards new and greater achievements. At present the results achieved in the agricultural cooperative movement, especially the results of the advanced cooperatives, have given us enough basis to conclude that: "Although under the physical and technical conditions mentioned above, there are still shortcomings. If we properly manage and pay attention to improved technique, gradually we will develop the feeling in the cooperatives that, compared with making a living on an individualist basis, there is the capability of creating a new division of labor which will make agricultural production develop rather quickly, with great economic benefit, changing the system of production from an individualist, self-sufficient basis to production of an abundance of goods." [Note: Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party concerning the campaign for improving the management of cooperatives and for improving technique.] The working out of the agricultural cooperative movement during the last several years has refuted every doubt about the extent of agricultural cooperative feeling and the capacity of the collectivist economy with regard to agricultural development in North Vietnam.

The view that only if the secondary occupations of the

family develop will the life of the cooperative member be improved significantly is completely incorrect. At present, in particular, thanks to the fact that the collectivist economy has resolved the most essential questions for the cooperative member, such as food, many families of cooperative members only now have the possibility to develop the secondary occupations of the family more than before. The secondary economy of the family, however, can only resolve a small number of the problems of the cooperative member; but over the long term, if we wish to make agriculture progress, if we wish to serve socialist industrialization properly and not fail to raise the living level of the cooperative members, then we must emphasize the collectivist economy.

#### Direction of Collectivist Economic Development

"The way to manage cooperatives is the way socialist production is managed....That method of management is completely different from the method of management of feudal or capitalist production. It is also different from the method of management of associations, for associations only aim at the benefit of their collective membership while, on the other hand, our cooperatives are managed according to the system of socialist production, aimed simultaneously at satisfying the interests of the cooperative, of the cooperative member, and the needs of the State, that is, the needs of socialist industrialization, the needs of the whole people." [Note: Le Duan, Improving the Management of Cooperatives, Improving Technique, Strengthening Agricultural Cooperation, Su That (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p. 6.] The experience of the advanced agricultural cooperatives proves that if there is not a revolutionary change in the beliefs, output, and commercial sale of the co-

operatives, then the collectivist economy of the cooperatives cannot be developed.

The agricultural producers cooperatives need to have a new production orientation because that is a necessary, prior condition to the deployment of labor, the improvement of technique, and the preparation of the material and technical conditions--therefore of promoting the development of cooperative production. Different from the kind of production of the individualistic economy, the production of the collectivist economy must be constructed in the interest of the collectivity, of the cooperative members, and of the State. This kind of production must simultaneously serve as a basis for the needs and conditions of the cooperative and of the cooperative member while it serves as the basis for the common needs of the program of socialist industrialization. At the same time it includes the experience and practices of production over a long time in the area involved. It must also depend on the requirements and capabilities resulting from the additional development of the new branches of production. In this way only the most rational use of land and labor power in the cooperative will allow it to realize a high economic return, to increase income, to raise the living level of the cooperative, and properly guarantee the needs of the State. This kind of production must ensure that the cooperative will emphasize the principal branches of production, will effectively act regarding the life of the cooperative member and regarding the matter of fulfilling the State plan. It must ensure that it will effectively resolve the proportion between planting of crops and animal husbandry, between planted area and production, between the collectivist economy and the

secondary economy of the family, etc. We must overcome conservative beliefs fearful of difficulty, which operate in terms of immediate interests, which do not positively organize the commercial activity of the branches of production, which look at the long road ahead instead of adding to the cooperative economy such things as collective animal husbandry, managing crops, planting perennial plants, etc. Meanwhile, we must overcome the tendency to hoard, to scatter our effort, to sell goods in a fragmentary way, not to realize the potential of a productive economy.

To ensure the realization of this new kind of production aimed at increasing the output of the collectivist economy, the cooperatives must concentrate their use of all kinds of important production materials in agriculture and gradually increase the stock of production materials. Setting aside 5% of the land left to the cooperative member (in the mountains a little more may be added) and the land with special properties which has not yet been brought into the cooperative, the cooperative must manage all of the fields, the labor force, and the principal tools. It cannot leave to the cooperative member the use of too much land in a manner contrary to established policy or the use of production materials belonging to the cooperative for the sake of his secondary occupation. For if he does this, the cooperative member will not contribute much labor and fertilizer. In the development of the collectivist economy, this attitude will make the job of managing labor in the cooperative a difficult one. The collective production plan will be affected.

On the other hand the cooperative must look for every way to develop gradually to increase basic construction, to

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add to its material and technical foundations. First of all, it must build up its facilities for irrigation, fertilizer, seed production, and fodder for draft animals. It must increase the number of drying fields, drying sheds, plant perennial crops, adapt agricultural production to local conditions, produce forest products. It needs to increase the variety of tools owned in common (especially improved and mechanized tools and, depending on conditions, use varieties of small machines or use electricity) in order to resolve the problems of working the soil, pumping water, harvesting and threshing, transportation, or processing. Expanding the material and technical facilities along the above lines will provide the cooperative with the facilities to strengthen production. In another way it will ensure that the undivided property of the cooperative will grow increasingly, and in that way, the cooperative member will become more thoroughly integrated with the cooperatives.

In order to add to the collectivist economy, it is necessary to add to the cash savings of the cooperative. At present, contrary to previous practice, there is more activity along this line, but not really very much. The income of the cooperative member has increased, but not yet by a great deal. Since this is so, the cooperatives need to accumulate savings in a proper fashion in order to be in a position to expand the material and technical facilities, aiming at strengthening production and improving the life of the cooperative members. We need to overcome the tendency of neglecting savings or only of accumulating savings in public funds but not participating in generalized savings, not using savings to spend on developing production.

Organizing the employment of labor is a necessary and fundamental task in order to build up the collectivist economy. At present a worker only works for the collective 160 days per year at a daily wage value of 70 piastre cents. In this connection, in the advanced cooperatives an ordinary worker puts in from 200 days or more at a daily wage value of one piaster or more. This shows us that we need and we can add simultaneously to the work quoto while adding to the daily wage value in the cooperatives. Our first effort to add to the collectivist economy should be: re-deploy the labor force in such a way as to be in keeping with the production orientation of the cooperative, concentrate labor on the principal branch of production, increase the working force on a given piece of ground, concentrate labor on important areas of cultivation having a direct effect on production, gradually reduce labor on cultivation having only an indirect effect on production. Increase the working force on basic construction aimed at increasing the material and technical facilities of the cooperative.

To do these things we will have to work hard, and after the first Five-Year Plan is completed, we will try to use two-thirds of the working day of the cooperative member to develop the collectivist economy and make this the duty of the citizen to the State, while we work to improve tools owned in common and the rational use of labor to increase labor productivity and increase the daily wage value of work. Under present conditions the material and technical facilities of the cooperatives, at present, are still inadequate, the planted area is not sufficient, and labor in the countryside, as mentioned above, is still underemployed (except for the harvest

period when the labor supply is tight) the use of labor along the above lines is a constructive and useful task.

In this way we need to add to the whole of the collectivist economy in the field of production (specifically, in the orientation of production, managing labor, constructing physical and technical facilities) in the field of the distribution of funds (specifically, the relationship between savings and spending.) But the most important condition of all is that the cooperative must increase its will to struggle, to overcome difficulties, to develop sufficiently the spirit of self-reliance, to exploit fully latent advantages in terms of labor, money, etc., in order to develop fully the collectivist economy. If everything depends on the help of the State, the cooperative cannot develop its collectivist economy rapidly. On the other hand, the State also needs the positive help of the cooperative in the fields of finance, organization, technique, etc., aiming at the creation of conditions for the cooperative to develop the collectivist economy in an advantageous way. That is also the responsibility of the working class, of the State which is the dictatorship of the proletariat, with regard to agricultural cooperativization. As Lenin has said: "Any social system, growing and developing in accordance with its conditions, gets its financial support from the ruling class."

