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No 6, 1966
- North Vietnam -

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No 6, 1966

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This publication contains a translation of all of the articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 6, June 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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**BUILDING THE PARTY STRONG TO LEAD
THE ANTI-U.S. FIGHT FOR NATIONAL SALVATION
TO FINAL VICTORY**

Following is a translation of
an editorial in the Vietnamese-
language periodical Hoc Tap
(Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June
1966, pages 1-5

Our Party is the leader and organizer of every success of our national revolution. The history of our Party is the history of a genuine revolutionary party completely loyal to Marxist-Leninism, to the paramount interests of the working class and the people, and to the international revolution of the world proletariat. Born and growing up in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, our Party has, from the very beginning, raised high the national and democratic banner, mobilized the people to revolt against imperialism and feudalism, established a solid worker-peasant alliance, and thus gained the leadership of the national revolution. Our Party has demonstrated a strong and indomitable spirit in the face of the enemy and an untiring effort in fighting for the interests of the people. Many of our Party's outstanding sons had heroically sacrificed their lives for national liberation and for communism. Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Nguyen Van Cu, Hoang Van Thu, etc., and many other members of our Party had set heroic examples by sacrificing their lives for the country. Under our Party's correct leadership, our people scored great victories in the August Revolution, in the resistance war against the French colonialists and American interventionists, in post-war land reforms and economic restoration, in socialist reformation and in the building of socialism in the North, and are now successfully proceeding with the earth-shaking war against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to defend the North, liberate the South and reunify the country.

The history of our national revolution over the past 36 years has proved that the existence and correct leadership of our Party is the most important factor determining the success of our people's revolution. Therefore, each cadre and member of our Party, each citizen of our country, has deeply realized that for our national revolution to be successful, attention must first of all be devoted to the building of the Party.

Since its conception, our Party has always attached great importance to the building of the party. All members and cadres of our Party have worked very hard to build the Party into a strong and solid party to lead our people's struggle to final victory. Thanks to the warm love and support of the

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masses, our Party has scored great achievements in building the party. In recent years, by implementing the resolution on party building approved by the Third Party National Congress, we have initially put our party building work into gear. Emphasis has been placed on both ideological and organizational aspects. Criticism and self-criticism have been stepped up within the Party. Leadership work of the Party has been improved. Its base level organizations have been consolidated and strengthened. Its class and vanguard nature has been further heightened. Its relations with the masses have been tightened. Substantial progress has also been made in party expansion work. From a membership of more than 35,000 when peace was restored, our Party at present has a membership of more than 76,000 in all the North. Political re-education courses in the past years have had a great effect in building the Party ideologically. The campaign to protect the Party has had a great effect in consolidating party organizations. The campaign to build "four-good" chi bo (party chapters) and base level party committees has been very effective in the consolidation and strengthening of base level party organizations. Today, our Party has really become the party of the masses. However, in order to meet the requirement of the political task in the new situation, party building work must be stepped up further.

Our people are at present being faced with the aggression by the U.S. -- the most vicious imperialist country in the world. The task of the entire Party and nation is to fight against the U.S. aggressors to save the country. Our people are carrying out the greatest revolutionary war in our nation's history, fighting against the U.S. imperialists -- the cruellest enemy of mankind -- to defend the North and build socialism in the North, to liberate the South, to complete the national democratic revolution in the whole country and to contribute to the struggle by all people in the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. History has entrusted to our Party a mostly heavy and glorious task, which is to lead our people in carrying out the revolutionary war against the U.S. for national salvation to the end. In order to fulfill that heavy and glorious task, our Party must further strengthen party building work so that it can become a strong party capable of leading the entire people to final victory over the U.S. aggressors.

To strengthen party building work in order to meet the requirement of the new situation, each one of us partymembers and cadres must have a profound realization of the importance of this work and know that it is the most important of all works, that it determines the future of our people's revolutionary war against the U.S. for national salvation. Our people's anti-U.S. fight for national salvation can be successful only when we strive to strengthen our party building work and consolidate the party leadership. To step up our party building work, it is necessary for us to oppose wrong viewpoints which hinder it. Compared to the past, there is now a greater awareness among our partymembers and cadres of the importance of party building work. However, there still is a number of our party committeemen, party members and cadres who have not fully realized that fact. There are even some party committeemen who, at times, forgot to put party building work into their work program. A number of leading cadres in governmental departments and in economic and cul-

tural branches still fail to give proper attention to party building work. The reason for all this is that these cadres still lack party consciousness and conception of the masses, and their leadership still leans too much toward bureaucracy and administrative procedures. In case our Party is the ruling party, as it is today in the North, these mistakes and shortcomings, if not corrected in time, will seriously affect our people's revolution. Our party building work can only make progress if such wrong attitudes are overcome.

In building the Party, it is necessary to attach importance to both ideological and organizational works.

Ideological work must be first in order. It ensures the unity of mind and action of the whole Party as far as the Party's political line is concerned. It is thus necessary to make every partymember and cadre realize deeply the new situation and task and firmly grasp the policy of fighting the U.S. for national salvation set forth by the 11th and 12th meetings of the Party Central Committee. Ideological work must be carried out continuously and comprehensively and must combine closely the three following aspects: educating partymembers and cadres on the Party's policy and line, fostering their revolutionary virtues and improving their knowledge in economic and technical management and their understanding of the people's war and people's national defense. Ideological work must aim at fostering the determination of the whole Party to defeat the U.S. aggressors, to be willing to make any sacrifice and endure any hardship, to overcome every difficulty so as to fulfill every task on both production and combat fronts. It is also important to prevent and overcome in time such bad attitudes as fear of hardship and sacrifice, subjective thinking, complacency, lack of vigilance against the enemy's cunning schemes, etc. Revolutionary heroism must be strongly developed. Every party member and cadre must be encouraged to strive energetically for progress and be ready to go anywhere, do anything and overcome any danger and difficulty in order to fulfill any task assigned by the Fatherland and the people.

Parallel to ideological work, organizational work must also be given great attention. Ideological work can only be really effective when accompanied by organizational work. The latter makes sure that the ideological consciousness of party members and cadres be translated into their revolutionary action. Only when ensured by organizational work can the moral strength of the party policy be transformed into the physical strength to defeat the enemy and lead the revolution to final victory. Moving from a peace to a war situation, our Party must have a great change in organizational work in order to adjust the party apparatus to the new situation and task. Party organizations of all levels must be reorganized to become more compact but stronger to ensure better leadership over production and combat in war situation. Party committeemen of all levels must be encouraged to acquire an earnest, active, democratic and yet disciplined attitude. To bring great changes in party organizational work, it is important to fight persistently against conservatism and apathy within the Party. Party organizational work can only

move forward to catch up with wartime requirements if we increase our revolutionary vigilance, make every person realize clearly the new situation and task so that he will try harder to make progress, and heighten our sense of organization and discipline.

The purpose of building the Party in ideology and organization is to increase the Party combat strength and to constantly raise its class and pioneering nature. Only when the class and pioneering nature of the Party is raised will the leading role of the working class and our Party be consolidated, assuring victory for our people's revolution. If ideological and organizational works are seriously carried out, then the unity of mind within the Party will be strengthened. Unity of mind within the Party is the basic condition to unite the people, develop their revolutionary ability and lead the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation to victory.

In building the Party, raising the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of party members and cadres is the foremost task. It is important to strengthen theoretical education for all party members and cadres, especially for high and middle rank cadres, so that they can have a basic understanding of Marxist-Leninism and know how to apply it to solve our concrete revolutionary problems. In the time to come, it is necessary to carry out effectively the Party Central Committee policy regarding the scientific socialist theoretical education of both full-fledged and probationary party members. Special importance must be attached to theoretical education of party members in rural areas so that they can consolidate their proletarian position. Theoretical education of party members in factories, farm sites, forestry sites, etc., must be given more attention. All party members and cadres must attach importance to the study of Marxist-Leninist theories. In this, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the formula that theory is related to reality. To step up the study of Marxist-Leninist theories within the Party, we must, on one hand, oppose the tendency of leaning entirely on experience and fact and, on the other hand, oppose the tendency of relying entirely upon plain theory. Reviewing work experience is a good method to raise theoretical level and working capacity of party members and cadres. Party committeemen of all levels and each party member, each cadre must regularly devote attention to the review of work experience in order to improve their work and working capacity.

To meet the requirement of production and combat leadership, Party committeemen of all levels as well as party members and cadres must ceaselessly improve their knowledge in science, technology and economic management as well as in military matters, people's war and people's national defense.

Party activities, particularly activities of the chi'ao, must be improved in quality. It is important to stop the situation in which party members, who are also leading cadres, refuse to participate regularly in

Party activities under the pretext that they are "too busy." Base level party organizations must strengthen their management over party members (including those who are leading cadres) in politics, ideology, work and social relations.

Party organizations and each party member and cadre must regularly hold self-criticism and criticism sessions to heighten ideological thinking, improve work, develop good points and overcome shortcomings in order to achieve more progress. In self-criticism and criticism, it is necessary to take up as main subject the implementation of the task assigned by the Party. All party members must regularly practice self-criticism and be honest and sincere in doing it. Party members in higher leading positions must be more exemplary in their self-criticism. In addition to strengthening discipline in the Party and strengthening the centralized leadership of Party committeemen of various levels, criticism from lower to upper levels must be stepped up and internal democracy must be expanded.

The system of collective leadership combined with work assignment must be correctly managed among Party committeemen of various levels. Principles regarding Party activities must be seriously practiced. Relations between the Party and the masses must be strengthened. Party members and cadres must improve their manners in serving the masses and resolutely oppose bureaucracy and authoritarianism.

Party committees in civil, political and Party agencies from the district level up as well as in state-operated factories, etc., must perform well their work in protecting the Party; they must heighten their class nature, pioneering nature, revolutionary vigilance, organizational ability and sense of discipline, perform well their political investigation work and improve their management over the rank of party members and cadres.

The campaign of building "four-good" chi bo and base level party committees must be stepped up in order to strengthen the base level organizations of the Party and the leadership of the Party at base level. The base level organizations of the Party must be units that provide the leadership in production and combat at base level, directly leading the masses to implement the Party policy of fighting the U.S. for national salvation. Party members must set good examples in production and combat and lead the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation.

To meet the requirement of the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation, it is important to perform well in Party expansion work, especially in expanding the Party among workers and peasants in collective farms. Thanks to the high movement of fighting the U.S. for national salvation, hundreds of thousands of outstanding elements have emerged from the revolutionary war flame and are waiting to be trained by the Party to join the Party rank. The Party must train and educate those who have made outstanding achievements in production and in fighting the U.S. for national salvation, particularly outstanding young men and women, and accept them as party members

so as to give the Party new vitality and strength.

To meet the requirements of the new situation and task, it is important to train and foster cadres. Attention must be paid to the training and promotion of cadres selected among outstanding persons from workers and peasants families as well as those selected from the intelligentsia, who are closely related and devoted to the workers and peasants. In applying the cadre policy of the Party in the current situation, it is imperative to train and foster cadres selected among persons who have been tested and forged in the flame of the revolutionary war against the U.S. aggressors. We must be bold in selecting, training and promoting cadres among outstanding young men and women. To this end, it is necessary to be determined to overcome wrong prejudices against young men and women and oppose scornful attitude toward young men and women.

Party building work covers many aspects. We must perform well in all these aspects in order to build our Party strong to lead our people's anti-U.S. fight for national salvation to complete victory.

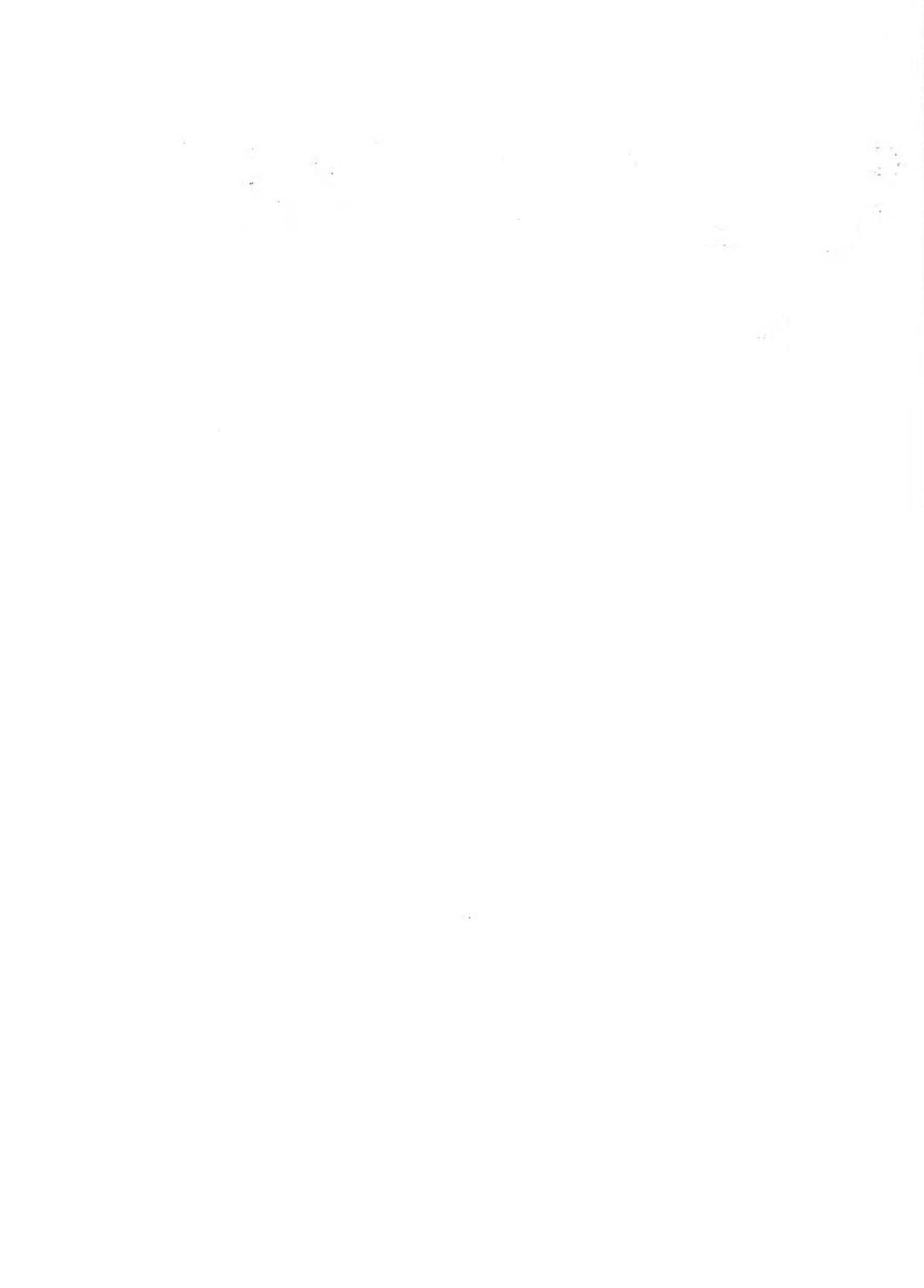
The revolutionary war against the U.S. for national salvation is a great challenge to our people and our Party. It requires great efforts and sacrifices on the part of our people and a farsighted, firm and courageous leadership on the part of our Party. It is of great importance to the destiny of our people, to the future of our Fatherland. Our Party is the organizer and leader of that revolutionary war. Our Party is shouldering a very heavy but glorious historic task. To fulfill this task, our Party must be built up stronger.

In building the Party under the present war conditions, we do encounter many difficulties caused by the bitter war situation. But we also have basic advantages. These advantages are : our Party has a correct political line; our Party has thoroughly understood the Marxist-Leninist principles on the building of the new proletarian party; our Party has traditions of unity, solidarity and courageous fighting; most of our party members and cadres are completely loyal to the Party and have a great sacrificing spirit; our Party is well loved by the people, who faithfully follow and support it.

The present great patriotic war against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys is a great opportunity for us to build our Party into a great revolutionary party. In the flame of this revolutionary war, our Party is being forged and is growing rapidly. All of us party members and cadres pledge to strive to follow the revolutionary fighting example of President Ho, to learn his revolutionary virtues, to devote ourselves to the service of the people and to fight to the end for national liberation, class liberation and human liberation. Under the farsighted leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by President Ho, our entire Party pledges to unite together and to strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, strong

and prosperous Vietnam. Entrusted by the people with the heavy task of leading the building of socialism and the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation to complete victory, our Party will definitely fulfill that glorious historic task. All of us party members and cadres are resolved to do our utmost to build the Party into a really strong party to fulfill the glorious historic task entrusted to us by the people.

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PRESIDENT HO'S ADDRESS TO THE RECAPITULATION
CONFERENCE ON THREE YEARS OF BUILDING "FOUR-
GOOD" CHI BO AND BASE LEVEL PARTY COMMITTEES

Following is a translation of an
address by Ho Chi Minh in the
Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6,
June 1966, pages 7-9

Dear comrades,

The building of good and strong chi bo is of utmost importance to our Party. Everyone of us knows it.

