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No. 4, 1966  
- North Vietnam -

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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No. 4, 1966

- North Vietnam -

This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 4, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. The translation of the article by Nguyen Duy Trinh, on pages 14-32, has already been published in JPRS: 35,665.

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THE ONLY CORRECT STAND ON THE SETTLEMENT OF  
THE VIETNAM PROBLEM

[Following is a translation of an editorial  
in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc  
Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 4, 1966, pages 1-6.]

Exactly one year ago, the DRV Government proclaimed its four-point stand aimed at settling the Vietnam problem.

On 8 April 1965, at the second session of the DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) National Assembly, on behalf of the government Premier Pham Van Dong solemnly declared: It is the unswerving policy of the DRV Government to strictly respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and to correctly implement their basic provisions as embodied in the following points:

1--Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. According to the Geneva agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw from South Vietnam all U. S. troops, military personnel, and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, and cancel its military alliance with South Vietnam. It must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. According to the Geneva agreements, the U. S. Government must stop its acts of war against North Vietnam, and completely cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the DRV.

2--Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, and there must be no foreign military bases, troops, and military personnel in their respective territory.

3--The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves, in accordance with the program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, without any foreign interference.

4--The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

Premier Pham Van Dong added: The Government of the DRV is of the view that the above-expounded stand is the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Vietnam problem. Once this basis is recognized, favorable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

The above four-point stand of our government embodies the basic provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam. This stand reflects the fundamental requirements of our people: national independence and reunification of the country.

The stand of our government fully conforms to sense and sentiments. That is it has won the sympathy and support of the governments and peace-loving people in the world. The governments and people in many countries have voiced their support for our government's just stand, considering it as the only correct basis for the settlement of the Vietnam issue.

Our government's well founded four-point stand cannot be easily refuted by the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, they have to resort to crafty maneuvers to oppose it. They declared that the four points of Hanoi could be discussed simultaneously with other points which might be proposed by others. The other points obviously were meant to be those put forward by the U.S. imperialists themselves. They scheme to place the aggressors on a par with the victims of aggression. The four-point stand of our government is not to be bargained nor taken in part. Our people demand that the U.S. imperialists recognize our government's four-point stand, that is to recognize our people's fundamental rights to peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

The U.S. imperialists have also cunningly declared that they might agree to discuss three of the four points of our government, except the third point relating to the liberation of the southern part of our country from the U.S. imperialist rule. The four-point stand of our government is a single entity. This is the overall stand of our people aimed at settling the Vietnam problem in the present condition when our country is still temporarily divided in two zones.

That is why one cannot recognize this point and reject another in this four-point single entity. The brazen rejection of the third point in the four-point stand of our government by the U.S. imperialists exposed their sinister design of perpetuating their occupation of South Vietnam, turning it into a new-type colony of the United States and keeping our country divided forever.

The U.S. imperialists on the one hand are intensifying and widening their war of aggression against Vietnam and, on the other, drumbeating about their good will for peace in an attempt to hoodwink world public opinion. Resorting to the trick of thief crying stop thief, they clamor that Hanoi has no good will for peace, that Hanoi refuses negotiations . . . Meanwhile, they still refuse to recognize the four-point stand of our government and the fundamental national rights of our people.

All proposals the U.S. imperialists have put forward so far for a discussions of the Vietnam problem, including the 14-point communique of the White House on 3 January 1966, boil down to the one single theme: The U.S. imperialists will stay in South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists have consistently and stubbornly refused to recognize the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own affairs themselves. They have obstinately clung to South Vietnam, obstinately maintained the puppet administration set up by them and the partition of our country. They pretend to respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam but in reality they have seriously sabotaged these agreements. One of the main provisions of the agreements is the ban on the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam. If they really respect the Geneva agreements they must withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam. If they really respect the Geneva agreements, they must recognize the four-point stand of our government which is the embodiment of the main clauses of these agreements and prove this by concrete deeds.

As everybody knows, over the past 11 years, the U.S. imperialists have seriously sabotaged the Geneva agreements, started and expanded the aggressive war in South Vietnam. But they have been unable to carry through their plan of aggression against the south of our country because the South Vietnamese people have resolutely stood up against them. Bugged down in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists tried to seek a way out by slandering the patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people as an aggression from North Vietnam, and brazenly using their air force to attack the DRV, an independent and sovereign state.

At the same time, they massively sent over 200,000 troops of the United States and its satellites to South Vietnam to step up the aggressive war there. The U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression, but instead are going further and further along the path of war intensification and expansion. The U.S. imperialists have intensified their bombing of North Vietnam in an attempt to force our people to surrender to them. In his States of the Union message to the U.S. Congress at the beginning of 1966 U.S. President Johnson on one hand reiterated the U.S. policy of clinging to South Vietnam, and on the other demanded that the Vietnamese people choose between peace and devastation. This insolent threat decidedly cannot subdue our people!

By bombing and strafing North Vietnam the U.S. imperialists scheme to create a situation in which they would be able to make a good bargain. By launching the war of destruction against North Vietnam the U.S. imperialists hope to use it in a bargain over a so-called cease-fire in South Vietnam.

Being heavily and irretrievably defeated by the South Vietnamese Army and people the U.S. imperialists have resorted to the bombing of North Vietnam and declared that they would stop bombing North Vietnam only when the South Vietnamese people stop their revolutionary struggle for self-liberation. The U.S. imperialists make the surrender of the liberation army and people of South Vietnam a condition for their cessation of the bombings in North Vietnam. This cunning maneuver of the U.S. imperialists cannot deceive nor threaten our people. The Vietnamese people are a heroic people. Never will they submit to intimidation by the U.S. Imperialists.

The DRV is an independent and sovereign state. The Vietnamese people and the world's people demand that the U.S. imperialists cease the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV. The U.S. imperialists have absolutely no right to barter whatever or bargain over this problem.

By brazenly conducting war activities against the DRV the U.S. imperialists have been severely condemned by the people of all countries and driven into a state of serious isolation in the world. That is a heavy political failure of theirs.

Militarily speaking, after more than one year of bombing and strafing North Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have been duly punished by the North Vietnamese Army and people: nearly 1,000 modern jet aircraft of the United States have been shot down. Should the U.S. imperialists obstinately persist in the war of destruction against North Vietnam, they would suffer heavier defeats, political and military.

The U.S. imperialists have been clamoring that they sincerely desire peace, yet they refuse to recognize the NFLSV as the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people and refuse to enter into negotiations with the front.

In accordance with the aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and the spirit of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, the NFLSV is fighting for the achievement of independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality in South Vietnam with a view to the peaceful reunification of the country. The program of the front reflects the basic demands of the South Vietnamese people. The National Front for Liberation is the leader of the South Vietnamese people in the anti-U.S. struggle for self-liberation. It is only thanks to the correct leadership of the front that the South Vietnamese people have recorded big victories.

The U.S. imperialists are clinging to the puppet administration rigged up by them in order to negate the role of the National Front for Liberation. But it is known to the whole world that the puppet administration in South Vietnam is merely an instrument of the United States to suppress the South Vietnamese people. The stooge administration of the United States in South Vietnam has no prestige at home and abroad. That it can stand at all is only due to U.S. weapons and dollars. Gen. M. Taylor, former U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam and one of those who initiated and directed the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, himself declared on 10 March 1966 that the puppet administration in South Vietnam is a government which does not exist.

Since the U.S. imperialists brought expeditionary troops to South Vietnam, this part of our country has become a U.S.-occupied base for the U.S. imperialists to conduct a war in which both U.S. and puppet armed forces are used, with the main role played by the U.S. forces. In such a situation the puppet administration in South Vietnam has revealed itself all the more clearly as lackeys and mercenaries of the United States. The puppet administration has proved more clearly than ever to be an instrument and lackey of the United States.

On the other hand, legally speaking, under the terms of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, the puppet administration in South Vietnam is illegal because it has never recognized the Geneva agreements and has always sabotaged the provisions of these agreements. Only the NFLSV, which has recognized the Geneva agreements and has striven for implementation of those agreements in South Vietnam, is the sole and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people. ✓

Over the past 11 years the U.S. imperialists have had to cope with the revolutionary struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people. In particular, they have had to conduct a war in the past five years against the South Vietnamese Liberation Army and people led by the NFLSV. Yet when speaking of peace negotiations they deliberately ignored the people of South Vietnam and the NFLSV.

By planning to discuss the question of cessation of hostilities in South Vietnam -- a question which comes fully under the competence of the South Vietnamese people and their liberation front -- with the DRV Government and U.S. imperialists cunningly pursue a double aim: to deny the role of the NFLSV and slander the DRV as committing aggression against South Vietnam. This cunning move of the U.S. imperialists has revealed more and more their extremely reactionary and stubborn nature. They have also proved that the U.S. imperialists have not the slightest desire to enter into serious discussions, but are only putting up a peace negotiations smokescreen to cover up their plot of stepping up their war of aggression.

Facts have shown that while professing a desire for peace the U.S. imperialists are frantically increasing U.S. effectives in South Vietnam. Within only a year since U.S. President L. B. Johnson declared in his 7 April 1965 Baltimore speech his readiness for unconditional discussions, which marked the beginning of his noisy quest-for-peace campaign, U.S. effectives in South Vietnam have been increased sevenfold. The U.S. imperialists are intensifying their raids and conducting a war of extermination, using poisonous chemicals, gas, napalm, and so forth to burn down villages and massacre the civilian population in South Vietnam. At the same time they continue escalating their air war of destruction against the DRV.

The U.S. aggressors are threatening to break the bones of the Vietnamese people, to bring Vietnam back to the stone age, and are boasting that they will punish the Hanoi regime and force Hanoi to surrender . . . But they are far from being strong enough to carry out their threats. Reality in the past year or more has proved that it is not the Vietnamese people but the U.S. imperialists themselves who have had their bones broken.

Peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity -- these are the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people. For these sacred rights the Vietnamese people have fought and are fighting with resolution against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Having gone through more than 20 years of war the Vietnamese people, more than anyone else, ardently cherish peace and want to build their life in peaceful conditions. But genuine peace can be found only in genuine independence. As long as the

Vietnamese people have not won complete independence there can be no genuine peace in their country, and so long as the U.S. aggressive army remains in Vietnam the Vietnamese people will resist it with determination.

The DRV Government has put forward its four-point stand as the basis for settlement of the Vietnam issue. This is a stand of national independence and a stand of peace as well.

In his 24 January 1966 letter to the heads of other countries, President Ho Chi Minh declared: If the U.S. Government really wants a peaceful settlement it must accept the four-point stand of the DRV Government and prove this by actual deeds; it must end unconditionally and for good all bombing raids and other war acts against the DRV. Only in this way can a political solution to the Vietnam problem be envisaged. The just struggle and all unchanging attitude of good will of the Vietnamese people and the DRV Government are enjoying the strong sympathy and support of the governments and peoples who cherish peace and justice in the world.

So long as the U.S. imperialists continue their war on aggression in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country will be revolved to carry their resistance through to the end, thus fulfilling their sacred duty toward their fatherland. Braving all hardships and difficulties, all Vietnamese people are determined to fight until complete victory.

The struggle waged by all Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression to save their country will certainly be crowned with success.

CSO: 3520-D

PRESERVE THE PURITY OF  
THE VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE

[Following is a translation of a speech by Pham Van Dong which was printed in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pp. 7-13.]

Respected Comrades,

I would like to present some of my opinions on the subject of maintaining the purity of the Vietnamese language.

At present, we are very busy. We must concentrate on strengthening our forces for the righteous struggle of our nation: to fight the Americans, save our country, preserve North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam, and progress toward the achievement of peace and unification for our Vietnam. In spite of this however, today we are meeting together here to discuss the purity of the Vietnamese language. This fact is not an inconsistency, it shows that maintaining the purity of the Vietnamese language contributes to the fight against the Americans to save the country on the cultural front. But we must also recognize the need to work in earnest, with a high will and a steadfast spirit to carry out a project which we all feel is important.

I would like to express some of my opinions and feelings. First, I will speak to you - within the realm of my understanding - of the purity of the Vietnamese language and then I will mention a few points regarding the evolvement of the Vietnamese language and the tendencies which could adversely affect the Vietnamese language, and, finally, I would like to suggest some things that should be done to maintain the purity of the Vietnamese language.

First, we need to generally appraise our language to see

its nature, its value, its beauty and its essence. We must recognize that two virtues of our language are its richness and beauty; and we must see its ample potential for evolvment.

Our language is very rich. It is rich because of the color, the fervor and the sentimentality of our nation; because of the long and valuable experience of struggle, the experience of the class struggle, the social struggle, the struggle with the forces of nature, and the struggle against foreign aggression; and because of the experiences gained in our four thousand year history of using and preserving water. Our language reflects development and maturing of Vietnamese society and the Vietnamese nation, as well as the small communities of the family, the clan and the village and the large communities of our nation and our fatherland.

The Vietnamese language is very beautiful but to put this beauty into words is very difficult. We can no more put into words the beauty of our language than we can analyze the beauty of light or of nature. But, being Vietnamese, we can quite naturally feel and appreciate the beauty of the language of our country, the language of the masses of the people in the folk ballads and songs and the works of the great authors. Perhaps the beauty of our language derives from the fact that the soul of the Vietnamese people is very beautiful, and the lives and struggles of our people have been beautiful in their glory and mobility.

The two sources of the richness and beauty of the Vietnamese language lie in the fact that it is the language of the masses of the people and is thus full of feeling, imagery, color and tone, spontaneity, beauty and meaning; while, at the same time, it is the language of the arts which the great authors and poets of our nation, such as Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Du, etc... and contemporary authors and poets in North and South Vietnam, have elevated to a very high standard in the arts causing it to retain its extraordinary purity and beauty. It is essentially this richness and beauty that has comprised the substance, the value, the color and the very essence of the Vietnamese language. This has been the result of a long process of untold labors...

I would like to take the lines of a folk song as an example:

Hỡi cô tát nước bên đàng  
Sao cô múc ánh trăng vàng đổ đi?

Let me ask the girl who is doing irrigation work by the road side,  
Why do you scoop up the golden moon and throw it away?

and another example from Truyen Kieu

Long lanh đáy nước in trời  
Thành xây khói biếc, non phơi bóng vàng

The sky is reflected on the bottom of the water with some motion  
The image of the citadel mixed with blue smoke, the high mountain  
is lost among the golden sunlight

These are beautiful sentences, two precious gems. One is still the simple gem of the people and one has been transformed by the hands of a genius craftsman. It is clear that our spoken tongue reflects our way of life and the rich sentiments of our nation; it is also rich in imagery, color and tone. In the beautiful poems and writings of our classics, we can see clearly the outstanding and expressive nature of Vietnamese. Much of our poetry is both rhyming and musical, as for example Nguyen Du's description of Tu Hai (I am using examples from Nguyen Du's Truyen Kieu because we are now celebrating the anniversary of Nguyen Du). In eight words of verse the poet described a hero, a philosophy and, at the same time painted a very beautiful picture.

Richness and beauty are like that. Here I am emphasizing the richness of our language. Our present language has great potential, indeed unlimited potential for describing our way of life and our sentiments, which are becoming ever richer and more beautiful. Our language is rich and it still has a capability for endless change, if we know how to keep it up, use it and expand it.

We could cite many examples. In our language one word can be used to describe many ideas; or, on the other hand, an idea can be described by many words. Thus, if we say that the Vietnamese language has ample capability for expressing our beliefs and feelings in many forms, this is completely correct. We need not fear that our language is lacking; we need only fear lest we do not know how to use our language.

Therefore the most important thing for us here is to have a profound awareness of the richness and beauty of our language, of its endless potential. We must react effectively to maintain the purity of our language, a heritage of our Vietnamese nation, a very effective tool in the ideological and cultural revolution. To speak in general terms, it is also a matter of we Vietnamese being aware of and having a feeling for our own country and our people. Our country is beautiful and our people are good beyond description! To make them even more good and beautiful is the earnest desire of our people! The more this desire fills our minds and our hearts, the better are we able to see the beauty of our land and the goodness of our nation, and the greater is our love for them. On the other hand, in speaking of our language, the most important thing is that we cherish the language of our nation which has its source in the long life of our nation and reflects the thinking and feelings of the Vietnamese people. Each word and each sound has the power to strongly arouse the soul of we Vietnamese. Let us take an example: to protect "không phận" (air space)\* or to protect "vùng trời" (air space)\*; which is more correct, more beautiful, and appeals more to ideas and feelings of we Vietnamese? It is possible to cite scores of similar examples. Is it better to say "hải đăng" (lighthouse) or "đèn biển" (lighthouse), "kiểu lộ" (bridges (and) roads) or "cầu đường" (bridges (and) roads), etc ... or, we can even take the words "trong sáng" as an example. Just these words can even cause us to feel the depth of our language's goodness and beauty. "Trong" means clear with no foreign elements mixed in and no

\* Here and in other parts of this article there will be given two terms with the same meaning. The one listed first has Chinese roots and the one listed second is pure Vietnamese.

muddiness. "Sáng" conveys the sense of bright, shining, dazzling; it is a manifestation of the inner thing and, thanks to this, can reflect the thinking and feeling of we Vietnamese, faithfully and concisely depicting the things we want to say.

Let us go back to the verse in Truyen Kieu:

Long lanh đáy nước in trời...

Why do I repeat this sentence? Because this verse arouses in us something which is significant and very pleasant: youth and nature, art and life; what could be more beautiful? It is possible to make these comparisons if they are made to see the marvelous capability of the arts and letters and music but, at the same time, it is not possible to compare and contrast the arts with life; this is the erroneous concept that has brought some people onto a deadend street, to what they call "art for art's sake", the tendency toward abstraction, etc... Art must reflect life and serve life. If detached from life, art will certainly wither.

It is the same with language; it must reflect life and serve life, daily life, the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the present fight against the Americans to save our country, the political, cultural, literary and artistic life, and the scientific and technical life. Just what does it mean to reflect life? It means that the descriptions of the thoughts and feelings of the speaker and the writer should arouse the thoughts and feelings of the listener and the reader. To achieve this, it is necessary to use the language of the people, the spoken words and the manner of speaking that is most widely used and is the most unaffected. This should be done not only for the great advantage that it is easily understood but also because it can arouse strong feeling in the listener and the reader. Therefore, even greater efforts must be made to oppose more effectively the bad habit of "slang" which Uncle Ho usually criticizes: "to use "slang" is to be ignorant!" This is very true because it is the ignorant who use "slang"!

The bad habit of using "slang" is not only detrimental in the difficulty in understanding it causes the listener and reader, the impurity it introduces into our language, the vagueness and obscurity it causes; but this bad habit also brings about the rather dangerous habit of using abbreviated words, sentences and speech patterns regardless of the situation. This means that meaningless "clichés" are used to replace thinking, ideas and genuine feelings that come from the heart and are described by ordinary language that is unaffected, spontaneous and interesting. In our present everyday life as well as in our political life, the "cliché" sickness must be noted! It could easily spread! It can easily develop into a habit! It can spread to old persons as well as young; there are some

persons who like to speak and write in endless "cliches". Even the youngsters at home and in the schools are picking up the habit of speaking "slang"; instead of saying "đi chơi" (to take a walk), they say "tham quan" (to take a walk); instead of "nói chuyện" (to chat), they say "man đàm" (to chat); and phrases, such as "trao đổi" (exchange), "tồn tại" (existence)... this is something to be very concerned about!

Thus the maintaining of the purity of our language by using it correctly and well can bring many advantages.

Now I will say something about the development of the Vietnamese language and some tendencies and influences that are detrimental to our language.

As we are profoundly conscious of the language of our people, since the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, we have carried out some very significant works that have yielded great results.

One is that we have widely used spoken and written Vietnamese in every area of political, economic, social, cultural, artistic, scientific and technological life.

A second is that, after establishing our country, we completely eradicated illiteracy within a short time. We used Vietnamese as the language of instruction in the schools, even for teaching scientific and technological subjects in the universities. Compared with the situation in many countries similar to ours, this has represented a real feat for our country's language and our awareness.

I have mentioned these things so that we might see, in general, what we have done to widely develop our spoken and written language. Vietnamese has developed into a very good tool of the cultural and ideological revolution. This is the most essential aspect of the situation. At the same time we must see the present tendencies and phenomena which could adversely affect the purity of our language. At present the political and social life of our people is very broad and rich; our people speak, write and read very much. This is good. But because of this it would be very easy - and if we are not careful it will develop - for undesirable tendencies and phenomena to develop. At that time the writers, newspapermen and influential people will be the ones that must set the standard in our written and spoken language, and they have not yet been as effective as they might be. Further, the schools are not yet stressing the teaching of our language to the extent that we have hoped for. Confronted with this situation, what are we to do and who is to do what?