[Note: Lenin: Selected Works (Tuyen Tap), Vietnamese edition, Su That (Truth) Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol. II, Section II, p. 666. ]

In the environment of our country, the standard of management and technique of the cooperatives is still low, the peasants have only recently entered on the road of making a living collectively, and State assistance is increasingly

needed at all times. This is a problem which has many aspects, so that the sectors of our economy and our classes need to pay attention to it in a serious manner. We need to oppose the incorrect tendencies of a number of officials such as those who only emphasize one form of self-reliance in the cooperative but who do not agree with going deeply into research on concrete questions affecting the cooperative, do not help the cooperative sufficiently and in a timely and realistic manner.

The realistic situation shows us that the advanced cooperatives, mentioned above, have developed, collectivist economies. Therefore, in the campaign to improve cooperative management, to improve technique, as well as in the movement to study advanced experience under the slogan, "each person work as two," we need to look for every way to bring the backward and average cooperatives forward, to match and surpass the advanced cooperatives, to make the collectivist economy develop strongly in the field of agriculture.

The development of the collectivist economy is a revolutionary task, it is a battle between two courses, the collectivist and the individualistic, between the new and the old, aimed at ensuring a thorough understanding of the path, of the policy of the Party in the various aspects of production and distribution. Therefore, so that the collectivist economy will have an absolute preponderance over the individualist economy, the new will win over the old, officials and Party members must first of all have correct beliefs. Regarding Party members and members of the youth corps, those are the beliefs in the vanguard of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the radical and revolutionary belief of a Com-

munist, the spirit of determination to build the cooperatives, to build socialism in the countryside. Regarding cooperative officials and members, that is the spirit of realizing socialism, the idea of making collectivism prevail, the spirit of seeing to your own work and the spirit of enthusiastically building up the Fatherland. Officials, Party members must oppose with determination viewpoints that are corrupt and wasteful, as well as actions that are not models of execution of the policies of the Party and the Government, actions which take advantage of official functions for personal profit, etc. That sort of belief and behavior does harm to the cooperatives. Only by building a high revolutionary spirit among officials, Party members, and cooperative members and by overcoming old beliefs and practices can we have political institutions and stable beliefs to bring victory to the collectivist economy. Together with the task of education and the struggle over beliefs, we need to improve the leadership of branch Party units and consolidate the organization of the leadership of the cooperatives, ensuring the Party units and the cooperative leadership of having capable leaders with a determined point of view, with a feeling, with a desire to follow along the path of developing the collectivist economy, determined to struggle against rightist and conservative beliefs, etc.

Regarding persons who have become involved in serious errors who have been arrested and instructed in their errors many times by the Party and the people but who have not reformed, we must clearly apply the responsibilities of leadership. Only in this way can we achieve the development of the collectivist economy in the proper way.

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## THE CAO BANG PARTY COMMITTEE FIRMLY FOUGHT AGAINST LEFTIST IDEAS

[Following is a translation of an article by Vu Ngoc Linh in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 9, September 1964, pages 44-47.]

In the people's democratic national revolutionary phase, the Cao Bang party committee was raising the banner of the revolution to a new height and leading the people of many racial groups of the province in their brave lasting struggle and in deservingly contributing to the success of the revolutionary work. Since after the restoration of peace, in the socialist revolutionary phase, the Cao Bang party committee has been leading the people of the province in carrying out socialist reforms, which went hand in hand with democratic reforms, economic construction, and cultural development. Initial results in the effort to carry out socialist reforms and construction brought great changes to the political, economic, and cultural life of members of different racial groups in the province. However, in addition to such achievements, there were serious shortcomings on the part of the Cao Bang party committee. By the end of 1960, the province basically completed its plan for establishment of low-level cooperatives: more than 70 percent of the families of working farmers joined the cooperatives. But since the beginning of 1961, mostly since mid-1962, the number of families joining the cooperatives has sharply decreased. As of September 1963, only more than 50 percent of the families of working farmers in the province still remained in the cooperatives. In some places, this figure was even smaller. This situation adversely affected many types of work, chiefly agricultural production. Because its cooperatives were not consolidated and because its agricultural production was not developed, for three consecutive years Cao Bang Province has not fulfilled its task of selling food to the state, and a "free" market has expanded throughout the province. As for other types of work, Cao Bang was considered a poorer province of the six provinces that form the Viet Bac autonomous zone.

At the end of 1961, during his visit in Cao Bang Province, President Ho pointed to the strength and weaknesses of the province, and ordered that we party committeemen do our best to make Cao Bang become a model province in the socialist revolution, just as it had been a model province in the democratic national revolution. Recognizing our responsibility to the party and the Government, and to members of different racial groups in the province, we in the provincial party executive committee did our best to analyze the reasons behind the lack of development of the movement, which we sought to correct. However, because of a failure to understand the true nature of the problem and to find the reasons connected with organization, thinking pattern, and leadership, which would allow an arrival at the proper measures to correct such shortcomings, the movement in the province has, in general, developed very slowly and has even deteriorated in some places.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee resolutions, and following bitter ideological struggles, we unanimously came to this conclusion: the main reason why the movement in the province failed to develop or even got worse was the leftist ideas of cadres and party members, mostly provincial committeemen. At a meeting of the Cao Bang party committee in September 1963, the participants realized that, because the majority of Cao Bang cadres and party members came from the middle class and still had a lot of old-fashioned ideas concerning small-scale production, many comrades had a poor knowledge of social classes despite the fact that they had been through a great deal of training and test in the democratic national revolutionary phase and had had a high degree of national understanding. As a result, they did not have a sound ideological basis for accepting the party-assigned political direction, policies, and task in the socialist revolutionary phase. Indeed, many comrades believed that many party directions and policies did not suit Cao Bang Province, which is a province in the highland and has a lot of economic and racial characteristics unlike those of other provinces; as a result, they did not properly execute all party directions and policies. Regarding the movement to establish more cooperatives, they said that Cao Bang did not have the right material conditions for establishing agricultural cooperatives, and argued that the fact that many cooperatives had been dissolved was only natural. This explains why the party committeemen neglected their leadership role when cooperative members, including cadres and party members, withdrew in large numbers from their cooperatives because the latter had faced many difficulties. In following the party direction dealing with social classes, many comrades believed that, because the classifying of classes in the highland rural population was far from clear, a strict application of the party class direction would disrupt the unity of the traditionally united farmers and would break their cooperatives, and would prevent production from being developed as well. By overstressing local characteristics to such an extent as to keep from properly executing party directions and policies and to fail to understand the party class direction as applied to all types of work, party committeemen of all levels showed leftist ideas in many fields of activities, from doing the party-assigned political tasks to carrying out the principles of party-building, from reforming and building economy to having political, cultural, and order- and security-maintaining activities.

In regard to internal organization, the lack of consideration of social classes in the appointing and promoting of cadres and in the accepting of party members made the organization of the party and the Government more complicated and thus destroyed the class character, pioneering quality, and struggling spirit of the party, as well as the prestige and normal activities of state agencies. Favorable conditions were thus created for bad elements to get into party organizations, the Government, and cooperatives to destroy them, to make non-proletarian ideas grow, to strangle internal unity, to allow the passive forces outside the society to rise, and to prevent in a serious way the execution of party and state views and policies.

Another basic decisive reason was the loss of unity inside the party committee right at the moment the movement had been facing difficulties. From a failure to view the situation of the movement from the same angle, was born a tendency to criticize one another, to say, "I am right, you are wrong;" and to respect nobody. In leadership work, a situation of discord existed; no effort was made to praise sense of responsibility, organizational concept, and good discipline; instructions and resolutions put out by higher authorities were not properly executed. Even some important Central Committee resolutions were not popularized and carried out by the party committee in the province. That situation made all echelons and branches confused, which no longer fully understood the purpose of their

struggle. Through reviewing work and self-criticisms, we provincial committeemen fully recognized our shortcomings. It was the leftist mistakes of the Cao Bang party committee, mostly of the party commissar, that hampered the development of the people's movement.