The campaign of "building 'four-good' chi bo and base level party committees" has scored quite good results.

What is "four-good" chi bo?

Summarily, it is : exemplary party members, close relations with the masses and real internal unity; good implementation of the Party policies and good leadership in production and combat; devotion to the people and real care for the people's material and spiritual life; good consolidation and development of the Party.

At the present time, in the delta as well as in the highlands, in the army as well as in economic and cultural branches, we all have "four-good" chi bo. This is indeed very good. Here, I would like to cite a few examples:

- The army has several "four good" chi bo, such as the Con Co chi bo, the Nguyen Viet Xuan chi bo, the chi bo of Company 2, Battalion 12 of the People's Armed Police.

- In heavy industry, there are the party committee of the Ha Tu mine (QuangNinh) and the chi bo of the Ham Rong power plant (Thanh Hoa), etc.

- In light industry, there is the chi bo of the Hoang Van Thu paper factory, etc.

- In communication-transportation, there are the party committee of the railroad repair company and the chi bo of the Nghe An state-private automobile group, etc.

- In handicraft cooperatives, there is the Hong Quang chi bo (Hai Phong), etc.

- In collective farms, there is the Tay Hieu party committee (Nghe An), etc.

- In agricultural cooperatives, there are the Dong Phuong Hong chi bo (Thanh Hoa) and the Vinh Kim village party committee (Vinh Linh), etc.

- In commerce, there is the chi bo of the Kien Xuong construction materials store (Thai Binh), etc.

- In public health, there is the chi bo of the Van Dinh hospital (Ha Tay), etc.

- In culture and education, there are the chi bo of the Xuan Dinh third level school (Hanoi), the chi bo of the Hung Yen Education Service, etc.

There also are "four-good" chi bo in other branches.

I would like to cite in particular the "four-good" chi bo of Thuan Hau (Nam Ha), which is one of the many chi bo in the catholic area in the delta, the Chieng Xum "four-good" chi bo (Son La) in the remote mountainous region and the Pha Long "four-good" chi bo (Lao Cai) in the mountainous frontier region.

Apart from such good results, the campaign of "four-good" chi bo still has several shortcomings which we must strive to correct and overcome. The campaign is still not wide and deep enough and still slow in making progress.

We are encouraged because in these "four-good" chi bo there are outstanding fighters and heroes in production and combat, who are completely loyal to the Party and devoted to the people. There are several outstanding party members who always fulfill every task assigned by the Party.

We must also criticize severely weak chi bo. These chi bo have bad party members, lack internal unity and do not stay close to the masses. Not only they do not implement correctly the Party policy but they also go against it at certain times and in certain places.

Worse than that is the fact that in such chi bo there are some party members and cadres, including high ranking and leading ones, who are so bureaucratic and bossy. The Party must discipline them severely.

To avoid this weak chi bo and bad party members situation, party commissioners of district, city and provincial levels must henceforth go deeper and stay closer to the chi bo and help them in a practical manner. Party commissioners of district, city and provincial levels must give

separate guidance to the chi bo in order to acquire experience in building "four-good" chi bo. District party committees must be well consolidated in accordance with the recent directive of the central in order to step up the campaign of "four-good" chi bo and party committees.

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* *

We are now engaging in a second resistance war against the U.S., one of the cruelest imperialist. They are destroying our communication-transportation installations. They are bombing our dikes and dams...In short, they are trying to undermine our economic and military strength. The task of our entire party and people is to strive in production and combat and be ready to fight and resolved to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The campaign of "three-for, three-against" must be stepped up in all factories and plants.

The campaign of "attaining 5 tons per hectare" must be stepped up in all agricultural cooperatives. There are at the present time more than 30,000 agricultural cooperatives in the North. Over 364,500 members of our Party are peasants. This is a tremendous force. We must also give encouragement to the movement of "three acres, five jobs" of our youth.

All the armed forces must always be vigilant, ready to fight and fight well.

Communication-transportation and post office branches must ensure good transportation and communication to serve production and combat well.

Civil air defense is also very necessary to protect the people's lives and property. This task is being carried out effectively in several places like in Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, etc. But there are places where it is being carried out subjectively and superficially. This situation must be immediately corrected.

Another important task that must be done is to evacuate part of the people in cities, especially small children. This, too, is being done well in some places. If there is anyplace where this task is not well carried out, it is because of lack of responsibility on the part of youth and women groups and labor unions. These organizations and groups must henceforth really take charge of this task. In any place where children are evacuated from and evacuated to, the chi bo must always do the best to help them.

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* *

Only when party members are good will the chi bo be good. To help party members become good, the chi bo must explain to each member what is

the responsibility of a party member and what attitude and manner a party member should have, while helping him practice daily introspection.

In this connection, I would like to present here some ideas for your consideration:

The first idea is to print the 10 duties of a party member on paper and distribute it to each comrade so that he can read it daily and remember to fulfill his duties.

The second idea is that while stepping up the campaign of "four-good" chi bo, each district, city and provincial party commissioner must take direct care of one weak chi bo and help it become "four-good." Help it but do not do everything for it. And continue to do so from one weak chi bo to another.

The third idea is that this conference should discuss and decide that in how long, what locality will have how many percent of its chi bo which become "four-good."

Incidentally, I would like to cite here a few localities that have several "four-good" chi bo so that outstanding localities will continue to make further effort and weak localities will strive harder to catch up with the better ones.

According to reports, Quang Binh, Haiphong and the army are the best.

Cao Bang, which was once an outstanding province, now has only 35 "four-good" chi bo out of its 504 chi bo. Our comrades in Cao Bang must strive harder.

Another thing that should be criticized is the fact that even our civil, political and party agencies at central level still fail to classify their chi bo. This proved that central level agencies are not doing a good job in the campaign of "four-good" chi bo.

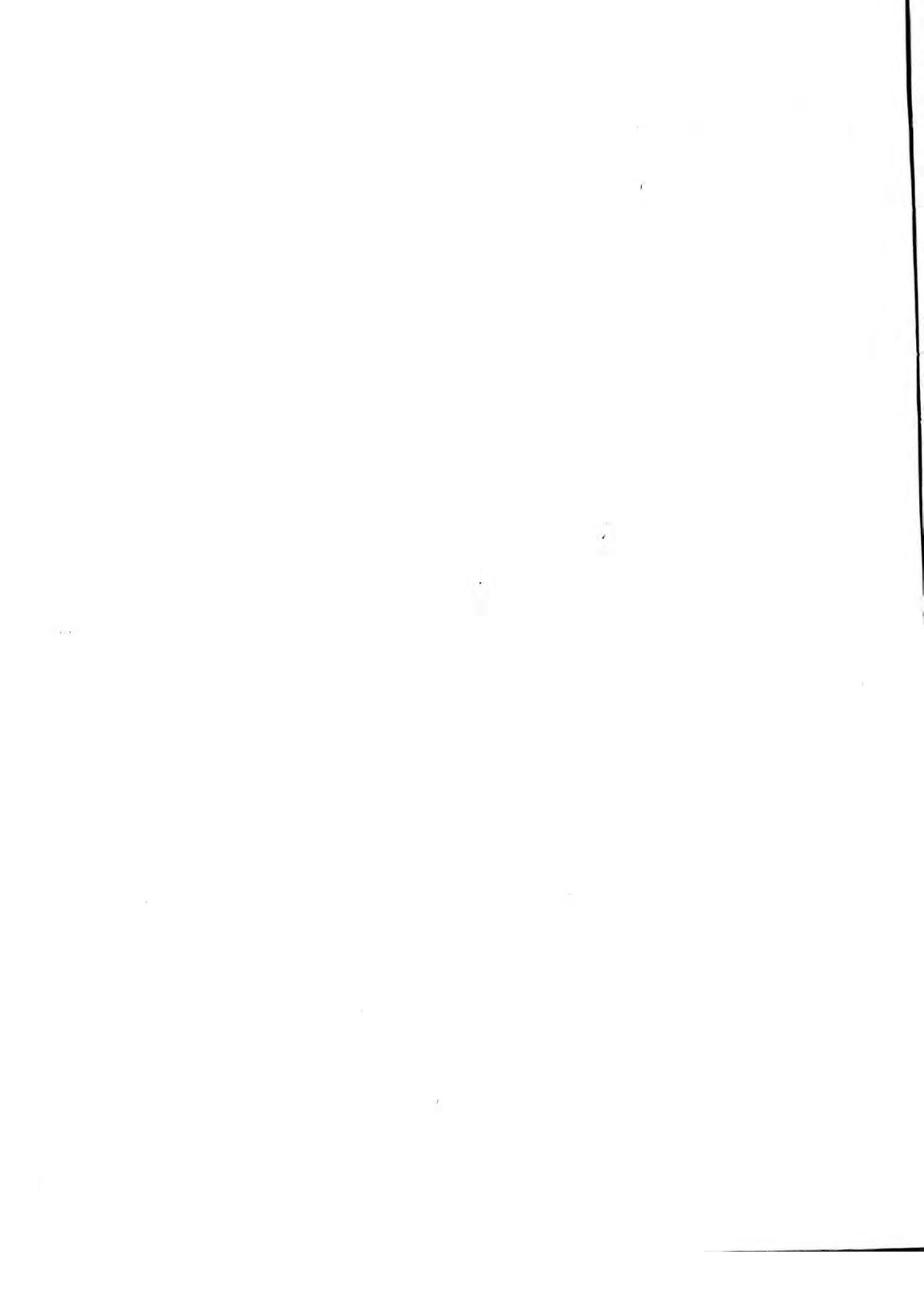
Dear comrades,

In 1945, our Party had only about 5,000 party members. Yet, it was able to rally, organize and lead the people in bringing the August Revolution to victory. Today in the North, our Party has more than 766,000 party members, or 153 times more than its membership during the August Revolution period. We have 1.2 million enthusiastic youth labor members. We have a strong and brave army. Our Party is the ruling party. Our Party is well loved by the people who always comply with the Party instructions...With such favorable conditions, we must, in a few years to come, see to it that each locality and each branch have at least 60 percent of its chi bo becoming "four-good," as recommended by the resolution of the Secretariat. Other chi bo must try

to become better than average. This is the best assurance for us to perform well in production and combat; it is also the best guarantee for our certain success in fighting the U.S. aggressors, defending the North, liberating the South and reunifying the country.

I hope you will strive and succeed.

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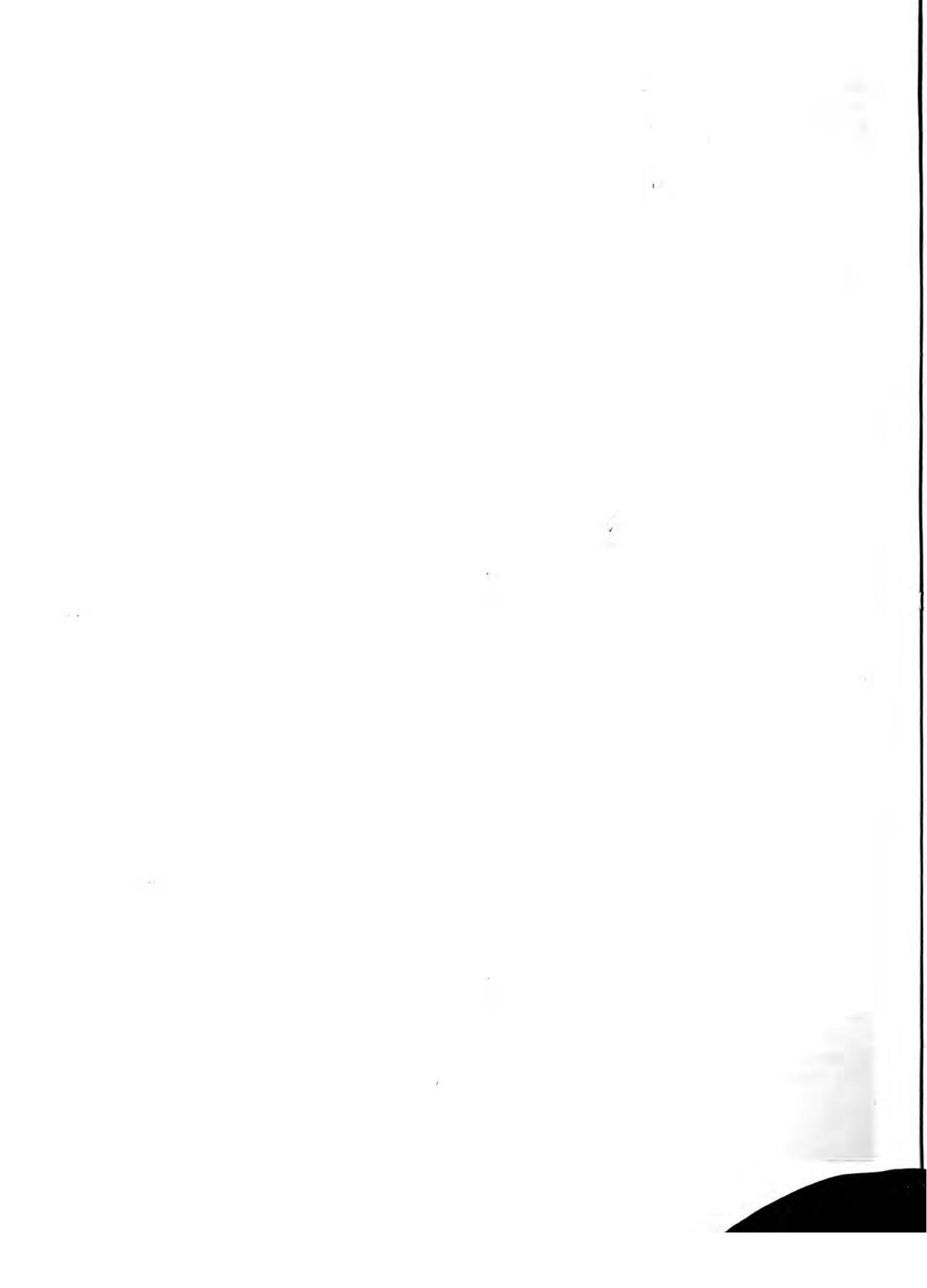
SOME OF THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIENCE
GAINED IN BUILDING THE BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE
PARTY DURING THE "FOUR GOODS" COMMITTEE AND
CELL BUILDING ACTIVITIES

Following is a translation of an article by Le
Duc Tho in the Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June 1966, pp.
10-48.

From the valuable and broad experiences and each of the aspects of building the basic organization of the Party undergone by many levels of committees and cells in many fields of work, especially those of the "four goods" party cells and committees in the various commercial and production units and the armed forces, we must draw upon the lessons learned from these great experiences to increase even further the resources of the "four goods" party committee and cell building activities to advance the work of building the Party's basic organization to new levels, so they are stronger and better consolidated than ever.

1. The First Lesson: Clearly recognize the important role of the basic organization of the Party; redefine and elevate the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organization of the Party.

Party regulations have affirmed the overall and absolute nature of the leadership role of the basic organizations of the Party and they emphasize that: "The basic organizations are the foundation of the Party which serve to weld the Party and the various leadership organizations of the Party with the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the other levels of working peoples." The basic organizations of the Party are the



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people who organize every victory of the Party at the base level. Every guideline, policy and duty promulgated by the Party can only be transformed into the action of millions of the masses when they have penetrated all the way down to the party members at the base and transformed into the ideas and practical actions of the throngs of party members first. Every aspiration and creative experience of the masses likewise are regularly reflected by the basic organizations of the Party to the higher echelons of the Party.

The practices of many "four goods" basic Party cells and committees and the results of the consolidation of the Party basic organizations in the past period have increasingly emphasized this great role and important function of the basic organizations of the Party and brought increasing life to the resolutions of the 3rd National Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee regarding the strengthening of the overall and absolute leadership of the Party organizations in the army units, production, commerce, hospitals, schools, ...

These practices have also clearly shown that the struggle to redefine and elevate the overall and absolute leadership of the basic organizations of the Party is primarily a process of steadfast struggle from two standpoints: it is necessary to both struggle against every tendency toward superficial thinking, vague concepts and every biased assertion regarding the leadership role of the basic organization of the Party; and to struggle to raise every aspect of the ideology and standards of the cadres and party members at the base, and to invigorate the organization, improve the working methods of the party committees, the basic party committees and the cells so that they better respond to the requirements of the leadership duties during the various periods.

a) Above all, this is the process of the struggle to increase the awareness of the important function of the basic organizations of the Party, to overcome every manifestation of deemphasizing organizational consolidation, and to raise the standards in every respect of the basic organization of the Party in the many levels of Party committees and among the many cadres and party members at the base.