What must be done to preserve the purity of our language and to preserve its richness and beauty, and even beyond this, what can be done to make it even more rich and beautiful? We must take the initiative, be aggressive, react quickly and, at

the same time, we must be steadfast and wage a long-range, firm, well planned and organized struggle.

In this, we must note three factors:

The first is the preservation and expansion of our language's vocabulary (I don't want to use the word "từ vựng" (vocabulary)).

The second is the proper speaking and writing of our language (I want to replace the word "ngữ pháp" (syntax)).

The third is the preservation of the color, body, and richness of our language in every written form (the arts, politics, science, technology ...).

Naturally, the third factor is closely tied to the other two factors but it is much broader and also much more important.

Regarding the Vocabulary - In several meetings many comrades have spoken a great deal of the evil of "slang" and the "importing" of foreign words into our language beyond what is essential. This tendency cannot be overlooked because it could easily result in our language gradually losing its purity and beauty. So an overall study of these tendencies and methods for overcoming them is in order.

Here I will mention but a few examples:

- Let's go back to the evil of "slang" because this is a contagious disease and therefore not easy to cure!

Using foreign words when there is no lack of Vietnamese words, such as saying "xa kích" (to fire a gun) instead of "bắn súng" (to fire a gun) or "cự ly" (distance) instead of "khoảng cách" (distance), etc ...

Using words that do not complete the idea or meaning, such as "tồn tại" (existence) and "trao đổi" (exchange); What "exists"? "Exchange" what? Exchange ideas, exchange viewpoints or exchange goods? Besides, the word "tồn tại" is not very correct and is not learned.

Misusing the words "tiến hành" (to execute, carry on) for "làm" (to do), "sử dụng" (to utilize) for "dùng" (to use), "phát biểu" (to express) for "nói" (to speak). Recently there is a new tendency; as the word "phát biểu" is somewhat long, people are shortening it as in "anh có phát không?"

- The tendency to speak and write in abbreviated forms in incorrect ways, such as: sinh, tâm lý (physiology, psychology); y, bác sĩ (physician doctor); when one should say "sinh lý và tâm lý", etc... There are times when abbreviation is necessary such as: "Việt minh" for "Việt-nam độc lập đồng minh (League of Independence of Vietnam)". But the latter is a completely different case from the former.

As for vocabulary, we are faced with a rather urgent need. We must have new words, especially in the fields of science and technology and in many of the specialist branches that are now developing. Naturally we must have new words, but how shall we get them and who is to be responsible for this work? At present, because we are not paying sufficient attention to this rather important matter, in many branches they are "importing" very many new words, not realizing the trouble this can bring! Ordinary people hear these words without understanding anything.

Regarding Rules for the Vietnamese Language - This is a very important subject. It is important because we need it, our students need it, and foreigners desiring to study Vietnamese need it. I know that at present there are a number of brethren working on a book of rules for the Vietnamese language and this is good. But how are these rules to be set up? I would like some ideas.

To prepare a rulebook for our language, we must first have proper concepts and methods. At what point should we begin in our study and research? Should we begin with our Vietnamese language? Research it, ponder it, study its features, its character, and its most effective points. We must start from this point to research, to perceive and to define the rules and the laws of grammar of our language... there is nowhere else to begin. If you want to research the rules of the language of any country, it is essential that it be done this way. But if you, on the other hand, begin with the rules of another country's language to derive rules for the Vietnamese language, your work will come to naught. This is a very basic concept to the overall task facing us. We resolve our revolutionary policies, our policy of people's warfare, our economic and cultural policies ... indeed, we resolve any problem in our present lives, such as planting rice, building a house, sewing a dress, cooking, etc... all by beginning with the conditions native to our country, from the revolutionary and social practices of our people. This is also the system to employ in studying and researching the rules of our language. That is, we must start with the practicalities of the Vietnamese language.

Regarding the Vietnamese Language, in General; the Speaking and Writing of our Language - This is a very great and difficult subject and I don't have any more to add to those things I mentioned to the comrades in the first part of my speech today.

Our language is rich and beautiful and it will be richer and more beautiful if we know how to preserve it, use it and expand it. We must expend the proper efforts to do a good job.

How are we to preserve it, use it and develop it. These are subjects that need to be considered.

Here we need to distinguish the various types of writing that are best suited to the fields of arts, politics, science and technology.

As for the forms of writing in the field of the arts, we can rely upon our language. We need not fear lest it lack in richness and beauty. On the contrary, we can be certain that it will develop bountifully and in step with the revolutionary work and the abundant way-of-life of our people.

As for the other forms of writing in the fields now developing or just about to develop, we must take note. On the one hand, we must preserve the color and richness of our language and, on the other hand, know how to use our language in the rather new forms of writing, especially in the fields of science and technology, to describe things accurately. In this regard, it is not only necessary to come up with new expressions, but even with a new way of talking. For example, in our language the word "no" is not yet in very widespread use, and this is an obstacle that must be overcome. Let's take another example: Should we say "Maintain the purity of the Vietnamese language" or is it better to say "It is necessary to see that our language is constantly pure"? The former has some points that are rather new when compared to our usual way of speaking, that is, our traditional way of speaking! But it is certain that we must use the new way. This means that our language must undergo new changes. This is very essential, because in our personal lives and feelings these days, especially in the fields of science and technology, there is so much new. Our language must develop. The whole problem is how to assure that this development takes place, in a controlled manner, on the basis of our old language so that our language becomes ever richer but still maintains its character, color and essence. Thus will we preserve the purity of our language.

Now I will say a few things about the division of labor. The first point is the improvement of the dictionary. I think that it is proper that the Literary Institute does this work. The section in charge of linguistics in the Institute is working continuously without requesting anything but this is not enough. We must have a universal dictionary and many other dictionaries, dictionaries of various specialist expressions. How can we discuss with the comrades who have responsibility in the various specialist branches for the problems I have been discussing here and how can we bring new words into our language that are compatible to the Vietnamese ear and easy to understand? First, something that we must do right away is to have the various branches examine the words that have been "imported" into their respective branches and weed out those that are incorrect - as we have stated in our previous analysis -, and seek words in our own language to replace them. I hope that the comrades heading the various branches and others concerned with this problem will give their concerted attention to this matter.

The second point is to study the rules of the Vietnamese language. This work will be similar to that being carried out by the linguistics team at the Literary Institute and the research now being done by various comrades who specialize in linguistics. I think that in studying the rules of the Viet-

name language, we must have the active participation of the authors. The comrades must have proper methods and a reasonable division of effort, and must work with a firm determination while progressing quickly from one point to the next.

The third point is in regard to the manner of speaking and writing the Vietnamese language, in general, and maintaining its purity. This is the primary responsibility of the authors and newspapermen. What must the authors do to make their most positive contributions to the maintaining of the purity of the language? I think that the comrades in the Authors' Association must place great emphasis on this subject and carry out this work with an air of responsibility. If they are editors they must constantly heed their obligations and resolve not to allow bad examples to be set. But I must say to you that there are a number of brethren writers who are still giving insufficient attention to this matter.

The schools have a great responsibility in preserving the purity of the Vietnamese language. Today I am certain that you are very happy to have the presence of Comrades Nguyen Van Huyen and Le Liem. I think that if we are to attack this problem in the most positive and aggressive manner, the main place to strike is in the schools. The young generation must speak and write better than us. We have a good opportunity to prepare to reform our education. The preservation of the purity of the Vietnamese language must be afforded top billing in the task of educational reform. Not only in the field of writing but also in the other fields, we must make the students gradually increase their awareness of the subject and to raise their standards until they are writing and speaking Vietnamese correctly by habit.

Respected Comrades,

Today I have presented to you a number of my ideas on a series of important and rather complex subjects related to the preservation of the purity of our language. Naturally, these ideas do not delve very deeply into these subjects. But this is the initial step in bringing up these subjects so that you who are in charge of the Writers' Association, the Newspaperman's Association, the Literary Institute, the educational branch, etc... can reflect, study, discuss, progress toward the formation of organizations specializing in the main topics of these problems, formulate programs for carrying out this work, and come up with specific methods for resolving each aspect and part of the problems. This is a long-range project that requires perseverance, far-sightedness, broadmindedness, a gradual progressing forward with a full awareness of the responsibility weighing upon each of us, pride in the language of our nation, and the desire and faith that we can do our part in this task that is so important and extremely worthy.

## THE GOLDEN GOAL OF FIVE TONS

Following is a translation of an unsigned article appearing in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pp. 33-34.

Since the Party promulgated the slogan "Attain a Yearly Average of Five Tons of Paddy per Hectare", the localities have striven to increase their rice yields and have attained excellent results.

According to still incomplete data for the provinces in the delta and the midlands, in 1965 there were:

\* 680 cooperatives that attained a yearly average of five tons of paddy per hectare. Of this number 20 cooperatives had a yearly average of from six to 6.75<sup>4</sup> tons of paddy per hectare.

\* 162 villages (xa) attained a yearly average of five tons of paddy per hectare or more.

\* Seven districts (huyen) attained a yearly average of five tons of paddy per hectare or more.

The provinces that had many cooperatives that attained a yearly average of five tons of paddy per hectare were:

- Ha Tay	162 cooperatives
- Ninh Binh	93 cooperatives
- Vinh Phuc	89 cooperatives
- Thai Binh	88 cooperatives
- Ha Noi	85 cooperatives
- Hai Duong	50 cooperatives
- Phu Tho	42 cooperatives
- Thanh Hoa	34 cooperatives



Following are lists of those with a high output or a high rate of increase in output for 1965:

COOPERATIVES WITH A HIGH OUTPUT

NUMBER	COOPERATIVE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	YEARLY OUTPUT PICULS/ HECTARE	FIFTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/ HECTARE	TENTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/ HECTARE
1	Thang Loi	Xuan Thanh	Tho Xuan	Thanh Hoa	67.54	29.00	38.54
2	Dai Xuan	"	"	"	60.80	27.20	33.60
3	Dong Phuong Hong	Tho Hai	"	"	66.00	29.60	36.40
4	Tan Phong	"	Thu Tri	Thai Binh	68.33	33.33	35.00
5	Dai Dong	An Khe	Phu Duc	"	61.00	27.00	34.00
6	An Quy	"	"	"	61.00	27.00	34.00
7	Cau Cong	Cong Hoa	Hung Nhan	"	60.00	30.00	30.00
8	Ha Hoi	Tan Lap	Dan Phuong	Ha Tay	61.38	24.72	36.66
9	Kim Ngoc	"	"	"	60.21	23.66	36.55
10	Bao Long	Vong Xuyen	Phuc Tho	"	58.40	26.40	32.00
11	Viet-Trung Huu Nghi	Tran Phu	Thanh Tri	Hanoi	62.59	26.48	36.11
12	Khuyen Luong	"	"	"	61.48	26.48	35.00
13	Hanoi - Hue - Saigon	"	"	"	60.05	23.45	36.60
14	Tho Khoi	Cu Khoi	Gia Lam	"	60.00	25.00	35.00
15	Khu 5	Tien Bo	Dong Anh	"	59.90	24.90	35.00
16	Nam Tien	Cao Mai	Lam Thao	Phu Tho	65.20	29.40	35.80
17	Xuan Loc	Xuan Duong	Thanh Thuy	"	57.00	26.00	31.00
18	Thon Tuong	Tuan Chinh	Vinh Tuong	Vinh Phuc	65.00	32.00	33.00
19	Xom Thuong	Ngu Kien	"	"	63.77	29.77	34.00
20	Tan An	"	"	"	61.11	25.11	36.00
21	Phu Lap	Tam Phuc	"	"	61.22	28.22	33.00
22	Xom Chua	Ngu Kien	"	"	60.38	28.38	32.00

NUMBER	COOPERATIVE	VILLAGE	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	YEARLY OUTPUT PICULS/HECTARE	FIFTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/HECTARE	TENTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/HECTARE
23	Hiep An	Hiep Hoa	Kinh Mon	Hai Duong	56.94	24.14	32.80
24	Dai Xuan	Ung Hoa	Ninh Giang	"	54.55	24.10	30.45
25	Tien Phong	Tien Phong	Thanh Ha	"	53.82	22.60	31.22
26	Dong Xuan	Khanh Thanh	Yen Khanh	Ninh Binh	58.45	30.65	27.80
27	Tien Hong	Khanh Cong	"	"	56.78	30.78	26.00
28	Viet Noi	Nam Ninh	Nam Truc	Nam Ha	60.00	Nhan	42.43
29	Trai Trang	Hong Bang	Yen My	Hung Yen	58.00	Dan	30.50
30	Vinh Kim	Vinh Kim	Khu Vuc	Vinh Ling	48.84	27.50	26.00
31	Vinh Hao	Duc Vinh	Duc Tho	Ha Tinh	47.00	22.84	17.00
32	Dong Ha	Son Ha	Huong Son	"	47.00	30.00	16.00

DISTRICTS WITH OUTPUT OF FIVE TONS  
OR MORE PER HECTARE IN 1965

NUMBER	DISTRICT	PROVINCE	YEARLY OUTPUT PICULS/HECTARE	FIFTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/HECTARE	TENTH MONTH HARVEST PICULS/HECTARE
1	Dan Phuong	Ha Tay	54.90	22.56	32.34
2	Phuc Tho	Ha Tay	50.77	23.20	27.57
3	Kim Son	Ninh Binh	50.96	26.52	24.44
4	Thanh Tri	Hanoi	51.25	21.81	29.44
5	Quynh Coi	Thai Binh	50.00	22.50	27.50
6	Phu Duc	Thai Binh	50.05	21.70	28.35
7	Yen Lac	Vinh Phuc	50.02	22.70	27.32

## STRENGTHEN THE MOUNTAIN REGION BASE AREA

[Following is a translation of an article by Le Quang Ba in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pages 35-47.]

In our people's present struggle to resist America and save the nation, the South serves as a great front, and the North serves as a great rear area. But every region is also at war, to varying degrees. Therefore, the building up and strengthening of the rear area of the rear area or, in other words, the building up and strengthening of the revolutionary base area of the North (which is also the revolutionary base area of the entire nation), is at present an urgent mission of our entire Party and our entire population.

### The Mountain Region Has the Necessary Conditions to Become a Stable Base Area

The mountain region accounts for about three-fourths of the total area of the North, its terrain is rugged, it borders on China and Laos, it connects our nation with the system of fraternal socialist nations, and it is extremely important strategically. In our people's history of thousands of years of building their country and opposing foreign aggression, the mountain region has played a strategic role, and has been a place "advantageous to attack when we advance, advantageous to defense when we retreat."

In the resistance war of the Tran Dynasty, Sai Ho Pass (Langson) witnessed the overwhelming defeat of tens of thousands of infamously cruel Nguyen troops. The Le Loi uprising began in the Lam Son region (the mountain region of Thanh Hoa), and the

battle which determined the defeat of the invading Ming Dynasty troops took place in the Chi Lang area (Langson). During the period of French dominance, such distinguished patriots as Phan Dinh Phung, Hoang Hoa Tham, Cam Ba Thuoc, Giang Ta Say, etc., also used the mountain region as their base for waging war against the French. Since our Party was founded in 1930 many revolutionary base areas have been established in the mountain region. Viet Bac was the stable base area of the August Revolution, and afterwards it was the sacred base area of the anti-French war of resistance. The historic victory at Dienbienphu that ended the yoke of French domination, restored peace in Indochina, and completely liberated the North, also took place in the Tay Bac mountain region.

After the success of the Chinese Revolution, our country became the southeastern outpost of the socialist bloc, and the position of the mountain region became even more important. It is a corridor which connects our nation with the immense, powerful socialist bloc.

The latent economic capabilities of the mountain region are enormous. With its vast land area, forest products, rich mineral deposits, favorable climate, and plentiful hydroelectric resources, the mountain region is capable not only of developing industrial crops, animal husbandry, forestry, and local industry, but is also capable of stably resolving its food problem. The agricultural cooperativization movement has become increasingly broad and strong; about 80% of all laboring peasant households of various ethnic groups have entered cooperatives (of which about 50% are high-level cooperatives). Food production has increased rapidly with regard to acreage, output, and productivity. Although its population increase has been rapid, the mountain region has eradicated famine and assured its self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, with a yearly per-capita average of about 400 kilograms. Furthermore, the mountain region has done a good job of fulfilling its food obligations toward the State, and has received tens of thousands of lowlanders who have come to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region. Although the regionalization of production has only just begun, there have gradually appeared in the mountain region vast specialized production areas, as well as a network of state farms and state-operated forestry camps. Many local cooperatives and cooperatives of lowlanders who have come to open new lands have also begun to specialize production. The agriculture of the mountain region, formerly a nature-dependent subsistence agriculture, has developed stably and comprehensively, and produces an increasingly large quantity of highly valuable products.

The young industry of the mountain region has also made many notable advances. In addition to the large state-operated enterprises managed directly by the central level, hundreds of

state-operated local enterprises and thousands of cooperativized handicraft enterprises, including such sectors as electricity, machine-building, wood-working, iron-forging, processing, etc., have contributed practically to serving agricultural production and to meeting part of the consumer needs of the peoples of the various ethnic groups. In the period of the first five-year plan alone, tens of thousands of kilometers of roads were built, not counting roads which were improved or repaired. Noteworthy are the roads from the lowlands to the high-lying border regions, which pass through many perilous "sky portals" and which have played a very important role not only in economic development and in improving the lives of the local ethnic groups, but also from the point of view of politics and national defense.

With the great leap forward in the development of production, the cultural life of the ethnic groups has improved greatly as compared to the period of French dominance. Illiteracy has long been eradicated in the lowlands, and is being eliminated in the high-lying regions. Some 50,000 people each year participate in cultural supplementation classes. All villages in the mountain region have a level-I school, every district has a level-II school, every three districts have a level-III school, and some provinces have from five to six level-III schools. The number of popular-school pupils during the 1964-1965 academic year was 20 times greater than that of the 1939-1940 academic year, and the number of students enrolled in high schools or specialized schools has increased rapidly every year. The number of college students from minority ethnic groups is now greater than the total number of students in Indochina during the 1939-1940 academic year. This constitutes a source of scientific and technical cadres and workers to supplement all sectors of State activity.

Events of historic significance in the cultural life of the mountain region ethnic groups are that the Thai written language has been improved and standardized, and that the Tay-Nung and Meo written languages have been created. Like Chinese, these ethnic-group written languages are becoming more and more popularized and are being used more and more in cultural and educational activities and in the daily lives of the ethnic groups.

Our Party's viewpoint is that man is the most decisive element in war, and that a stable base area is a base area with a revolutionary people. In addition to its advantages in terrain, natural resources, natural conditions, etc., the mountain region also has that "human resource." Although their levels of social development differ, all ethnic groups in the mountain region are outstanding, very assiduous ethnic peoples who are creative in productive labor and very courageous and tenacious in combat. For a long time there has been among the minority ethnic groups, and

between them and the majority ethnic group, a tradition of unity and mutual love and affection in the enterprise of building and defending the homeland. That our Fatherland has continued to exist and to become as strong as it is today is due principally to the immeasurable sacrifice of the ethnic groups in our country, from South to North. During the 80 years of French dominance, the struggle movement against the colonialists and their feudal lackeys was never interrupted in the nation as a whole, or in the mountain region specifically.

After the August Revolution, that tradition of unity in combat and production was developed to a high degree. The revolution liberated the minority ethnic groups from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism, and completely changed their destiny and lives. The minority ethnic peoples, formerly the most heavily suppressed and exploited peoples, became the collective masters of their nation, and equal members of the great family of the Vietnamese Fatherland. That is the reason why the minority group ethnic peoples have absolute confidence in the Party, the Government, and Chairman Ho, and steadfastly unite behind the revolution. Under the leadership of the Party, the prejudices and animosities among the ethnic groups, which were deliberately created by the ruling clique in order to maintain their own selfish interests, have been essentially eliminated; the unity between the mountain region and the lowlands, the unity between the minority ethnic groups and the majority group, and the unity among the minority ethnic groups, are now stronger than ever. In the course of many great campaigns, especially the campaign to create two autonomous ethnic regions (Tay Bac and Viet Bac) and the campaign to co-operativize agriculture and complete the democratic reform, political bases were built extensively in the mountain region, and they have become increasingly stronger. Nearly all villages in the mountain region have Party branches, and the ranks of ethnic-group cadres grow larger and larger, forming stable bridges between the Party's Central Committee and the ethnic-group masses.