With an aim at creating new changes in all fields, chiefly in the field of thinking, after the meeting of the provincial party committee, we organized sessions for cadres, party members, and the people to study the resolutions of the eighth meeting of the Central Committee and the meeting of the Cao Bang party committee. On the basis of the party-prescribed method of doing ideological work, we resolutely criticized leftist ideas and stressed proletarian stand and views, which served to support the accepting and executing of party guidelines and policies, the major aims of which are to consolidate and develop the movement for establishing cooperatives, to speed up the development of agricultural and forest production, to reform the "free" market, and to encourage the practice of thrift and the fulfillment of one's duty to the state. In order to be more effective in our drive against leftist ideas, we strongly encouraged criticisms and self-criticisms inside the committee, among committees of all levels and of provincial level first. As proven by actual happenings, only by doing so could the situation of inaction among cadres and party members be fully dissipated.

The leftist mistakes of our party committee were traced back to wrong concepts and thinking. Therefore, in addition to an effort to make cadres and party members fully recognize the present revolutionary task of the party in both the north and the south and the tasks of the entire committee in general, and of the individual party members in particular, toward the common national revolutionary work, we firmly speeded up the struggle against individualism. Through the very experiences of the Cao Bang committee, it was proven that we could not fight leftist ideas without fighting individualism. It was the latter that diminished the revolutionary enthusiasm among cadres and party members. And once that revolutionary enthusiasm diminished, leftist ideas would be developed, and as a result party policies could not be satisfactorily implemented. In order to have a basis on which leftist ideas would be fought continuously, right after each work, we reviewed what we had done and carefully analyzed the bad effects of leftist ideas. It was proven that the fight against leftist ideas in our party committee, as well as in all echelons and branches in the province, actually was a bitter complicated ideological struggle; in this struggle, we both used arguments in debates and went to base-level establishments to get facts, which were backed by actual happenings and the men involved. Through all the steps of our work, we achieved new gains for the movement. Such gains encouraged us to be more enthusiastic and to unite more closely so as to fulfill all our party-assigned tasks. With an aim at doing better all party work and performing ideological teaching among cadres and party members, we properly applied the party-prescribed class guideline to our organizational work; paid attention to strengthening and perfecting all echelons and branches; reorganized the body of cadres to conform with the needs of our political task; took an appropriate attitude toward those comrades who had committed grave errors and mistakes, and a firm position regarding the bad elements that had joined the party; and did our best to consolidate and strengthen the base-level party organizations, to make the lower-level committees the central leaders of the people in their executing party guidelines and policies. On the other hand, we firmly carried out reforms by guarding against those elements that had had opposition and destructive acts; brought party guidelines and policies to the people, whose thinking we developed, whose righteousness we praised, whose wrongdoings we criticized; and encouraged the people to execute effectively all party positions and policies.

After a year of struggling against leftist ideas, we had good changes in our party chapter. The awareness of class and the pioneering spirit of party members were further strengthened. The party was more united; its upward trend was being felt among cadres, party members, and the people. As a result, we made the following achievements:

In the field of expanding agricultural cooperatives, the families that joined our cooperatives accounted for 60 percent of the total number of farmers' families, as compared with 54 percent in September 1963. In the lowland area alone, this figure was 82 percent.

In regard to total food output, the 1963-1964 winter-spring crop exceeded the planned goal by 1.3 percent, and increased by 74.5 percent, as compared with the 1962-1963 winter-spring crop.

In the field of collecting-purchasing farm products and food, the quantities collected or purchased in the first six months this year were much higher than those in the same period last year: 110 percent increase for pigs, 220 percent for soy bean, 90 percent for tobacco, 70 percent for sugar and molasses, etc.

In the field of defense construction, Cao Bang Province was placed at the ninth position among the ten provinces of the Viet Bac military zone, but this year it is recognized to be among the relatively better provinces.

The above achievements are small and mark only a beginning; however, they have an important political significance. They represent a victory of proletarian ideas, a victory of the right political line of the party. They also serve as a basis for our party chapter to continue our struggle for a complete defeat of leftist ideas.

From our applying the party guidelines and policies to the actual conditions of Cao Bang Province we have drawn the following conclusions:

1. Cao Bang is a highland province having a population of many fraternal races, which have their own economic, political, and cultural characteristics; however, in Cao Bang, there is a clear division of social classes, which is reflected in all social activities, accented by class struggle. Therefore, only by adopting the proletarian stand, fully upholding the Marxist-Leninist class struggle view, strictly following the class line put forth by the party, and carefully considering the actual local conditions can we apply in a correct manner the party guidelines and policies to the local reality and develop the revolutionary tradition of the party chapter and members of racial groups of Cao Bang.

2. It is necessary to make all party members in the province fully understand that the current party political task is to build socialism in the north and to struggle for reunification of the country; to teach revolutionary struggle tradition to, to develop the upward trend of revolutionary spirit of, and to mobilize and lead all party members and the people of the province in order that they would keep struggling for a total increase of agricultural production and actively contributing to the work of socialist industrialization. In addition to the educational job, what is needed is to form a body of cadres having strong ideological knowledge, to make correct status adjustments and promotions of cadres, to create conditions favorable for good ideological work, to unite cadres of all races, and to encourage everybody to complete his work with enthusiasm.

3. The leftist ideas that exist in the Cao Bang party chapter have their roots in individualism. Therefore, to annihilate such ideas is to fight individualism first. What is important is to make the pioneering ideas prevail in all branches and echelons and in the people; these are the ideas that serve as a basis for defeating non-proletarian ideas.

Being the concern of the Central Committee and having the direct guidance of the party committee of the Viet Bac autonomous zone, all our party committee are determined to turn Uncle Ho's instructions into reality. Although the difficulties ahead are many, we firmly decide to develop further the glorious revolutionary tradition of the party chapter and all racial groups of Cao Bang, to make Cao Bang become one of the model provinces in the work of socialist industrialization in the north, and to make a deserving contribution to the struggle for reunification of the country.

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## SOME EXPERIENCES IN PARTY LEADERSHIP WORK IN THE RAILROAD BRANCH

[Following is a translation of an article by Tran Quang Son in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 9, September 1964, pages 47-51.]

At the start of the first five-year plan, the cadres, party members, and workers of the railroad branch began their struggle with stepped-up revolutionary enthusiasm. For three straight years, the branch successfully completed the work assigned to it by the plan: it surpassed its goals by 3.4 percent in transportation, 1 percent in basic construction, and 1.5 percent in industrial production. In food production, not only was the branch completely self-sufficient, but it also was able to sell the state some of its surplus food and to assist other units that faced difficulties. In such fields as preventive hygiene, gymnastics and sports, culture and education, etc., it made big progress and scored remarkable achievements. The above results were due to the fact that our party committee had based the aim of its struggle on the common party line and policies, and had determined the central task and more important fields of activities for the branch, which on that basis was properly carrying out its political, ideological, and party-building work.

### Determination of Central Task and Important Fields of Activities

Like any other productive unit and specialized branch, the railroad branch finds it importantly meaningful to determine its central task and important fields of activities. For only by doing so will the party be able to encourage revolutionary enthusiasm and to aim the efforts of party members and the people at specific goals. Considering the purpose and nature of the branch and its actual production conditions, we have decided that the line to be followed in the branch would be "everybody serves production, takes transportation as his central task and locomotives his important field of activity." The last few years proved that this line of struggle was completely right. However, to fight for the central task and important fields of activities was a hard complicated struggling process opposing monistic and localistic ideas and serving to build socialist collectivistic ideas. Some comrades believed that taking transportation as the central task and locomotives as the important field of activity was leaning too much on the two economic and technical fields and neglecting other fields like planning, and that any part in the assembly line was equally important--for instance, cars used to carry merchandise and passengers, communication line serving as the ears and eyes of train operation, etc. Because of such a belief, in some places, the needs of the branch as a whole were not closely linked to the activities of individual units.

The railroad branch consists of many different components and occupations, with separate activities that extend to several northern provinces, but its leadership must be concentrated and unified. The activities of the branch are measured by the number of tons/km

of goods and passengers. Therefore, all activities in the factory and workshops, along the lines, at stations, etc. must serve the central task--transportation. In transportation, locomotives which pull the trains are the most important field of activity. To determine that locomotives are the most important field of activity does not come from only technical considerations but from their decisive position in the production line. This, of course, does not mean to underestimate other production aspects and other fields. On the contrary, while effort is concentrated on serving the central task and the most important field of activity, proper attention must also be paid to other fields, mostly those in which there are difficulties. To determine the central task and the important field of activity would help strengthen party leadership over the activities of the railroad branch; provide a correct line for all echelons and components to follow; further raise the sense of collectivity and the will to serve, as well as the spirit of socialist cooperation; gather all the strength available in the branch to attain the highest degree of potentiality; and do properly the tasks assigned by the party and the state.