It can be said that compared to previous times the realization of the many committee levels of the important function of the basic organizations of the Party has been greatly increased. The process of increasing this awareness has been primarily one of a process of struggle within the internal structure of the many committee levels of approving a review of their own leadership, and especially the approval of the replacement of many veteran leader cadres of the Party during the movement to be realistic at the basic level. However, the tendency to take lightly the consolidation of the Party's base emanates from the places that are still insufficiently aware of the important

function of the Party's basic organization, and this has still not been completely overcome in many levels of Party committees and organizations.

There are committee levels and cadres and party members who, although they say the basic organizations of the Party are important, in practice do not practice this in guiding the work, or at least do not practice it to the point where it is noticeable in the task of invigorating the basic organizations of the Party.

Not a few of the committee levels and basic organizations of the Party make it a practice of separating the task of guidance to achieve the political and economic obligations from the task of guidance in building the Party and building the organization. There are committee levels who, when they have received the directives on building the Party base, consider them as routine matters and often only copy them and send them to the organizational steering committee, and do not consider them as being the responsibility of the committee levels themselves. There are also quite a few committee levels who, when inspecting the work at the base level, summarize the production situation, the fighting situation, etc...by only going into the subjects of proposals, managerial methods, technological methods, etc...and do not concern themselves with reflecting the experiences of the leadership in producing, fighting, etc...of the basic organizations of the Party, and do not estimate the weaknesses and strengths of the party committees, the basic party committees, the cadres and the party members so that methods can be derived for invigorating the basic organizations of the Party that are practical and specific. Or if they do mention these subjects, they do so only in a very superficial manner just to meet the regulations, etc... These things occur because the awareness of the important function of the basic organizations of the Party has still not been transformed into an actuality on the party of these persons.

The root of this situation in many cases is not only that the Party consciousness is not yet high, but also that the concept of the masses in the leadership work of many comrades is still vague. Their leadership tends to consist of merely giving orders, or their method of administration usually results in the Party holding the authority with many comrades not having a chance to develop their capabilities. This is the real source of the tendency to treat Party work lightly; the manifestation of a lack of a profound realization of the definite effect that the leadership of the basic Party organizations has in the fulfillment of every Party obligation at the basic level; and the failure to still not see the great effect that the stimulation of the masses has upon the execution of every project at the basic level. In fact, this is also the tendency to treat lightly the overall and absolute nature of the basic organization of the Party.



This tendency has restricted the efforts of many Party committee levels and cadres and party members in the unceasing tasks of raising ideology, cultivating knowledge, improving behavior and invigorating the organization of the various party committees, basic party committees and cells with the goal of having the basic organizations of the Party make continuous advances in keeping with the new situation and obligations.

Practice has made it clear that if we want to have the masses acknowledge the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organization of the Party, the important problem is not merely to explain, to broadcast or to issue statements to the masses that these organizations are the leaders; the basic problem is how to get the basic organizations of the Party to strive to raise their leadership standards.

To properly lead the production and the resistance requires a many faceted level of understanding. Not only must there be high political and ideological standards but a good understanding of economic management, scientific technology, military tactics and strategy, etc. is also required; and, of course, there must be proper working methods. Furthermore, the political and ideological work as well as the organizational and cadre work must be realistically set up and guided if, as Party organizations, they are to have an accurate understanding of the contents and demands of the technological revolution and managerial organization now being levied on the units of production, commerce, resistance, etc...of which they are the leaders. The basic organizations of the Party must definitely achieve a good grasp of scientific technology to properly lead in production and in the resistance and not become subjectively satisfied with their own political standards and working methods.

The experience of the various localities in getting across the important role and function of the basic organizations of the Party as well as of the "four goods" basic cells and party committees has clearly demonstrated that the process of defining and elevating the overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party is primarily a process of forging the proletarian ideology of the cadres and party members at the basic level so that they are imbued with the guidelines and policies of the Party; a process of striving to raise the knowledge of economic management, scientific technology, military guidance, etc...of the cadres and party members; a process of properly retraining and using the veteran leadership cadres, and setting up the Party organization so that it is in harmony with the organization of production, the resistance and the projects. It is also a process of bringing young blood into the ranks of the Party, drawing upon the outstanding forces that are now blossoming in the movement and bringing them into the Party ranks, and weeding out of the Party the party members who have deteriorated and no longer have all the qualifications to be a party member,

etc. Without these efforts being exerted by the body of basic Party organizations as well as positive and truly pertinent guidance from the higher echelons, it cannot be said that there is a correct realization of the leadership role of the basic organizations of the Party.

b) The process of defining and elevating the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party is also a process of struggling to overcome the ideas of downgrading or negating this overall and absolute leadership role on the political and ideological front as well as on the specialist, technological and professional front, and it is the process of struggling to closely coordinate these two fronts.

There are party committees and basic committees that are still not attaching enough importance to the political and ideological works and the projects dealing with human factors, while they like to delve deeply into the theories and methods regarding production. In leading the specialist and technological projects these persons tend to play down political and ideological leadership causing the specialist and technological projects to not get off on the right track and impeding their development. On the other hand, there are Party committees and basic committees that consider themselves inferior, do not believe in their own power and only half-heartedly carry out their political and ideological leadership duties and are still not delving deeply into scientific and technological fields to properly lead the production, resistance and the projects.

There are cadres in some branches and economic and cultural basic organizations who maintain that as production management, scientific and technological management, economic and enterprise management are in many ways specialist in nature, and as production is becoming increasingly large-scale and equipped with modern technology, therefore the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party does not have any real significance. These comrades say that, as the cultural, specialist and technological standards are still low, the basic organizations of the Party cannot delve deeply into these fields nor hold profound discussions on the theories and methods of production, the specialist projects, etc...and so they make the building of their own qualifications the sole objective and content of their leadership.

Again, there are concepts that maintain that in the basic units in every work including the work of a specific nature and that of a more executive nature, it is hard to distinguish the realm of responsibility between the Party organizations and the organizations of the authorities. Therefore, the Party organizations cannot discuss in specifics the theories and methods of production, economics, specialist projects, technology, etc...

These ill-conceived observations and concepts, in varying degrees, have and still are impeding the role of not a few basic

organizations of the Party.

We can be certain that the political and ideological leadership of the basic organizations of the Party is always decisive in every field of work. The practical experiences of many "four goods" basic cells and party committees has made this fact very clear. If we want to produce well and fight well, we must build revolutionary people, socialist people. If we take lightly the political and ideological work and the work of dealing with the people, above all the party members, then the leadership work of the Party organizations, in every aspect of the work, will not be of a resistance nature and will thus develop into a mere formality that has not hope of being achieved. This is a definite fact of life. However, the practical experiences of the "four goods" cells and party committees also made it clear that the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party must aim at assuring the fulfillment of the obligations in production, fighting, commerce, etc... If this is not done, the work of building the people will have no specific goal and content.

Further, under our system people in the basic organizations of production, commerce, culture, education, medicine, etc... must be socialist people, collective management people, people directly involved in the technical, scientific, managerial, etc. works...and not just run-of-the-mill people. Such people must, above all, have the proper philosophy and ideology, and must also be knowledgeable in economic management and scientific technology, have professional standards, be adept as a technician and be of good character. Party members should also be the most outstanding people, the persons with the highest sense of collective leadership in the units so that the basic organizations of the Party can exercise their leadership roles and guide every activity of the units toward the most desirable objectives, apply the best methods for attaining those objectives, and assuring the fulfillment and over fulfillment of the duties set by the higher echelons as well as the specific duties of the units, themselves.

Practical experience has also proven that although the industrial and commercial enterprises, the hospitals, the schools, etc...have the centralized guidance of the higher echelon managerial organs, the leadership in spelling out the details of the theories, guidelines and methods as exercised by the party committees, the basic committees and the cells in production, commerce, disease prevention and cure, teaching, studies, etc...is still very essential and cannot be done without. Each basic unit has its special characteristics, has its own role and duties, has varying degrees of strong points and weak points, has its own complex problems that have to be coped with on a timely basis, and has varying factors that bear upon the success or failure to fulfill the duties assigned it. There

could not be a higher echelon organization that could, on a daily and hourly basis, stay close enough to the situation to best resolve these various problems the way the Party organs in the units can.

Even in an enterprise, a cooperative, a hospital, etc... under the concentrated unified leadership of the party committees, cells and basic committees in the plants, the cooperatives, the Party teams on the production units and teams, etc...all of these elements have their own leadership role and must take the initiative in resolving the problems that fall within the scope of its own leadership obligations instead of passing the buck to the higher echelons. If we take lightly the specific leadership responsibility of any organizational element, whether it be of a party committee, basic committee, cell or a Party team, or if any organizational element does not carry out to the fullest its leadership obligations, then the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party will have been reduced or weakened.

Economic, technological, military, etc. leadership must be detailed leadership, the lower the echelon the more specific and less abstract must this leadership be.

The specific leadership in theories, proposals and methods as exercised by the basic organizations of the Party, especially with regard to the key duties and vital points of the units, cannot completely substitute for the daily work directives of the official and specialist organs, etc...of the higher echelons and also cannot take the place of the directing role to be exercised by the organizations of officials and technicians at the basic level. Only by preserving this specific leadership can every activity of the units be guided toward the achieving of the obligations to the units in a given period.

By the results of their own activities, the "four goods" basic cells and party committees have contributed to the overcoming of the incorrect, biased concepts of the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party and have made it clear that in all fields of activities and in all of the basic organs of every work branch, not only in the army and in agriculture but even in industry, trade, culture, education, medicine, etc... the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party has definite significance. If the Party organization is resolved to improve the leadership and meet its responsibilities to the fullest, then every work assignment in the basic units will be completely fulfilled. Even within the various organizations, if the cells and party committees understand how to lead the political and ideological work, stay in close touch with the specialist works, give timely advice on the shortcomings in the specialist works to the various sections, party groups or organizational leaders, contribute opinions about and struggle against the erroneous observations and concepts regarding the

positions, concepts, guidelines and policies of the Party as they appear in the technical works of the cadres and party members, and if there is close coordination between the various party committees, basic committees and organizational heads as many cells and party committees have already done, then all this is bound to have a great effect on the specialist works.

The practical experiences of many cells and party committees in the enterprises, shops, hospitals and schools as well as those of many cells, village party committees, cooperatives and military units, of which a few examples were reported at this conference, brought out the strength and creativity of the collective leadership of the basic organizations of the Party in every field of activity.

With their collective leadership many basic organizations of the Party have led the units in resolving difficulties and confusion not only in ideology and organization but even in the specialist and technical fields where many people thought they would not be able to resolve them.

Primarily because they clearly defined and resolved to carry out their leadership role and responsibilities, to exemplify the brave spirit of the great numbers of party members and veteran leading cadres; because they knew how to quickly grasp the guidelines and policies of the Party, firmly grasp the principle of self-reliance to build socialism but also understand the concept of involving the masses in the work, coordinating the intelligence of the leadership with the intelligence of the workers and the specialist and technical cadres, were the cells of the central plant of the X power plant, under the leadership of the enterprise party committees, able to lead in quickly restoring production and meeting the plant deadlines under fierce battle conditions. This collective intelligence and work methods of the cells helped the plant resolve a series of many kinds of hardships, including even those of a specialist and technical nature. This is the combination that was successfully applied when level two craftsmen were used to solder scores of connections in the place of the level four craftsmen which the plant did not have, so as to meet the urgent demands of production under battle conditions; that was used to employ the handicrafts methods to safely transfer 23-ton steam boilers to replace those that could not be moved; that was used to safely bring the electric wiring system from the ground floor to the basement to guarantee the safety of production and protect the lives of the workers under the fighting situation, an extremely difficult and complex matter that many technical cadres had previously been unable to do; etc...

It was also with this collective intellect and work system that the party committees and cells of the kilns division at the Haiphong cement plant and the cells of the steel division of the Hanoi machine plant steadfastly led in the successful

improvement of many lime kilns and steel smelters thus bringing the period of time in which the kilns were in production to a new high, raising the quantity and quality of the products and economizing on resources and raw materials, while simultaneously destroying the feeling of hesitation and inferiority which had been restricting the creativity of some of the workers and technical cadres.

It was also with this collective intellect and work system that, after clearly defining their responsibilities and resolving to get into the overall leadership, the cells of the Van Dinh dispensary led the dispensary in improving the specialist works and overcoming a series of shortcomings. Usually there were hundreds of gripes and complaints from the patients; these have been transformed to the leading flag of the medical branch. It was essentially by relying on the masses that the dispensary was transformed into a hospital that has received the praises of the masses and cadres everywhere.

There are countless other examples which we are unable to relate here that also express the strength and creativity of the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party. Even in many cooperatives there have been numerous complex technical problems that many cells and party committees such as those of Dong Phuong Hong, Thang Loi, etc...were able to properly resolve by relying upon the long experience of the masses and coordinating this experience with advanced scientific and technical knowledge. In so doing productivity was increased and the lead was taken in the movement to improve technology in agriculture, etc...

The "four goods" party committees and cells clearly showed that the strength and creativity of the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organization of the Party stands where in relation to production (technology, management...) and in relation to the resistance and every aspect of the work?

This strength and creativity is above all the political and ideological preponderance of a Party organization armed with the Marxist-Leninist guidelines, concepts and policies of the Party covering all fields. Once the Party organization is able to grasp the general Party guidelines and policies, as well as the specific proposals and policies of the Party regarding their special work fields, and have the spirit to struggle to apply these guidelines and policies to the practicalities of their units, it is certain they will be able to manifest their roles of persons who are to provide guidance to the officials and the various masses' groups.

This strength and creativity lies in the revolutionary determination and the spirit to fight for victory of the collective party members, the reliance upon the basis of the position and concept of the proletariat class, the clear understanding of the Party's leadership role and a clear awareness of



the great significance of the work they are doing. This is also the primary source of the valuable creativity that was able to overcome so many hardships that were believed to be insurmountable.

This strength and creativity is to be found in the leadership of the basic organization of the Party as the crystallization of the collective intelligence of the party members comprising the leadership cadres and the technical and professional cadres who are the workers and members who have received training and been tested in the practicality of the struggle of the masses, have the ability to reflect the revolutionary will of the masses accurately, know how to apply the guidelines of the masses in the work and how to mobilize the creativity of the party members and the masses effectively. By combining the technicians, the masses and the party members, the Party organization usually has great ability to analyze in an all-encompassing fashion the causes of the successes or failures, and thus be able to promulgate the appropriate proposals and methods for effectively resolving the problems. It is this that is the strength of the unanimity in thinking and action on the basis of the Party guidelines and policies and on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization, guidelines of the masses and the firm self-discipline of the Party. This collective intellect is usually more enlightened than that of any individual in the unit.

The strength of the leadership of the basic organization of the Party is in the sphere of united centralized leadership of the Party organization vis-a-vis the organization of the officials and the various masses' groups. Only under the leadership of the basic organization of the Party can there be firm unity between the political and ideological works and the specialist, technical and administrative methods; can there be unified action between the organization of officials and the masses' organizations with the goal of resolving the most essential and most difficult obligations of the units during each period.

This strength is also the strength of the vanguard role and the exemplary execution of every obligation of the throngs of party members which has such an affect on the masses every day and every hour in carrying out the obligations of producing and fighting and of the technical and managerial rules and regulations, etc...and is the strength of the masses-oriented inspections of the throngs of party members at the base with regard to the proposals and methods of the leadership and also with regard to the fulfillment of those proposals and methods by the cadres, workers and people.

We emphasize this strength and creativity not only to struggle against the biased concepts regarding the leadership role of the basic organizations of the masses but also to make the throngs of cadres and party members at the base be fully

aware of their own leadership role, to further increase the resources of that leadership and to closely coordinate the political and ideological leadership with the specialist and technical leadership and the organizational leadership.

c) The process of struggle to define and elevate the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party is also the process of struggle to correctly define and achieve the specific relationships in the practical working between the Party organization and the organization of the officials and the organizations of the masses and to develop the role of these various organizations on the basis of assuring the united centralized leadership of the various party committees and basic committees.

In a good many basic economic, enterprise units, etc... there are also some comrades who still do not yet clearly recognize the relationship between the Party organization and the various official organizations and the masses' organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship, the manner of resolving these relationships, or, if they do know how to discuss these points, they don't know how to bring to reality that which they are aware should be done.

There are comrades who, when they emphasize the leadership role of the Party organizations, do not stress the responsibilities of the officials and the masses' organizations with the result that these organizations do not achieve their desired role and affect in production, management, etc... Then, on the other hand, some will emphasize the role of the officials and the technicians while playing down or deemphasizing the role of the Party.

There are party committees, basic committees and comrades in charge of Party works who, in practice, are still falling down in their work, even circumventing their work, by resolving all of the problems with specific memos. This situation both lessens the leadership role of the Party and does not develop the operational capability of the official organizations. Then, on the other hand, there are comrades in charge of the officiating work or masses' organizations who resolve all of the problems regarding the proposals and methods that are passed down by saying that the opinions of the higher echelons are final and that's that, or for every matter that comes up they will pass the buck to the higher echelons instead of aggressively assuming their own responsibilities, etc...