During the past several years the campaign for lowlanders to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region has provided the mountain region with additional tens of thousands of people, who have not only assisted it to develop economically and culturally, but who have served to strengthen the mountain region politically and defensively. Because of this campaign, the lowlanders and the mountain peoples have become closer and more united, in order to advance together.

The American imperialists have had their eyes on the mountain region of our nation for a long time. At the end of 1953 the White House and the Pentagon urged the French bandits to establish the Dienbienphu bases in order to annihilate our main-force troops; and when they saw that the French were about to be defeated they

increased their assistance, in hopes that the French could prolong and expand their war of aggression in Indochina. Before they withdrew from the North, the French and Americans on the one hand seduced and coerced thousands of minority ethnic group youths into following them and forming armed units or training at training centers for guerrillas and spies, while, on the other hand, not forgetting to leave their lackeys thousands of tons of weapons and ammunition, and creating brigandage in the mountain region. After they ousted the French, the American imperialists and their puppet regime in the South flung many guerrilla and espionage groups into the mountain region of the North, in order to establish contact with the local reactionaries and plot to create disturbances in the mountain region. When the American imperialists began their war of destruction against the North, many areas in the mountain region became targets of the American pilots. Although the enemy is extremely reckless and evil, all of their efforts have been heavily defeated, for they have butted their heads against a firm plot of ground that has received the all-out concern of the Party, the Government, and the ethnic peoples. During the past year hundreds of modern American jets have been shot down, and many American pilots have either paid for their crimes or have been captured alive in nearly all places in the mountain region that they have approached.

It is clear that the mountain region of our nation is fully capable of becoming a stable base area of the Vietnamese revolution.

Grasp the Viewpoints of Comprehensiveness,  
Permanence, and Revolution in Building a  
Base Area in the Mountain Region

It is not true that only with the appearance of the new situation of the revolution -- the situation of the entire nation being at war -- did the Party and Government take up the matter of continuing the building of a base area in the mountain region. During the past several years, many documents of the Party and Government have brought forth the mission of building and strengthening the mountain region in all ways. The resolution of the Political Bureau of September 1954 reminded the Party branches that "The work in the minority group areas, and especially in our base areas, must be strengthened." During a meeting of the Government Council (in 1955), Chairman Ho stresses that "The mountain region plays an extremely important role in all ways. During the Resistance, we relied on the mountain region; now, in peacetime, we must build a strong mountain region....Only by strengthening the mountain region can we strengthen the lowlands." The resolutions of the 12th and 14th Conferences of the Party's Central Committee (second session) also pointed out that "In the North of our nation, the mountain region is vast, and plays an important role politically, economically, and defensively...We

must pay special attention to the building and strengthening of the mountain region, strengthen the work of campaigning among the minority groups, expand the economy in all ways, and have appropriate methods for training cadres, increasing the population, and eradicating local bandits." The Third Party Congress (1960) brought out clearly the mission of enabling the mountain region to keep up with the lowlands, and enabling the minority groups to keep up with the majority group, in order to achieve real equality among the ethnic groups. It also stated that the struggle goals during 10 or 15 years of building up the mountain region revolve around the following point: "Cause the mountain region to become well-off economically, stable politically, and strong defensively." (1)

In carrying out the instructions and resolutions of the Party and the Government, the various sectors have, during the recent period, paid attention to economic and cultural development, to the strengthening of political bases, and to the preservation of security, in the mountain region. We have attained a number of important results, and have gained a great deal of experience, in building up the mountain region base area. Although the present struggle to resist America and save the nation has new requirements which are higher than those of the previous war of resistance against the French, the general viewpoints, directions, and missions of building up the mountain region base area are essentially unchanged; the only differences are a number of specific missions, and various forms and leadership methods for achieving them. The new situation and missions of the revolution, however, demand that we concentrate our forces, make good use of our time, and do a better job of building up the mountain region base area, in order not only to cope with the war of destruction, but also to be prepared, along with the other regions throughout the nation, to defeat any kind of aggressive war waged by the American imperialists.

The North is the great rear area of the entire nation. In addition to its mission of resisting the war of destruction of the American imperialists, the North must also continue the great work of building socialism, while positively supporting the South. The building up of the mountain region base area must, of course, be based upon, and contribute to the good achievement of, those two missions. Reviewing the documents of the Party and State, and the teachings of Chairman Ho, we see clearly that in building up the mountain region base area we must grasp very firmly the viewpoints of totality, comprehensiveness, permanence, and revolution.

The North is divided into three regions: the lowlands, the midlands, and the mountain region. Each region has its importance and its special capabilities; the three regions are closely bound together, and supplement one another. Furthermore,

the North and the South together form the common Fatherland of the Vietnamese people. The mountain region is a part of the North and of the entire nation. Everything done in the mountain region exerts an influence on both the North and the nation as a whole; and, on the contrary, every activity in the other regions affects the mountain region. Therefore, the plan for building up the mountain region base area must not be restricted to the mountain region, but must lie within the common plan of the entire North, and must take into account the general plan for national construction after the homeland is unified. Only with such a plan to build up the mountain region can we develop and make full use of all latent resources of manpower and wealth of the mountain region, enable all activities in the mountain region to mesh with the activities of the other regions, and develop the cooperation and mutual assistance between the mountain region and the other regions of the nation. The building up of the mountain region, of course, cannot be done uniformly, but must concentrate on the central areas of the base areas. And in each locality we must give priority in manpower and materiel to the most important areas. Each province and district must have its priorities, but all localities in the mountain region must carry out construction in accordance with a unified plan, in order to transform the mountain region into a common base area, a unified bloc the parts of which can coordinate in fighting, and supplement and assist one another.

The American imperialists are attacking us in many ways, and by many means. The building up of the mountain region base area must, so that it can, along with the people of the entire nation, be prepared to smash all of the American imperialists' aggressive plots and tricks, be based on the viewpoint of comprehensiveness, which means that it must regard all aspects -- political, economic, military, and cultural -- as being important, but must regard the elements of politics and the people as the most important elements. If the people have a high degree of political consciousness, unite closely, and resolutely struggle for the Party's revolutionary line, the economic, military, and cultural aspects will also be promoted. And the strengthening of those elements will, of course, exert a good reverse influence on the political element; and specifically, economic and defense strengthening will create material bases for the political strength of the people.

The mountain region is, in turn, divided into many areas: the low-lying area, the middle area, and the high-lying area. In the low-lying area are many large and small fields; it is the "rice granary" of the mountain region, its population is relatively concentrated, its communications are relatively good, and it has begun to have material and technical bases for socialism. The middle area and the high-lying area account for about three-fourths

of the area of the mountain region; their population is sparse, their communications are difficult, and there are few material and technical bases. Although these two areas produce little rice, they have many capabilities for developing animal husbandry, non-rice food crops, industrial crops, and many varieties of specialized tropical agricultural products. And these two areas play an extremely important role militarily. The economic and cultural lives of the mountain peoples also vary greatly; generally speaking, the living standards of peoples in the middle and high-lying areas is still lower than those of other ethnic groups. Therefore, to base ourselves on the viewpoint of comprehensiveness when building up the mountain region is to pay full attention to the various areas and ethnic groups, in order to enable each area and ethnic group to develop its good points, overcome its shortcomings, and contribute as much as possible to the enterprise of building and defending the Fatherland.

The building up of the mountain region requires that we cleverly unite the immediate benefit of the revolution with its long-range benefit. We are building up the mountain region base area principally in order to serve the present mission of resisting America and saving the nation, while struggling to create conditions for the people of the mountain region to join the people of the lowlands in advancing to socialism. These two missions can never be contradictory. All major policies and stands applied in the mountain region, such as the building of political, economic, and cultural bases in the ethnic group areas, investment in production sectors and the accumulation of capital for the State, the improvement of the lives of the people, assisting the ethnic groups to develop rapidly, etc., must thoroughly manifest this viewpoint.

Another indispensable element of the work of leading the building up of the mountain region base area is the building of correct ways of thinking with regard to the revolutionary capabilities of the ethnic groups. We must correctly evaluate the difficulties and shortcomings of the mountain region, but we must also see its advantages and good points, so that we can be determined to advance strongly. The latent capabilities of the mountain region are great, but because we have not recognized all those capabilities we have not positively led the acceleration of the rate of development of the mountain region. We must be on guard against subjectivism and adventurism, but that does not mean that we should hesitate before temporary difficulties or lack confidence in the strength of the masses. Our nation's ethnic peoples have a glorious tradition of unity and struggle, have absolute confidence in the Party's leadership, and are closely bound to the new system. Those are basic advantages with which we can mobilize the masses, develop their patriotism and their awareness of self-strengthening, develop the spirit of mutual assistance



among the ethnic groups, endeavor to achieve economic and cultural development, create armed forces, and assure order and security, in order to contribute more and more to meeting the great needs of the enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism. The events of the past year have proved clearly that the people of the mountain region are very patriotic; in the face of the immense crimes committed by the American bandits against the two parts of our nation, the peoples of the mountain region are vengeful, and are determined to defeat the American aggressors. The revolutionary ideology and policies of the Party have penetrated the ethnic-group peoples, and even in areas where the revolutionary movement was formerly not strong, the masses have made many accomplishments in production and combat.

Although their airplanes attack night and day, the American bandits have not been able to weaken the desire to produce and fight of the ethnic groups in the mountain region. The production seasons of the past year were carried out rapidly and achieved good results. Obligations toward the State were also fulfilled better than during previous years. In many ethnic groups living in low-lying areas and high-lying areas, the number of people registering to fulfill their military obligation and to become youth assault unit members has surpassed the quota. In many families with only one son, the parents have urged their child to join the army, or directly suggested to the responsible organs that their son be admitted into the armed forces so that he could have an opportunity to fight America and save the nation. Many recently formed militia units with primitive weapons have heroically used rifles to shoot down American jets, have captured many American pilots, etc. The ethnic group peoples are very rich in determination and revolutionary capability. If we have correct awareness and appropriate leadership methods, we are certain to develop to a high degree the revolutionary traditions and great capabilities of the masses, in order to transform the mountain region into a stable revolutionary base area.

Positively Transform the Mountain Region  
Base Area into an Area Well-Off Economically,  
Stable Politically, and Strong Defensively

The stand of continuing to transform the mountain region into an area "well-off economically, stable politically, and strong defensively" is entirely appropriate to the contents and missions of the work of mobilizing the mountain region ethnic groups, as brought forth by the Third Party Congress. In other words, this is a specific struggle goal intended to advance to "enabling the mountain region to keep up with the lowlands, and the minority ethnic groups to keep up with the majority group" under the conditions of our nation being at war.

The mountain region must be transformed into a region well-off economically, so that the productive forces can constantly develop and the socialist production relationships can be constantly strengthened and perfected. The direction and mission of economic construction and development during the next two or three years will be to accelerate the rate of agricultural, industrial, and forestry development, and on that basis to strengthen the latent economic and defense capabilities, develop industrial production, and improve the living standards of the ethnic group peoples, in order to meet the urgent needs of the present struggle to resist America and save the nation and create conditions for, after the restoration of peace, having a basis for stronger economic and cultural construction and development in the mountain region.

In the immediate future we must pay special attention to food production, while endeavoring to develop animal husbandry, industrial crops, and forestry, sectors which the mountain region is more capable of developing than any other region, and which are very essential for socialist industrialization. The requirement as regards food production is to meet the food needs of the local people, of the troops, and of the lowlanders who have gone to participate in building up the mountain region. From the long-range point of view, food production in the mountain region (especially in the middle and high-lying regions) is not the principal direction of enrichment. Under wartime conditions, however, food production in the mountain regions is extremely important. The mountain region must go all out to become self-sufficient in foodstuffs, not only as regards the local people, but also as regards the people from other areas, and not only to assure enough to eat, but also to have reserves. The low-lying region has already become self-sufficient in foodstuffs, and the middle and high-lying regions must also positively struggle to achieve the best possible results in food production. To speak of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is to speak of whole provinces and districts, or at least relatively large areas, and not just villages, hamlets, or cooperatives, so there must be a harmonization of food supplies within each region. The principal direction for resolving the food problem is to do a good job of the methods of increasing harvests, achieving intensive cultivation, and increasing the ratio of land use, not only as regards rice, corn, potatoes, and manioc, but also as regards other varieties of food crops. The acreage devoted to food crops must also be expanded. As regards terraced rice paddies, they should be expanded only wherever it is convenient and necessary to do so; places where this is too difficult should employ other methods with higher economic efficiency.

If we are to promote agricultural production in the mountain region correctly and positively, we must promote studies and investigations, and regionalize production in a manner appropriate to the conditions of each locality. We must closely unite cultivation, animal husbandry, and forestry, so that they can assist and stimulate one another and cause agriculture to develop comprehensively, strongly, and in balance; and we must boldly invest capital in building the necessary material and technical bases for agriculture.

In addition to developing the production forces, we must pay attention to strengthening and perfecting the new production relationships in the mountain region. Within the next two years we must complete the campaign to improve technology and cooperative management in the low-lying region, in accordance with the requirements brought forth by the Party's Central Committee.

At present, only about 40% of the households in the middle and high-lying regions participate in cooperatives. In some areas, there are rather large populations but very little cultivable land. In some areas, the places of production and the places where the people live are distant from each other, or the people live in one place and the fields are in another place, so that the people waste a lot of time in travelling. Furthermore, about 30,000 households have no fixed habitat or land. The situations of changing habitat and land, of lack of cultivable land, and of places of production being distant from places where people live, are creating difficulties for the building and strengthening of collective work organizations, and have therefore exerted a great influence on the development of production and the improvement of the living standards of the people. Therefore, the campaign to cooperativize agriculture in these areas must be closely united with the campaign to have fixed habitation and land usage, and to redistribute land and labor in a manner appropriate to the conditions of production. We must, on the basis of continuing to study the delineation of land, confirm the production directions, distribute labor rationally, and carefully calculate the labor capabilities of each ethnic group. As regards a number of cooperatives which have been formed in the midlands and the high-lying region, we must, on the one hand, strengthen them so that they can serve as examples for other places, while, on the other hand, gaining experience about transitional forms of organization (production teams, production brigades, cooperative teams, work-exchange teams, etc.), so that we can utilize them in a manner appropriate to the conditions of each region and the level of each ethnic group. We must send cadres to each hamlet in order to activate the masses ideologically, strengthen the Party's bases, and create and strengthen "backbone" elements, while investigating policies to serve the campaign to have fixed habitation and cultivation, to change places of habitation and

cultivation, and to achieve cooperativization, in the middle and high-lying regions (the food, purchasing, taxation, and production capital policies, etc.).

Industrial production plays an especially important role in building up the mountain region economically. The direction of industrial production in the mountain region is to be of strong service to agriculture and supply a number of consumer goods needed by the local people and for export, while joining the central-level industrial sectors in positively preparing forces so that, after the war ends, there can be a basis for strong development. During the next two or three years we must, while uniting with the building of more irrigation projects, pay attention to developing small and medium hydroelectric stations, in order to expand the irrigated acreage in the low-lying area as much as possible, and make full use of our capabilities with regard to electricity, in order to develop bases for husking rice and processing non-rice food crops, agricultural products, and forestry products, while developing bases for producing machines, construction materials, coal, fertilizer, etc. In addition to large central-level enterprises, the mountain region will in the future have many medium-sized and small industrial bases, from the provincial and district level down to the village and cooperative level. We must, therefore, urgently train cadres and technical workers for those industrial bases.

In order to serve the plan for agricultural and industrial development, and in order to strengthen national defense, the communications and transportation sector must keep one step ahead. In addition to building strategic routes, we must expand the building of roads which connect villages, districts, and provinces, and we must develop transportation facilities, in order to promote communications among the various regions.

The rate of economic development in the mountain region depends in part on the cultural, scientific, and technical levels of the ethnic group cadres and people. Therefore, we must urgently complete the work of eradicating illiteracy in the high-lying region, promote the work of cultural supplementation, expand the network of popular education, and strengthen the cultural work and the dissemination of science and technology, while positively but cautiously campaigning for the ethnic-group people to achieve a new way of life and voluntarily eradicate superstition and eliminate customs and conventions which are harmful to production, unity, and the lives of the people. In addition to the schools for children, there are now ethnic-group youth schools and concentrated culture schools in the high-lying region, and more will be built; we must prepare to open a number of branch colleges in the mountain region, so that we can rapidly train scientific and technical cadres for the mountain region.

The all-round development of the mountain region cannot be separated from the contributions of the people of the entire nation. No matter what the situation, we must continue to promote the campaign to have lowlanders go to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region.

The mountain region must also be made stable politically. This is a decisive matter. We must inculcate in the ethnic group peoples love for their country, love for socialism, vengeance toward the enemy, revolutionary vigilance, an awareness of self-strengthening, and absolute confidence in the leadership of the Party, the Government, and Chairman Ho. On that basis, we must heighten everyone's sense of responsibility, cause the ethnic peoples of the mountain region to achieve well the stands and policies of the Party and Government, and endeavor to produce, fight the Americans, and save the nation. We must further strengthen ethnic-group unity, which includes unity within each ethnic group, unity among the minority ethnic groups, unity between the minority ethnic groups and the majority group, and unity between the organs, enterprises, and army units in the mountain region and the local people. We must pay attention to resolving the remaining problems, and the conflicts and difficulties which have arisen in the relationships among the various ethnic groups. According to the experiences of a number of provinces (Ha Bac, Vinh Phuc, etc.), a very effective way to teach the policy of ethnic group unity is to do a good job of recapitulating the revolutionary campaigns in each ethnic area, then use that information as the content for holding cadre conferences in order to determine the directions of developing the good points and overcoming the deficiencies, and in order to mobilize everyone to advance positively. The lowlands must also arrange for cadres and Party members to study the Party's ethnic group policies, especially in political schools, middle-level cultural schools, colleges, and areas with people who will go to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region. In the front work we must, in addition to strengthening unity among the ethnic-group working people, pay attention to the campaign to win over upper-class people who have relationships with the masses. Good performance of this work would not only serve to strengthen the political and spiritual unity of the people of the North, but would also influence the revolutionary struggle movement of the ethnic groups in the South. In addition to strengthening and developing the existing mass organizations in the mountain region, such as the Labor Youth League and the Women's Union, in order to promote the "three readys" and "three responsibilities" movements, we must restore the Elders' Associations, in order to assemble the old people, who are usually respected and can serve to stimulate the youths in their villages. The old people can also contribute to the production and combat missions, according to their ability. The Elders' Associations also have the mission of assembling,

educating, and winning over local members of the upper class.

There are still many villages in the mountain region which are too large, or which are divided according to ethnic group composition. We must study ways of dividing the villages into smaller parts, principally on the basis of geography, in order to facilitate the leadership of the various echelons and the work of the cadres. Under wartime conditions, the political administrations in the autonomous zones must be strengthened even further, in order to help the Government to give timelier leadership to the work.

The strengthening of the Party's leadership is a matter of decisive importance as regards the revolutionary movement in the mountain region. We must urgently create Party organizations in villages which do not yet have Party cells, and in hamlets and cooperatives which do not yet have Party members, and eventually enable each cooperative to have a cell, or at least a Party leadership team. In areas in which there have been many complicated problems, we must study and utilize standards for admitting Party members which are appropriate to the local situation. The Party bases in places are still weak, so the district committee must send work units (or teams) to assist them in building and strengthening cells. In the movement to build "four goods" cells, we must go all out to enable each Party committee to have a standing committee, and for each branch to have a secretary and vice-secretary who are truly leadership "backbones" in the locality. The contents and methods of educating Party members must be determined in close accordance with the level of Party members in each ethnic group area.

The army of ethnic-group cadres is becoming larger and more experienced every day, but it has not met the needs of the new mission. We must, therefore, positively train and strengthen ethnic group cadres, while increasing the number of cadres brought in from other places, in accordance with the principle of the mountain region being different from the lowlands, and the high-lying region being different from the low-lying region, because because the populations in the former places are dispersed, because communications there are difficult, and because working conditions there are more complicated. We must enter deeply into each region and each ethnic group and, on the basis of the needs of the revolutionary missions in each area, determine the directions and plans for training cadres. In addition to the concentrated classes, the permanent on-the-job training of certain cadres is also very important. We must transform the supervision of ethnic-group cadres into a comprehensive system; each sector and echelon must have a distribution of labor among its leadership cadres, in order to achieve this system. In addition to training and strengthening minority group cadres, we must not fail to regard lightly the training, strengthening, and promotion of lowland

cadres who are working in the mountain region.