In the past few years, our railroad branch faced many difficulties in transportation work. Plans were not stable; between the means of transportation and the volumes to be transported there were big contradictions, which sometimes seemed to prevent a total implementation of plans. However, because of the understanding that transportation was the central task, all components and echelons combined their efforts to serve transportation, which actually surpassed the goals assigned to it, and to create favorable conditions for the accomplishment of the common task of the branch. It has been proven by experiences that, in order to have a firm foundation for the political and ideological work to be successfully done and to develop the big effect of such work, the important thing would be to have first correct and clear guidelines for the common struggle. Indeed, only when the central task and the important field of activity of a branch were determined, the latter could closely link its political and ideological work to production and at the same time, under real production conditions, teach and train its cadres, party members, and workers in ideological matters.

### Strict Maintaining of Policies and Systems

While doing the central task, we must strongly uphold the execution of policies and systems. The latter are stipulations that guarantee normal development of production and regular work. Only by strictly maintaining policies and systems could we speed up our production and work. Facing difficulties in production and regular work, some comrades usually complain that the positions and policies concerned are not yet rational enough, or request that, because of the people being anxious, policies be revised. Regarding production plans, they say that such plans try to reach too high and cannot be accomplished unless they are adjusted to a lower level; even some comrades tend to forget about policies and systems while solving difficulties. As proved by actual experiences, in case of difficulties, if the leadership knew how to encourage and depend on the people, to do well its political work, and to execute properly all policies and systems, it could not only limit but also overcome difficulties. On the contrary, if it underestimated political and ideological work and went against policies and systems, difficulties would multiply and become unsolvable. Our party committee has thus arrived at this conclusion: in case of difficulties, never step back; try to do a good political-ideological work, and at the same time take active measures to overcome difficulties. The party line and policies consist of combining Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions of our country and are the guide to all echelons' and branches' activities. In following these line and policies, we may face with

difficulties and obstacles, but we cannot depart from such line and policies or request that the latter be revised just because of difficulties and obstacles. In the past few years, when we faced difficulties in food production, we still attached importance to production and at the same time paid attention to improving the living conditions of workers and civil servants, with an aim at making these two fields always closely linked together and push each other ahead. We educated the people so that they would understand the food policies of the party, develop their ability to bear hardship and to overcome difficulties; we also encouraged the people to develop cultivation and animal husbandry. The party committee launched a people's movement for development of cultivation and animal husbandry, for self-achieved improvement of living conditions, and for practice of thrift. Thanks to a wide lasting ideological educational work, based on a correct execution of party food policies, this movement was given a tremendous response from the people. Some people joined food production work right after having worked their shift; some units were able to boost food production beyond their required limits although they worked all year on a mobile basis. As a result, we were able to solve part of the food difficulties and to improve to some extent the living conditions of our workers and civil servants. In addition to food difficulties, we also faced a great difficulty--shortage of raw materials, materials, and heavy equipment. In the past, the railroad branch had had its own technical setup; however, before their departure, the French colonialists had either destroyed or dismantled it, leaving behind only a few old locomotives, a score of cars, and an insignificant quantity of machinery. At present, we are the only country in the socialist bloc that uses equipment that fits our one meter wide tracks; therefore, most heavy equipment manufactured by our fraternal countries cannot be used under our conditions. Faced with this situation, we had resort to the principle of self-sufficiency and to a better use of the assistance from the fraternal countries, and launched as widely as possible a movement to "make your own equipment." We educated our cadres, party members, and people so that they could foresee all immediate and future difficulties, appreciate the concept of being masters and the spirit of "dare to think, dare to do," and remind themselves of the precious lessons, learnt during the Resistance, dealing with the spirit of bearing hardship and with self-sufficiency. We also helped everybody to build up his new working behavior, to be ready to assist other people, and to appreciate the spirit of socialist cooperation among various units. Just because the railroad branch succeeded in developing the spirit of self-sufficiency and of building socialism through thrift-practicing among cadres, workers, and civil servants, it has so far been able to make most parts, which used to be imported, particularly the spare parts for locomotives and cars. This achievement has not only contributed to solving difficulties in production and serving the central task of the branch, but also helped raise the technical and professional capacities, the degree of understanding of social classes, and the revolutionary enthusiasm of all workers.

As we did our political and ideological work, in case of difficulties particularly, we paid attention to putting forth realistic slogans for action in order to arouse the people's revolutionary power. Our experiences showed that, if the leadership knew to bring forth in time slogans that were rich in ideological content and struggling quality, such slogans would serve as the

bugle sounds that urged the people to march ahead in order to overcome difficulties. Early in 1961, our great difficulty was to have not enough goods to transport. Faced with that situation, our party committee put out this slogan, "look for goods to transport." At that time, many comrades argued that the railroad branch, in its capacity of being a transportation branch, should do its work only when there was goods available for transporting, and that if they had to "look for goods to transport," where could they find enough goods. Some leaders-cadres even commented that to put out such a slogan was to engage in an "adventure," or to "count the fish in a pond and stars in the sky." However, after having done well our political and ideological work inside our party ranks, we began launching a people's drive; the result was that the people did their work very well. Railroad stations sent their people to a number of agencies to get to know the situation, to suggest ideas to such agencies, or to cooperate with them in solving the common difficulty. Thanks to that effort, we succeeded in finding an additional quantity of goods equal to 10.3 percent of the total quantity of goods transported up to then. It was clearly understood that, without an effort to "look for goods to transport," or if we passively waited for the various agencies to bring their goods to us, we could not have achieved the goals of the transportation plan. That was a big lesson for us. During the same period, our basic construction work had not been completely prepared; tens of thousands of workers on different lines thus did not have work to do; a lot of people began to worry. Some cadres, anxious to solve the difficulty, tried to solve the situation by themselves without following the policies and systems; they actually made the difficulty worse. The party committee adopted a firm position: to rely fully on policies and systems to solve any difficulty; to speed up ideological work; to urge the people to "look for work to do." Thanks to that position, we succeeded, within a short time, in getting work for most of the workers who had no work to do, and thus dissipated some people's worries.

Our experiences, therefore, showed that, in case of difficulties, if the leadership firmly upheld policies and systems, properly did its political and ideological work, and developed the people's spirit of being masters, sense of self-sufficiency, and revolutionary enthusiasm, it would certainly overcome difficulties.

#### Promoting and Popularizing of Good Examples

Revolution is the people's work. Only by relying on the people, taking the people's road, and arousing their revolutionary enthusiasm, can we fulfill our task. In the people's movement, there always appear new factors and new examples, which the leadership should exploit and popularize in time, to be made known to all. We therefore always consider the people's work important. Knowing that most workers in our branch did technical work, we linked our political work with our effort to improve the technical and professional capacities of our cadres and workers, thus creating the right conditions for all to serve well the central task of the branch. In order to make our work in the people fruitful, we also paid attention to consolidating the people's organizations, particularly to stressing the offensive role of the Labor Youth League. Because the people's organizations became stronger and stronger, and

since our political and ideological work got deeply into the people, there appeared more and more good factors and examples among the people.