The shortcomings mentioned above have their sources often in ideological, organizational and standards-of-capability factors or working methods, etc... To overcome these shortcomings it is necessary to examine in detail the factors of each case.

In actuality, there are cases caused by vague and biased concepts regarding the leadership role of the Party organizations.

There are cases also caused by not defining in sufficient detail the responsibilities of each organization and each individual, lackadaisical approaches to the work, etc... To put it another way, these shortcomings are due in large measure to an insufficient lack of education and training and poor utilization of veteran leadership cadres in the basic units mentioned above. These veteran leader cadres' "ardor" is no longer intense, their "devotion" also is not profound and their "ardor" and "devotion" is not firmly coordinated. The ideological standards and knowledge of management, technology, and the professions in many cases are still lacking and the methods and manner of working still involve a lot of red tape, formality of bureaucratic orders. To strengthen the leadership of the basic organization of the Party and properly resolve the relationship between the leadership of the Party organizations vis-a-vis the organizations of the officials, specialists and the committee secretaries vis-a-vis the directors, etc...we must concern ourselves with the retraining and deployment of the veteran leadership cadres and strive to overcome in an overall fashion the weaknesses and shortcomings, mentioned above, in the ideology, standards and work habits of the cadres. But, above all, we must strive to raise political and ideological standards and the knowledge of economic, specialist and technical leadership of the veteran leaders noted above.

The experiences of many party committees in the enterprises, hospitals, schools, etc... have proven that a clear definition of the specific functions of each organization is no easy matter to be accomplished on a moment's notice, but rather has taken into consideration practicality and draw upon lessons gained from experience many times before it can be properly resolved. However, in order to perform every project well, the basic factor is for the comrades in charge of Party work and those in charge of the administrative work to have a correct awareness and sufficient trust in the absolute and overall leadership of the Party organizations, and for both parties to stand up for the common interest of the unit, unite to help one another, raise every aspect of necessary standards and to regularly draw upon experience gained and from this to define step-by-step the responsibilities and work procedures. If the comrades in charge of Party work and the administrative are not united in their concepts and especially if personalities are allowed to enter into the resolving of working relationships, then although responsibilities and working procedures have been clearly defined, these comrades still will be unable to resolve very well any of their obligations.

In reality, in many basic units one of the important requirements is to properly resolve the relationship between the Party organizations, officials' organizations and the masses' organizations so that responsibilities and work procedures are

clearly defined. This is not something to take lightly. However, even more important and difficult to resolve is the problem of getting those comrades who have strayed into individualism to help resolve the working relationships.

There are comrades who are seriously afflicted with the ideology of individualism, who would like to place themselves above the collective and consider individual power higher than collective power. There are comrades who say that, as they are secretaries, everything has to pass through their hands even to the point of stepping into the working domain of the enterprise directors. This happens because they still do not realize that the leadership of the Party organizations vis-a-vis the officials and specialists is a collective leadership. After the domain of the collective responsibility has been stipulated, the directors have the responsibility of directing the achievement of the resolutions of the collective in administrative matters; whereas the secretaries are profoundly involved in directing Party works, political and ideological works, and inspection works that involve the masses' interests in production and the professions and to bring out problems in the specialist works to be decided, if they are important enough to warrant it, by the collective. If it is felt a given problem has a large effect on production, the work, etc...ideas are proposed to the comrades in charge of the professions for resolving specific problems that fall under the specific direction responsibility of the directors.

On the other hand, there are director comrades who maintain that they are the ones with "highest" responsibility and that they have complete power to make the decisions to the point where they often look down upon the leadership of the party committees, are jealous of their position and do not have sufficient respect for the opinions of the collective and the comrade secretaries.

The above noted manifestations have caused a loss of internal unity with an accompanying bad influence on production and work.

Practice has clearly shown that the lack of internal unity now present in some production and commercial units between some of the comrades in charge is essentially a result of individualism. This situation is not in fact caused by the basic units "having difficulty in clearly distinguishing the scope of the leadership work as it is split between the Party organs and the officials' organs"...or by "the leadership of the Party organization getting deeply involved in production, technology and economics thus causing confusion between the cadres in charge of Party works and the cadres in charge of the officiating and specialist works" as is argued by some comrades who are still not really imbued with the leadership role of the Party organization.

Therefore, it can be definitely said that only on the basis of steadfastly adhering to the principle of continuously consolidating and elevating the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party, which in the regular work means the leadership of the party committees and basic committees, can we best develop the role of the unit leaders as well as the masses' groups. To properly resolve this problem we must both struggle against every biased manifestation of reducing the unified, centralized leadership role of the Party committee levels, and struggle to clearly define the responsibilities and work system of the organizations and the individuals. And the most important factor of all is the need to raise the party character of the cadres and struggle against every manifestation of individualism and any tendency to put the importance of the individual over the principle of the organization as the latter has been defined.

From the practical experiences mentioned above, it can be summarized that: if it is desired to assure the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party, it is necessary to raise the awareness of the cadres and party members regarding this leadership, raising the standards, in every respect, of the cadres and party members, properly training and utilizing the veteran leadership cadres who have the proper viewpoints and ideology and a real work capability. At the same time it is necessary to clearly define the system of responsibility of each organization and individual and correctly resolve the various working relationships.

2. The Second Lesson: Thoroughly Posses All the Four Requirements

To redefine and elevate the overall and absolute leadership role of the basic organizations of the Party so that they are really strong, the most important thing is to clearly define the specific leadership duties of the basic organizations of the Party on the basis of a full awareness of the general political obligations of the Party in each period.

The four requirements of the activity to build "four goods" basic party committees and cells have been specified for each type of cell and basic party committee, especially the basic committee, so as to spell out clearly the most essential obligations and the most basic, centralized and overall directions which each basic organization of the Party must strive to achieve in the fight against the Americans to save the country and build the material base of socialism and consolidate and perfect the new production relationships in North Vietnam at present.

To strive to achieve these four requirements in reality is to strive to fulfill in the most desirable manner the political obligations of the Party and increase the resources of the basic organizations of the Party both from the standpoints

of politics, ideology and knowledge, and organization so that all these are specific, practical, spirited and broad enough to achieve those political obligations.

a) The experiences of many of the "four goods" basic party committees and cells have clearly shown that to strive to elevate their absolute and overall leadership as well as to strive to become "four goods" cells and "four goods" party committees is essentially the process of struggle to firmly understand and possess the broad contents of the four requirements.

The reason why the Vinh Kim party committees matured so quickly, developing the cooperatives into progressive cooperatives with high productivity, developing the progressive peoples' militia units into "resolved to win" units, was able to protect the masses, shoot down three enemy planes, develop the labor youth groups into "Con Co" designated labor youth groups, develop 86.6% of the party members into "four goods" party members, etc...is first of all because the party committees were able to correctly define the production guidance "to stress food plants, quickly develop industrial plants, and raise livestock and poultry" and the objective to specifically strive to surpass five tons of paddy per hectare in production. They also were able to clearly define their own resistance role in order to come up with aggressive and positive methods for attacking the enemy and protecting the lives and property of the people. At the same time the party committees also knew how to properly employ a series of Party policies aimed at assuring both production and the resistance and the proper resistance preparations. They clearly defined the objectives of striving to improve the masses' standard of living and assuring the carrying out of the obligations to the State: "be self-reliant in raising food, have some extra reserved for the cooperative, have surplus paddy, foodstuffs and industrial plants products to sell to the State," etc... The Vinh Kim party committees also achieved a profound awareness of the role of the masses in redefining and achieving the above mentioned objectives, stressed the stimulation of the masses to carry out every project, stressed the proper use and retraining of the veteran Party cadres, the officials and the masses' organizations, building up the Labor Youth Group, bringing the youth in to serve as the vanguard in the movement to improve technology as well as in the resistance, etc...

The process of arousing the masses to achieve the objectives that had been decreed and the simultaneous process whereby the Vinh Kim party committees were stressing the strengthening of internal Party unity made the party members clearly aware of the requirements and the directions for planting, made them resolved to study and go deeply into the managerial and scientific technological works, express the spirit of perpetual alertness to enemy acts, reorganize the Party cells

and teams in accordance with "the branch and professional organization contained in the new production guidance", distribute the work between the party members in charge of the technical and managerial segments, strengthen education and training for the cadres, party members, and the outstanding new recruits taken into the Party to support the achievement of the obligations and objectives that have been set down. The cells of Dong Phuong Hong, Pha Long, etc...whom we have heard report in this conference, are all cells that knew well the four requirements. From the proper definition of the main obligations of the unit, these cells and part committees stressed the proper review and resolution of the problems of policies, the masses' standard of living, the changes in the building of the masses' organizations, the officials' organizations and Party organizations related to ideology and organization, improving the work conduct and methods of guiding the work so as to assure the proper guidance for achieving the obligations that have been decreed.

The practical experiences of Vinh Kim, Dong Phuong Hong, Pha Long and a great many other cells and party committees have shown clearly that the firm understanding of the four requirements and the clear awareness of the relationship between the four requirements without any one of the requirements receiving more or less attention than the others has, in fact, developed into a basic set of rules and regulations for building the basic organization of the Party according to proper methods.

The leadership of production and the leadership of the resistance are the two present primary obligations of the Party for building victorious socialism in North Vietnam, protecting North Vietnam, actively supporting the revolution to liberate South Vietnam and achieving the unification of our country.

Every policy of the Party is derived from the requirements of those vital political obligations of the Party to best resolve the relationship between the interests of the individual, the collective and the State, and also to properly resolve the relationship between the present and the long term interests of the masses. Only by executing in a most strict manner the policies of the Party can we guarantee the fulfillment of the vital political obligations and the most correct resolution of the above relationships.

Therefore, by properly leading production and the resistance and by properly executing the policies of the Party, etc...will there be a realization of the political obligations and the objectives of the basic organizations of the Party in the present revolutionary phase. These are the essential political principles of the basic organization of the Party for appealing to the party members and the masses to strive in a specific manner. Only on the basis of a clear definition of these political obligations and the objectives can the work of organizing and arousing the masses, building the officials' and

professionals' organizations, as well as the building of Party organization and ideology, have detailed, practical contents and clear-cut goals.

The proper leadership of the arousing of the masses, building the organizations of the masses and the officials and the proper build-up of the Party from the standpoints of ideology and organization will create the conditions and the basis for assuring the complete fulfillment of the political obligations. Only by first successfully achieving the political obligations can we properly build the Party organizations, the masses' organizations and the State organizations.

It is clear that the four requirements for the building of "four goods" basic party cells and committees are very closely related to each other and are mutually supporting. Each requirement also has its own special role. Thus to treat lightly any one of these requirements will adversely affect the proper fulfillment of the others and will serve also to reduce the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party.

b) There are cadres, party members and Party organizations who, in fact, still do not fully grasp the contents and the relationships of the four requirements. The tendency to take lightly the last two requirements (the work with the masses and the consolidation and development of the Party) is resulting in their being less publicized. Also, there is a concept that it is only necessary to issue the first two requirements (production and resistance, and execution of policy) because if they properly lead production and the resistance and properly carry out the execution of policies, then the other two requirements will automatically be met. Naturally, the realities of production and the resistance, etc...is certain to have an effect upon the maturing and improvement of the cadres and party members. But if stress is not placed on building the Party organizationally and ideologically and stress is not placed upon the works dealing with the masses, then not only can we not properly lead production and the resistance but we can also not properly promulgate the guidelines and objectives for production and the resistance. If while directing the achievement of the obligations of production and the resistance there is a lack of a clear awareness of organizational building, then, in reality we cannot consolidate and elevate the organizations of the Party, the masses and the officials and specialists.

The tendency to treat lightly the work of Party consolidation and the masses' works is, in fact, essentially a tendency to take lightly works dealing with people, the political and ideological work of the Party, the retraining of the cadres and party members in the techniques of leadership of production, the resistance, the professions, technology, etc...in a manner that is dynamic and is aimed at meeting the present and long range

political obligations of the Party. This tendency is also apparent in the Party building and organizational building projects.

Primarily because they are not yet stressing sufficiently the two requirements of properly leading production and the resistance, and properly executing the policies of the Party and especially because they are not yet stressing the achievement of the requirements to build the Party ideologically and organizationally as the requirement that is most basic and most essential for assuring the complete fulfillment of every responsibility of the basic organizations of the Party and the proper achievement of the three other requirements, many localities and organizations are still lagging in the movement. The leadership is working hard but is very poorly organized, passive and awkward and thus is not getting tangible results. The results obtained in production, the resistance and executing policy under favorable conditions have certainly not been marked. Sometimes the movement goes ahead and sometimes it falls back. The number of cells that have been designated as "four goods" cells is really not high and in many cases has even slipped down.

Primarily because of these undesirable tendencies, many comrades have been wrong in their estimates of the basic organizations of the Party. When they observe the "four goods" cells and basic party committees, they only consider one aspect such as productivity or whether the quotas have been met, etc... without stopping to consider how the leadership of the Party organizations has affected production, what methods have been used to meet the quotas, etc... When inspecting "four goods" party members, many cells and party committees do not take pains to check carefully their philosophy, proletariat class concept, awareness of organizational discipline, study spirit, criticism and self-criticism, contributions to the achievement of production and resistance obligations, etc...instead, they only examine in detail a few project results, quotas that have been met, etc... This has led to the classification of cells, party committees and party members in a half-hearted manner, the improper designation of cells, party committees and party members as "four goods" which has also resulted in the ineffective execution of the guidelines and methods for building the basic organizations of the Party and goals for party members.

On the other hand there are cells, party committees and cadres who are still not correctly defining the guidelines for achieving the political obligations of the Party organizations through Party organizational and ideological build-up, are still treating lightly the task of defining the contents of the first two requirements or still not effectively leading those two requirements so as to carry out the work of building up the Party, the masses' organizations and the officials' organizations. Primarily because of this, the build-up of the Party

and the masses' organizations is still being treated as separate from the task of achieving the political obligations and thus also does not have clear-cut programs and goals. This is also one of the main factors for the slow progress of the movement in many places.

c) In the process of directing and executing the activities there are cadres and Party organizations who still are not clearly aware of the basic contents of each of the requirements, have misconceptions of the basic contents of each of the requirements, or they fail to put the proper emphasis on the vital points of each period.

As for the first requirement, often there is not close coordination between the leadership of production and the leadership of the resistance; sometimes one is more heavily emphasized to the detriment of the other. Insufficient attention is being given to the character and status of the specific production or resistance of a given locality or unit so that the essential contents of the guidances is not appropriate to each of the requirements. This results in a poor system whereby the most basic factors, upon which emphasis should be placed, are not clear. In leading production, sometimes stress is placed on the managerial factors to the detriment of the factors of technological improvement and building up the material and technological base, or vice-versa, etc... In leading the resistance sometimes emphasis is placed upon assuring communications while lesser emphasis is given to consolidating the peoples' guerrilla forces, or emphasis is placed on hitting the enemy with lesser emphasis on avoiding losses caused by the enemy, etc...

In regard to the requirement to carry out the policies often there is not enough clarification of the contents of the essential policies which should be stressed in the inspection, stimulation, and review of the achievements for a given period so that the guidance given is not applicable to a specific situation and cannot resolve the most key points that serve to promote the advancement of many aspects of the work. Sometimes emphasis is placed upon assuring that the essential needs of the masses are met while obligations to the State receive lesser emphasis, or vice-versa, etc... Or, with regard to the consolidation and development of the Party, sometimes while stressing consolidation Party doors are closed, and when emphasizing Party expansion, quantity rather than quality, which is the most important, is used as the guideline.

The inadequacies, short-sightedness, lack of concern, and lack of concentration on providing guidance relating to the essential and basic factors during each period, as noted above, are manifestations of the fact that there still is insufficient definition of the specific and basic obligations and objectives of the basic organizations of the Party. It is primarily because

of this that the task of guiding the build-up of the basic organizations of the Party is still not being carried out with sufficient depth; the cells and Party committees are still not progressing rapidly enough to satisfy the political obligations of the Party.

From the practical experiences mentioned above, we can draw the following conclusions: to rapidly develop "four goods" cells and basic party committees and to elevate the absolute and overall leadership of the basic organizations of the Party, in the build-up of the "four goods" cells and party committees it is necessary to have a thorough and overall understanding of the four requirements, to seek out the essential and basic factors of each requirement, and especially to seek out the main factors causing the cells and party committees to still be lacking and weak, so that they can concentrate on resolving the problems during each phase. To accomplish these things, we must first correctly and clearly define the specific programs and objectives in production, in the resistance, and in executing policies so that, from this departure point, we can examine in detail the weaknesses in the work of building up Party ideology and organization, examine in detail the build-up and use of the organizations of the masses and the officials and specialists and the redeployment of our forces to best utilize them to overcome every obstacle and assure the successful fulfillment of these obligations and objectives. While achieving these obligations and objectives we will continue to build up the Party and the organizations.