Under the conditions of our nation being aggressed upon by the enemy, the mountain region must be built up strongly with regard to national defense. The above-mentioned economic and political directions and missions are intended to be of direct service to the need to strengthen the mountain region defensively. To fulfill that mission well is to transform the mountain region into a defensively strong position. We must, furthermore, pay attention to the following principal tasks.

We must endeavor to strengthen and develop the local people's armed forces, including the militia, the self-defense troops, the local troops, and the main-force troops. Since the American bandits recklessly began their war of destruction against the North, the movement for mountain region youths to volunteer for military service and to participate in the Youth Shock Troop units to resist America and save the nation has risen to great heights, and the local military enlistment quotas are usually exceeded. In some ethnic group areas, the youths were formerly very much afraid to leave their families, but now they enthusiastically enlist or go anywhere they are needed by the Fatherland. We must pay attention to developing those new elements. The distribution and utilization of cadres must, of course, be done rationally. As regards the minority ethnic group youths who are not accustomed to leaving home, we must rely on the local army units and youth assault troop units, or on places relatively close to the youths' homes. In ethnic group areas in which there are few military cadres, we must select outstanding youths from the ethnic groups and positively transform them into military cadres, in order to facilitate the work of leading the fighting and the building up of local armed forces, in a manner appropriate to the living and fighting conditions of each ethnic group area.

We must strengthen the security work in the mountain region. We must solemnly carry out the resolutions and instructions of the Party's Central Committee regarding the strengthening of the security work, and we must pay special attention to the strategic areas, the areas in which there are problems which have not been well resolved, and areas which the enemy can invade by sea, by land, or by air. The security preservation work must be participated in by the broad masses, and must include counter-espionage work, the maintaining of security, opposition to the enemy's psychological warfare, etc. We must inaugurate an extensive campaign to maintain security among the ethnic groups, and unite it with the professional work of the responsible organs. In the immediate future, we must carry out selective studies of the execution of ethnic group policies, taxation policies, purchasing policies, religious policies, etc. The enemy often takes advantage of the deficiencies of our cadres in the carrying out of the

above-mentioned policies, in order to deceive the masses.

We must do a good job of organizing people's air defense. The people's air defense work includes two aspects: resolutely fighting the enemy and positively reducing the damage caused by their attacks. If we are concerned only with fighting the enemy, but regard protective measures lightly, the annihilation of the enemy will be adversely affected, and we will be unable to assure the lives and property of the people. The conditions for air defense are more favorable in the mountain region than in the lowlands because the people there are dispersed, the terrain is favorable for organizing precautionary means and defending targets, etc. Even so, we must overcome subjective underevaluation of the enemy, especially in distant, remote places. We must prepare sufficient shelters for the people, while constantly strengthening the people's air defense forces, in order to reduce to a minimum damage inflicted by the enemy.

In addition to the many great victories of our compatriots in the South, the soldiers and people of the ethnic groups in the North have struck, and are striking, well-deserved blows against the aggressive American imperialists. The American imperialists, however, have not yet admitted defeat, but have come up with even more insane and dangerous plots. The North, the great rear area of the national revolution, must be strongly defended and strengthened, and the mountain region must be transformed into a stable rear area base, so that we can cope with any kind of aggressive war waged by the American imperialists.

The building of a mountain region base area under wartime conditions is a difficult and complicated task, but as compared to the anti-French resistance and to the present resistance against the American imperialists and their lackeys of the ethnic groups in the South, there are many advantages. In the course of more than 10 years of peaceful construction, the economic and cultural lives of the peoples of the mountain region have been greatly improved, socialist production relationships have been established, ethnic group unity is now stronger than ever, the leadership forces have been strengthened, and the ethnic peoples have absolute confidence in the wise leadership of the Party, the Government, and Chairman Ho, and are resolved to fight and defeat the aggressive American imperialists in order to defend the results of their revolution. The mountain region has had the glorious tradition of being the sacred base area of the August Revolution and of the anti-French resistance, and has recently gained experience in resisting America and saving the nation. If we firmly grasp the lines, stands, and policies of the Party and Government, concentrate our forces, make good use of our time in carrying out the new missions, endeavor to educate the people ideologically, cause the ethnic peoples to have more confidence

in the leadership of the Party, the Government, and Chairman Ho, cause them to unite as one, produce positively, be prepared to fight, and fight heroically; and if we have methods which are appropriate to the special characteristics of each area and each ethnic people, and achieve well the missions brought forth by the Party's Central Executive Committee, it is certain that we can build a stable mountain region base area and contribute to defeating the aggressive American imperialists, defending the North, liberating the South, and advancing to the liberation of the Fatherland.

(1) Politburo Resolution No. 71, 1963.

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## YOUTH ASSAULT TROOP UNITS

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Van De in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pages 48-54.]

After the inauguration of the "three readys" movement, our Party took the stand of forming centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault troop units and bases, in order to meet the ardent aspirations of our youths, who want the Party and the Labor Youth League to assign them specific and difficult missions, so that they can steel themselves and contribute to the enterprise of building and defending the North, liberating the South, and unifying the homeland. The centralized "resist America and save the nation" assault units are intended to serve national defense and communications and transportation. The enlistment campaign gained tens of thousands of unit members. The number of youths volunteering to join youth assault troop units was three times--and in some places ten times--greater than the quota. Noteworthy is the fact that not only Party members, League members, and youths from basic elements, but also youths from other classes, have participated enthusiastically. Each person who joins a unit has his own thoughts and sentiments; generally speaking, however, all have clear goals and ideals. Therefore, they have overcome difficulties, and have been tested from the very first in production, combat, and study. Many youths who had never been far from home have gone on military operations lasting nine or ten days. Many youths who had never seen a jet airplane are now heroically braving the enemy's bombs and shells to repair bridges and ferry landings, destroy delayed-action bombs, and assure communications and transportation. Many youths who had never used saws or chisels have gone into the jungle to cut down bamboo plants and trees in order to build hundreds of billets, etc.

The new, collective lives of the youth assault troops are, generally speaking, full of a spirit of enthusiastic advance, revolutionary optimism, and a seething spirit of resisting America and saving the nation. During the initial period, labor productivity, because work facilities were lacking and organization was not yet stable, attained only 40% or 50%; but during the past two months, all units have achieved more than 80% of their plans. In some units the masses have promoted the improvement of implements, and so were able to surpass their plans. The centralized youth assault unit of Langson has built 9,193 improved carts, completely liberated the people's shoulders, and increased average labor productivity by 108%. During the first month Unit 25 of Nghe An was on the job it attained only 24% of its plan, but then it improved its implements and increased its average productivity to 111%; another unit achieved 140%. There were also examples of high labor productivity in many other localities and units. There has been a competitive movement to improve implements, and much good experience in organization and management has been gained. As regards their everyday lives and study, although they still encounter difficulties, many units have positively increased production in order to improve living standards; the health of unit members has, therefore, clearly improved (each member has gained from one to five kilograms). The cultural supplementation movement is seething (nearly all units have begun cultural classes ranging from the second grade to the seventh grade). The mass culture movement and the sports movement have developed, and the civilian porter and counter-espionage work, and the forging of a militarized way of life, have received attention.

It may be affirmed that the "resist America and save the nation" youth assault troop units, which have been in existence only a short time, have begun to attain good results. As regards productive labor, although many units have not met the increasingly great needs of combat and production, labor productivity has gradually increased. As regards political and ideological education, nearly all units have been very successful in creating among its members determination to fulfill their missions, a spirit of tenacious heroism, a spirit of creativity, and an awareness of self-reliance. The more our people's fighting and production advance, the more strongly will the "resist America and save the nation" youth assault troop units develop their assault role, the more mature the unit members will become in all ways, and the more they will contribute to the revolution.

## The Nature and Mission of The Centralized Youth Assault Troop Units

Our Party has determined that youths are a very enthusiastic assault force; they have a seething revolutionary spirit and are always flexible when faced with new things. In addition to those basic good points, youths also have such weakpoints of youth as lack of experience in actual struggle, etc. The Party, therefore, pays much attention to the organization, unification, and education of youths, and brings them into actual revolutionary struggle in order to develop their good points and overcome their deficiencies, thus steeling them into assault units of the revolution.

Today, our Party must not only mobilize four million youths in the North to go all out to fight and defeat the aggressive American bandits, but must also have a strong army of youths who are brave and willing to sacrifice, and who are prepared to undertake the most difficult and urgent missions of the present struggle to resist America and save the nation, and of the future mission of building up our nation. Having learned from the organization of the youth assault units (during the anti-French resistance), of the youth storm-fighting and flood-fighting units, and of the youth assault units which went to participate in the economic and cultural construction of the mountain region (during the recent years of peaceful construction), etc., the Party and Government have taken the stand of entrusting to the Labor Youth League the principal responsibility in the formation and leadership of centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units.

When forming units we must not only encourage youths to come forth with innovations to improve technology and management, in order to constantly increase labor technology and meet the urgent needs of the struggle to resist America and save the nation; we must also educate and strengthen the youths, and transform them into a class of people with political consciousness, with good thoughts and virtues, with cultural, technical, and managerial knowledge, with good health and healthy habits, and with ability to undertake great, difficult missions in the great work of building socialism and communism.

The centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault unit is a special labor organization with the following three characteristics:

First of all, it is a labor assault organization of youths. A unit is composed of young men and women who have volunteered to undertake difficult, urgent missions of the struggle to resist America, save the nation, and build socialism. We must bring out the assault nature of the units in order to continue to teach youths the tradition of heroic assault,

develop their initiative and creativity, and encourage them to heighten their awareness of self-reliance, resolutely struggle to overcome all difficulties, and fulfill all missions under all conditions. To stress the assault nature of the units does not mean that we should separate them from the youth movement; on the contrary, that assault role can be developed only on the basis of promoting the general movement. Therefore, the "resist America and save the nation" centralized youth assault units have close relationships with the local youth assault units and the general youth movement. The local "resist America and save the nation" youth assault unit is the most appropriate organizational form, and serves to unite all classes of youths (from 16 to 30) and to educate them about, and persuade them to take the lead in carrying out, all stands and policies of the Party and the Labor Youth League at the base level. The centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault unit is a more tightly organized form, and is composed of youths who have volunteered to undertake the most difficult tasks and to serve as the "spearhead" of the youth movement. In all aspects of production, combat, study, and other work, the units must struggle to fulfill the state plan and to gain experience, in order to become advanced units and serve to promote the general youth movement.

The units are mass labor organizations of youth, and are not organizations of the Government. Therefore, the units' leadership methods must be truly democratic and collective, must rely on the masses, and must develop the initiative and creativity of the masses. In order for the units' organization to be stable and their actions united, they must have tight discipline, have unified internal regulations, and have a democratic command system. The units are both mass and military in nature. That is the second characteristic of the units. Their mass and military natures must not be contradictory, but must be united, for only thereby can all tasks be carried out well. Actuality has shown clearly that if their organization is loose the units cannot develop their assault role, and that if they rely on commandism the enthusiasm and voluntariness of the masses are restricted. Stressing the military nature as regards organization is also necessary if we are to help the very large number of unit members from the countryside, and from middle classes influenced by the former system of individual production, to overcome their tendency toward freedom of action and become highly disciplined people with urgent working methods which are both appropriate to the immediate productive labor missions and to other missions, should they transfer to the army or to state enterprises.

The third nature of the units is that they are practical schools for educating and training youths. Therefore, the units must pay attention to education even in the actualities of production and combat--political, ideological, cultural, scientific, and technical education; education about the units' nature, missions, and income policy; education which

is carried out through artistic and cultural activities, sports, the building of a new, militarized way of life, etc.

On the basis of those three characteristics, the centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units have three principal missions: to produce well; to make good preparations to fight and to fight well; and to study, train, and build a collective way of life. All three missions must receive equal attention. At times the units may have to temporarily stop their other work in order to fulfill urgent tasks, but afterwards the units must resolutely organize study for the unit members. Our youths have both the immediate mission of resisting America and saving the nation, and the future mission of building socialism. We must not ask much of them without paying attention to educating and strengthening them comprehensively.

According to Party and Government regulations, the term of enlistment for a centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault unit member is three years. Everyone, from unit commanders to unit members, receive the same allowances. The carrying out of this allowance system regarding youth assault units is very good, for it assures both that the youths will have "full stomachs and warm clothing" and improved health, and that they are educated with regard to the spirit of communist labor and the spirit of unconditional service, while helping them rid themselves of such individualistic ways as confusion about one's trade, jealousy, carelessness, making fraudulent work-point claims in order to receive higher wages, etc., which are the ways of youths who have just begun a trade. Under wartime conditions, the application of the allowance system in the centralized youth assault units encounters certain difficulties with regard to organization and the supply capabilities of the State. Therefore, the responsible organs must make great efforts to assure that the allowance system is carried out in accordance with the predetermined systems, policies, and standards. Furthermore, we must strengthen the youth's education and heighten their spirit of self-reliance, their readiness to forbear every deprivation, and their determination to fulfill all missions under any conditions.

The "resist America and save the nation" centralized youth assault units were established in the new situation, so they are in many ways different from those of the past. Compared to the youth assault units of the anti-French resistance, the centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units are larger, have a larger sphere of operation, and include many more sectors; furthermore, the units are not formed into a parallel system which unites the Party, the Labor Youth League, and the units, from the central level to the base level, as was the case in the past, but are attached to State economic bases. A unit operating in a locality comes under the united leadership of the Party, the League, and the production guidance of specialized organs in the locality. This principle assures the principle of enterprise and factory management and

delineates the responsibility of the management sector towards the youth assault units, while reminding the youths that they have the responsibility of constantly increasing labor productivity by entering into economic management, fully achieving the economic accounting missions and systems, and struggling to achieve and surpass the quotas set by the State.

In order to heighten the assault role of the units and strengthen the education and develop the initiative and creativity of the unit members, the Party has also entrusted the Labor Youth League with the principal responsibility for forming and leading centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units. We must stress this matter and be on guard against the tendencies to separate the units from the League and to fail to see the close relationship between unit members and League members. We must also constantly encourage the unit members to become good unit members and then become members of the Labor Youth League; and every League member must play a "backbone" role in the units. In addition to the close leadership of the Party and the League, the units must also receive the assistance of specialized organs in production, technology, and management. The relationship between the units and the specialized organs is one of cooperation and equality, and all are responsible to the Party and State. Under the unified leadership of the Party, the management sector is responsible for drafting plans, for supplying materiel, for financial matters, for technical cadres, for professional guidance, and for resolving the supply problems of the youth assault units. As for the units and the Labor Youth League, they are responsible not only for the youths' political and ideological education and for arranging cultural and technical study for them, but also for production and economic and financial management. According to their conditions and capabilities, the youth assault units can undertake complete projects assigned by specialized organs, or specific parts of projects. This division of labor is intended to delineate the responsibilities of the two parties, but during the execution of a project they must cooperate closely and discuss matters with each other, with a sense of responsibility toward the revolutionary missions and the youth masses. With regard to this matter, we often note that there are two incorrect viewpoints. Some cadres of the management sector are concerned only with utilizing youths, neglect their political and ideological education, are not concerned with the youths' living conditions, carry out policies mechanically, pay little attention to creating favorable conditions for the units' activities, and mobilize the unit members subjectively, thus creating difficulties for the units' leadership committees. And as regards the League and the units, there are often tendencies to stress the benefit of the youths, to fail to solemnly carry out the economic and financial management principles and plans, to maintain the status quo, or to lack close ties with the specialized organs. If, in the work of leading the youth assault units, we do not resolutely overcome those distortions, there is certain to be a lack of unity between the units and the specialized organs, and the production, combat, and study missions, and daily lives, of the masses will be adversely influenced.

## Initial Experiences

The "resist America and save the nation" centralized youth assault units are a new form which is appropriate to youths. Youths enthusiastically join the units, but they do not at first aware of all hardships and difficulties. Therefore, political and ideological education must be given attention from the very first. Recently, in the work of enlisting youth assault unit members, many places have done a good job of the ideological work, and have clearly explained the honor and the responsibility, the advantages and the difficulties, etc.; and because of such complete ideological preparation, when the unit members encounter difficulties they resolutely overcome them, and never complain. For example, when in some places the youths could not be supplied with food because of floodwater, they happily endured their hardship; and when they encounter strafing enemy aircraft they remain calm, produce enthusiastically, and fight victoriously. On the other hand, there are places in which, because the ideological work is not good--stressing advantages and ignoring difficulties, stressing honor but ignoring responsibility, or making hollow promises--there has been confusion and jealousy.

Our youths have absolute confidence in the Party and have a great deal of self-respect. When the Party speaks, they listen; and when the Party orders, they do. If the promises made to them by cadres are contrary to reality and to their knowledge, the youths may easily lose confidence in their leaders. In educating youths, therefore, we must achieve the slogan of stating facts and speaking the truth, and we absolutely must not lie or be inaccurate.

Our youths are very enthusiastic, but they sometimes lack seriousness; when they achieve something they tend to become enthusiastic, but when they encounter problems they tend to become confused. We must keep in mind this characteristic of youth. In one instance, the tools in a workshop were poor in quality and insufficient in number, so the youths chipped in to buy implements and went into the jungle to obtain wood with which to build improved carts. This type of positive action is worth encouraging; but the cadres in this case did not publicize the youths' actions, but complained that they had "bought and sold in violation of rules," that they had "violated financial rules," etc. Therefore, they weakened the unit members' spirit of daring to think and do.

The centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units usually operate in areas with many difficulties and hardships. Therefore, the work of political and ideological education is even more important. Many places have constantly used examples of unyielding combat of heroes, of the soldiers and people of both North and South, and of advanced forms in their own units, in teaching youths to have a spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism; they have therefore caused the masses to overcome difficulties and fulfill their missions.

The centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units afford advantageous conditions for forging a revolutionary spirit and new working methods for youths, as well as for the cadres themselves. Because the units have just been formed, because they are not yet stable ideologically or organizationally, and because the management work of cadres and the technical skills of the masses are not yet expert, labor productivity is at first low. There are two methods for resolving this problem: some units only criticize the youths or issue orders to urge them onward, and when the desired results are not attained they lose confidence in the youths, and even doubt the usefulness of the units. On the other hand, many units have boldly relied on the units, entrusted them with specific missions, given them practical assistance, and used them to educate the masses and encourage them to compete in coming forth with innovations, rationalizing organization, and improving technology. All of their tasks, therefore, have gone smoothly. For example, Do Len previously did not rely on the units or activate the masses, so it attained a productivity of only 40%; but after changing its leadership methods it increased its productivity to 130%. It is clear that if youths do not do a good job, they are not at fault. The centralized youth assault units which accomplish much are units in places in which the Party and the leadership cadres have full confidence in the youths, rely on them, and make rational use of their capabilities, while paying attention to political education and mobilization, and to the resolution of the urgent needs of their everyday lives and their working facilities.

Education for youths is a requirement of the revolution, and is also an aspiration of the youth masses. As regards the centralized youth assault units, what they want most of all, and what they are most anxious about, is not salary, food, or clothing, but is the confidence of the Party. Will they be admitted into the League and into the Party? After three years of service in a youth assault unit, what will they have accomplished?

Under wartime conditions, it is essential that we teach the youths to have a spirit of heroism and unconditional sacrifice, but that does not mean that we should fail to pay attention to their overall progress, or fail to meet their just aspirations. At present, some places are concerned only with utilizing youths, and pay little attention to creating favorable conditions for them to study political, cultural, and technical subjects, to organizing cultural and sports activities, etc. This deficiency must be quickly overcome if the youths are to be happy and perform their missions enthusiastically.

The thoughts, virtues, and working habits exert a great influence on the youth masses and on the units' activities. The Party appeals for youths to join youth assault units so that they can contribute, not receive. If we are to have such a class of youths, the youth assault units' cadres, especially the base-area cadres, must have a strong revolutionary spirit, share the hardships of the masses, and be exemplary in all ways.

In order to do a good job of building and strengthening centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units, the cadres in charge must not only be cadres stable politically and ideologically, and with good work habits, but must also have knowledge of economic management and military science. Youth assault unit cadres, generally speaking, have strong revolutionary spirit and are close to the masses, but they have the shortcoming of lacking knowledge of economic management. And some cadres are still anxious about their families. The youth masses are very heroic, so the cadres must be thoroughly trained so that they can be worthy representatives of that army. In the future, the youth assault army will increase to hundreds of thousands, and the activity of the units will expand to all sectors. That situation makes it even more essential that we urgently train and strengthen a vast army of cadres capable of undertaking the difficult missions assigned to them by the Party.

The centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units have just been formed, so although there are relatively specific regulations, the organizational and leadership methods are not yet completely unified among the units and localities. Experiences of a number of places have shown that, as regards regulations, we must assure that the Party's leadership is the same in each unit, and that we absolutely must not set up a separate Party system in the youth assault organization (and that includes the League). The leadership role of Party members and the "backbone" role of Labor Youth League members are of decisive importance with regard to the stability of the "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units. If the Party members and League members do not have the confidence of the unit members and do not become the most outstanding unit members, they will not fulfill their missions. If we are to develop the leadership role of the Party, and the "backbone" role of the League, in the youth assault units, we must, in addition to stressing the responsibility of Party members and League members in production, combat, and study, go all out in stressing the development and strengthening of the Party and the development and strengthening of the League, in order to create a stable leadership base and to help the youth assault units to overcome every difficulty and victoriously fulfill their missions.

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BASE-LEVEL "RESIST AMERICA AND SAVE  
THE NATION" YOUTH ASSAULT UNITS

[Following is a translation of an article by Le Duc Chinh in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pages 55-59.]

Youths have played an essential role in the competitive movement to build socialism of the past several years, and in the present competitive movement to resist America and save the nation. Youths have led the way in production, combat, study, and the building of a new way of life. Three million Labor Youth League members, and other youths, have registered to participate in the "three readys" movement, in order to contribute their efforts to the revolution. Many youths have made outstanding accomplishments. Tens of thousands of youths are fully qualified for acceptance into the League. The League has constantly developed and grown stronger, and has therefore constantly manifested its assault role in the revolution. But the League's organization in the countryside is still restricted; it has enlisted only from 17% to 25% of the youths there. Young women with infant children have all but been "abandoned." The League has not yet paid adequate attention to campaigning for them to become active, and its activities are not yet appropriate to the living and working conditions of these youths. From 20% to 30% of the youths in the countryside are 16 or 17, but no attention has yet been paid to assembling them and educating them in the youth movement. The youths from 27 to 30, who account for 18% to 27% of the total number of youths, have also not been given adequate attention. These youths have experience in production, other work, and life which must be further developed. Youths of religious groups, youths who are children of exploited families or of families some members of which formerly served as puppet troops or puppet administrators, etc., have in some places not been educated by the

Party and steeled in the revolutionary movement, in order to help them to advance. In the past, from 70% to 80% of the youths in factories and at work sites were League members; but at present, because of the needs of national defense and the development of industry, more and more youths have just begun work, so the proportion of League members among them is only from 50% to 60%. The League's organization in factories and at work sites must be strongly developed. The youth movement in factories and at work sites must be further promoted.

The ardent aspiration of youths is to be able to contribute as much as possible to the enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation. The Party's Central Committee has taken the stand that "We must rely on the Labor Youth League, with its more than a million members, in organizing and mobilizing four million young men and women in the North, and in causing them to advance to the fore in production, combat, study, and the building of a new way of life, and to be determined to defeat the American aggressors, contribute positively to defending the socialist North, contribute to the liberation of the South, and advance to the unification of the Fatherland."

In addition to the centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units (unattached), base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units (attached) have also been formed in many areas in the countryside and in a number of enterprises, in order to achieve the above-mentioned policy.

In places which have formed base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units, most young men and women from 16 to 30 have enthusiastically volunteered to join them. The units have played a very practical role in persuading youths to undertake difficult production missions, in effectively achieving the local missions and tasks of the Party, and in creating conditions for encouraging youths to study political, cultural, and technical subjects, and to build a new way of life. These actualities prove that the form of base-level youth assault units not only meets the ardent aspiration of the youth masses to heed the Party's appeal and participate in the struggle to resist America and save the nation, but is also very appropriate to the youths' characteristics of being full of revolutionary spirit, liking to engage in organized activities, and wanting to be closely led by the Party and the League. It may be said, therefore, that with the form of the youth assault unit, the League organizations at the base level, with the close leadership of the Party cells and the close cooperation of the cooperative management committees, the Women's Association, and the labor unions, have the capability to assemble the youth masses and to cause them to devote their many latent capabilities to the struggle to resist America and save the nation. The units' specific action programs are bound up with the Party's political missions in the localities; the many activities of the units are appropriate to the characteristics of youth, and

are creating conditions for youths to develop their "three readys" spirit, in order to develop the youth movement strongly, extensively, and constantly. The form of base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units also contributes to strengthening the close ties between the Labor Youth League and the youth masses, to creating conditions favorable for developing the League, and for improving the League's working methods and making them appropriate to the needs of the new mission. As regards the places in which the League's base is weak and the political situation is complicated, well-built base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units not only serve as a base of support for the League, but also help the Party to achieve its political missions in the localities.

The base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units have a broad mass nature. The units must enlist the masses of young men and women from 16 to 30, regardless of ethnic origin, religion, or social background. These youths must, of course, be people who respond to the Party's appeal to "unite to resist America and save the nation," who voluntarily join the units, and who struggle in accordance with a common action program brought forth by the units.

Actual experience proves that if we are to gain the participation of the youth masses in the units, we must first of all make certain that the youths' ideological education is specific, lively, and appropriate to each element. We must cause them to see clearly the youths' mission in the new situation, so that they will voluntarily join the units. The Party and League cadres must have clear understanding of the revolutionary role and capabilities of youths (including young women with infants, youths of 16 and 17, and youths from 27 to 30). We must give adequate attention to educating and using youths from families which were formerly exploited, youths from families members of which in the past joined the ranks of the enemy, etc. The League must come up with activities which are appropriate to the characteristics of youth and to the conditions and circumstances of each class of youths, in order to gain the participation of the broad masses of youths in the units' activities.

In the present work of building the units, there are two tendencies which must be overcome. One is the tendency to be narrow and isolated, and to, because of failure to realize the units' mass nature, be afraid to expand the units for fear that they will lose their assault role. As a result of this tendency, young women with infant children, youths of 16 and 17, etc., are abandoned. The second tendency is to herd people into the units, and even to use coercion to develop the units. Therefore, although the units gain the participation of large numbers of youths, they win over only a small number of positive youths.

In addition to a clear understanding of the units' mass nature, a correct understanding of the role and use of the Vietnamese Labor Youth

League is also very important with regard to building and leading the units. The Labor Youth League is an advanced political organization of Vietnamese youths, and is an arm and a reserve force of the Party. Therefore, the Party organizations must help the Labor Youth League to fully achieve its mission of uniting the broad masses of youths and organizing and activating all youth forces to achieve the missions and tasks of the Party and the Government. The Party's base-level organizations must further strengthen their work of building and strengthening the League and, by use of the League, of organizing and guiding the units' activities. Since the issuance of the Party Central Committee's instructions regarding the strengthening of the youth mobilization work in the new situation, many Party echelons have paid much attention to leading the youth movement. But a number of the Party's base-level organizations still have not firmly grasped the Party's line of youth mobilization, so in the process of building up the units they have not really relied on the League, or helped the League to be able to assemble the masses and direct the units' activities; they have restricted the League's work and have prevented it from developing its "backbone" role. The base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units, which serve to assemble the broad masses of youths, are directly responsible to the Vietnamese Labor Youth League, and are a form of League activity. They absolutely are not a "second organization" which exists independent of the League, as some comrades have mistakenly thought. This means that the Labor Youth League uses the base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units to educate the youths and to activate them to achieve the missions and tasks of the Party and the League by means of appropriate activities. During the anti-French resistance, youth assault units served the front, and recently the flood-fighting and drought-fighting assault units, etc., organized and led by the League, served to mobilize and organize youths to positively achieve urgent missions, as requested by the Party. But their activity was limited, and they did not assemble the broad masses of youths. Today, alongside the centralized "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units, the base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units constitute a new form of activity which is most appropriate to youths. It meets the needs and ardent aspirations of youths, who want to progress politically and go all out to serve the revolution. It also meets the urgent needs of the present enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism. By means of that organizational form, the Labor Youth League can assemble the broad masses of youths and lead them in devoting all their energy and talents to the struggle to resist America and save the nation.

The base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault unit is entirely a form of youth activity. Youths who enter the units must engage in revolutionary activity, so people who join the units must contribute, by means of specific acts, to the struggle to resist America and save the nation. In all their activities, the base-level youth assault

units must clearly manifest the content of the "three readys" movement and hold high their desire to fight and defeat the American aggressors when engaged in production, combat, and the building of a new way of life. The "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units in the countryside must develop their role in struggling to achieve five tons of paddy per hectare under all circumstances. In industry, the units must develop their role in struggling to achieve "high productivity, good quality, and frugality," and in over-fulfilling the State plans no matter how difficult the circumstances. In order to achieve those goals, each unit must have a specific action program which takes into consideration the production, combat, and study missions, and which is tied in with the needs of the work of the Party and the League in each locality and each unit. The drawing up of the units' action programs must be done democratically, which means that all unit members must participate in discussions, and that must be acknowledged as a specific, permanent study goal of the units, and of the "three readys" content of each unit and each individual. Only thereby can we activate the revolutionary spirit of the masses and cause the "three readys" movement to develop extensively among the broad masses of youths. On the basis of the action programs which have been drawn up, and of each period of time, we must activate a common movement among youths or organize the achievement of unplanned activities; but unplanned activities should not be the principal concern. By activating a common movement among youths we can mobilize the broad masses to participate, and cause the youth movement to develop strongly and continually. If we make unplanned activities the central concern we will not be appropriate to everyone's conditions of activity; young women with small children will not be able to participate. Because they do not clearly realize the close relationship between the base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units and the "three readys" movement, and because they do not fully understand the units' missions, many units do not have clear directions of activity, so their role has not yet been adequately developed.

The base-level "resist America and save the nation" youth assault units play an important role in uniting and educating youths to achieve the revolutionary missions established by the Party, and in creating conditions favorable for the building and developing of the League's organizations. In order to constantly develop the units' role, the Party cells must pay full attention to the youth movement, and rely on the League to build up the units and give close leadership to their activities. The League's base-level organization must work through the units to strengthen its close relationship with the youth masses, always improve its working methods and its organization, constantly include positive youths in its ranks, and go all out to fulfill its mission in the new situation.

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DO A GOOD JOB OF THE  
PARTY DEVELOPMENT WORK

[Following is a translation of an article by Vu Trac  
in the Vietnamese-Language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies)  
No. 4, April 1966, pages 60-64.]

Our Party is the leader and organizer of all victories of the revolution. If we are to fulfill victoriously the production mission and the struggle to resist America and save the nation, the most important mission of the Party organizations is to endeavor to build a really strong Party, to increase the struggle capability of the Party bases, and to develop fully the exemplary advance guard role of Party members. Only if the Party's bases are strong can the Party be strong. The constant expansion and strengthening of the ties between the Party and the masses is determined by the quality and quantity of Party members. Therefore, in addition to constantly raising the political and ideological level of Party members, our Party pays much attention to the Party-building work.

Since the issuance of the resolution of the Party's Third National Congress of Representatives, and the resolution of the Fifth Organizational Conference, the work of Party development has undergone many good transformations. The Party has drawn into its ranks tens of thousands of outstanding people of worker, peasant, or revolutionary intellectual origins, or of other laboring classes. The proportion of young members in the Party has increased considerably, thus causing the Party's organization to become younger and stronger, and contributing to the improving of the leadership of the Party's base level organizations, increasing the Party's fighting capacity, strengthening the ties between the Party and the masses, and causing the Party's ranks to become increasingly stronger and larger.

As regards our Party at the present time, the acceptance of more new Party members has a great practical significance. In many places, there are too few Party members, because the Party's base is still weak, so the Party's leadership encounters many difficulties. In addition to the large number of new Party members who are positive, outstanding elements in the mass movement, there are some new Party members with a too-low level of understanding, and a small number have been admitted without meeting the fixed requirements. A situation worthy of note is that many Party echelons still pay little attention to leading the propaganda work, to strengthening and educating potential members, and to raising the political level of aspirant members. The application of admission standards for Party members also lacks tightness, does not pay adequate attention to people of basic-element origins, and is still conservative and narrow as regards youths, and especially as regards women. Recently, because of the needs of the production and combat missions, many young Party members, and many potential Party members among local youths, have entered the army, have gone to serve national defense or to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region, etc. The Party's leadership forces and reserve forces in cooperatives, enterprises, and militia organizations have been reduced. There are few Party members in recently-established army units and units of the communication and transportation sector. In general, the work of Party development is still progressing slowly, and has not kept up with the needs of the political missions. This has exerted an adverse influence on the increasing of the Party's fighting power and on the further strengthening of the relationship between the Party and the masses. Therefore, the work of Party development is an important part of the work of strengthening the Party's base-level organizations and strengthening the Party's leadership of the present urgent production and combat missions.

In order to strengthen our leadership of the work of Party development we must cause the various echelons and cells to have clearer understanding of the line, slogans, and directions of that work.

Many of the Party's resolutions and instructions have stated clearly that we must pay special attention to developing the Party among outstanding workers who have been forced and steeled in production and combat, people of worker and laboring peasant origins, etc. There are still cadres and Party members, however, who have not firmly grasped the Party's class viewpoints when selecting people for admittance into the Party. Some places, because they fear difficulty and lack determination to strengthen and educate the worker-peasant masses, still regard workers and peasants as slow, lack confidence in the worker-peasant masses, etc. When developing the Party, therefore, they usually focus on cultured, articulate members of the petty capitalist and middle-peasant classes, and pay little attention to developing the Party among workers engaged directly in production and people of landless peasant, poor peasant, and lower-middle peasant origins in the countryside. Therefore, they

cannot strengthen the Party's class nature and advance guard nature, and cannot strengthen the close relationship between the Party and the laboring masses. In the work of Party development we must, of course, pay attention to the outstanding elements of all classes of laboring people, but we must pay special attention to workers engaged directly in production in enterprises, at work sites, on state farms, and at forestry sites, to people of landless peasant, poor peasant, and lower-middle peasant origin, and to cooperative members who are diligent workers and ardently support the socialist system.

In the work of Party development, the Party also stresses the development of the Party among youths and women. At present, youths are the principal source of supplementation for the Party. Our youths, living under the socialist system and constantly educated by the Party, have strong revolutionary spirit, study diligently, and produce and fight heroically. The increasingly large number of examples of selfless labor and heroic fighting among young people attest to this. Many of our comrades, however, because their thinking is narrow, because they do not fully realize the role and use of youths, because they regard youths as being green and untested, and because they do not realize that the admittance of many youths into the Party will make the Party's ranks younger, do not boldly develop the Party among youths. This is a great deficiency which must be rapidly overcome. Furthermore, when paying attention to developing the Party among youths we must avoid the tendency to neglect the admittance of adults who have been steeled and tested and who are qualified to become Party members, or the tendency to fear that if adults are admitted we cannot increase the proportion of youths in the Party.

The development of the Party among women, especially young women, is also very important if we are to strengthen the Party's leadership of women, who constitute a great force in production and combat. At present, the ratio of female Party members is very low; feudalistic, narrow thinking and disregard of women's abilities are still rather widespread. Many comrades also believe that women are not capable of assuming responsibility for the general work of society, and that they are not capable of performing leadership work. Many Party cells and branches have not paid attention to strengthening women and elevating them to base-level leadership positions, including places in which women are in the majority. Some places have begun to pay attention to assigning tasks to women, but do not encourage them, strengthen them, and help them to resolve difficulties, especially difficulties regarding their private lives and families, so they have severely limited the women's ability to advance to the undertaking of greater, more important tasks. Under the conditions of an important part of the men at production bases, especially in the countryside, being called into the army or going to serve national defense at work sites, thus causing the ratio of men to fall, the Party's leadership forces in these places have also been thinned out. If we do not,

therefore, strengthen the development of the Party among women, and if we do not positively overcome incorrect thinking which impedes the development of the Party among women, we cannot build and strengthen the Party's bases, and cannot strengthen the Party's leadership with regard to women, who are now playing an important role in production and combat. The development of the Party among youths and women, and especially among youths and women of basic class origins, is a mass viewpoint, and is also one of the Party's class viewpoints in the work of building the Party.

On the basis of fully understanding the class and mass viewpoints in the work of Party development, the Party echelons must pay adequate attention to the places in which the Party's bases are still weak, or which do not have Party bases. At present, we have many conditions for building strong Party bases in all places. The reason why the Party's bases are still weak in some places is that we have not fully understood the class line of the Party-building work, and, furthermore, that because of fear of difficulty or because we have not concentrated our efforts on resolving difficulties for base-level organizations, we have not paid attention to leading work of the Party's base-level organizations. We must endeavor to, within a certain period of time, have cells in cooperatives and Party teams, or at least Party members, in production units. And we must, on the basis of the circumstances of cadres, workers, and officials in organs and army units, and of members of cooperatives, draw up plans for developing the Party and assuring its leadership.

In addition to concentrating our efforts on promoting the Party-development work in places in which the Party's bases are weak, we must also pay attention to the permanent Party-development work in places in which the Party's bases are strong, and in which there are large numbers of Party members. We must clearly realize that permanent Party development is an indispensable requirement of the Party-building work. We must discover, educate, and strengthen outstanding elements which appear in the course of the production and combat movements, such as heroes, warriors of emulation, and advanced workers; we must select qualified people for admittance into the Party and overcome the belief that it is only necessary to develop the Party to a certain degree, and that we can temporarily stop the Party development work in order to concentrate on other work or to strengthen the Party. Places with large numbers of Party members, of course, must pay much attention to educating them; but if they do not constantly develop the Party they cannot encourage the cells and Party members to enter deeply into the masses and propagandize among them, and therefore they cannot improve and strengthen the cells' leadership or assure that the education of Party members achieves results.

In the Party development work we cannot pay attention only to quantity, but must also pay attention to quality. We must assure that the people accepted are qualified to become Party members, in accordance with Party regulations, and we must regard the quality of Party members as a basic aspect of assuring the strengthening of the Party's base-level

organizations. In order to create conditions for the Party development work and assure the requirements with regard to quality, the most essential matter is that we strengthen the work of propagandizing Party development and the selecting and strengthening of potential Party members, and that we, in the course of leading production, combat, and the achievement of the Party's work, educate the potential members with regard to ideology, standpoints, class consciousness, and Party consciousness, thus helping them to become Party members. Furthermore, if we are to do a good job of the Party development work we must pay attention to changing the working methods of Party echelons, so that they can be perfect and timely. In the work of selecting potential members for admittance into the Party there must be a common plan for the cells, and we must pay attention to achieving a division of labor among Party members and constantly supervise, guide, and assist Party members, so that they can understand, propagandize among, ideologically activate, and heighten the consciousness of the masses. When deciding whether a person is qualified to be a Party member, we must decide whether the person is capable of fulfilling the missions stipulated by the Party's regulations. In the present urgent production and combat missions the people admitted into the Party must, first of all, be people who ardently support the great work of building socialism and the struggle to resist America and save the nation. We must, so that the application of standards for Party members can be correct, overcome two tendencies. The first tendency is to absolutize the standards for Party members, to demand excessively high standards, and to apply the standards mechanically, in a manner not conforming to reality or to the characteristics of the mass movement in each place. The second tendency is to lower the standards for Party members, to forgive one point or another, and to fail to assure that the people accepted into the Party are outstanding people of the mass movement. The improving of the quality of the work of Party development includes both the education and the strengthening of aspirant Party members. We must, by means of the cells' activity and the entrusting of tasks to aspirant members, guide them in fulfilling their missions, and give them positively, so that at the end of their probationary period they can become full-fledged Party members.

In the process of leading the work of Party development, the Party echelons must closely write this work with the achievement of the political missions in the localities, especially the production and combat missions, and with the important political campaigns of the Party and State. And we must, in the course of achieving the political missions of the Party, point out the new capabilities and the new elements in the work of Party development. If we separate the work of Party development from the achievement of the Party's political missions, the ultimate result will be that we cannot assure the quality of the Party development work.

The work of Party development is a part of the work of building and strengthening the Party's bases. In order to meet the Party's present production and combat missions, we must promote the work of Party development. The various Party echelons must pay attention to the work of Party development, be concerned with leading that work (especially as regards the directions and proportions of Party development in each area), constantly observe and supervise the work, uncover the distorted phenomena in the work of Party development, and pay attention to assisting the places which encounter difficulties. The various echelons must also pay attention to drawing lessons from this work and to giving them timely dissemination. Only if we have many positive methods can we promote the work of Party development, and only then can we meet the needs of the work of building the Party in the present stage of the revolution.