In the past, our managing economic and technical goals, particularly the car-rotation system goal, was very poor. Because of limited capacity, and because the importance of this goal was not fully realized, the time of car-rotation was prolonged too much. In this situation, in some places, the people adopted such measures as loading and unloading at night, unloading by railroad station staff members in the absence of specialized workers just to release cars for the next run. Seeing that that was a new factor having definite effect upon releasing cars, we launched an emulation movement for faster car-rotation time, with this slogan, "everything for car-rotation time." In a short time, the movement spread all over the branch. In workshops, workers tried to repair fast so that cars could be put on the tracks sooner; in track-laying work, everybody wanted to make good tracks so that the trains could run at the speed allowed; in stations particularly, in addition to improving their loading-unloading equipment, workers tried to work even at night whenever there was goods to load or unload. In this movement was born a new method of loading and unloading, called "while the train waits." In the past, when there was goods to be loaded or unloaded at some station, the car containing this goods was pulled to that station and left there for several hours or a day, and the next day another locomotive would come to pull it away. Now, as the exact location of the goods-containing car was known in advance, all workers would concentrate their work on that car when it arrived. Usually it would take 15-20 minutes, sometimes even ten minutes, to load or unload a car. This method greatly shortened the car-rotation time. At the beginning of 1962, the Gia Lam railroad plant faced with a lot of difficulties--greater needs for production, heavier task and greater requirements, as compared with 1961--while there was no change in its material and technical foundation. In such situation, the cadres and workers there did not retreat. With a proud revolutionary tradition, a warm patriotism and deep feelings regarding the related South, represented by the "Phu Loi" and "Thong Nhat" ("Reunification") locomotives, the mechanical section of the plant, on 13 April 1962, started an emulative drive for the south called "Let us, on Saturdays, speed up production as our struggling for reunification of the country." With this "Let us, on Saturdays, speed up production as our struggling for reunification of the country" emulation movement, the cadres' and workers' socialism-building enthusiasm was closely linked to their strong will to struggle for reunification of the country. The initiative of the Gia Lam railroad plant workers was supported by the party committee and widened into an emulation movement in the entire branch. At present, the "On Saturdays" movement is like a lever pushing the over-all emulation movement to develop steadily and strongly. With an "On Saturdays" emulative spirit, new initiative is being taken. It is promoted as a good example, which is widely made known, in order to make the emulation movement develop continuously with a rich content. As we can see, in the course of the revolutionary struggle, among the people there must appear good initiative and examples. The leadership must in time reveal and promote such good examples so that the people could follow and move toward fulfilling all their tasks.

## Strengthening of Leadership According to Specialization

In our leadership work, our party committee pays great attention to leadership according to specialization. Like other industrial branches, the railroad branch assumes the responsibility for securing safety for its workers and passengers and goods as well. On the one hand, safety must be secured in running trains; on the other hand, economy must be maintained. If we have only safety and cannot maintain economy, we cannot reach the goal for cost. From this need, we directed our leadership to one specialization, "conduct the train with safety and save coal." As a result, in 1963 alone, there appeared in all the railroad branch many good safe conductors who saved as many as 1,710 tons of coal. In the effort to improve living, we also did our leadership work in accordance with this specialization, "do good productive work, raise more animals for improving your own living." We urged cadres and party members to rationalize production, to improve techniques, to increase production for an increase of income, to raise labor productivity, and at the same time to improve by themselves their living. As a result, we succeeded in stabilizing the people's living and boosting production. Our experiences proved that leadership according to specialization was an important need in leadership work. If leadership work were done in a very generalized way, the leadership of the party organization would lose its power, and the central task could not be properly fulfilled.

By experiences, we find that people always pay attention to hot topics in their factory. Therefore, when the leadership gets into specialized fields, the people, who more enthusiastically have confidence in party leadership, always readily respond. Leadership according to specialization has also a direct effect upon raising the people's professional capacity, for all specializations have specific important roles, are aimed at solving difficulties in production, and make the people achieve such specializations at any cost through their search and thinking. This is a factor which encourages the people to get deeply into the technical and professional aspects, to promote creativity, to rationalize production, to improve techniques, and to raise further their professional capacity.

As for the leadership itself, thanks to leadership according to specialization, a more effective leadership work can be achieved in the problems which it did not understand before. In the past, in our party committee, we maintained a situation in which "you do your work, I do mine," the labor union took care of living conditions, and the government handled the productive work. That was a reason behind monistic and localistic ideas. Through leadership according to specialization, the cadres succeeded in stressing the need for a spirit of common responsibility, and jointly took care of all problems in their factory. Leadership according to specialization also helps cadres to raise their leadership capacity, their technical knowledge, and their management ability, chiefly economic management ability. It requires that cadres get deeply into production, go to base-level establishments and to the people, eliminate any unclear leadership, and build a correct realistic working behavior.

## Party-Building Work Is Important

To insure a successful achievement of state plans, we attach great importance to the party-building work. Applying the principles of party regulations to our actual work, we have been studying the building of the party in connection with organizational quality, particularly the party organizational base, in order that it would suit our production needs. For instance, a railroad station has many components like the station itself, bridge, tracks, communication and telegraph network, coal and water supply, etc.; it is possible to organize in each component a party chapter, and members of a component will be placed under the authority of leaders of this chapter. However, considering our reality, this way of organization will cause difficulties to party leadership and will not conform with production needs and joint labor in a station. We do not even take into consideration the fact that in some components there are not enough party members to set up party chapters. Although a station has many components which do their own work, such components all serve the transportation work. Therefore, the decision of our party committee has been that a single party chapter was to be set up for one station complex. The establishment of this party chapter has helped make party leadership more uniform and wider and develop a greater spirit of cooperation; at the same time, it has created conditions favorable for overcoming monistic and localistic ideas, as well as divided action. Moreover, the establishment of party chapters according to railroad lines is also very effective.

In the party-building work, we attach great importance to party unity, mostly the unity in party committees. In addition to ideological work and encouragement of criticism and self-criticism, we have been paying attention to strengthening control work in the party. After this work had been done, we found that there were no great problems in our committee, but there definitely were contradictions in the working method and way of living of a number of comrades. Many committeemen did not have careful discussions when dealing with actual work, nor did they stick to any resolution after it had been passed; as a result, there was a lack of coordination in the application of party line. On the other hand, it usually happened that, in case of mistakes and shortcomings in regular work, some comrades refused to criticize their own weaknesses and threw the responsibility for such shortcomings onto others. The result was a loss of unity. In order to overcome this situation, in addition to solving organizational and working matters, we encouraged criticisms and self-criticisms among party echelons in connection with party chapter life, speeded up political education, raised the ideological knowledge and sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members, who must use such knowledge and sense to strengthen internal party unity.

Our experiences show that, if we want to maintain unity and unanimity in the party, we must first of all do properly political and ideological work, attach importance to criticisms and self-criticisms, and honestly want to expand democracy on the basis of a proper concentration of efforts. Another important matter is that the party leaders themselves must truly unite with one another, always put party and revolutionary interests above everything else, and overcome all manifestations of individualism so that internal party unity

would have a solid base to rest on.

In order to achieve successfully the task of our branch, we also attach importance to managerial work and the training, improving, promoting, and using of cadres. In our branch, it happened that governmental cadres did not pay much attention to political and ideological work, and that party cadres and the people did not get deeply enough into economic managerial work. In order to overcome such a situation, in addition to teaching theories in school and at work, we opened many training courses aimed at helping cadres to raise their managing capacity and technical and scientific knowledge and creating favorable conditions under which the leaders-cadres would get deeply into production. In addition to thoroughly improving and educating cadres, we also recommended promotions and transfers of cadres for the sake of satisfying all revolutionary needs. However, it was not without any difficulty that we made such recommendations; a number of party members and cadres became jealous when others had been recommended for promotions, and their attitude was harmful to internal unity and enthusiasm. Therefore, when we made recommendations, we must be sure of the qualities of the cadres concerned; on the other hand, we extended our ideological educational work to all cadres in order to secure unity among them and to arouse enthusiastic response on the part of the cadres recommended and of all cadres in general. While we dared to recommend younger cadres, we did pay proper attention to those cadres who had long years of working for the party. We constantly taught people to adopt a respectful attitude toward older cadres and cadres with long years of service, for these cadres have offered much to the revolution and are therefore a big asset of the party; at the same time, we firmly opposed to conservative ideas, the ideas of "strict vertical order" and "higher positions go with seniority," and the love for fame and positions. On the other hand, we also paid attention to improving, training, and recommending woman cadres and technical-scientific cadres, and tried to create conditions under which they could offer all their abilities to the revolutionary work.