3. The Third Lesson: Closely Coordinate the Build-Up of the "Four Goods" Cells and Party Committees From the Standpoints of Ideology, Knowledge and Organization with the Struggle to Achieve the Political Obligations of the Localities and Units During Each Period

The build-up of the "four goods" cells and party committees is very much associated with the principle of closely coordinating the build-up of the Party with the achievement of the political obligations of the Party. Since these activities take the assuring of the fulfillment of the central obligations of the Party, which in the present phase are to fight the Americans to save the country and to build up the material and technological base of socialism, as their objectives and requirements, the basic organizations and various committee levels of the Party must fall back upon the short and long term political obligations of the Party in order to come up with programs and methods for raising the ideological and working standards of the cadres and party members, building and consolidating the organizations, deploying the forces and improving work habits to assure the fulfillment of the political obligations of the localities and the units. The activities must also make it

clear to the basic organizations of the Party that they must meet their responsibilities to forge the viewpoints and ideology of the cadres and party members, build and consolidate the organizations of the Party and the masses and the officials etc... These are not only the short range but the long range objectives of these activities, as well.

a) Presented with the basic requirements and programs of these activities, many cells and party committees, on the basis of a firm understanding of the general guidelines and obligations of the Party specific obligations of the local party committees discussed and analyzed in detail the nature and position of their own units vis-a-vis production and the resistance and the execution of Party policies in order to issue programs of action suited to the situation of the unit. On this basis they defined the specific position and leadership obligations of the cells and party committees and clearly analyzed the strengths, weaknesses and shortcomings of the cadres, party members and the masses compared to these obligations in order to promulgate specific action programs for building "four goods" cells and basic party committees and executing changes in the ideological and organizational works of the units to suit them to the requirements of the new obligations. Going one step further, presented with the requirements of the cells and Party teams, each party member took a more detailed look at his own obligations and program of action. These measures are very important to closely coordinating the requirements of building the Party ideologically and organizationally with the task of achieving the political obligations; and they serve as the basis for expanding every aspect of the activities of the unit during each period.

The defining of the resistance position and specific nature of each of the units and each of the cells and party committees on the basis of presenting the guidelines and general obligations of the Party and the political obligations of the local party committees has aided the setting up of a "four goods" action program for the party committees, cells, Party teams and party members that are appropriate and very effective in raising the awareness and improving the work habits of many party committees, basic committees and great numbers of party members and masses in the units so as to assure the successful fulfillment of all their obligations.

When the party committees of the Yen Phu electric plant recognized that in industrial expansion, electric power had to go forward a step, recognized the position of the electric enterprise vis-a-vis the political situation, the economic situation, the material and cultural standard of living, and the maintenance of civil order in the capital, when they realized that the electric generator is the producer of electricity, it was necessary to strengthen the directives and then go on to set

up the obligations and aggressive action programs of the units. Then the ideological and organizational works of the party committees, cells and units were changed in accordance with the new action requirements. This greatly increased their morale and strongly expanded the production of the enterprise.

The Bat Mot cell (lesser cell of Thanh Hoa), when building the "four goods" cell, clearly analyzed the position and obligations of its village as a mountain village in a remote border area and reflected upon what had to be done to completely change the appearance of its village to make it worthy of a village in a socialist country. It promulgated a program for building a "four goods" cell aimed at "putting the mountain village on a par with the lowlands village" with a complete plan of attack. With detailed methods regarding ideology and organization and increasing knowledge to meet the new requirements, in only a short time the cell led the entire village in improving technology, increasing cultivation by 100%, properly carrying out the building up of the ricefields in quickly increasing yields; and from a status of having to buy State paddy, the food consumption levels of the masses were increased and there were still scores of tons of paddy and foodstuffs left to sell to the State. They were able to stop the smuggling, opium smuggling, the out-moded funeral and marriage ceremonies in the village and the cell developed into a "four goods" cell that received the warm praises of the people of their village and neighboring villages.

Many other cells and party committees also have done the same. Not only did they define their resistance position in the task of building and protecting North Vietnam and liberating South Vietnam and see clearly their responsibility to the fulfillment of the revolutionary obligations of the branch and the locality, but they also went on to analyze the specific characteristics of ideology, organization and standards of the cadres, party members and masses in the units to seek out their strengths and weaknesses relative to the demands of the political obligations and to seek out the factors of success and failure in meeting those obligations, carried out the setting up of a detailed action program for the units and a "four goods" program for the Party organizations. From there they went on to raise the spirit of responsibility and work standards, promoted the will to strive to get ahead of the cadres, party members and the masses and made timely changes in the organizational work to meet the new requirements.

By thoroughly understanding the principle of closely coordinating the build-up of the Party with the achievement of the political obligations, during the important work phases such as the achieving of the irrigation plan, the reclaiming of the ricefields, resisting drought, resisting spoilage, the various production campaigns, building resistance hamlets, serving

communications and transport, etc...in the large activities such as improving management, improving technology, "the three pros and the three cons", etc...the cells and party committees first stressed the thorough imbuing of everyone with the spirit of the various proposals, policies and resolutions of the Party, the spread of internal democracy, the raising of disciplinary awareness, the waging of the struggle against erroneous conceptions and manifestations in order to build complete internal unity. On this basis was established a high degree of determination to carry out the proposals, policies and resolutions of the Party. After that, from the general action needs of the cell, detailed action needs were promulgated for every party member and detailed responsibilities were set down for the various official organizations and the masses groups, the party members led the masses and mobilized the masses to achieve the obligations. After the final work phases, they went back and reviewed the leadership of the cells and the individual party members, praising those with praiseworthy records, criticizing those who did not carry out their obligations to the fullest and recognizing the outstanding elements in the masses' movement in order to further train them and admit them into the Party, or give them higher levels of responsibility, etc...

By thoroughly understanding the objectives, requirements, principles and methods for carrying out the activities, many cells and party committees closely coordinated the tasks of itemizing and summarizing the achievements of production each period, each quarter, for the entire year or for the various resistance phases with the task of itemizing and summarizing the leadership and Party-building works of the cells and party committees. Through this they were able to derive the strengths and weaknesses and carry out reviews of the cells, Party teams and party members according to the "four goods" requirements, issue action programs and directions for the next period, quarter, year of phase and provide additional training to the cadres and party members.

By such working methods as the process of leadership to achieve the obligations of the Party serve also as the process of ideological struggle within the Party, the process of closely coordinating the ideological development in the Party with the ideological development among the masses and the process of closely coordinating the building of the Party with the process of building the masses organizations. The party members were stimulated and in turn stimulated the masses and the masses, again, had a profound influence upon the party members.

Also by such working methods did the process of leadership to achieve the obligations of the Party serve as the process for increasing the knowledge and guidance capabilities of the cadres and party members. Along with the work that was based on the requirements of the short and long term political obligations,

the plans for mobilizing the organizations were issued which had the cadres and party members study politics, culture, technology and official service or to selected cadres to go and participate in classes held by higher levels. Many party committees and basic committees stressed the use of the practicalities of production, the resistance and the projects to raise even higher the awareness of the cadres and party members and to take the creative experiences of the masses to bolster the understanding of logic and science and technology by the cadres and party members in an unceasing effort to bring their standards up to higher levels. By summarizing the works of the cadres and the party members and reviewing the fulfillment of their obligations by each organization and each individual, many cells and basic party committees also stressed to the cadres and party members their shortcomings and lack of knowledge and urged them to use all of the capabilities of the specialist and technical cadres in the units and the help of the higher echelon cadres to provide added training to the cadres and party members new understanding regarding science, technology, management, etc...and at the same time to stress the division of labor whereby cadres and party members of high standards would be made available to assist the lesser endowed comrades.

It was primarily because of such methods that the Phuong Tru cell, which previously was a very poor unit, was able to stimulate its party members and masses to set up their famous ricefield reclamation plan, go more deeply into scientific technology and management, raise productivity and develop into a "four goods" cell. It was also primarily because of such methods that in many places Party organizations, masses' organizations and officials' organizations matured quickly and the revolutionary atmosphere rose like a tempest.

b) During the process of guiding the "four goods" cell and basic party committee building activities, the various Party committee levels, especially the district levels, studied and further expanded upon the valuable experiences, regarding the close coordination of the Party building works with the task of achieving the political obligations, which had overcome the undesirable tendency toward "oversimplification of party matters".

Many committee levels exhausted all resources to carry out the consolidation of the Party organizations instead of simply working at the organization of the studies and the criticism and self-criticism sessions which were not coordinated with the practical activities at the base level as before. On the contrary, along with the organization of studies covering essential topics related to the practicalities of production and and the local works, many committee levels appropriately stressed the guidance for achieving the central work obligations and the larger activities which were carried out to consolidate the cells.

These committee levels pointed out for the cells and basic party committees to see clearly the essential obligations of the localities and units which the cells and basic party committees had to lead the masses in achieving each period and each year, such as the achievement of production guidelines, various key methods in technology and management, key concepts in the resistance preparations, the execution of policies, etc... They took these for the essential contents of the leadership work of the Party organizations at the base and approved the leadership's approach to achieving these obligations by building up "four goods" cells and basic party committees. At the same time, the process of guidance to achieve these works helped the various base organizations of the Party approve inspections, itemizing and summarizing of the achieving of those obligations and draw lessons regarding their leadership work and the work of building the Party ideologically and organizationally at the base from them.

During the process of providing guidance to achieve these obligations, many committee levels stressed education in Party policies for the cadres and party members, additional training in production and resistance subjects for the veteran leadership cadres, raising the spirit of responsibility of the various party committees and basic committees by inventing for them specific leadership experiences, organizing study sessions, field trips, etc...so that the standards of the cadres and party members at the base advanced rapidly.

Presented with the need to closely coordinate the Party-building work with the achievement of political obligations, many Party committee levels not only had general programs, plans and methods regarding the guidance of these works to meet the needs of production, the resistance and the projects, but they also examined the specific nature of each region, each type or each party committee and each cell in order to provide detailed guidance in striving to follow the four requirements in a way that was suitable to the practical demands of the leadership obligations of production and the resistance in each of the places. Many committee levels also knew to stress in depth and breadth the strengthening of guidance of Party works in the strategic regions, in the units holding important economic, political and military positions, in the border and demarcation regions, etc...

By providing firm guidance as noted above, the actions of the various basic organizations of the Party were very much in harmony with the actions of each locality and were able to overcome the situation whereby the cells and party committees had been considered "four goods" but the production programs of the units led by these cells and party committees were not keyed to the production programs promulgated by the higher echelons; the province and district echelons had selected one road and the

basic organizations were going another way.

The above-mentioned experiences in achieving the principle of closely coordinating the Party-building work with the achievement of the political obligations of the Party have and will continue to be very effective. The practicalities of production and the resistance are a school that is very helpful to the cadres and party members for forging their spirit and will for revolutionary action, increasing their awareness of the ideological revolution, the production relationships revolution and the technical and cultural revolution, increasing their knowledge and leadership capabilities, helping the cells and party members select new, outstanding people in the movement to bolster the ranks of party members and Party cadres and to practically raise the class and vanguard nature of the Party.

c) During the process of guiding the activities there are also still committee levels and basic organizations of the Party that do not yet fully grasp the principle of closely coordinating the build-up of the Party with the guidance to achieve the political obligations. Many committee levels and basic organizations of the Party are only able to see the needs of fulfilling the short term specific obligations and do not yet see completely the needs of long term political obligations. Therefore, they are not yet going from the important problems in production, the resistance and the executing of policies at present to helping the cadres and party members see more clearly the general problems in the long term political obligations and guidelines of the Party so as to raise the perspective, proletarian ideology and will to act of the cadres and party members. Many committee levels are also still not stressing added training for the basic organizations of the Party in basic Party concepts and logic, international proletarian spirit, principles and guidelines for building up the Party, Party principles of organization and policies of the masses, etc... Worthy of special note is that they do not yet fully comprehend the requirements of the long range construction and resistance projects, so they are still not taking the initiative in training the cadres and raising the cultural, technical and business standards of the cadres to serve the long term needs of socialist industrialization and resistance preparations. They are still not making plans for reserve cadre forces to replace the comrades who will be ordered into other works.

There are Party committee levels that separate the guidance to achieve Party political obligations from the obligations to build up the organizations by maintaining that production and the resistance are urgent matters whereas the Party build-up can be done any time. They think this way because they still do not clearly understand the close relationship between these two obligations and still do not have a profound awareness that these two obligations are complimentary and mutually support

each other. If stress is only placed on organizing the guidance to achieve political obligations without stressing guidance in building up the Party, then this is in reality a departure from the method of guidance to achieve the revolutionary character of the Party and, in the final analysis, the political obligations will also not be fulfilled. On the other hand, carrying out the Party-building works and not taking the fulfillment of each period's, as well as the long term, political obligations as an objective and not mounting a struggle to achieve the political obligations, will result in the Party-building work not having practical contents with the resulting low yields. In fact, this is a bureaucratic system of building up the Party.

The experiences of Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, etc...the anti-aircraft units, the air force and of many other localities and units during a year of fighting the Americans to save the country has clearly shown that: the heavier the obligations, the greater the amount of work and the more urgent the work, then the more emphasis that must be placed upon properly carrying out the Party-building works, closely coordinating these works with the struggle to achieve the political obligations of the Party (the important ones at present are production and the resistance). Especially under the pressing and complex resistance conditions, the Party-building works will produce greater results the higher the amount of resources made available for these works.

4. The Fourth Lesson: Have a Firm Understanding of the Concept of Taking the Ideological Build-Up of the Party to Serve as the Foundation, While Simultaneously Stressing the Organizational Build-Up of the Party and Closely Coordinating the Ideological and Organizational Works

The Party must be strong both in ideology and organization. Only by using the Party ideological build-up as a basis will the Party organization be firmly consolidated. On the other hand, if we only stress the organizational build-up of the Party and closely coordinate the build-up of the Party ideologically with the organizational build-up, the Party ideological build-up will then be assured of continuing development and every Party proposal and policy will be transformed into the real action of the throngs of cadres, party members and the masses. Every tendency to treat lightly the ideological works and not to take the Party ideological build-up as a foundation, as well as every tendency to treat lightly the Party organizational build-up and to not closely coordinate the ideological and organizational works weakens the Party.

a) In past years many Party committee levels saw the great significance and definite impact of the ideological education works among the party committees and cells and so they expended many efforts in this respect.

The success of many "four goods" cells and basic party committees in the task of building up the Party basic organizations is due in large measure to: These cells and party committees knew to stress the ideological build-up of the Party and to closely coordinate this with the achieving of every one of their main obligations. They also stressed the regular education of guidelines and policies, education in the new situation and obligations of the Party, the further training of party members to enable them to cope with the realities of the struggle, education in class concepts, class struggle and education in revolutionary virtues and qualities for the cadres and party members. The contents of this education, indeed, in many localities developed into the essential contents of the regular teaching of party character and socialism to party members in the basic organizations.

The experience of stepping up the teaching of Party guidelines and policies to party members in past periods has clearly shown that in regard to the teaching of party members the essential points of basic logic, organizing study of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee regarding the new situation and obligation, studying the organizational policies and principles and Party rules, along with the simultaneous review and discussion of the work programs; this served to strengthen political and organizational unity within the party committees and cells and to help with the issuance of correct action programs to the various basic organizations of the Party and the party members. These studies also helped the party members to see the position and importance of their daily work, to raise steadily the proletariat concept and will to act of the party members, developed the far-sightedness and increased the faith of the party members in the certain success of the revolutionary tasks.

This is also an urgent requirement and an important method for raising the party members' standards of logic so that they are vigorous, practical and continuous. Any cadres and party members, regardless of how many books they have read and regardless of how much practical experience they have had, if they do not stress the complete understanding of Party guidelines and policies in their thoughts and works, they are certain to get off course and will naturally become infected with biased concepts and not be able to fulfill their responsibilities.

Many basic organizations of the Party have concerned themselves with the teaching of Party guidelines and policies to the cadres and party members and have also regularly stressed acquaintance with the practicalities of production and resistance in order to raise the awareness of the cadres and party members regarding the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads outside society in order to educate the cadres and party members and raise their awareness of the complex nature of those struggles and can see clearly their influence upon the

ideology of the cadres and party members, and on this basis increase the class consciousness of the cadres and party members and help them to carry out the ideological struggle within the Party. Many cells and party committees in the countryside, the enterprises and the army units are also applying the forms of organizations for the masses that are reminiscent of the old system so that they can compare the two systems, the two ways of life and the record of the evil and brutal crimes of the imperialists and their lackeys. Using this as a basis the masses can be caused to hate the imperialists and the exploiting class and an action plan can be laid out for the advancement of the masses that avoids the outmoded ways of the old system and builds up the ideology of collective management and determination to fight the American imperialists and their lackeys and to strive to advance along the road of the Party. These works are also effective in raising the proletariat class awareness of the party members, especially the young party members, in the systematic execution of Party policies and guidelines and in the mobilization of the masses to carry out the obligations laid down by the Party.