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MANAGEMENT LEADERSHIP AT  
THE YEN PHU POWER PLANT

[Following is a translation of an article by Vu Dang Sieu in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pages 64-68.]

In the middle of 1962 the Yen Phu electricity-generating station, a unit of the Hanoi Power Plant, was separated from it and became a plant with independent economic accounting. Nearly all of the plant's leadership and management cadres had just been promoted, so its technical management and leadership was inexperienced, and safety was not completely assured. Because of the need to develop the electric power sector, the Yen Phu plant and six other generating plants pooler their electricity to form a vast electricity network in the North. Technical management and leadership, therefore, became even more difficult and complicated.

But because of the leadership of the Hanoi municipal committee and the assistance of management organs, added to its own determination, the plant assured safe and continuous supplying of electricity, surpassed the State plan, and won the honor of keeping the circulating competitive flag of the electric energy sector for two years in a row (1963 and 1964). Under the conditions of producing and defending production while fighting and preparing to fight, our plant was able to fulfill its State plan for 1965 24 days before the deadline.

From those accomplishments we drew a number of initial lessons regarding the achievement of the system of enterprise management leadership of the plant's Party branch:

1. To define the characteristics, position, and central missions of the plant.

Our plant is an old plant which was built during the period of French dominance; its production equipment was inadequate and unbalanced, and there were no facilities for assuring labor safety. The places of production were dirty, dusty, and hot. Despite such poor conditions, our responsibilities were heavy, and a small mistake could lead to a "crisis" which created economic damage and exerted an adverse political influence. Some workers, therefore, wanted to transfer to a new plant, where their work would be less toilsome. The awareness of organization and discipline in production on the part of cadres, Party members, workers, and officials was still slight. Our Party branch quickly uncovered this situation and taught everyone to see clearly the position and role of our plant regarding all aspects of life in the capital, regarding the electric power sector, and, especially, regarding the enterprise of socialist industrialization in the North and the present struggle to resist America and save the nation. In the course of studying the resolutions of the Party's Central Committee, the cadres, workers, and officials of the plant came to realize clearly that "The Fatherland needs electricity like the body needs blood." They came to realize that everyone must take pride in their work, must have awareness of organization and discipline, and must have a definite level of political, cultural, and technical knowledge, for only then can they fulfill their missions. They also came to realize that everyone must work enthusiastically and be concerned with building up the plant.

After defining the position of the plant, our Party branch made "the assuring of production, the supplying of electricity safely and continually, the assuring of good quality and economy, and unconditional service to the electricity network" the central, permanent mission of the entire Party branch. The achievement of this mission is a matter of decisive importance as regards the fulfillment of the plan assigned by the State, and is also a yearstick for measuring the degree of revolutionary awareness, the patriotism, and the love for socialism, of all cadres, workers, and officials in the plant.

2. To grasp the central mission while, during each period, determining the principal elements, in order to concentrate leadership and resolve them well.

In the process of searching out the principal elements we encountered a rather large number of difficulties. At first we were very confused, for when we concentrated our leadership in one plant section, problems arose in another section. Finally, we concluded that we must firmly grasp the generating sector, which is of decisive importance with regard to the fulfillment

of the central mission of the power plant. On the basis of that decision, the Party committee inaugurated a movement to "assure that generating is safe and continuous, and assure good quality and economy." The labor union also made that slogan its work direction. A whole series of policies and methods intended to raise the political, ideological, and specialized levels of generating workers was achieved. The plant also paid more attention to improving the working conditions, and the material and cultural lives, of the generating workers. Expenditures for this matter has amounted to tens of thousands of dong per year.

When carrying out the "three builds, three antis" movement, the Party committee led a debate to determine whether the "crises" were caused by equipment or by men. In this debate, everyone agreed that although the equipment had been in use for a long time, it was still quite good, and that the reason why there were still "crises" was principally that management, maintenance, and use of the equipment were not yet good. This was a very important evaluation, for it caused the workers, cadres, and officials to undergo a strong transformation in their ideology and in their sense of responsibility. Therefore, after the issuance of regulations regarding the use of equipment, the number of "crises" was gradually reduced, and for two straight years (1963 and 1964) there were no "crises" which resulted in a loss of electricity. At present, therefore, we have a basis for believing that we can avoid "crises" arising because of subjective reasons.

We realize that "comprehensive leadership" does not mean that we must pay equal attention to all aspects. During a given period, new problems may arise; we may, for example, have to use Mao Kne coal in place of "K" coal, or we may have to urgently repair a furnace in order to be of timely service to the electricity network, etc. Such problems may cause some cadres, workers, and officials to have bad thoughts regarding the achievement of the common plan, so the Party committee must quickly uncover, and concentrate its leadership in resolving, such problems.

3. As regards leadership and supervision, the Party committee always firmly grasps the system of "the manager being responsible for the management of the enterprise, under the leadership of the enterprise's Party committee, and with the participation of the workers in management."

From the actualities of the achievement of the three principles of enterprise management and the system of enterprise management leadership stipulated by Resolution No. 11 of the Politburo, we have extracted the following three matters, which must be distinguished from one another:

--The investigative authority of the Party's base-level organizations.

--The authority of the Party's base-level organizations to hold discussions and decide matters.

--The manager's role in leading the achievement of plans.

First, the authority of the Party base organizations to grasp the situation is not limited, for the more and the better the secretaries and echelons grasp the situation, the better. These investigations, of course, must be selective, and must be based on the lines and policies of the Party and State and on the resolutions of the Party committees.

We usually apply the following methods to grasp the situation: the collective Party committee hears the manager's report, then determines and uncovers the problems; and, on the basis of the reflections and reports of Party members, cells, and mass organizations, we follow closely and investigate the achievement of the resolutions, policies, regulations, and systems.

Furthermore, the members of the Party committee's standing committee participate in conferences with the cells, or organize discussions with cadres and Party members, in order to activate everyone into freely expressing their thoughts and fully expressing themselves. Then, the Party committee's standing committee, or the Party committee itself, investigates matters and, if it appears that leadership has been in error, carries out self-criticism before cadres and Party members, and joins them in discussing ways to overcome the errors. Matters which must be studied further must be promulgated. As for instances of cadres and Party members not fully understanding policies or systems, or interpreting them incorrectly, the Party committee explains them, so that they can understand them fully.

If, in any given period, there are problems which must receive attention, the Party committee forms investigative teams to help it to study, investigate, and evaluate the situation. The composition of the investigatory teams is not fixed; the cadres are arranged in a manner appropriate to the content and nature of the problem. If, for example, the problem concerns production or management cadres who are not Party members, technical cadres, and workers engaged directly in production, are invited to participate. The investigatory teams are not authorized to resolve the problems on the spot, but only to express their viewpoints about them. The same is true of Party secretaries and Party members who participate directly in the teams; their principal concern is to listen to opinions and solicit opinions. In the event that there has been a resolution about a certain matter,

but the lower echelon or specialized organ does not clearly understand it, they can rely on the spirit of the resolution in expressing their opinions. Conclusions about a matter that has been investigated, and the method for resolving it, are discussed and determined by the whole Party committee or by its standing committee (depending on the matter in question).

Second, the Party committee must discuss, and come to a conclusion about, only major, important matters which are directly related to the lines and policies, and which influence the production plan and the lives of the cadres, workers, and officials. In reality, of course, the committees cannot completely resolve all major, important problems; but they must always think about and analyze the problems with a deep sense of responsibility, and must always base themselves on the stands and policies of the Party. In order to facilitate leadership, however, we have temporarily distinguished the following three major, important matters:

--The tasks which, although major and important, have become year-round concerns with no new contents or demands, must be boldly entrusted to the manager. When necessary, the manager should make a report to the Party committee.

--Matters which do not come under the authority of the manager should be discussed by the Party committee until unanimity is reached. The decisions should then be made known to the manager, who proposes them to the upper echelon.

--As regards matters which come under the authority of the manager, the Party committee usually operates as follows: when a problem arises, the manager considers it, makes up a report, and sends it to the Party committee members for advance consideration. When the meeting is covered, each person expresses his opinion, and the committee then discusses the matter and reaches a decision about it. The conference, of course, should discuss and decide upon principal directions and measures only after holding democratic discussions. When engaged in discussions, we must go all out to achieve unanimity within the Party committee and between it and the specialized organs. If it is impossible to reach unanimity on a matter, the discussions should be temporarily suspended and the matter investigated further.

Third, the Party committee must constantly educate the cadres, Party members, labor union organizations, and youth organizations, so that they will positively support, and carry out in an exemplary manner, all orders of the manager. It must also campaign for the masses to achieve well the tasks assigned them by the manager. Furthermore, the Party committee must continue to observe the achievement of those tasks, in order to correct distortions and deficiencies that may arise.

While performing their work, cadres, workers, and officials often want to ask the Party committee to intervene with specialized organs, to complain about one thing or another, or to express their feelings and aspirations. Our Party committee welcomes that tendency, but it can only resolve problems related to Party matters; as regards matters coming under the jurisdiction of the manager, the committee cannot directly resolve them, or make any promises, but can only discuss things with the management so that it can itself resolve them. Therefore, there are no conflicts between the Party committee and the management. As the authority of the Party committee is increased, so is that of the management.

4. If we are to strengthen the Party's leadership in the plant, we must develop the role and use of the mass organizations.

In the past, a large number of Party members have had the mistaken belief that "the labor union organization is principally an organization of non-Party workers, and is concerned only with clothing, rice, and money." They are little concerned with the activities of the labor unions because they think that "the cell takes care of me!" They are also skeptical and narrow with regard to the Labor Youth League and tend to do the youths' work for them, thus failing to fully develop the youths' spirit of enthusiastic assault in all tasks.

The Party committee has taught the Party members to realize clearly the role and position of the labor union organizations in participation in enterprise management. Each Party member must work through the labor union organization to campaign among the masses and lead them in achieving the lines and policies of the Party and State, while also propagandizing and developing the Party. If this is to be done, each Party member must be an exemplary labor or youth organization member. Furthermore, the Party committee has paid attention to strengthening its leadership of the labor union organizations and to providing them with cadres. The Party committee takes the stand of placing a number of Party members with qualifications equal to those of cell committee members, a number of managers and department heads (in appropriate ratios), and a number of people outside the Party who have the confidence of the masses, on the labor union executive committee.

As regards the Labor Youth League, the Party committee bases itself on the characteristics of youth, in order to educate them, and develops the youths' enthusiasm and vanguard role in all activities of the enterprise. It has, therefore, made use of the assault role of youths in production and in preparing to fight.

In order to assure the united and comprehensive leadership of the Party committee, there must not only be a clear division of labor and responsibility between the Party committee and the

enterprise management, but also a concrete division of authority between the enterprise's labor and youth organizations, and these organizations must keep within the limits of the authority that has been determined. Because the Party unit has paid attention to leading the mass organizations, there has been clear progress in the activation of cadres, workers, and officials to participate in enterprise management.

The above are only some of the initial experiences of our Party unit. During the stage of achieving the system of enterprise management leadership, the Party unit of our plant has also had many deficiencies. We must make even greater efforts, for only then can we fulfill our missions in the new situation.

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LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCES OF THE PARTY  
UNIT OF THE HOANG VAN THU PAPER MILL

[Following is a translation of an article by  
Tran Phu Tuyen in the Vietnamese-language  
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4,  
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The Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill was originally the Dap Cau Paper Mill of the French capitalists, which was founded in 1917-1918. After the Japanese fascists carried out a coup d'etat and replaced the French colonialists, the workers at the mill, under the leadership of the Party, struggled to take over its management.

During the Resistance the mill was operated and defended, and in 1947 it had the honor of being named for comrade Hoang Van Thu.

This is a mill that has made many accomplishments in production. Yearly production has constantly increased; in 1965 its production was three times greater than that of the first year of the first five-year plan. In five years, the mill has completed its plan 54 days before the deadline.

In the competitive movement to win the appellation of "Advanced Unit," the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill won the first-place flag of the light-industry sector several years in a row. Since 1958 the mill has been awarded five labor medals (two first-class medals, two second-class medals, and one third-class medal). Every year since 1960 the mill has been named the most advanced, most outstanding unit of the Ministry of Light Industry, and has been awarded a competitive flag. At present, the mill has the honor of holding the Government's circulating flag. The mill's labor, youth, and militia organizations have also been commended, and

awarded competitive flags, by upper echelons. In the socialist competitive movement, 11 Socialist Labor Teams and one Socialist Mill Section were recognized by the Government in 1964. At present, the mill is registering to struggle to become a Socialist Enterprise.

The Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill has been able to achieve the above-mentioned accomplishments first of all because of the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Government, because of the guidance of the Ministry of Light Industry, the provincial committee, and the Party unit of the Mill, and because of the patriotism and revolutionary struggle will of all cadres, workers, and officials in the mill.

Here, we want to speak of the experiences of the mill's Party unit, which directly leads all aspects of the mill's work.

Fully Understand the Party's Basic View-  
points and Thoughts toward Political  
and Ideological Education and Economic  
Management Leadership

This is a basic matter in the leadership and guidance of all echelons. Because it has firmly grasped this matter, the Party unit of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill has had a sense of responsibility and a high degree of determination, has manifested a spirit of self-reliance, and has had stable mass viewpoints in its leadership work.

It is extremely important that there be a sense of responsibility and a high degree of determination. The actualities of the victorious production of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill have proved that.

During its advance, the mill encountered a great number of difficulties: its machinery was very old and inadequate, and often broke down; the demands made upon it were great, but the mill had only one old paper-pressing machine (the principal paper-production machine), and the production line was not balanced; some things were done by machine, and some by hand, but the production process called for a very close meshing of the different parts. The mill itself had to meet more than half of its needs for raw materials. Its cadres and technical workers were at first very inadequate in numbers, and their professional level was low. And that is not to mention the serious breakdowns caused by excessively old machinery. Although the mill's technical bases were lacking, during its struggle to achieve the State plan it always set advanced goals (for five straight years the quota increased over that of the previous year, and was always from 10% to 14% higher). And the mill surpassed its plan every year. For example,

in 1961, the first year of the first five-year plan, the mill surpassed its plan by 33%; and in 1965, the last year of the first five-year plan, despite great difficulties in raw materials (the supply of which was 30% less than the mill's need) and other difficulties caused by the air defense work, dispersion, workers having to commute long distances, etc., the Party members and workers of the mill, with a spirit of resisting America and saving the nation, struggled resolutely and surpassed the plan by 11%.

The achievement reflected the sense of responsibility and high degree of determination of the Party unit of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill, as well as of all workers of the mill. This was a decisive element in the victories over all difficulties and obstacles, and enabled the enterprise to advance rapidly.

The mill's sense of responsibility and high degree of determination were results of a permanent, persistent process of political and ideological education. In this work the Party unit combined the lines and policies of the Party and the needs of the common political mission with the specific needs of the mill in each period. The Party unit developed the workers' tradition of revolutionary struggle and taught them to have an awareness of collective mastery and a spirit of self-reliance in overcoming all difficulties, in order to assure the most important elements in production. For that reason, it was possible to build the mill's production plan on a basis of self-awareness. In order to overcome difficulties and over-fulfill the State plan, the Party unit established the two great needs which required concentrated struggle. First, there must be enough machinery, the machinery must run well, and there must be many more technical cadres and workers. Second, there must be sufficient raw materials. The methods brought forth were to concentrate all capabilities in building material and technical bases and in advancing the mechanical department from a repair organ into an organ which designs and produces machinery, and to activate the competitive movement to achieve "high productivity, good quality, and good economy" by constantly improving technology, by improving the production process, by rationalizing production, by protecting the machinery, by avoiding sudden breakdowns, and by making the fullest use of the equipment. The common slogan for resolving difficulties in raw materials and technology was to develop every latent capability of the entire mill.

All political and ideological education work, all Party work, all specialized work, and all labor union work was focused on the resolution of those basic needs. Therefore, the mill was able to overcome great difficulties and make great advances in technical equipment and in the improvement of technology and the assurance of the good completion of the missions of the State plan. Instead of having just one paper-pressing machine, the mill

now has three, and it will soon produce others for itself and for other enterprises. The mechanical department has produced machinery. The mill has successfully experimented with a new cooking process that can reduce cooking time by one-fifth, and is advancing the sizing work from manual labor to machine labor. Other tasks, such as substitution of raw materials, paper cutting, acid fixing, and drying, have been improved, the continuity of the production line has been assured, productivity has been increased, and large quantities of raw materials have been saved. In the 1964-1965 period the mill came forth with 186 innovations and earned a profit of 304,242 dong for the State. The mill produced various pieces of equipment to replace imported equipment, and on one item saved tens of thousands of dong. The mill also improved its methods of using machinery, thus saving three or four thousand dong per month. Because all latent capabilities of the mill's cadres and workers were fully developed, many great difficulties have been resolved. The mill has assured half of the total amounts of raw materials it needs. The Party unit has inaugurated a movement to increase food production, in order to improve the lives of the workers and contribute to the resolution of common difficulties. In the 1964-1965 period, the average per-capita production was 110 kilograms of rice, nearly 64 kilograms of vegetables, and more than seven kilograms of meat.

The Party unit has constantly paid attention to training technical cadres and workers by the use of many methods, especially by the method of mutual supervision. Each year, therefore, more than 100 technical workers are promoted. And therefore, the mill has been able not only to meet its own need for technical cadres and workers, but also to provide them to other places.

Furthermore, there have been such small but important things as a production team making up for the work of one of its members who is ill or in school, thus assuring the team's missions although the number of workers was reduced. Because of the dispersion, the mill's cadres and workers, with some assistance from the mill, have cooperated in building hundreds of family dwellings.

An outstanding feature of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill is that the Party unit has applied the mass line in its economic leadership. Because it had the confidence of the workers, relied on them, and was concerned with strengthening them in all ways, the Party unit was able to activate the working masses into positively participating in managing the mill, and into devoting all their revolutionary enthusiasm to overcoming all difficulties and promoting production.

The working masses in the production teams have truly participated in the management plans. They have contributed positively to determining goals with regard to production, quality,

and labor productivity, and to setting technical standards, labor standards, etc.

They have also contributed positively to resolving technical difficulties, improving methods, rationalizing production, investigating labor productivity, and rationally arranging and distributing the labor forces in the teams. Such things as democratic plan management, the holding of specialized technical conferences in which workers engaged directly in production participate, the organization of analyses of the economic activities of the production teams and mill departments, the holding of cadre-worker-official conferences, the signing of collective contracts, etc., have become permanent features; they have had practical contents and have achieved good results.

This has been possible because, under the leadership and guidance of the management committee of the mill, all cadres engaged in Party, specialized, or labor union work in the departments and committees all focus on the production teams and have close relationships with them. Participating in conferences, holding discussions with workers in production teams, and observing and assisting workers in production teams, etc., have become permanent working methods of the cadres of the various departments and committees. The labor union also constantly organizes professional and cultural supplementation classes for workers. Because of all this, the "four managements" (plan management, technical management, materiel management, and labor management) in the production teams have been carried out well; all policies of the Party committee, the management committee, and the labor union have been achieved; and the mill's leadership and guidance organs have grasped the situation constantly and correctly.

The Party unit has paid attention to utilizing the specific tasks of the production teams to create for them leadership cells consisting of "four goods" Party members and league members. Therefore, the number of Advanced Workers and Warriors of Emulation has constantly increased, and the number of Advanced Labor Teams and Socialist Labor Teams has increased daily. At present, more than 68% of the mill's cadres and workers are Advanced Laborers, and that does not include 49 Warriors of Emulation. More than 62% of its production teams are Advanced Labor Teams and more than 15% of them are Socialist Labor Teams, and that does not include a mill section which is a Socialist Mill Section. In 1965, an additional 39 teams were submitted to the provincial committee for recognition as Socialist Labor Teams.

The Party unit not only pays attention to strengthening the working masses ideologically and professionally, but also pays attention to their material lives, to building collective mess halls and nurseries, to assisting the families of cadres and workers, etc.

## Assure the Party's Comprehensive and Absolute Leadership

The assurance of the comprehensive and absolute leadership of the Party is a condition which determines all victories. The experiences of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill prove that in order to assure that condition it is essential that the entire Party unit be strong in all ways. If this is to be so, it is necessary to positively build "four goods" cells, heighten the vanguard role of Party members, and constantly strengthen the unity and unanimity of the entire Party unit.