In order to fulfill productive tasks in a factory, we need to build a very strong party chapter. If the latter is not strong, we will not be able to lead and mobilize the people, nor will we be able to develop the effects of such people's organizations as labor unions, the Labor Youth League, etc. Therefore, we paid special attention to building our party chapter, particularly the strengthening of ideological knowledge, the overcoming of all difficulties for the sake of normal life of a party chapter, the enriching of the content of party chapter political life, and the good execution of all party-strengthening tasks. In accepting new party members, we attached importance to such qualities as class awareness and pioneering spirit in order to make the party chapter younger and also to directing party activities toward the more important productive fields. At present, the campaign directed toward the building of a "four good" party chapter is being pushed forward. As a result, the leadership of our party committee has been further strengthened.

Three years of successfully achieving the state plan were also three years of growth on the part of our cadres, workers, and civil servants of

the railroad branch under the leadership of the party. By properly and actively executing the views and policies of the Central Committee and the Government, the railroad branch has been growing fast. However, we still have many shortcomings and weaknesses: our ideological, organizational, and managerial capacities have not yet satisfied all the needs of our task; we have not yet exploited the hidden potentialities of our branch, nor have we satisfied the needs for transportation of all the people's economic branches. The goals of the 1964-1965 plans are still very big, but with the "each person works as hard as two" spirit our railroad party committee is determined to correct our shortcomings, to overcome difficulties, to improve the qualities of our cadres, workers, and party members; and to contribute to the final success of the first five-year plan.

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## BOOK REVIEW

### "FROM THE FRONT LINE OF THE FATHERLAND"

[Following is a translation of an article by Luu Quy Ky in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No.9, September 1964, pages 59-65.]

#### The Work of a Huge Collectivity

In the history of our country's literature, seldom has a literary work attracted as fast, wide, and enthusiastic a response as Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc (From the Front Line of the Fatherland) has. Within only a few months after its publication, it has become the book to be read and re-read by tens of thousands of young people, workers, cadres, and soldiers; and has been the subject of thousands of discussions and serious study sessions in agencies, factories, youth association chapters, army units, etc. throughout the north of our country. It has been and is being translated into nearly ten foreign languages. The translation into Chinese has been reprinted many times, with a total of nearly 1.5 million copies, and is being sold very fast.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland is not the work of a person or a small group, but that of a huge collectivity. It reveals the feelings, will, and dreams of 14 million people of the south, which are expressed and described by the southern people themselves. It is the letters from those who are fighting and winning, sent to the people in the rear from the front line of our country. These letters tell us, in an honest manner, so many actual happenings either witnessed by their writers or created by the people of the south. The writers are those who lived and fought or are living and fighting in the south. They are the makers of the history of the south, who have written about a new page to be added to the history book of the people of the south. As a result, From the Front Line of the Fatherland has a characteristic that we prize: it bears the warmth of the struggle and the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the authors themselves.

The book appears in time. For many years, the people in the north were waiting for a literary work that would help us to understand the south realistically, through lively pictures of flesh and bones. Being the sons and brothers of their southern compatriots, the people of the north need to listen to the feelings confided to them and to know very well the things that happen in the south. These needs have become more and more urgent as the

work of building and protecting the socialist north and actively supporting the struggle for liberation of the people of the south has become more extensive. In the meantime, the people's forces fighting for the revolution and for peace and justice in other countries also demanded that they be told more fully and accurately about the struggle of the people of the south against the American imperialists and their lacqueys. From the Front Line of the Fatherland exactly satisfies such needs. As a result, right after its publication, it has been warmly acclaimed and has attracted a wide response.

The letters from the south sent to the north and printed in the book are no longer the private properties of the writers and the addressees; they are no longer part of our own literary treasure alone, but a brick in the common revolutionary literary castle. The book also contributes to the building of the new man and the new generation in an age of national liberation revolutions and socialist revolutions in the world.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland is one of the literary works that have the highest intellectual value, convey the deepest feelings, and create the strongest effect in the Vietnamese literature in the middle of the twentieth century. The publication of the book is closely linked with the development of Vietnam's literature in terms of its realistically reflecting what happened in the south for the last ten years.

After peace had been restored, and while our nation lived in the first months and years after its partition to see one-half of the fatherland being ruled by the enemy, the writers and poets in the north were describing the south through their feelings of love and pity. Some southern writers and artists, who had come to live in the north, sent to the south their love for their native soil and their relatives, who were suffering from being separated from their loved ones. Poems and writings at that time reflected only a part of the people's longing for reunification, and recalled the wealth and beauty of the south. Under the objective conditions of the time, the poems and writings dealing with the south did not represent enough the strong invincible will of the people; moreover, they sometimes reflected weak feelings and low spirits.

Since 1956, the U.S.-Diem clique had been refusing to hold general election, aimed at reunifying the country, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Accord, and increasing their terrorizing and massacre acts against the people in the south. At this time, literary works in the north began denouncing and condemning the U.S.-Diemist bloody crimes perpetrated against our people in the south, and stressing the hate for the enemy and reflecting the southern people's determined political struggle. During the 1957-1959 period, the northern literary works that dealt with the south began exalting the invincible revolutionary will of the southern people, and already favorably affected the effort to mobilize and to unite the people of the south in the struggle against the Americans and their lacqueys. But right at this time, because the cultural workers in the north lived far from the reality of the south, they felt that it was so hard for them to portray the latter. The book of poems, Tieng Hat Mien Nam (The Song of the South), then made its appearance;

it contains the works of some southern poets, and brought to us some image of the struggling south, which was appreciated by readers. However, The Song of the South is but the poetic expression of some cultural workers or lovers in the south, instead of being the work of a great majority of cadres and patriots there. Therefore, the book is not really rich.

Since the end of 1959, facing the U.S.-Diem's policies of terror and provocation, which became more and more ruthless and insane, the southern people were compelled to rise up and to fight with arms. The long, hard, and very gallant revolutionary struggle of the people of the south, which is carried out by both politics and arms, has been giving rise to more and more images, personages, and acts that symbolize the sacred struggle against the Americans and their lacqueys in the south. At this time, because of the enlargement of the liberated areas in the south and because of other favorable conditions, the volume of letters sent to the north from the southern cadres and people was increasing fast. Of more than 30,000 letters, several have been chosen to be included in From the Front Line of the Fatherland; and now we have a valuable literary work.

We can say that From the Front Line of the Fatherland, a collective work of those who are fighting and winning in the south, is the most brilliant literary work dealing with the south since the restoration of peace and up to 1964.

Reflecting the Reality of the South, the Book Eloquenty Proves the Revolutionary Truth in the Present Age

It is not by coincidence that we have From the Front Line of the Fatherland. This literary work is the result of the extremely firm, invincible, and gallant struggle of the southern people against the American imperialists and their lacqueys. Without this struggle, the book could not have been written. The book is also the result of the right cultural view and guideline as put forth by our party and followed by our cultural workers. Had we not fully understood the basic principles of socialist realistic literature--to reflect honestly and loyally the true nature of reality, and to reflect it in accordance with the process of dialectical development of objective reality--we could not have collected and chosen the right, and valuable, letters to be included in From the Front Line of the Fatherland.

The value of the book is created by our knowing how to choose the symbolic acts, personages, and feelings that reflect the reality of the current southern society. This reality is that of a society full of contradictions, and such contradictions are being clarified along the line of the inevitable development of objective reality. The principal contradiction in the southern society today is that between the American imperialists and their lacqueys on the one hand, and the patriotic progressive forces of the southern people, of which the population of workers-farmers is the backbone. This contradiction has a national aspect and a class content. It is being solved along this line: the imperialist force gets weaker and weaker and will certainly be defeated; the people's force gets stronger and stronger and will certainly win. The way

to solve this contradiction is: to unite the entire population; to maintain the revolutionary struggle; to use all forms of struggle, from low to high; to defeat gradually the imperialists' plot, and to weaken and to destroy the imperialists. All the letters in the book have this to say: the American imperialists and their lacqueys have committed a lot of crimes against the people of the south; the southern people could not cross their arms and wait for their death; the southern people have risen up, have been fighting very gallantly, have determined to fight to the end, and are winning.