The teaching of revolutionary qualities to the cadres and party members and having them study the virtues of the economy, honesty, justness and exemplary life of Chairman Ho, study the history of the Party, the history of the cells and the local party committees, review again the revolutionary traditions and actions of the units, study the examples of the party members in production and the resistance, read the chronicles of the veteran Party leadership cadres, study the heroic, unyielding resistance examples of the compatriots of South Vietnam, carry out criticism and self-criticism, overcome the manifestations of peace-making ideologies and struggle against the decadent way of life of some party members—all this has been very effective in steadily raising the communist pride, the revolutionary character and the will to act, and promoted the exemplary vanguard role of the throngs of party members in production, the resistance, and the projects.

To assure that the cadres and party members continue to understand and to execute to the best of their abilities the guidelines and policies of the Party and raise and manifest thoroughly their revolutionary character and virtues, many committee levels and party cells and committees have stressed educating the cadres and party members in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and of scientific socialism closely coordinated with the raising of the proletarian viewpoints and concepts of the cadres and party members. At the same time these committee levels and organizations of the Party stressed providing the cadres and party members with a profound awareness of the political and ideological significance of increasing the zeal for studying culture, technology and commerce and delving in depth

into the managerial and scientific and technological works, promoting the spirit of study of the cadres and party members, making every one be fully aware that the build-up of party members during the new phase must be thorough, not only from the standpoints of politics, ideology, proletariat viewpoints and concepts, revolutionary virtues and character, etc...but also attention must be paid to raising the knowledge and standards of leadership in production, resistance and the projects of the party members.

The teaching of the essential items noted above was in many places closely coordinated with increasing the awareness of the cadres and party members regarding the contents and requirements of the production relationships revolution, the technical revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution as well as the obligations of the anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution which our Party is taking the lead in achieving. Principally because they were closely coordinated with the increasing of the awareness and the struggle to achieve those revolutionary obligations, the contents of the studies and discussions of the cadres and party members was made more realistic, the raising of the standards of the cadres and party members in their resistance roles was more clearly outlined and and build-up and consolidation of the proletariat viewpoints and concepts was more firmly based.

Presented with the directions and contents of the ideological works noted above, many cells and party committees in the countryside, in going through the activities to improve cooperative management and to improve technology, relied upon the guidelines and principles of agricultural development of the Party, and upon the basis of raising the quality of the party members, carrying out criticism sessions and making amends in a manner that was effective in overcoming manifestations of timidity and parochialism in fixing production norms, cases of laxity in collective economic management, obstructionism in bringing the cooperative from a low to a high level, manifestations of production waste by hesitating to apply scientific technology, laziness in the studying of technology and economic management, manifestations of the serving of individual private interests in the executing of the land policies and the setting of fertilizer prices, etc... These guidelines and principles were embodied in the leadership works of the party committees and cells as well as in the execution of policies by the cadres and party members and the struggle against every hint of corruption or misuse of collective funds of property.

Also in line with these guidelines, many cells and party committees in the enterprises, work camps, farms, timberlands, shops and organs sternly reviewed cases of undisciplined individualism, parochialism and provincialism that lacked the socialist cooperative spirit and only thought of their own

plant, section, or unit; their thoughts ran only to quantities so they could set records; in trade they thought of nothing but profit; in business they thought of "property rights"; they lacked the will to serve the customer; the individual self-profit philosophy thought only of the money received for the products without stressing the quality of the goods; there were instances of corruption, greed, etc...

Many cells and party committees in the schools and hospitals also waged a struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology and petite bourgeois ideology in teaching, studies and medical treatment such as the thinking that treats with indifference the feelings and practical experiences of the masses, the thinking that idolizes the technology of the imperialists blindly, the thinking that when serving the masses you are doing them a favor or thinking more of the wages earned than the services performed for the masses, the thinking that would eliminate politics in teaching, medicine, etc...

Primarily by accomplishing the analysis and judging of the incidents of anti-proletarian thinking mentioned above and by pointing out the class nature of these incidents and how they contrasted with Party guidelines and policies and dignity of the party members, the logical basis of these problems was brought out and this helped the cadres and party members in the basic organizations to consolidate their proletarian views and concepts, increase their revolutionary ardor, their will to ceaselessly strive and their spirit of being realistically alert to errors.

The practical results of the activities of building "four goods" cells and basic party committees in the past period has thoroughly proved the great effect of teaching those things mentioned above. Wherever the basic organizations of the party were slack or took lightly the teaching of these things, there were incidents of rightism and negativism that can easily penetrate into the Party causing the revolutionary ardor of the party members and the masses to be stymied and the organization of the Party to not be firmly consolidated. On the other hand, wherever the basic organizations of the Party firmly grasped these things, made the party members stand firmly on Party viewpoints and went all out to properly carry out their own obligations to promote every aspect of the work, the Party obligations wrought strong improvements in ideology and thus rapidly promoted the consolidation of the Party organizations and gave the movement a strong boost forward. The effect of taking the political and ideological build-up of the Party to serve as the base was very clear.

b) The practicalities of the activities to build "four goods" cells and basic party committees in the past period also made it clear that the ideological build-up of the Party and the organizational build-up of the Party must go hand-in-hand. The

ideological build-up of the Party involves problems of awareness and substance. With correct awareness the organizational build-up of the Party involves the problem of action. If stress is not placed on the ideological build-up of the Party, it is not possible to properly build up the Party from the organizational standpoint. But if stress is not placed on the build-up of the Party organizationally, and there is not close coordination in the ideological and organizational works (also including the inspection work of the Party), the ideological works will lack practical content and also not be able to develop with full effectiveness.

The process of change undergone by a number of comrades in the cells and basic party committees from being average or less to "four goods" came about primarily through the process of further emphasis on the ideological works and the proper coordination between the ideological and organizational works. In a great many cases these changes were based on the proper carrying out of the ideological work which was done by precisely strengthening the organizational work, a difficult and complex aspect of the work that had previously not been given sufficient emphasis.

In these cells and party committees the struggle to raise Party consciousness, responsibility and the class and vanguard nature of the party members usually went right along with the defining of the specific duties and obligations for the party members, pointing out to the party members the goals to be achieved in production, execution of policy and educating the masses, with close checks kept on the fulfillment of these specific obligations and goals. To accomplish the review of the achievement of these specific obligations the party members were provided ideological education. In this, the raising of the party members' spirit of study also went hand-in-hand with building up the cell library, organizing club activities, opening additional training classes in politics, technology, management, etc...or giving more work responsibility to the more gifted party members, giving more help to the lesser party members, etc... In this work, in many cases the providing of additional training, the redeployment of veteran leadership cadres or the redistribution of the party members' work loads was carried out under the self-discipline of the Party thus ridding the Party of bad elements, etc... This was carried out in parallel with ideological education for the cells and party committees which made a rapid change for the better in them.

In many "four goods" cells and basic party committees the teaching of the Party's principle of democratic centralization and the raising of the party members' disciplined organizational consciousness usually went right along the clear definition of responsibilities and the work system, the regular maintenance of the social activities of the cells and basic committees, a

system of criticism and self-criticism sessions, a system of announcements and reports, a system of inspecting the execution of the resolutions, etc... The better the ideological education, the better were the various systems carried out, and on the other hand the carrying out of these work systems was the basis for rechecking the organizational consciousness and discipline of the party members and creating the specific conditions for the party members to develop their spirit of struggle which was the principle behind the strengthening of internal unity and the raising of their disciplined organizational consciousness.

In fact, it was also clear that the task of consolidating the Party from the organizational standpoint and carrying out the Party development works according to the correct class guidelines, by instilling the correct standards in the outstanding people in production and the resistance, being alert to new things, daring to think and to do, etc...really had a bolstering effect upon the resistance of the cells and basic party committees, changing for the better the ideology of many of the older party members and creating the conditions for the cells to better grasp and carry out the policies and proposals of the Party.

When the Nghi Dam cell (Nghe An) was unable to recruit any new party members for three consecutive years and two-thirds of the comrades in the cell were from 50 to 70 years of age and the rest were all over 40, in spite of the fact that the cell had social activities and many study sessions, the cell's forward progress was stymied. But just when that cell became deeply involved in building "four goods" cells, on the basis of teaching good ideology, renewing their attention in building labor youth groups, providing additional training to and recruiting outstanding youths into the Party thus bringing the ratio of young party members up to 50% of the total number of party members, assigning the older party members to help the younger party members, assigning responsibilities commensurate with the age of the party members, establishing additional Party organizations in the production units, etc...the ideological work then was assured of making its desired progress and in a relatively short period of time the cell developed into a "four goods" cell. Rice yields went from about 10 ta per hectare to 21 ta per hectare (one season). Production expanded, the ideological work in the cell went ahead in ever increasing steps, and tasks were expedited that previously had to be attacked many times before they were resolved.

The above practical lessons as well as many other examples not noted here made it amply clear that by taking the political and ideological works as cornerstones and closely coordinating the ideological and organizational works, the ideology was constantly checked; positive factors were given timely recognition; continuing efforts were waged to overcome negative

factors; the build-up of the cells and party committees ideologically gradually took on more depth until it was closely oriented to each of the obligations and to the party members who had specific obligations.

The experience of assigning party members to care for the ricefields of the cells of Tan Xuan, Dao Nguyen, Lien Minh, Hoa Son and many other cells showed that to increase the party members will to care for the fields, it is not enough to just explain the significance of keeping close to the ricefields or to criticize phenomena around the cooperative. But, if on the basis of properly carrying out the ideological work and reorganizing the specific work assignments so the party members will gladly accept the responsibility of caring for the fields, the party members' awareness of responsibility was quickly raised and clearly manifested in the practical work. From this point the ideological work advanced to new levels and not only involved the ideology displayed in the form of eager works, but it was clear that "the eagerness to go down to the ricefields came from the heart". It involved also the resolution of the problem of raising the cooperative members' awareness of being their own boss, arousing the masses and cooperative members, especially the youth, to eagerly accept the responsibility of caring for the ricefields, avoiding instances of the party members working separate from the masses, etc...as well as the necessity for resolving many problems in ideology, organization and the leadership work which, due to the fact that the cadres and party members stayed close to the ricefields, were quickly discovered.

Practical experience also clearly showed that the better was executed the ideological education work; the better did the organizational work go, and also that the more it was based on the organizational obligations and the character of the organization and of each party member so that the ideological work would be that much more appropriate, then, not only did the organizational build-up and consolidation of the Party make that much more progress, but the contents of the ideological works also became more effective, realistic and responsive.

The better the efforts to understand the ideological situation of the cadres and party members during the practical works, the refresher courses or the sessions to study the guidelines and policies of the Party in order to promulgate the organizational methods aimed at managing and better training the party members and cadres and hindering wrong actions in the internal apparatus, the more the organizational work took on a resistance nature. It was also made clear that if this work is not directed at the specific obligations of the organizations, the action objectives and the specific requirements for building up the basic committees and the party committees, then the work of building-up the Party ideologically will not be completely

effective.

The above-mentioned experiences make it more certain that if the political and ideological build-up of the Party is made the basis for other activities, this is the correct approach. If the cells and party committees do not stress the ideological work, do not have a firm grasp of the guidelines and policies of the Party and do not stand upon the concepts and positions of the Party to consolidate their organization and carry out every aspect of the work, they they will not be able to build-up their organization or, indeed, they will no longer be a Party organization. The decisive and basic nature of the contents of the political and ideological build-up of the Party is a fact. However, to say this does not detract from the organizational build-up of the Party, for this work is vital. Given the specific conditions of our Party's just moving into the building of socialism, our relative lack of organizational experience, our lack of discipline, heavy reliance upon handicrafts and low managerial standards, then, on the basis of strengthening the ideological education we must also overcome the tendency to treat lightly the organizational build-up of the Party.

5. The Fifth Lesson: Maintain Close Relations with the Masses; Closely Coordinate the Basic Organizational Build-up Work of the Party with Masses Activation Works

Revolution is the work of the masses. The power of the Party lies in its close relations with the masses. If the Party is separated from the masses the revolution cannot succeed and every work will fail. Therefore close relations with the masses, in preparing the revolutionary movement of the masses for the organizational and basic build-up of the Party, is a very basic problem in the Party build-up work.

The practical results of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities in many places were eloquent proof of the great strength and effectiveness of the Party and even toward the maturing of the basic organizational body of the Party.

a) In many "four goods" cells and basic party committees the masses' movements in production, resistance and the projects surged up strongly many times like waves on the seashore to sweep away throngs of the masses to strive successfully to achieve every obligation placed upon them by the cells and party committees, brushing aside every difficulty and obstacle while moving ahead under the flag of the Party. This was possible because these basic organizations of the Party knew how to stimulate the masses to carry out each project and to maintain close relationships with the masses.

In many "four goods" cells and basic party committees, the complete respect of the masses' right to be their own bosses

further increased the confidence of the masses in the Party organization. By this not only were the incidents of officials showing off their power before the masses, corruption, misuse of collective funds and property exposed and stopped, but each project was carried out in accordance with the Party's policies toward the masses. By this the people's democratic officials were firmly consolidated and were really persons who symbolized the aspirations of the masses, looked after the interests of the masses and effectively guaranteed the democratic rights of the masses. By this each important proposal and policy of the Party as well as the main programs and methods of the units were brought up for discussion by the production teams and units, conferences of cooperative members, conferences of workers' officials, councils of the people or the fighter cadres, groups, branches, divisions, etc...according to the operational capability of each organization. Under the leadership of the Party organizations, the masses gradually moved toward becoming true masters of their own projects and to initiate their own struggles to develop their strong points and overcome their weaknesses.

That the cells and party committees properly carry out the masses activation work is of vital concern to the leadership of the patriotic emulation movement and the various masses' movements. The opening of the production campaigns, the building of resistance hamlets, etc...tied closely to the slogans to fight the Americans to save the country, cheer the victory of the South Vietnamese people's militia, etc...have mobilized and stirred the masses to move ahead in a seething revolutionary atmosphere. The outstanding persons in these movements all received recognition. The selection of progressive workers and emulation fighters was carried out regularly. Using the form of self-reports of their records by the production units, the various basic Party organizations in Quang Binh and many other places are now going further ahead in educating, mobilizing and arousing the masses by publicizing those who perform well and the good works. When the masses have shortcomings or no accomplishments, this system also helps them see for themselves their own insufficiencies and shortcomings so they can take steps to remedy them.

In these cells and party committees the emulation mobilization and the publicizing of the records usually is accomplished along with the bolstering of the strength of the masses and the correct application of the policies to stimulate through material rewards with the masses. The organizations of the Party, the organizations of the officials, the organizations of the cooperatives, etc...all are concerned with the health of the masses and stress the bolstering of the laboring strength of the masses. By reasonably employing the laboring strength of each age group and being concerned with labor safety, especially

with regard to the women and children, they seek every means possible to lighten the labor burden of the children. Having received material aid, the masses are more eager in their actions both in terms of having sufficient strength to properly assume the obligations facing them now and to bolster their strength for the long-term resistance.

In these cells and party committees, especially in many rural cells, there is presently forming, on a wide scale, the following masses' activities: the party committees, basic committees and Party teams are preparing special guidance and reviewing their work to discover and create progressive forms of production, high-yield model ricefields, model resistance hamlets, etc...to use as something tangible, like a ricefield, to educate and influence the masses. This form of education has and will continue to have a great effect in promoting the ideology of the masses if it receives firm guidance.

The above-mentioned forms and methods of political and ideological education rely upon the collective and the appropriate production and resistance practicalities which are essentially the most animated and profound forms for teaching socialism among the throngs of laboring masses.

In many "four goods" cells and basic party committees, the cells and Party teams are not only the leadership forces but are actually the vanguard resistance units which stand at the head of the movements of the masses in every field. The activation of the masses is not only limited to reliance upon the masses' organizations and groups. Each party member and cadre must also receive assignments to regularly contact and aid a certain number of families and persons and make his own actions in production, the resistance and the projects a model to stimulate the masses to advance. Each comrade is to firmly understand whether a family has enough food, understand the thoughts and aspirations of the persons for whom he is responsible, mobilize the masses to carry out policies and to eagerly produce and fight, help the masses properly resolve their everyday problems, and to pass on to the Party organizations the difficulties of the masses, which they cannot resolve themselves, so that the Party organizations can help resolve them.

The Party organizations are concerned about everyone, with no exceptions. Thanks to the fact that throngs of party members are able to understand the specific situation of a given family and a given person, they know how to classify the masses, understand the objectives of Party development, understand and train the positive elements and help them, bolster them and along with them, or through them, develop the ideology of others and influence and persuade others, especially those who are slow in progressing, etc...so that "a system of chain education" using party members to teach the masses and masses to teach the masses, using the progressive to prod the non-

progressive and using the previously enlightened to prod the later enlightened, has been developed on a wide scale and in an orderly way.