From the leadership experiences of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill we can see that the Party committee has paid close attention to developing the leadership role of all committee members and Party members in the Party unit. Here, all resolutions are a synthesis of the opinions contributed by all committee members and Party members.

At the mill, all Party committee members are concerned not only with their own jobs, but are also able to contribute to the leadership of other work of the Party committee. The Party committee members are assistant managers who can, when necessary, do a good job of leading Party work or mass work. They are labor union secretaries who can participate in production leadership.

And although they are specialized in Party work, they also understand clearly, and are capable of leading, the production work. Therefore, collective leadership and democratic debates in committees really mean something. It should also be said that one reason for that good feature is that the Party members clearly understand their responsibilities, and that another is that most of the comrades on Party committees are either members of production units or have participated directly in production leadership for many years.

Here, at their meetings the cells of the mill departments not only discuss the Party work and ideological leadership, but also methods for leading all aspects of the work in the departments. Because of the comprehensive leadership of the cells, the Party committee is able to investigate and grasp the situation by working not only through the specialized network, but also through the network of Party organizations. This has helped the Party committees to have a basis for determining the situation objectively and for having timely leadership methods.

Here, the comrades on the committees all pay attention to building "four goods" cells, heightening the advance guard role of Party members, and building really strong Party teams for

leading the production teams.

Therefore, production leadership and Party building are carried out simultaneously, with direct leadership being given in the production teams. In addition to the accomplishments in production and in the mass work, the Party organizations have grown stronger, the number of "four goods" Party members constantly increases, and the advance guard role of Party members is developed. More than 15% of the mill's production teams are Socialist Labor Teams, more than 62% of the teams are Advanced Labor Teams, 50% of the Party unit's cells are "four goods" cells, and soon 75% of them will be "four goods" cells. More than 68% of the mill's cadres and workers are Advanced Laborers, more than 80% of the Party members, and more than 80% of the Party members have been elected Advanced Laborers and Warriors of Emulation.

The Party unit of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill also pays much attention to strengthening internal unity, on the basis of unanimity on the common missions. It can be said that the Party unit has a good tradition of internal unity -- unity within the Party, among the masses, between old people and young people, between old things and new things, etc. This tradition has been built during a process of struggle for criticism and self-criticism, and especially of struggle against all manifestations of individualism. All Party members here are concerned with maintaining unanimity within the Party, carrying out the resolutions of the Party, and fulfilling the production missions. Therefore, they do not neglect deficiencies harmful to that spirit of unity or to the carrying out of those missions. The unity and unanimity of the Party unit form the basis of the unity and unanimity among all workers in the mill.

Above are some of the leadership experiences of the Party unit of the Hoang Van Thu Paper Mill. Those experiences prove that if the Party unit of an enterprise has a sense of responsibility and a high degree of determination, has a spirit of self-reliance, pays attention to the political and ideological education of the workers, always keeps close to the masses, and activates and organizes the masses to endeavor to promote production, while constantly heightening the advance guard role of Party members and strengthening the unity and unanimity of the Party unit, in order to assure the comprehensive and absolute leadership of the Party unit, then it is certain that the unit can lead the enterprise in overcoming all difficulties and fulfilling every mission.

5616

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LET US DESTROY THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' FALSE ARGUMENT OF  
BEING 'READY TO GO BACK TO THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT'

[ Following is a translation  
of an article by Ha Van Lau  
in the Vietnamese-language  
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pages 74-81. ]

For more than a year, after having decided to send U.S. troops to the south for direct participation in the war there and to use air force to conduct the war of destruction in the north, the U.S. ruling body in dozens of times made known the attitude of the U.S. toward the 1954 Geneva agreement on Vietnam.

Opening this "peace" music, on 25-3-1965, U.S. President Johnson declared "the U.S. wants to return to the basic points of the 1954 Geneva agreement."

Since then the U.S. rulers have many times declared that they "reaffirm the old treaties" (Johnson's speech at Baltimore on 7-4-1965), that "the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam can create a basis for peace solutions" (Rusk, 4-5-1965), that "the U.S. is ready to return to the basic points of the 1954 Geneva agreement on Vietnam" (statement of the U.S. Government, 17-8-1965), that "we want that all the military articles in the 1954 Geneva agreement be respected by all sides" (Rusk, 24-8-1965).

Most recently, of the rotten items which the White House threw into Johnson's "peace basket" on 3-1-1966 there was this one, "the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements are an appropriate basis for peace in Southeast Asia." On 12-1-1966, in a message read before the U.S. Congress, Johnson once more repeated: "We support the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements." At the first hearing of all the above successive statements of the Washington authorities, those who believe easily can wrongly think that the U.S. imperialists today really want to return to respecting the 1954 Geneva agreement on Vietnam, an international agreement which they brazenly denied and had been trying to destroy even when the ink on it had not been dry.

The truth is not completely so, for the seemingly "good intentioned" statements of the U.S. imperialists about the Geneva agreement have been brazenly denied by their aggressive and war-provoking acts, as well as by their warlike statements.

The principal content of the 1954 Geneva agreement on Vietnam can be summed up as follows:

1. The basic principles of these agreements are peace, independence, sovereignty, reunification, and territorial integrity for Vietnam. This is a confirmation of our people's national rights, which the participants at the 1954 Geneva international conference, including the U.S., pledged to respect (Section 12 of the final Declaration of the conference). These countries also pledged "absolutely not to interfere in the internal rule" of Vietnam, as well as of Cambodia and Laos.

2. The important political and military articles of these agreements are: Vietnam must be reunified by means of free elections throughout the country in July, 1956; pending reunification, the military demarcation line between two parts of Vietnam "is only temporary, completely cannot be considered as a political or territorial demarcation line"; the authorities in both parts must guarantee all freedom and democratic rights, must not terrorize as a revenge those, or their families, or the organizations having cooperated with the adversary (that is, the government in the south must guarantee all freedom and democratic rights of the great majority of our people in the south who had been taking part in the war of resistance against the French colonialists); it is forbidden to bring into Vietnam any foreign army or military personnel, any kinds of arms and ammunitions, and other war materiel; it is forbidden to establish any foreign military base in the concentration areas of both sides; the two parts must not participate in any military alliance, must not be used to restart military actions or to serve an aggressive policy.

In the last session of the Geneva conference (21-7-1954), the U.S. delegate, Bedell Smith, declared (that the U.S.) "recognizes the agreements signed in Geneva on 20 and 21-7-1954... as well as sections from 1 to 12 of the Declaration submitted to the Geneva conference on 21-7-1954," and solemnly "declares, regarding the above agreements and sections, (that it) will not violate by threat or use of force..."

However, in spite of those solemn pledges, the U.S. imperialists adopted a policy of violating and undermining more and more seriously the Geneva agreements, at the same time tried to distort and to take advantage of the latter in order to legalize and to hide their violations of these agreements and aggressive action in South Vietnam.

As we all know, in the last eleven years, the U.S. imperialists went from military intervention to armed aggression in the south, with the hope to turn the latter into a new-styled colony and their military base, and to maintain for a long time the partitioning of our country. Lately, to save total defeat in their "special war" in the south, the U.S. imperialists sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops to the south; openly used air force to attack the north continually; seriously violated the sovereignty, territory, and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Today, hundreds of millions of people around the world who are concerned with the ex-

tremely dangerous situation in Vietnam are well aware of the true origin of, as well as the direct reasons behind, that situation: the aggressive and war-provoking policy of the U.S. imperialists, the extremely ruthless international gendarme, the deadly enemy of the independence and security of peoples and of peace in the world.

In more than eleven years, the policy and aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists clearly denied our people's basic national rights and trampled more and more rudely the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements, as well as the most elementary principles of international law.

The U.S. imperialists brazenly undermined the important political articles of the Geneva agreements when they urged their lackeys, Ngo Dinh Diem and his clique, to turn down the proposals for negotiations of general elections to reunify Vietnam; turned the southern part of our country into a separate "nation" and declared "the U.S. border extends to the 17th parallel"; tried to implement in the south a policy of fascist dictatorship by madly repressing all the forces that did not approve their ruthless ruling system, creating a one-sided war against the patriotic, peace-loving forces in the south.

The U.S. imperialists continually and more and more seriously undermined the important military articles of the Geneva agreements: they turned the so-called Military Advisory/Assistance Group (MAAG) consisted of 200 officers at the time of restoration of peace gradually into an army of 30,000 ten years later, and in 1965, into a U.S. expeditionary army consisted of 200,000 U.S. troops and 20,000 satellite troops having a lot of arms and the most modern technical equipment.

They set up on the territory of the south a system of military bases consisted of 170 airfields of all sizes, including three that are considered the largest military air fields in Southeast Asia, many military harbors which they are busily enlarging on a very large scale, and dozens of army bases located all the way from the coast to the inland areas of Nam Bo and Tay Nguyen.

Although they have not dared openly declare the official participation of the Saigon puppet government in the Southeast Asian aggressive military alliance, or the signing of an alliance with their satellite countries in the Far East and western Pacific area, in reality the military alliances have been set up between the U.S. lackeys in South Vietnam and the U.S. imperialists and their satellite countries like South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand. Contrarily to what is forbidden by the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists not only turned South Vietnam into their military base, but also used South Vietnam as a springboard for provocation and aggression against the other Indochinese states and to serve their aggressive policy in this region.

Since early 1965, the U.S. imperialists openly "brought the war to

the north," have been using their air force to attack continually the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and committing so many savage crimes in our socialist north. By launching a war of destruction and by directly violating the sovereignty, territory, and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent socialist country, the U.S. imperialists have gone one step farther toward brazenly abolishing the Geneva agreements, disregarding the most elementary principles of international law, and brazenly trampling over the normal moral values in the relations among peoples and nations in the world. With that new strategic action, they have placed both parts of our country in a situation of war although the forms of war in both are different; therefore, our people throughout the country have a common political and strategic task of fighting the U.S. for national salvation.

In the course of committing aggression in Vietnam for the last eleven years, the U.S. imperialists have many times brazenly declared that they did not recognize the Geneva agreements and were not bound by the latter, but on the other hand they have often distorted some articles in those agreements in order to carry out their aggressive plot in the south.

In the first years of the implementation of the Geneva agreements, in order to prepare for the starting of war later, the U.S. imperialists distorted the article dealing with replacement of arms in asking the International Commission "to permit" them to bring arms and war materiel into the country "to replace" those the French expeditionary army had carried with them during the French withdrawal from Vietnam. They also pretended "to respect" the agreements by asking the International Commission for "permission" to double the number of the MAAG staff members in Saigon, who should have been withdrawn from South Vietnam after the signing of the Geneva agreements. In order to "legalize" and to speed the implementation of the policy of terrorizing and retaliating the former resistance fighters in the south, the U.S. lackeys in Saigon also distorted the article in the Geneva agreements dealing with freedom and democracy and asked the International Commission to declare it void after the completion of the gathering and removal of troops from one part to the other.

Early in 1962, in addition to the establishment of the U.S. military command in Saigon and the sending to the south of many combat-supporting units to intensify the "special war," the U.S. imperialists had recourse to the turning-white-into-black maneuver, slandered against our people, and tried to exert pressure upon the International Commission to urge it to make a special report to the two cochairmen of the Geneva conference with the conclusion that "the north is committing aggression and having subversive activities in the south." Since then, along with intensifying and widening the war of aggression in the south, the U.S. imperialists mobilized their own propaganda machinery and that of their lackeys to make a big issue out of what was called "the north is committing aggression against the south," which they used as a "basis" for their new aggressive and war-provoking acts in both parts of our country.

But that despicable "basis" of the U.S. imperialists has been completely destroyed by the truth in Vietnam and the just and righteous opinion of the world. Nobody who has a conscience can believe the U.S. imperialists' changing-white-into-black argument that "the Vietnamese are committing aggression in Vietnam!" In the world today, nobody who is concerned with the Vietnam situation and with the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence can believe this: "The U.S. expeditionary army using jet fighters, strategic B52 bombers, napalm bombs, phosphorous bombs, chemical poisons, poisonous gases to destroy the villages in the south, to implement the 'scorched earth' policy of destroying all, burning all, killing all in the villages and hamlets in the south are in the south to 'fight aggression,' to 'protect security, protect freedom,' to 'protect the right of self-determination' for the people of South Vietnam!" Even the bourgeois press in the West had to claim that it was "an insult for the intelligence of man," that "the bunch of war criminals Johnson, McNamara, Rusk must be brought to trial in court!"

The truth of the last several years is that whenever the U.S. imperialists increased their troops and arms and committed new acts of aggression in the south, they always speeded further the campaign of slandering against our people to hide their horrible crimes.

The U.S. imperialists' aggressive plans went bankrupt one by one in the south. Their "special war," which developed to its highest degree in the south, was a total and miserable failure. But the U.S. imperialists did not accept failure. A big characteristic of their policy in 1965 was, in addition to bringing hundreds of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops in to intensify and to widen the war of aggression in the south and using their air force to start a war of destruction in the north, the U.S. imperialists were conducting a "peace campaign," lasting from the beginning to the end of the year, on a larger and larger scale. This campaign started with the address of U.S. President Johnson on 7-4-1965 at the university in Baltimore and continued early this year with the so-called "fourteen-point proposal" of the White House, brought forth by the U.S. simultaneously with the trick of "temporary halt of bombings in North Vietnam."

Of the arguments advanced by the U.S. imperialists, an outstanding point which they kept repeating was that the U.S. "stands ready to return to the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam," a point which the White House put at the top of its "fourteen-point proposal," and that it would consider the 1954 Geneva agreements as an "appropriate basis for peace in Southeast Asia." The U.S. deliberately wanted to make people think that it would agree to using the Geneva agreements as the basis for resolving the Vietnam problem. Those who are concerned with and have been following closely the Vietnam situation would ask themselves why the U.S. imperialists, who refused to recognize legally the Geneva agreements and had been brazenly undermining such agreements by their actual action, now suddenly became so fond of the Geneva agreements and "ready to return" to the basic articles of such agreements.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists talked a great deal about the Geneva agreements lately was not coincidental. This attitude on their part arose from a reality in Vietnam, namely, the more they intensify the war, the more they lose and the more they are condemned by the world opinion and isolated politically. At the same time, this attitude also originated from the classical policy of the U.S. imperialists, based on "negotiate in a strong position": they would at the same time intensify and widen the war and force the adversary to accept negotiations under their conditions, with a hope to attain through negotiations the aggressive goals which they could not attain through war.

In the past, the U.S. imperialists talked about the Geneva agreements when they slandered our people for "violations of the agreements." As for them, they declared that they were not bound by the latter. They declared that their "presence" in the south was to "defend the people of the south against aggression," to "defend the free world," to "protect the security of the U.S.(!)" The U.S. imperialists wrongly believed that, with their policy of force, they would fast conquer the 14 million people of the south, put over the neck of our people in the south the neocolonial yoke, maintain for a long time the partitioning of our country. Under such conditions, they would succeed in swallowing the pledge they had made at the Geneva conference-- to respect the independence, sovereignty, reunification, and territorial integrity of our country. But the people in the south, knowing how to use the revolutionary force to resist the counterrevolutionary force of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, continually defeated many of their strategic plans; at the same time, our people and Government in the north were resolutely struggling to unmask before the world opinion the U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression, and demanding that they correctly respect and implement the Geneva agreements.

In the face of the wave of anger of the people of the world, including the U.S. people, who were more and more determined to condemn the dirty aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, to demand that they truly respect the Geneva agreements, stop their aggression, withdraw their troops from South Vietnam, end their bombings in the north, and let the Vietnamese people decide on their own internal affairs, the U.S. imperialists became more and more isolated. Under a strong pressure from the opinion in their country and in the world, they were compelled to advance the "ready to return to the Geneva agreements" argument in order to save their being politically isolated, to deceive the public opinion, and to hide their plots and acts of undermining the agreements. That was a passive action, a failure in terms of international law, on the part of the U.S. imperialists following their military defeats on the battlefield and their political failures in the world and inside their own country.

However, on the other hand, by advancing the "return to the Geneva agreements" argument, the U.S. imperialists also meant to take advantage of this international pact, which they tried to distort, to carry out their "negotiate in a strong position" scheme, designed to realize their aggressive

plot in the south.

The "return to the Geneva agreements" argument of the U.S. imperialists certainly did not come from their good will toward peace and their recognition and respect for the basic national rights of our people, as clearly specified in the Geneva agreements, nor from their intention to carry out the important principles and articles of such agreements.

It was at the moment when they claimed to "return to the Geneva agreements" and to be "ready to negotiate unconditionally," the U.S. imperialists were sending more U.S. combat units to the battlefield of the south than ever, intensifying the aggressive war there to the most terrifying level, and at the same time widening the "escalated" war in the north. Hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and cannonballs were dropped by the U.S. imperialists in both parts of our country; poisonous gases and chemicals were sprayed on the ricefields and crops of the people in the south; the destruction and killings which they committed everyday in our country--those considerable crimes of the U.S. imperialists uncovered their ruthless aggressive character and deceitful maneuvers.

To "return to the basic articles of the Geneva agreements" means the U.S. must accept the basic principles of those agreements; respect the sovereignty, independence, reunification, and territorial integrity of Vietnam; implement the important political and military articles of those agreements, namely, to end the aggressive war in the south, to withdraw all U.S. and satellite armies and weapons from the south, to remove the U.S. military bases in the south, to stop for good and unconditionally the bombings and strafings and other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, not to interfere in Vietnam's internal affairs, to let the Vietnamese people resolve their own affairs.

However, right after having declared to "return to the basic points of the Geneva agreements," the U.S. imperialists asserted that their unchanging policy was "to stay in South Vietnam," and that the U.S. would maintain at any cost its presence in South Vietnam. It is clear that the "return to the 1954 Geneva agreements" maneuver of the U.S. imperialists was aimed at demanding that our people in the south lay down arms and surrender to them, thus letting them be free to rule over, to repress, and to exploit our people. That insolent and silly demand of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys could never be achieved.

Recently, when they put forth the "fourteen-point proposal" (3-1-1966) about a solution for the Vietnam question, the U.S. imperialists still stubbornly clung to that aggressive colonial position of theirs, and still refused to give up their savage ambition to occupy the south so as to turn the latter into their new-styled colony and military base and to maintain for an extended length of time the partitioning of our country. The U.S. imperialists' "fourteen-point proposal" is based on the two following points, both having a deceiving and false character:

1. To accuse falsely that the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the people in the south is an "aggression from the north." The U.S. withdraws its troops only after the "aggression" has ended, that is, when the struggle of the people of the south has ended.

2. The U.S. must maintain its "commitment" to the puppet government in Saigon.

The way the U.S. has falsely accused the patriotic struggle of the people in the south of being an "aggression from the north" has many times been rejected by the progressive opinion in the world, including the opinion of some personalities among the U.S. rulers.

The pretext advanced by the U.S., namely, "commitment" to the Saigon puppet government, to defend its aggression in the south is only an awkward farce that can deceive nobody. The true nature of such "commitment" is only an association between master and servant, aimed at destroying the Geneva agreements and opposing the Vietnamese people's basic national rights. The lackeys of the U.S. in the south--from Diem, Nhu to Ky, Thieu after so many changes--are only a bunch of people living on dollars and guns provided by the U.S. imperialists, selling the interests of their fatherland and people, being the targets of the opposition of the absolute majority of the people of the south and the insults from the world opinion. The "commitment" to the clique of lackeys can never obliterate the solemn pledges of the U.S. Government at the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina. Using the "commitment" to the clique of lackeys as a pretext, the Johnson company uncover more and more their imperialist colonial face. Suggesting to use "the 1954 Geneva agreements as an appropriate basis for peace in Southeast Asia" (point one of the "fourteen-point proposal"), the U.S. imperialists want to return to a practical situation of 1954 but with "some changes"--the U.S. expeditionary army to replace the French expeditionary army and, along with the puppet government and army, to rule the south forever. That is exactly the savage ambition of the U.S. imperialists as they claim to "return to the 1954 Geneva agreements." Those are also the insolent conditions which the U.S. imperialists wanted to force our people to accept in the so-called "unconditional negotiations."

In order to show better the U.S. imperialists' savage aggressive ambition, let us examine some other "proposals" advanced by them.