With words expressing a bitter hatred for the aggressors and the traitors, From the Front Line of the Fatherland recounts in a true, lively manner the ruthless acts perpetrated by the American imperialists and their lacqueys: cutting up children's bodies; trampling on pregnant women until their fetuses popped; burying people alive; killing people to get their liver to eat or sell; cutting human hands, drying them under the sun, and putting them in strings to mark their deadly "victories;" spreading poisonous chemicals to destroy crops, to harm people's health, and to kill innocent people, etc. The enemy's ruthless acts are aimed at destroying the revolution in the south and transforming the south into a new-style colony and military base of the Americans. From the Front Line of the Fatherland not only eloquently proves the ruthless, wicked, warlike nature of the American imperialists but also is in itself a condemnation, supported by undeniable evidences, of the American imperialists' aggressive design and acts. However, there exist in the world today a number of people who still want to defend and to cover the American imperialists by praising the so-called "peaceful goodwill" of the Washington rulers. The book helps dissipate the hard-to-believe arguments concerning the ability to build a "mutual trust" between the people and the imperialists, chiefly the American imperialists.

What deserves our attention is that, while pointing to the ruthless, wicked acts of the American imperialists and their lacqueys, the deadly enemy of the revolutionaries, From the Front Line of the Fatherland clearly shows us that the American imperialists are not strong, nor as fearful as some people have thought they were. It is evident that the people of the south have been successfully fighting the Americans; they have destroyed, one by one, the Americans' mad plans, weakened and annihilated more and more enemy troops, widened the liberated areas, and pushed the enemy into a dead end. Through the book, we get to know better the true nature of the "special war" waged by the Americans in the south of our country. This is an aggressive war, in which the Vietnamese are used to fight the Vietnamese, with American weapons, dollars, "advisors," and military personnel. But this "special war" of the American imperialists cannot outrun the liberation war of the southern people. The all-out, nation-wide, and protracted liberation war of the people of the south has the ability to defeat the American imperialists' "special war."

As we read From the Front Line of the Fatherland, we cannot help having this remark: although they are suffering from a great deal of hardship and sacrifices caused by the American imperialists and their lacqueys, although they know that the latter still have temporary arm superiority and can cause more harm, the people of the south still despise the enemy and have good

reasons to do so. Just because they despise the American imperialists and their lacqueys and have confidence in their own strength, our compatriots in the south are ever willing to fight and to use primitive weapons against the American imperialists, who have all kinds of modern weapons, including the nuclear ones.

Here the book presents the actual story of the struggle against the American aggressors in the southern part of Vietnam to prove this truth: in this age, a people, however small, will be able to defeat the imperialists, including the Americans, if that people is united, struggles hard, and is guided by a correct political line; the people's force is an invincible one and has limitless power; man's revolutionary spirit and will are the decisive factor of victory while weapons are not. The portions in the book dealing with our fighting with spike-studded holes, bows and arrows, hand-grenade traps, and with our using rifles and bamboo spikes planted in the field to destroy the enemy and to spoil his helicopter-borne tactics serve to support that truth.

In addition to the above disclosures, From the Front Line of the Fatherland also raises these questions: How to defeat the imperialists? How to achieve independence and freedom for the people and to make the revolution move ahead? The book offers definite answers: we must organize the people and carry on revolutionary struggle. Depending on actual conditions, we must use all forms of struggle, from low to high, and know how to combine political struggle with armed struggle and to use the revolutionary violence against the counterrevolutionary violence.

The present revolutionary struggle of the people of the south is a continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle which has been lasting for the last 105 years there ever since the French colonialists landed on Da Nang in 1859. If we count only the years of a continuous armed struggle against aggression, we shall find that the people in the southern part of our country have been carrying on their armed struggle against aggressive imperialism for the last nearly twenty years. Do our people wish to carry on the war? No, but do we have any choice? The imperialists have invaded our country and used force to massacre our people; therefore, there is no other way for us to do than to use revolutionary struggle and revolutionary force to fight them. The people of the south have fought for twenty years and are ready to fight for twenty, thirty more years if the imperialists still do not give up their plot to invade our country. Only by using revolutionary struggle and revolutionary violence can we defeat the imperialists' aggressive plot, weaken them and destroy them, and move toward complete victory. One of the many letters printed in the book is that of a young woman at Long Chau-sa; it clearly points to the above fact. She grew up amidst spoilage by her mother. She hoped to have all the good, wholesome things of life. She loved the peaceful canal and the field full of melons and corn of her native village. She loved the loom in her house and she was happy to operate it all night under the light of a kerosene lamp. But the enemy has brought sorrows and mourning to her village and her family. Even her old mother has joined the guerrillas' force. Her way must be that of revolutionary struggle. And her mother, who of course does not like her

to lead the life full of hardship and danger of a guerrilla, smiles and feels happy when seeing her practice shooting on the firing range. The mother chides her with a loving tone: "You, stupid! Why didn't you ask me first?" She finally becomes the leader of a guerrilla platoon.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland lets us understand that the southern people's way of using revolutionary violence to oppose counterrevolutionary violence is the only correct way. In this process of revolutionary struggle, the people of the south, under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of the South, adopt the principles of protracted resistance, self-sufficiency, turning nothing into something and insufficiency into sufficiency, going from low to high, small to big, and weak to strong, and taking more initiative everyday in attacking the enemy; and they have scored very great successes. While reflecting the above fact, the book also clarifies a truth of the present age: the present revolutionary force in the world is in a position and has the ability to attack the imperialists and colonialists. Although the imperialists still have a material force which can inflict damages upon the revolutionary force, the latter shall be victorious if it is firm and united in its attacking the enemy and has the will to attack the enemy.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland is a clear picture of the southern people's revolutionary power and attacking position and of the American imperialists' and their lacqueys' crumbling morale and losing position.

The book correctly reflects the reality of the southern society, the true nature of the American imperialists, the development of the revolution in the south, and the ultimate outcome of the fight between the American imperialists and the people of the south. By reflecting such realities, the book helps us to reaffirm the revolutionary truth of the present age, to reject the vague dangerous arguments of the people who disguise themselves as revolutionaries.

The Book Contains Bright Examples of the Revolutionary Concept of Life and Clarifies the Truth in Life

From the Front Line of the Fatherland also gives us serious, lively lessons about the concept of life, and sets up fine models of the way of living and working of those who want to live a worthy life.

After reading the book, we cannot forget the image of a soldier's mother who calmly sits in a chair to hide a guerrilla behind it and to invite the enemy to come within the range of this guerrilla's firing. We cannot forget another mother who is blind and who, every night, hides guerrillas in her backyard. Nor can we forget the image of a child who cuts grass, to be used as feed for his water buffalo, right inside the firing range of the enemy to collect intelligence news for our guerrillas and who, after being captured by the enemy, heroically deals with the latter. We cannot forget the image of those women who use their bodies to shut up the enemy's guns firing at our people. We cannot forget the image of an old man, 70 or 80, who walks, lean-

ing on his stick, to the liberated area to volunteer for work with the National Front for the Liberation of the South. We cannot forget the image of the coal-shoveling worker who dies after fighting the enemy and leaves behind only one thing--a coal mark on his beloved son's cheek after kissing the child for the last time. We cannot forget the sincere words of a wife who asks her husband living in the north how he would feel if she became an invalid in the battle and who firmly states her loyalty to him in spite of their being separated for ten, twenty years or longer.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland recounts to us so many stories of gallantry and heroic sacrifices of those who forget themselves for the sake of the country and of other people. Each page, each word in the book is blood mixed with ink, and utters the deep hatred for the enemy and the immense patriotism of the people of the south. Because of these deep hatred and immense patriotism, the characters of From the Front Line of the Fatherland are bright examples of utmost revolutionary will, bravery and invincible spirit, and determination--"rather die than live in slavery"--on the part of a heroic people.