Primarily because they had gone so far to understand the feelings and aspirations of each person and knew in detail the background of the good and the bad things each person had done, the cell of Plant 10 was able to help the most non-progressive including even persons with whom it was believed nothing could be done; such as the case of one "cowboy" youth who had been shunned by the masses but was developed into a progressive laborer and accepted into the Party. Similar successes were achieved by a great many other cells in the process of carrying out every project.

As the party members had gone so far into the masses and were clearly aware of their obligations vis-a-vis the masses, each anxiety, worry and difficulty of the masses was promptly resolved by the Party organizations. Many persons sought out the cadres and party members to reveal their deviationist feelings and actions and declared their relief when the party members advised them and helped them make amends.

The education and activation of the masses, closely coordinated with the specific actions and ideology of the masses is increasing in depth and creating a blood-brother relationship between the Party and the masses. The masses are more closely tied to the party members and firmly trust the cells. Every proposal and policy of the Party is carried out with advantage.

Primarily by initiating the masses' movements on a wide scale and by relying upon the progressive elements in that movement, many cells and party committees were able to consolidate the organizations of the officials, the people's councils, the Administrative Committees and the masses' organizations. And also primarily because they knew to rely upon the organizations of the masses to strengthen masses activation works, many cells and party committees were able to expand the masses' movement broadly and firmly.

It can be said that there are no "four goods" Labor Youth Groups, "four goods" labor groups, "five goods" women, progressive cooperatives, victory units, etc... In those places that have "four goods" cells and basic party committees, the aged have also been organized into white-haired militia, associations of "fighters' mothers", or into organizations to participate in planting trees, work projects and educating the children while the families are carrying out the policies of the Party, such as shining examples of the "seven venerables" of the Dai Xuan cooperative. In these places, the youngsters were also educated and mobilized to do small chores to help the family and society. Every level of the people was reorganized to serve as a reliable source for the Party, united around the

Party. The political and ideological works of the Party carried out among the masses were therefore very effectively developed.

In the build-up of the masses' organizations and in the activation of the masses, many cadres and party committees correctly understood the role and the position of the youth and the assault forces in the difficult and complex places or those who have only recently come into the production, resistance or project fronts. As the result of the Party organizations' concern with education and leadership, the Labor Youth Group, the capable right hand and reliable rear units of the Party, has recruited its ranks from broad segments of young men and women who are vigorous, driving, very receptive to new things and constantly ready to accept every obligation given it by the Party. And the Group has also influenced, promoted and caught the fascination of great numbers of the masses who are also progressing under the united centralized leadership of the party committees and basic committees.

Relying upon the organizations of the masses, the "four goods" cells and Party teams have used many forms of enlivened education closely coordinated with the practicalities of the movements of the masses in order to effectively elevate the spirit of collective ownership, patriotism, love of socialism and class consciousness of the masses, develop the masses' hatred for the exploitative system and hatred for the imperialists and their lackeys, turn this hatred into strength for building the new society and strongly promote the emulation movements in production, the resistance and the projects.

The forms of organization and ways of activating the masses mentioned above which have served to firmly tie the reliance upon organization and collectivization with the individual activations and to take the on-the-spot realities to influence and educate the masses, etc...in many basic units, are presently developing into a full-fledged system in the masses activation works of the Party organizations. To maintain close relations with the masses and properly carry out the masses activation works it is necessary to stress all of these forms and methods.

b) The significance and importance of the masses activation works is not only in the tangible results of the fulfillment of the political obligations of the Party but also in the spreading of the masses' movement and the unceasing consolidation and expansion of the basic organizations of the Party. This is very essential. The struggle to strengthen the masses activation works is actually an extremely important struggle to consolidate and invigorate the leadership of the basic organizations of the Party. The more the masses activation works are promoted, the Party organizations will be equally more invigorated in both ideology and organization, and in both class viewpoints and concepts and the capability to organize and provide guidance to

achieve the obligations.

Therefore, the struggle to strengthen the masses activation works is first of all an internal Party struggle to define the leadership role of the party committees and basic committees. Many party members who live in circumstances whereby the Party leads the officials often forget a very basic fact, which is that the very essence of being named a party member is in the fact that one is a leader of the masses with the obligation to educate the masses, look after the well-being of the masses, to constantly go ahead of the masses and not allow yourself to fall behind them, to constantly work side by side in close harmony with the masses, to educate and to lead, to study the experience of the masses, not allow yourself to become separated from the masses or be a bad example for them. Many cells and party committees have forgotten their leadership position and have thus lost leadership of the various masses organizations.

Understanding the third requirement of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities, many cells and basic party committees have struggled rather intensely to redefine their vanguard leadership position and thus have stressed the consolidation of the masses' organizations and for the achievement of a system of party members who are permanently associated with the masses activation works. The process of going into the masses to organize and to stimulate the masses is also essentially a process of struggling to make the guidelines, policies and proposals of the Party thoroughly understood in the cells and party committees to guarantee that the party members will develop their exemplary vanguard role for the masses to follow. The saying "the party members go first and the people follow after" is simple to say but not necessarily easy to correctly achieve. The masses activation works have prodded many party members into seeing the importance of study to raise their standards and to firmly grasp the resolutions of the Party so they can propagandize and explain them to the masses and at the same time these works have required that each party member demonstrate that he thoroughly understands the masses not only in terms of what he says but, more importantly, in terms of how he conducts himself.

The process of struggling to strengthen the masses works is a process of struggling to redefine the masses concept and to overcome the evil of bureaucracy and red tape which separates the masses from the basic organizations of the Party. The more are strengthened the masses activation works, the better will the cells and party committees be able to avoid erroneous positions and biased misconceptions, the more will they be able to see the creative capability of the masses and the more will they get the complete support of the masses. The fact that the cells and party committees sincerely self-criticized their own

leadership works before the masses as many places did do during the main activation and during the regular work summary reports, also had a great effect in stimulating the masses into revealing their feelings and aspirations to the leadership, actually participating in the build-up of the Party, contributing pertinent opinions to the leadership, sympathizing with the cadres and party members, and helping the Party organizations improve the contents of their leadership and their methods for directing the achievement of the obligations. It is primarily because of this that many cells and party committees, such as the Cong Ty party committee for railroad repairs, publicly requested the masses to participate in building "four goods" cells, publicized to the masses the contents and program of the "four goods" struggle so the masses could take part in the struggle and contribute ideas regarding the leadership of the cells and party committees and could aid and criticize the party members, etc...

And primarily due to the reasons stated above, the process of strengthening the masses activation works is also the struggle to promote to a high degree the principle of democratic centralization in the cells and basic party committees and create further conditions for best promoting that principle in the political life of the party. Through the training they received during the masses movements, many "four goods" cells and basic party committees and "four goods" party members studied the rich and enlightening experiences of the masses in order to fill the gaps in their leadership views, improve one step further the internal life of the Party to bring it into line with the demands of the masses from that leadership and to obtain the enlightening ideas, aspirations and experiences of the masses for the Party. Having the practical aspect of the masses' checks, the resolutions of the Party organizations are more accurate, to the point and are more meaningful in content. Internal unity is strengthened and the resolutions have a stronger effect.

The struggle to strengthen the masses activation works, strengthen the leadership of the Party vis-a-vis the masses and overcome the effect of bureaucratic separation from the masses is essentially a heated ideological struggle within the internal ranks of the cells and a struggle which is effective in forging the party spirit, raising the standards and forging the effectiveness of the cadres and party members in the practical aspects of the struggle of the masses.

Through that struggle the soul of each cadre and party member will grow and they will be able to see the glorious strength of the masses, overcome the tendency to look down upon the masses and will have a much more enlightened mind.

The more the masses works are strengthened and the more the masses movement progresses, the bad or degenerate elements in the Party will lose face and be weeded out by this very movement. Those comrades who have erred and have shortcomings

but are desirous of mending their ways will have all the more opportunity to quickly overcome them. At the same time the outstanding party members and the outstanding persons outside the Party will appear more and more daily. The basic cadre ranks will not only be elevated but will continue to expand rapidly. The objective of Party expansion will gain additional resources and the resistance strength of the party will thus be strengthened.

The election of emulation fighters, progressive workers, the selection of "four goods" group members and labor groups, outstanding women in the "three resources" movement, outstanding youths in the "three preparations" movement, as well as the selection of outstanding persons in the recent Quang Binh "two skills" movement, have been very good opportunities for selecting the objectives of Party expansion, for extracting the outstanding cadres. Through these instances a number of cadres and party members have had some rather anxious reflections because they see they are not yet equal to the masses and that they cannot carry out fully the responsibilities of cadres and party members if they are not determined to strive with vigor to get ahead.

Closely coordinating the Party-building works with the masses activation works has clearly resulted in the development of some urgent requirements for all of the basic organizations of the Party. Not a few cells and party committees, because they had taken lightly the masses activation works, are now chained to the spot and cannot move ahead. In these places the bureaucratic disease of separation from the masses is still serious and the phenomena of violation of the democratic rights of the people, corruption, misuse of collective property and violation of State democratic laws also still exist. Due to this, in many cases manifestations of officialdom have assumed different forms at different times; insufficient attention has been paid to public opinion, formality is presently seriously restricting the creativity of the masses. If the strength of the masses has not been broadened, the resistance strength of the Party also cannot be strengthened.

The practical experiences mentioned above are extremely valuable experiences that emphasize the great importance and significance of the strengthening of the basic organizations of the Party. An important factor to the success of the build-up of "four goods" cells and basic party committees in many places is the proper achievement of the requirements for carrying out well the activation of the masses.

6. The Sixth Lesson: Coordinate the Build-up of the "Four Goods" Cells and Basic Party Committees with the Build-up of "Four Goods" Party Teams and "Four Goods" Party Members; Closely Coordinate and Stress Both the Retraining, Selection and

Proper Deployment of the Veteran Leadership Cadres, and the Leadership and Proper Execution of the Party Member Works

a) In the works of the cells, the proper carrying out of the works dealing with party members has a decisive significance in regard to invigorating the collective leadership of the cells as well as with regard to the fulfillment of every obligation of the basic organizations of the Party. Many "four goods" cells and basic party committees and higher echelon Party committees knew to stress and properly execute this factor and thus they quickly strengthened the resistance strength of the basic organizations of the Party. The movement to strive to become "four goods" party members is developing that effect and creating the conditions for the party members to mature quickly.

Many cells and party committees have stressed firm guidance in the setting up of an action program in accordance with the four requirements of the party member in each period. The more detailed and clear are the programs of the Party teams and party members, the higher are the results obtained. The will to strive and the spirit to exert every effort to amend the errors and shortcomings of many party members is spelled out in the four requirements by specific directions and methods for resolving ideological problems and raising standards. Furthermore, beyond the essential subjects, this will and spirit are also detailed by specific action quotas in production labor, in the resistance, in educating the masses and in administering to and activating the families and masses to carry out policies, etc...

By this, during each period, each week, each month, after each production period, each work phase and each resistance phase, the practical activities of the party members were collected for review and examination. Every six months the cells and Party teams reexamine the "four goods" Party teams and the "four goods" party members on the basis of genuine self-criticism and criticism session. The actions of the party members and Party teams are thus more strongly and effectively promoted.

These methods have had the effect of closely coordinating the criticism and self-criticism in the cells with the striving to fulfill the general obligations of the cells, party committees and Party teams as well as the individual obligations of each party member and have, in fact, become a decisive moving force in the progress of the party members by correctly following the significance of criticism and self-criticism as it appears in the regulations for Party expansion.

In the party members work many cells knew how to grasp both the factors of properly retraining, educating and managing the past party members, and the retraining and objective selection of these persons to become party members again.

Our party members for the most part are comprised of those persons who were selected from among the outstanding elements that came to the surface during the various movements. Except for some who were discharged because they could not be educated or the bad elements who had to be removed from the Party, generally speaking if they received specific help from the cells and Party teams, they certainly would have the opportunities for moving ahead. Previously, as in the "four goods" cell-building activities, there were party members who committed errors and wrong doings which would make it seem difficult to retain them in the Party, but once they received the positive, exhaustive help of the collective they profoundly changed for the better.

Practicality has clearly shown that to build party members in accordance with the new requirements of the Party is not a simple matter that can be done in one or two days. If every comrade is not provided exhaustive aid, ideological hardships can lead to their "giving up", or they get carried away by disciplining and purging thus making proper Party consolidation difficult.

In past years the number of party members has gradually fallen. This situation has made it clear that to develop to a high degree the exemplary vanguard role of every party member and to bring about changes in the more lacking party members so that they develop into good "four goods" party members, it is first necessary to make each party member profoundly aware of his leadership position and to go on the concept that the party member is the leader of the masses. It is necessary to assign clear-cut responsibilities to the party member and make the party member be proud to shoulder whatever task is required of him. To provide specific assignments to the party member is mainly a detailed definition of the resistance position of each comrade. The assigning of work to the party members that is suited to the specific requirements of the leadership obligations of the cells and party committees in each period and suited to the actual capabilities of each party member is the creation of conditions whereby the party members can make continual progress and at the same time assure the strengthening of the most overall, unified, centralized leadership of the cells and party committees. Therefore, logical and detailed work assignments for each party member according to the responsibility assigned him, the carrying out of retraining and providing of specific help for each party member, close inspection of the work of each party member, timely recognition of accomplishments, criticism and help in amending shortcomings are very essential to consolidate the cells and party committees and regularly increase the resistance strength of the party members and the organizations of the Party. This requires that the party committees, basic committees, cells and Party teams have a high Party-building awareness and fervor in order to have a profound,

specific and detailed effect. Only on the basis of a thorough understanding of the class concept of the Party and a very correct awareness of Party organizational build-up can we bring all our thoughts and labor to bear to care for and gradually train the party members inch by inch, the way a gardener loves his work of caring for and pampering his plants, and then properly carry out our work vis-a-vis the party members.

The cells and Party teams that properly carried out their work with regard to the party members stressed the management of party members, not only concerning themselves with the process of the party member's history and work, but also with the life and even the personal affairs of the party member, not hesitating to offer praise when the party member's accomplishments warranted it or earnest criticism when shortcomings or wrong doings also warranted it. They followed closely the specific feelings and works of the party members, and checked and helped them with their work. Not only did they properly carry out the ideological work with regard to the party members but they also stressed additional training so that the party members could understand the essentials of economic management and professional technology depending upon the scope and responsibility of each comrade.

The "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities in the initial phase was able to promote this awareness and effect in the works of many basic Party organizations and also promoted a higher will to act on the part of great numbers of party members.

There are many places that have still not been able to promote the movement and have not yet developed many lesser party members into good and "four goods" party members primarily because the leadership is still not sticking steadfastly to the above methods. Faced with a situation where many party members are not making timely progress, are not fulfilling their resistance position or have slipped to where they cannot be any longer considered as being worthy of being a party member, there are localities that are caught in serious deviationist shortcomings and are not looking for ways to resolve them.

In these places the mobilization and education of the party members is also not being stressed; the criticism, review and disciplining of the party members who have committed a wrong is also not thorough and strict enough. The resistance spirit of the Party organizations has been seriously reduced.

Regarding the comrades that can still make amends, they are not getting positive and steady specific help. The comrades who have committed serious errors are not being strictly dealt with and Party discipline is not being carried out. Party members who have gone through the education process many times but have still not mended their ways, no longer have a Party awareness nor the qualifications of a party member have not been

put out of the Party.

This is because there is not yet a clear awareness of the significance of the struggle in the Party to consolidate the Party, the significance of the teaching of the execution of Party discipline or the significance of preserving the pureness of the Party ranks by rejecting from the Party those members no longer possessing the qualifications or who are involved with bad elements.

The deviationist errors mentioned above in the works dealing with the party members has been a big obstruction to the progress of many localities and basic organizations of the Party. These are serious violations of Party rules that lower the standards of party members and do not strictly carry out the requirements for raising the class spirit and vanguard spirit of the Party.

The ranks of the Party must not cease their consolidation and development. The strengthening of the Party development work, especially among the youth and women who have been outstanding throughout the movements, on the basis of a firm understanding that the concept of quality is the main thing, that consolidation should go along with expansion, that it is necessary to firmly grasp the class concepts and the procedural principles for recruiting members that were stressed by many places in past periods, has been very effective in Party consolidation and strengthening of the capabilities, resistance strength and responsiveness of the basic organizations of the Party. On the other hand, if the criteria used is based upon numbers or Party finances, we cannot carry out the Party development works in a systematic fashion and cannot distinguish the vital points which should be stressed in Party consolidation or development, and, in the final analysis, the result will actually be a weakening of the Party.

In order to properly carry out the work with regard to the party members, many cells have stressed the clear definition of the responsibilities of the Party team and the build-up of "four goods" Party teams. Among the cells, especially the enterprise, workcamp, and shop cells, the trade units, the agricultural cooperatives and the battalion units, etc...the Party team is the Party's direct leadership and resistance unit in the production teams and units, the labor teams and units and the platoons of the armed forces. The more tense the production and the resistance, the more completely developed must be the resistance strength of the Party teams. The Party teams are persons who, in a daily and hourly basis, are close to the ideological situation of the masses, take prompt steps to resolve the difficulties and obstacles of the party members and masses in carrying out their production and resistance obligations.