The U.S. says it "does not want to maintain U.S. troops in the south," but only under the conditions that "peace must have been guaranteed first." The 1954 Geneva agreements prohibit the bringing of foreign army and military personnel into Vietnam and the shipping of arms and war materiel there. If the U.S. really wants to return to those agreements, it must withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and arms from the south. As the U.S. aggressive army withdraws from the south, peace will immediately return there. As long as the U.S. aggressive army still tramples over the south, there cannot be peace, nor the right of self-determination of the people. As a result, the

people of the south still must fight to protect their freedom and independence and to realize their self-determination right. But it is clear that the U.S. imperialists still want to maintain their army in the south. President Johnson himself, in his message to the U.S. Congress on 12-1-1966, emphasized: "We shall stay in Vietnam..." "...We shall remain there until the aggression has been stopped." Sometimes the U.S. imperialists said they did not want to maintain their army in South Vietnam; the reason why the U.S. army still stays in South Vietnam is that the U.S. must "keep (our) commitment" to the Saigon government(!) It is necessary to uncover that act of throwing a rock while hiding one's hand on the part of the U.S. imperialists! As the U.S. does not want to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam under the terms of the Geneva agreements, its arguments, namely, "does not want military base," "respect of neutrality" or "non-alignment," "support of free elections in South Vietnam," and "(we are) for reunification of Vietnam," are all completely empty and false.

In the thirteenth "proposal" of the White House, the U.S. says "the Vietcong will find no difficulty in being represented and in expressing their views if Hanoi ever decides to stop its aggression." The vague wording, coupled with the insolent false charge above, proves that the U.S. is still stubborn and still refuses to recognize the National Front as the only true representative of the people of South Vietnam, nor to negotiate with it. This attitude of the U.S. is completely against the self-determination right of the Vietnamese people and against the principle of the Geneva agreements prohibiting the intervention of any foreign country in the internal affairs of Vietnam.

In short, the true character of the so-called "return to the Geneva agreements" as expressed by the U.S. imperialists is to destroy the basic content and to oppose the important articles of those agreements, as well as the four-point stand of our Government--a stand that generally reflects the main principles and articles of those agreements. In the process of implementing their policy of interfering in and committing aggression against the south, widening the war to the north, and extremely seriously violating the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists did not cease to look for every means to distort and to take advantage of such agreements so as to legalize their acts of aggression and violation of the agreements. Faced with successive military defeats and being miserably isolated politically, the U.S. imperialists tried to take advantage of the Geneva agreements to be able to "negotiate in a strong position" to achieve their ambition of seizing the south. The slogan, "return to the Geneva agreements," which the U.S. imperialists did not cease to claim is only a deceitful one aimed at hiding their unchanging design--to commit aggression in and to enslave the south. The U.S. position has been and still is to commit aggression and to widen the war. Our people in both parts of the country will never lower the degree of our vigilance in the face of the U.S. imperialists' dangerous plot. With a determination to fight and to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, our people will undoubtedly score bigger victories, defeat the U.S. imperialists, destroy their aggressive design, and force them to really respect and to correctly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

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THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE WITH THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE  
TO FIGHT THE PRO-U.S. REACTIONARIES IN INDONESIA

[Following is a translation of  
an article by Minh Dao in the  
Vietnamese-language periodical,  
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No.4,  
April 1966, pages 82-85.]

The world progressive opinion is strongly condemning the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia for having conducted terrorizing acts and massacres against the Indonesian communists and patriotic progressive people. Along with the progressive people throughout the world, the Vietnamese people resolutely protest against the white terror of the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia. We resolutely reject the wicked accusations brought forth by them and aimed at slandering the Communist Party and democratic and progressive organizations of Indonesia, and defending their big counterrevolutionary crimes. Although the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia may use any smart tricks, they cannot turn white into black and hide the truth. The successive facts that took place in Indonesia in the last few months prove that it was they who betrayed their people and country, plotted the overthrow of the Indonesian Government and President Sukarno and the establishment of a military dictatorial system in Indonesia to serve as the U.S. puppet, destroyed the revolutionary achievements obtained by the Indonesian people. It was they and their masters--the U.S. imperialists--who were guilty and should be brought to trial.

Everybody knows that, in the last days of September 1965, taking advantage of the time when President Sukarno was seriously ill, the U.S. imperialists urged and aided their lackeys, reactionary officers in Indonesia to gather in a so-called "Council of Generals" to carry out a plot to overthrow the Indonesian Government and President Sukarno. In the trial of Lt. Col. Untung, the patriotic progressive officer who commanded the "30-9 Movement," many witnesses boldly denounced the above-mentioned rebellious plot of the "Council of Generals" and the dirty role of the U.S. imperialists in this affair. Major Sujono, a witness, denounced that the Council had "secretly made a deal with the U.S. so that the latter would give millions of dollars." Sujono also revealed that the "Council of Generals" cooperated with Nekolim (that is imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism), particularly with the U.S., in the military and technical fields. Those charges were slaps at the faces of the U.S. imperialists who shamelessly denied that they had interfered in the internal affairs of Indonesia. Those charges were not the only evidences. According to Indonesian press reports, on 24-9-1965, that is at the same time when the so-called "Council of Generals" met to discuss the coup d'etat plot, ten CIA agents sent to

Indonesia to operate were arrested. When the Indonesian reactionaries, under the pretext of repressing the "30-9 Movement," conducted white terror against the Indonesian communists and patriotic and progressive people, the U.S. news agency UPI on 13-10-1965 openly said "the U.S. Government seems satisfied with the strong action" of the Indonesian reactionaries. Also according to this news agency, the two U.S. and British foreign ministers, at a meeting in Washington early in October 1965, recognized that "the Indonesian situation was developing to the benefit of Washington and London." During this time the U.S. embassy in Indonesia also worked hard and openly. The U.S. ambassador, Green, was constantly meeting with the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia to suggest to them new tricks. After President Sukarno had decided to reshuffle his cabinet and to dismiss the pro-U.S. Gen. Nasution, the U.S. news agencies published a lot of news that was aimed at further arousing the Indonesian reactionaries to act against President Sukarno. When the Indonesian reactionaries used force to compel President Sukarno to "cede power" to them, that is, when in reality they carried out a new coup d'etat to overthrow Sukarno, the press of the U.S. imperialists were unable to hide their satisfaction and joy. The "New York Times," on 13-3-1966, wrote: "... a special encouraging situation in connection with the new regime is the possibility that Gen. Nasution, the former defense minister dismissed by Sukarno, could still be given a large share of responsibility." Through the propaganda of the U.S. imperialists and the activities of the U.S. embassy in Indonesia, it was clearly seen that behind the Indonesian reactionaries there were the bloody hands of the U.S. imperialists pulling the strings. The U.S. imperialists proved themselves to be the instigator, the culprit who had created the present disorder in Indonesia, the deadly enemy of the Indonesian revolution and people. This was not a surprise at all, for the U.S. imperialists had long been using all kinds of maneuvers to hope to turn Indonesia--a country having a large population, rich natural resources, and an important strategic position in Southeast Asia--into one of their new-styled colony and military base. In the last several years, they were getting mad because of the relatively progressive policies of the Indonesian Government, led by President Sukarno. Therefore, they sought every means to overthrow the Indonesian legitimate government. They brought up the Indonesian reactionaries and encouraged the latter to rise up against the Indonesian legitimate government and President Sukarno. The Indonesian Government in the past already made public many undeniable evidences of the rude intervention of the U.S. imperialists in the Indonesian internal affairs. The fact that they helped and encouraged the pro-U.S. reactionaries gathered in the so-called "Council of Generals" to stage a coup d'etat to overthrow the Indonesian legitimate government was as clear as daylight.

Lt. Col. Untung and other patriotic officers bravely stood up and protected the Indonesian legitimate government and fought against the pro-U.S. reactionaries' plot to stage a coup d'etat. The act of Lt. Col. Untung and his friends that served the good cause, though a failure, contributed to unmasking the dark plots of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in Indonesia.

The pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia completely proved their counterrevolutionary character when they falsely charged the Indonesian Communist Party with having organized and directed the "30-9 Movement" and, on the basis of that charge, carried out a campaign of extremely savage terrorizing acts against the Indonesian communist and patriotic and progressive people. According to several news dispatches from Indonesia, since early October 1965, there were more than 250,000 killed and hundreds of thousands of others jailed and persecuted.

The Indonesian revolution is undergoing a serious test, but final victory will undoubtedly be the Indonesian people's. The historic experiences of the Indonesian revolution and the revolutions of other countries in the world indicated that the revolutionary road would not be a straight one. The common and long-term rule of revolution is to move forward continuously, but due to many objective and subjective reasons, particularly because of the shrewd plots and mad opposition of the adversary, in many place and at a certain time, the revolution can temporarily stay still or move backward. Therefore, the history of revolution is always one of ceaseless struggle to overcome difficulties and to score victories. The revolutionaries must always stay ready to have the right spirit and strength to overcome one difficulty after another, must score a new victory whenever a difficulty has been overcome, and to come one step closer to final victory.

The historic experiences of the Indonesian revolution clearly indicated that no matter how savage and mad the terrorizing acts of the pro-U.S. Indonesian reactionaries were, such acts were not able to extinguish the revolutionary flame of the Indonesian people, who have strong invincible struggling traditions. Having lived hundreds of years under the rules of the Dutch colonialists (up to 1942) and the Japanese fascists (1942-1945), the Indonesian people never ceased to rise up against the aggressors. Since the regaining of national independence, they have been struggling against the intervention and destructive acts of the foreign imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists. The Indonesian Communist Party also went through a heroic, long, and hard struggling process. In the last forty-five years, it suffered from two big terrorizing acts and had to operate in decades under extremely difficult underground conditions, but its strength did not cease to increase. With only 8,000 members in 1951, it had more than 3 million party members and tens of millions of sympathizers in 1965. The pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia want to use blood and fire to destroy the Communist Party and the democratic progressive forces in Indonesia. Their plot will certainly be defeated. Under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party of Indonesia, the Indonesian people, resolute and invincible, will stand up to stop the reactionaries' bloody hands and not to let them continue to act freely and destroy the revolution. The Communist Party of Indonesia, hardened in the revolutionary struggle furnace, will overcome the present difficult challenge and consolidate and develop its own strength in order to continue pushing the Indonesian revolutionary work ahead.

The present era is one of socialist revolution and national libera-

tion revolution. The revolutionary storm is brewing all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America. World imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, is being under attack everywhere, even in the U.S. In Southeast Asia particularly, the U.S. imperialists suffered from many big defeats, and are getting miserably bogged down in Vietnam, Laos. The counterrevolutionary action of the U.S. imperialists and the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia does not prove that they are strong. On a world-wide basis, it is nothing but a partial counterattack within the framework of the U.S. imperialists being for a long time continually attacked and defeated. In regard to Indonesia itself, it is only a temporary counterattack of the reactionary force after many decades of being pushed about and defeated by the people's revolutionary force. Because of their extremely brazen treacherous acts, the pro-U.S. reactionaries are more and more isolated in front of the public opinion in the country and throughout the world.

The Indonesian people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the pro-U.S. reactionaries is going on. It will certainly be victorious at the end.

The Vietnamese people are watching carefully the development of the Indonesian situation. Being in the same Southeast Asian region, having the same common enemy, the U.S. imperialists, the people of Vietnam and Indonesia have been attaching importance to strengthening the combat friendship between the two peoples and wholeheartedly supporting each other. In these hours of difficulties of the Indonesian revolution, our people once more affirm the unbreakable solidarity with the Indonesian people. We firmly condemn the terrorist acts of the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia, aimed at massacring savagely the Indonesian communists and patriotic and progressive people. We strongly denounce to public opinion in the country and in the world the plot of the clique of pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia to stage the trial of a number of communists and participants in the "30-9 Movement; firmly demand the abolition of those fascist sentences, and the release of all those communists and patriotic and progressive people, as well as many ordinary innocent Indonesians, who have been arrested and jailed by the pro-U.S. reactionaries in the recent white terror. To coordinate with the hard struggle of the Indonesian people and communists against the pro-U.S. reactionaries in Indonesia, and to respond to the Indonesian people's precious support for our revolutionary work, our people pledge to strengthen our efforts a great deal, to bring our fight against the U.S. for national salvation to glorious victory, and to consider it as a duty and our own support for the fraternal people of Indonesia.

We believe that, with their traditions of firm invincible revolutionary struggle, and having the strong support of the progressive people in the world, the Indonesian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will certainly overcome this rough test and succeed not only in protecting the revolutionary achievements they have obtained, but also in moving toward new victories.

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## THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE SCORE MANY VICTORIES IN SOCIALISM-BUILDING

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Duong in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 4, April 1966, pp. 86-89.]

On 4 April 1945, with the assistance of the Red Army of the Soviet Union, the Hungarian people completely liberated their beloved country from the rule of the German fascist aggressors, overthrew the reactionary government of Horthy, and established the government of the working people led by the workers' class. Under the leadership of the pioneering party of the workers' class, the Hungarian people were fighting hard, overcame all difficulties and obstacles, and turned their country from being a slow-progressing industrial and backward agricultural country--a country well-known for having "3 million beggars" in the heart of a capitalist Europe--into a socialist country having modern industry and agriculture. At present, Hungary has a pretty well developed industry that accounts for about 63 percent of the people's income and a total industrial output that is 5.5 times higher than the 1938 mark, 6.2 times for the processing industry alone. It produces more than 30 million tons of coal, 10.5 billion kw./hr. of electric power, 2.4 million tons of steel, 2.3 million tons of cement, and 56,900 tons of aluminum a year. To satisfy the very big needs for fuel and raw materials of its industry, Hungary is on the one hand trying to exploit its own fuel resources and on the other doing its best to change the structure of the energy branch--from using coal to using petroleum and natural gas; at the same time, it is actively surveying and exploiting its own resources to solve its fuel-supply problem for industry.

More particularly the processing industry in Hungary has developed fast and obtained many good results. At present, Hungary is able to supply by itself all the machinery used in the country, such as all the equipment for industry, telecommunication equipment, precision machines, farm machinery, and communication-transportation means. Many products of Hungary reach or surpass international standards of acceptance, and are very much liked in many countries, such as vacuum tubes, medical instruments, measuring instruments, etc.

The chemical industry assures for agriculture a volume of fertilizers nineteen times the one produced prior to the liberation and supplies enough products needed by the pharmaceutical industry. The Hungarian-made drugs, particularly antibiotics and drugs used on domestic animals, are well known in the world and constitute a source of pride of the Hungarian people. The chemical industry also provides other industries like weaving and plastic

with more and more materials.

In 1961, Hungary basically completed socialist reforms in agriculture. The socialist sector accounted for 96.9 percent of the land, of which the part owned by the cooperatives was 79.6 percent. Along with ceaselessly improving the socialist production relation, the Hungarian party and Government paid particular attention to increasing the productivity of the cultivated plants, speeding intensive cultivation, creating favorable conditions for increasing agricultural output. That correct agricultural development policy led to big victories: in 1963, rural electrification was completed and created favorable conditions for rural living to get changed. Agricultural mechanization also was further speeded. By the end of 1964, agriculture was equipped with 57,000 tractors and many other farm machines. Hungary was able to solve problems related to draft power and mechanized an important part of the land-tilling work, thus improving to a large extent its farmers' working conditions. In regard to irrigation, by the end of 1965, the total area watered by modern methods was over 280,000 hectares, or more than the goal set for the second five-year (1961-1965) plan. The quantity of fertilizer used per hectare of land is now nineteen times higher than the pre-liberation mark. Thanks to those measures, the productivity of grains was gradually increasing. In 1965, the average wheat output was 22 quintals per hectare, or 1.5 times higher than the pre-liberation level.

The brilliant victory of the agricultural policy of the Hungarian party and Government comes from the fact that a socialist agriculture has been built, in which the collectivized farmers' class was born and associated itself more and more closely with the new system; and that, through the building of an advanced agriculture, not only the domestic needs for grain and food were satisfied, but also 21 percent of the total exports of the country came from agriculture.

The economic achievements obtained created the favorable conditions needed for raising the people's living standard. The system of social security was very much enlarged. At present 97 percent of the population of Hungary are eligible for social security coverage.

In addition to raising the material living standard, the socialist system also paid attention to the Hungarian people's cultural and spiritual living. In this regard, we must mention the very big achievements which the education branch has obtained under the new system. The people's government was concerned with training a body of new teachers loyal to the socialist system. Learning combined with working was applicable in high schools and universities. At present, Hungary has eighty-nine universities, with 108 schools. In the 1964-1965 schoolyear, 2.3 million people went to school, with over 92,000 going to higher-learning schools or universities; this was four times as high as the 1938 figure. In average, one out of 1,000 people was a university student; one out of four went to school. The public health network developed fast in cities and rural areas. The number of physicians increased very fast. In 1964, there were in Hungary 18,000 physicians--or 18.6 physicians for every 10,000 people. Thanks to active prophylactic and

therapeutic work, such dangerous communicable diseases as tuberculosis and polio have been eliminated.

In addition to building the material and technical base of socialism, the Workers' Socialist Party of Hungary relied on the political tasks of each period to assign ideological work. At present, the party emphasizes improvement of labor enthusiasm; teaching of revolutionary traditions, patriotism, love for socialism to all social strata. The party also pays attention to educating the people so as to raise their understanding of class, to urge them to struggle hard against imperialism, to defend peace; it constantly stresses the solidarity with the Vietnamese people to fight the U.S. imperialists' aggression. Having failed to carry out the plot to arouse counterrevolutionary uprising in 1956, the imperialist clique, headed by the U.S. imperialists, was very angry. They tried to pull the strings attached to their reactionaries-lackeys so that the latter would carry out sabotaging activities in Hungary itself, and to seek every means to "create looseness" in the Hungarian people's mind. Moreover, everyday the Radio "Free Europe" of the imperialist clique of Austria and West Germany kept inserting bourgeois ideological venom into Hungary by praising the "Western way of living" and slandering and openly calling for overthrow of the socialist regime in Hungary. Therefore, while constantly stressing vigilance, the Workers' Socialist Party of Hungary paid attention to applying many measures aimed at resisting that shrewd maneuver of the class's adversary inside the country and abroad.

Vietnam and Hungary are two fraternal socialist countries having the same common goal of struggling for the victory of socialism and communism; having the same task of struggling resolutely against imperialism, headed by the U. S. imperialists; and defending national independence and world peace.

The Vietnamese people are very encouraged by the victories of the fraternal Hungarian people in their work of socialist reforming and building, and consider the consolidation and prosperity of the People's Republic of Hungary as our own source of pride.

At the same time the Vietnamese people also pay attention to following and supporting the fraternal Hungarian people's struggle against the plots of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, who associate with the remnants of the reactionaries in the country to try to destroy the fruit of the revolution and socialist labor in Hungary.

On their part, the Hungarian people always actively supported our Vietnamese people in the war of resistance against the French in the past and in the socialism-building work and fight against the U.S. for national salvation today. The party, Government, and people of Hungary many times confirmed their position: to consider the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors today as the most important problem in the

world; to consider the Vietnamese people's struggle as the common struggle of the international communist movement and the people of the world against the U.S. imperialists; to consider the Vietnamese people's victories as their own, which constitute a source of encouragement and mobilization of patriotism, antiimperialist spirit, and active socialism-building in their country. The Hungarian party, Government, and National Assembly sternly condemned the despicable aggressive war and "peace negotiations" trick of the U.S. imperialists, and revealed that "the U.S. imperialists are like a crook having a bible in one hand and stealing with the other hand." The Hungarian people everyday watch the patriotic struggle of our people against the U.S. with all their enthusiasm. Many rallies have been held with the participation of the leaders of the Hungarian party and state to express their support for our people in our fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Many youths and soldiers of the People's Army of Hungary have volunteered to come to fight at our side. Hungary is one of the first countries having had the movement for registration for voluntary combat in Vietnam. Hungary is also the country that warmly welcomed the delegation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam in its visit and gives the Front permanent representative mission the same privileges extended to the diplomatic delegations of other countries.

In their contacts with the delegates of both parts of our country, the Hungarian people never forgot to express their serious desire to help our people by providing us with more means to strengthen our economic potentiality and defense power so as to make conditions more favorable for a victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Expressing that aspiration of their people, the Hungarian party and Government affirmed that (they) "must help more, must give bigger military aid, must send large quantities of more modern weapons of all kinds to Vietnam. And we shall be doing so until our Vietnamese brothers will have chased all the U.S. aggressors from their country."

With a warm affection and a deep gratitude, the Vietnamese people are sending greetings to the fraternal Hungarian people on their 21st National Day, and wishing the Hungarian people, under the leadership of the Workers' Socialist Party of Hungary, bigger achievements in their socialism-building work and struggle against imperialism for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

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