Through the stories recounted, through words dear to people's hearts and dreams for the future, the letters in From the Front Line of the Fatherland make all readers seriously ponder over a very important matter in their concept of life--to live and to die. How to live a worthy life? How to die without a regret? The book reveals a deep, warm love for living, and at the same time points to a spirit of fearing neither death nor sacrifice, mostly when life is involved. The book clearly indicates the meaning of life and death, and shows us how to live significantly and how to know to die when necessary. Because we deeply love life, we can do anything possible for our life. Because we deeply love life, we do not fear death and dare to sacrifice when life asks us to. Just because we do not fear death and dare to sacrifice, we are living and will live, and live a significant life. Thanks to a correct concept dealing with the matter of life and death, our people in the south do not step back as they face the enemy's utmost ruthlessness, nor do they feel discouraged by hardship and miseries, shaken by material temptations, disturbed by the temporary difficult situation. The letter of Miss Hanh Hoa draws our attention to this optimistic spirit as she reveals the enemy's crimes committed in her native land: "I have the feeling that the indigo plants in our native place bear more flowers each year. Despite the fact that the U.S.-Dien clique destroyed many acres of indigo plants after they had set their dirty feet here, the plants grew again and again, with the same green leaves and white flowers..." Our people in the south have given up all attitudes of cowardice and lethargy, as well as the tendencies to search for security and to protect their lives, which could lead them to surrender or defeat. Our people in the south have engaged in a very fine, gallant struggle, a struggle full of revolutionary optimism.

While pointing to the irreconcilable relations between the enemy and us, between the exploiting class and the exploited class, between the imperialists and the nationalists, From the Front Line of the Fatherland at the same time correctly settles other relations among men in the population. These are the relations between comrades, between comrades in arms--the essential rela-

tions among people who share the same situation and ideals, fight with one another, undergo the same hardship, unite with and help one another, cultivate and improve one another's virtues. These are the relations between wives and husbands, between fathers and sons, brothers, relatives--the relations among related people who base their mutual love and constant mutual teaching on the common good cause, help one another to take the right road and not to go against national and collective interests just because of personal reasons, and promote mutual love based on national and collective interests. These are the relations between teachers and students, among fellow villagers, and neighbors--the social relations based on mutual love among classes. Regarding the husband-wife relations, the book contains specific examples of the fine loyalty between spouses.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland correctly solves the relation between happiness and struggle. Trying not to separate these two things, the book helps us to see clearly: because of happiness, we must struggle; there must be struggle before having happiness; happiness lies in struggle. Like the Marxists-Leninists, we usually say: "Tomorrow's happiness starts from today's hard struggle."

The book also settles in a right manner the relation between individual and collectivity. Heroism in the book is not individualistic in nature but rather a new model of heroism--heroism that serves collective interests, is created by the collectivity, and relies on the latter to develop.

All the authors of the letters printed in From the Front Line of the Fatherland have placed collective interests above individual ones; they have clearly asserted that individual interests could be served only in a general development of the nation and the collectivity. By knowing how to forget ourselves for others, we make society move ahead and promote our own moving ahead. After reading the book, the readers feel, more than ever, that selfish ideas, personal calculations made upon accepting regular work or combat assignments, and attempts to reach fame and prominent positions are so despicable, and that those who try to disregard common interests and party policies and positions in order to serve their individualistic interests are detestable and blamable.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland is greatly useful in further clarifying the revolutionary concept of life for the benefit of cadres and the people. Particularly at this moment, there are those who call themselves revolutionaries and Marxists-Leninists and are trying to replace the communist concept of life by the individualistic concept of life and by the bourgeois attitude toward enjoying happiness. They stress the need for "encouragement by material privileges," without paying enough attention to the moral factor of the revolutionary work. They talk a great deal about "happiness and love of mankind," but very little about happiness in the struggle and the right road leading to true happiness. They talk a great deal about "individual freedom," but very little about the revolutionaries' organizing ability and self-imposed discipline. They even shamelessly claim that people should not do revolutionary work if they were hungry and miserable. After being a victim of pragmatism, they speak for and nurture so many kinds of feelings and ideas--

lethargy, love for security, desire for happiness, fear of death, fear of hardship. Against these bad dangerous ideas and attitudes, From the Front Line of the Fatherland brings to us the images of the true revolutionaries' behavior, ways of living and working and struggling--the images of those who live a life that deserves living, the heroic tradition of the people and class, and the foregoing revolutionaries.

#### The Power of the Book

While recognizing the ideological and political value of From the Front Line of the Fatherland, many people still ponder over the literary value of the book. The way to evaluate the book in this matter depends on the viewpoint, style and technique preference, and literary background of the reader himself. However, the fact that nobody can deny is that the literary value of a work is not separated from the ideological and political content and actual effect of the book upon the readers.

Because the book has a keen ideological content, a correct political content, and a strong struggling character, it strongly imparts its characters' feelings to its readers and has a strong persuading and attracting power toward the readers. Although the book consists of nothing but personal letters in which intimate feelings are narrated, it leaves in the mind of its readers very clear images of the representative personalities, events, and background of the south today. These images have a deep impression on us.

From the Front Line of the Fatherland is a literary work that has a strong effect upon its readers, both domestic and foreign. In the north of our country, the book had made an important contribution to strengthening revolutionary power in production, regular work, socialist construction, and national defense. At the very moment when the people in the north are bringing their spirit of self-sufficiency to a new height; doing their best to overcome difficulties and hardship in order to build an independent, self-ruled economy, to annihilate poverty and backwardness, and to move fast and steadily on the road leading to socialist industrialization; and being prepared to heighten their revolutionary vigilance and to deal with every enemy's plot to provoke and to sabotage the north, the book serves to heat up further our revolutionary spirit, makes us ponder further over our southern compatriots' struggling and sacrificing spirit, and urges us to live and to work in such a manner as to be worthy of our brothers in one-half of our country, the "Frontress of the Fatherland."

At present, our agencies, factories, and units in the armed forces are requesting their people to read From the Front Line of the Fatherland, with an aim at drawing good lessons from it and seeking practical guidelines, applicable to each and every one of them, for production and regular work. It is apparent that, following the reading of this book, the patriotic emulative movement for "each person works as hard as two" has been speeded up. Members of the agricultural cooperative at Phat Diem, after reading or listening to the introduction of the book, have said: "In the past, we had been living under the rule of the French colonialists, and we knew what were the sorrows,

pains, and shame under their occupation. Now, as we read From the Front Line of the Fatherland, we know that the American imperialists are even more ruthless, and we therefore feel closer to our compatriots in the south. We find that our efforts are meaningless as compared with the efforts of our southern compatriots." By now, this cooperative has finished transplanting earlier than last year, has been very active in irrigation work, has completed fast its rice-contributing duty, and has sold more rice to the state than it was expected to.

In our armed forces, From the Front Line of the Fatherland is being read widely; the stories of gallantry of the soldiers and people of the south have been learnt by heart by every soldier. The slogan, "Let us learn for the sake of our related South, and shoot well today in order to defeat the enemy tomorrow," has become a line for action in every unit. Commenting on the book, a recruit has said: "From the Front Line of the Fatherland has helped me to recognize the wicked savage nature of the American imperialists and their lacqueys. I deeply hate them. When necessary, I promise that I will place my hate in the barrel of my gun and destroy them till the end."

At present, the armed and semi-armed forces in the north are evaluating their studying the book; training themselves and vigilantly protecting our airspace, waters, borders, and boundaries, as well as the achievements of the revolution in the north; keeping their struggling spirit ready to deal heavy punitive blows to the enemy if the latter dares to violate our territory in the north. The fact that our armed and semi-armed forces shot down and damaged eleven American planes and chased away some American ships, which violated our airspace and waters respectively, in the first days of last August proves their vigilance.

Regarding other countries, mostly those countries where a revolutionary struggle is being conducted at a quickened pace, From the Front Line of the Fatherland also contributes to persuading and encouraging their people to share in the struggle. A friend in Africa has written to us: "We suggest that you have From the Front Line of the Fatherland translated into the local dialects of our African countries. We Africans will certainly find in this book brilliant examples for use in our own struggle and consider the book as an offering of our Vietnamese friends to the revolutionary movement here." Another friend in Indonesia has commented: "From the Front Line of the Fatherland is not only the letters of those living on the front of our Vietnamese friends' fatherland but also the letters of those living on our front--the anti-American front in the world."

After getting deeply into the mind of people and bearing its effect upon the people, From the Front Line of the Fatherland shall undoubtedly become a material power in the work of socialist construction in the north, as well as in the work of liberation of our compatriots in the south and in the achievement of peaceful reunification of the country.

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