The Party team is the first point for best understanding

the masses, a point that reflects to the Party the situation, the aspirations and the enlightened experiences of the masses in the fastest and most timely fashion and a point for helping party members select cautiously and accurately the objectives to be introduced into the Party.

The Party team is usually the best point for the exchanging of feelings and sentiments by party members, the most sensitive point for carrying out the regular criticism and self-criticism and the point for most closely managing the lives and works of the party members. To really change the cell into the communist family it is necessary to properly consolidate the Party teams and build up "four goods" Party cells.

b) To guarantee the build-up of the basic party committees, the cells, the Party teams and all the party members into "four goods", the problems of retraining, selecting and deploying the veteran leadership cadres of the party committees, basic committees and Party teams in a correct fashion according to the stipulated class guidelines and standards are very important.

In actuality there isn't one "four goods" cell or basic party committee that does not have veteran leadership cadres with revolutionary spirit, high Party awareness, who adhere to policies and understand production leadership and economic and technological management, have good organizational standards, have a striving and democratic effect and who have the confidence of the party members and the masses. On the other hand, there is also no cell or party member who is unconsolidated or of poor quality that does not have a problem of leadership cadres who are weak in education or ability, who has a problem of vain or conservative thinking or who lacks the will to strive to go ahead.

This is primarily because the veteran leadership cadres are the first persons to convey the guidelines and policies of the Party and the methods and proposals of the higher echelons and they are the persons who have a full understanding in the party committees and cells of these guidelines, policies, methods and proposals. They are the persons who most completely reflect the situation of the cells and party committees to the higher echelons and they are the persons who are present every day in the party committees, cells and higher level committees to guide the achievement of the resolutions of the collective. The revolutionary virtues and talents of the veteran leadership cadres not only have an influence on the resources of the leadership groups of the cells and the party committees, but they also have a definite influence upon the leadership of the higher echelons. If the veteran leadership cadres are not good, the policies of the Party and the resolutions of the higher echelons cannot penetrate down to the party members satisfactorily, the actions of the party members cannot be centralized and will be uncoordinated and scattered. At the same time the

practical situation of the basic organizations also cannot be accurately and completely reflected to the higher echelons. In past periods, by redeploying the veteran leadership cadres or by giving them good additional training, many lesser cells and party committees rapidly developed into good and "four goods". This further expresses the important role the veteran leadership cadres play in the build-up of the Party organization.

When speaking of the veteran leadership cadres many localities think only of the comrade secretaries. The secretary is the person who bears the greatest responsibility in the cells and party committees. But only one good secretary by himself cannot assure firm guidance in the work of cells and party committees. The experiences of the places that have done well show that this was primarily due to their concern for retraining and deploying a group of veteran leadership cadres in the party committees and basic committees that was comprised of the comrade secretary, the assistant-secretary and the members of the standing committee. Only one good veteran leadership cadre group that had all the necessary qualifications and suited the Party class guidelines, was unanimous, a blend of the old and the new, male and female, etc...could assure that the cells and party committees unceasingly maintained and increased the "four goods" requirements.

To have good veteran leadership cadres, they must receive ample training and must be selected from the outstanding party members that appear in the production and resistance emulation movements. They must really have the confidence of the masses and special attention should be given to selecting them from among the young, outstanding cadres coming up from the basic components.

The experiences of Dong Phuong Hong and many other places have made it clear that the process of carrying out the activation is the process of developing the key role of the veteran cadres, retraining, discovering and using in a positive manner the young forces, including both male and female, and the new forces that are rapidly taking over scientific technology. It is the unceasing process of increasing the ranks of veteran cadres who are at the ready, maintaining a close relationship between the older cadres and the new cadres and getting them to coordinate and help each other overcome the shortcomings and weaknesses. At the same time, it is also a process of being determined to replace the cadres who are not sufficiently qualified and to redeploy the cadres, whose capabilities or health do not permit them to assume essential functions, into more suitable fields and to correctly carry out Party policies in regard to those cadres. In the redeployment and replacement of the cadres, it is necessary to be truly objective and to do all possible to help those comrade who are basically good but have some temporary shortcomings or faults, provided that those

comrades have the capability to progress and the determination to mend his ways. Some localities have many veteran leadership cadres who came from the basic components, are determined to carry out the policies of the Party and are enthusiastic in the work, but their ideological methods and the effects of their works had some shortcomings so they were criticized by some of the masses and some of the higher echelon cadres also urged the masses to criticize these cadres in an unobjective and overall way so that we lost a number of good cadres who, if they had been properly counselled and helped, could have possibly been very effective.

When emphasizing the need to stress the veteran leadership cadres, many comrades only consider the role of the individual or of the committee echelon without considering sufficiently the role of the party members as a group and don't sufficiently respect the role of the cells and Party teams as a whole. To have many "four goods" party members, it is necessary to have good Party teams and cells. The "four goods" party members who receive good retraining in the Party teams and cells will develop into a rank of large numbers of veteran cadres in the basic organizations who have been forged in the heat of production and the resistance and who come out of the masses. If the veteran cadres have the determination and the ability but do not stress the additional training and build-up of the party members to promote the intellect and physical strength of the great numbers of party members and of the cells and Party teams as a whole, then they will become isolated and not be able to perform any task well.

c) With good veteran leadership cadres and good party members the essential conditions exist, so there is no need to be lacking "four goods" cells and basic party committees. But this is still not all that is necessary to guarantee that the basic organizations of the Party can best fulfill their obligations.

The cells and basic party committees are not a simple synthesis of all the party members but are a unity of the party members in accordance with the organizational principles of the Party.

Therefore, along with the build-up of "four goods" party members, the retraining and deployment of the veteran leadership cadres, it is necessary to stress the proper build-up of the Party organizations. This demands strict adherence to the principle of democratic centralization in the life of the basic organizations of the Party assuring proper unity in politics and ideology on the basis of Party guidelines and policies and both sufficiently promotes broad internal democracy and upholds firm organizational discipline. It is necessary to unceasingly increase the resources of the collective leadership while, at the same time, promoting the initiative and creativity of party

member and cadre so that they can properly take charge and carry out the task of a detailed and reasonable work assignment for each cadre and party member. On the basis of the responsibility of the whole and of the individual, in each period it is necessary to hold regular criticism and self-criticism and use these to develop the rules for Party development, to serve as the driving force for the unceasing increase of the resources and standards, from every standpoint, of the cadres, party members and Party organizations.

The organizational build-up of the Party is, in fact, a complex problem requiring that the party committees, basic committees and all of the party members have a clear awareness of their responsibilities to the organization of the cells and party committees and the best possible understanding of the above-mentioned experiences in building the Party base in order to use them in an enlightened fashion in the circumstances and specific nature of their own units on the basis of a firm understanding of the general guidelines, concepts and principles of the Party pertaining to building up the Party.

7. The Seventh Lesson: Firmly Understand the Concept of Both Promoting the Initiative and Creativity of the Basic Organizations of the Party and Strengthening the Specific Guidance of the Higher Echelons, Especially at the District Level and the Provincial and Metropolitan Level

The "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activity is a great political activity within the Party. It attracts all of the party members to participate and has the educational effect of increasing the party member's awareness vis-a-vis the Party and the achievement of the slogan for all the Party to work at Party build-up with the fullest awareness.

a) To get the greatest possible results from these activities, it is absolutely necessary to strongly stimulate all of the party members, above all, the comrades in the basic party committees and the basic committees and get everyone to firmly grasp the objectives and the requirements of the concepts and methods for carrying out these activities, to increase their responsibility to the Party build-up work, to strive to improve themselves and to develop initiative and creativity for advancing the four requirements promulgated by the Central Committee. Many cells and party committees have already done this and thus have created very many valuable experiences of both a public nature and a private nature in their leadership work and their achievement guidance as well as in the tasks of building up the internal structure and building up the party members. The more can be promoted the initiative and creativity of the basic organizations, that much more will the Party build-up work have the character of the masses and the more outstanding will be those enlightening experiences. The practicalities of

production and the resistance and the people involved in them are multitudinous. Once thousands upon tens of thousands of cells and basic organizations of the Party and tens of thousands of party members have risen up to express their vanguard leadership role, it is a certainty this will create extremely pertinent and valuable experiences that one cannot even begin to imagine. This has been brought out already in the results of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities even though it is still in its initial stage.

b) However, the initiative and enlightenment of the basic organizations of the Party and of the great numbers of party members can only be fully developed and properly directed on the basis of the strengthening of the leadership of the Central Committee in regard to the great guidelines, concepts, directions, proposals, methods and experiences, and especially the strengthening of the specific and pertinent guidance of the various Party committee levels. The promulgation of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities is essentially an important method for strengthening that leadership and guidance, especially during the time when the Party basic organization is still weak, the Party build-up awareness of many party members is still not high and even the Party build-up awareness of many committee levels is also still not thorough and steady. There are comrades who maintain that the regular Party build-up work is already a fact, so why does this work have to be promulgated as an activity. This sort of thinking shows that they still do not clearly see the permanent nature or the characteristics of these activities. The "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activity clearly has its own objectives, requirements and specific contents. It points out specific directions that must be concentrated upon and resolved to consolidate the cells, makes clear the importance of the task of bringing the majority of the lesser-than-average and average cells up to where they are "four goods" cells so that stability can be brought to work of building up the basic organizations of the Party. It requires that the committee levels and basic organizations of the Party overcome the kind of thinking that treats lightly the Party build-up work which previously was well publicized and taken seriously. Primarily because of the incorrect conceptions regarding the importance of these activities, not a few of the committee levels have manifested the shortcoming of very little regular concern for the Party build-up work.

The results of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee build-up activities which are still spotty in all of the localities is due to the fact that the Party committee levels are still not giving sufficient attention to the activities, are still not properly guiding the activities, or still not making the problem of the guidance of these activities the

responsibility of the committee level as a whole.

Many provincial committees and metropolitan committees, in carrying out the program of the Central Committee, early joined hands in the guidance of the activities and the comrade secretaries and assistant secretaries of the provincial and district committees personally went down to the most basic organizations and, along with the cadres and party members, wrote up the first experiences for dissemination to the basic organizations even though the preliminary experiences were still limited.

First, it must be said that these committee levels had a highly fervent and disciplined organizational awareness of the Party build-up, quickly grasped the requirements and the concepts for carrying out the activities and by realistically joining hands in guiding the activities they daily gained a better awareness of the significance, objectives, concepts and methods for carrying out the activities. By understanding the practical situation of the basic organizations of the Party and seeing the urgent need to centralize the guidance in order to obtain the basic requirements laid down by the Central Committee, these committee levels did not lose any time reflecting upon the need to carry out the activities or whether it was only necessary to carry out the regular Party consolidation, as did some of the other committee levels who were undecided at first.

Recognizing profoundly the Party-building concept of close coordination with the achievement of Party political obligations and understanding that the consolidation of the basic organizations of the Party could not be carried out separate from the task of providing guidance for the achievement of the important obligations and the main activities laid out by the Central Committee, these committee levels saw clearly the effect and importance of these activities to the fulfillment of every obligation in the localities. So they strengthened the guidance provided for these activities in a determined manner.

The experiences of the proper guidance of these activities by the Party committee levels are also experiences in specific guidance effects.

These committee levels knew how to rely upon the varying characteristics and the essential obligations laid out for the localities in different periods to guide, in a centralized fashion, the achievement of the essential contents of the four requirements and how to draw in the cells and basic party committees to achieve them.

These committee levels stressed both guidance emulation models, the build-up of the emulation models and the prompt publication of the good emulation models as they related to every aspect or for a single aspect in the different regions so as to educate the places that were studying the examples. The organization of the studying of the emulation models in many

cases was not only carried out by the usual publication system but anyone who desired to get additional understanding and to study further the models could do so. There were also analyses and reviews of any experiences that were essential and could be applied on a wide scale, any experiences which were of an individual nature brought about by the special characteristics of a given cell and party committee, and even the experiences which were not good. Going even further, these committee levels also helped the levels under them properly adapt the experiences of the emulation models, and they reviewed and urged, in a specific and firm manner, the application of the emulation model experiences. They also examined in detail the ideological works and the organizational works and especially reviewed the veteran cadres and the deployment of the leadership cadres to assure the proper application of the main experiences gleaned from the emulation model.

Many provincial committees and cells went deeply into giving specific guidance to each of the district committees and examining the general leadership works of each provincial committee with special emphasis placed on examining and helping with the guidance of the activities. Many district committees assigned some of their members to keep close with the situation in each cell and party committee in order to give specific help and to correctly categorize and to draw up an action program to help the various party committees and basic committees bring the lesser and the average type cells up to the "four goods" category.

The specific guidance of the committee levels noted above was also good in covering the weak factors and centering the appropriate attention on resolving the problems of the lesser-than-good cells and party committees. As for these cells and party committees, many standing committees of the district committees did some deep research to seek out the specific factors causing each of the cells to be less than good so that specific methods for resolving their problems could be drawn up. They also gave special attention to providing additional training for the veteran leadership cadres of the party committees and cells or to deploying, replacing and training them for new functions.

During the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities there were provincial committee comrades, metropolitan committee comrades and, especially, many district committee members, secretaries and assistant-secretaries of district committees and provincial committees who stayed close to the basic organizations and set shining examples of Party building fervor. This fervor helped the comrades have a profound effect upon and to offer steadfast help to the cadres and party members with shortcomings to understand the negative and also the positive aspects, not only of the cells and party

committees but of each cadre and party member to see what could be done to help them, especially in regard to the comrades belonging to the basic components who had had good records but now were encountering faults and shortcomings. These comrades went down to the basic organizations not only to inspect, to give a general pep-talk; to criticize one aspect, or to look only for the faults and shortcomings of the basic organization. On the contrary, they sympathized with the difficult situation of the cadres and party members in the basic organizations and pointed out the good points, even though they might be quite insignificant, to help encourage the comrades with faults and shortcomings to improve. At the same time, they honestly and firmly pointed out to the comrades with the faults and shortcomings what their specific problems were and the steps they had to take to overcome them.

The attitudes and methods mentioned above had a great effect in promoting the guidance of the higher echelons and influenced many comrades and cadres of the basic organizations to increase the initiative and drive of the basic organizations of the Party.

The committee levels properly led the activities and also were regularly concerned with the guidance to coordinate the work between the inspection, organizational and educational organs. In some localities, especially at the district level, the firm coordination between these organs in carrying out staff work for the committee levels and in the aid provided the committee levels in inspection, stimulation, and giving specific guidance to the basic organizations, was set up into a regular system. Many branches of the officials and the masses' groups were also given specific responsibilities, such as providing ideas to the committee levels, participating in the opinions or coordinating with the Organizational Section in helping the basic organizations strengthen their leadership vis-a-vis the works of their branch or group at the basic level with the practical contents related to the function of each branch or each field to help the committee levels in guiding the setting up of the emulation models by aspect (such as, irrigation, technological improvements, maintenance of civil order, serving the resistance, culture, education, medicine, regarding the "three preparations" and the "three resources" movements, etc...) to bolster the training and experience of the basic cadres and to participate in the observation of the "four goods" cells and basic party committees, etc...

The guidance of the "four goods" cell and basic party committee-building activities in accordance with the above-mentioned methods of the places that did this work well, actually developed into the work of the committee level groups and many branches and fields, and was not the work of only the Party standing committee comrades or the comrades of the

organizing and the Organizational Section.

The experiences of the localities that have not yet done well in guiding these activities are just the opposite of those mentioned above who did this well. In the former, either due to factors related to ideology at the committee levels, such as lack of sincerity in carrying out the resolutions of the Central Committee and the higher echelons; insufficient awareness of the objectives, requirements, concepts, methods and important points of the activities; lack of drive in the Party building work, etc...or to factors related to bureaucracy; lack of detailed, firm directives, etc...the activities have been carried out very sluggishly. There are places that got involved in the formalities and also publicized the studies and promoted the movement but only got a start with little or no follow-up. This is essentially due to a guidance that is too generalized and reads like an order to subordinates, with very little positive criticism, little drawing upon experiences to give specific guidance, little specific direction regarding the contents and methods for carrying out the activities. There have been district committees and party committees that, when carrying out the activities, did not give detailed directions; when observing the "four goods" cells and basic party committees, did not make an overall inspection or a detailed review but only noted a few manifestations of productivity; and in carrying out policies from above, all they care about were the figures and data and the reports. This is why they misinterpreted the "four goods" cells and could not get the movement off the ground.

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LET US CONTINUE STRENGTHENING THE
WORKER-FARMER ALLIANCE IN THE NEW SITUATION

[Following is a translation of
an article by Nguyen Van Tran
in the Vietnamese - language
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I

Worker-farmer alliance is a very important matter of the proletarian revolution. Many Marxist-Leninist theoreticians have many times emphasized that it was the vital condition for success of the proletarian revolution and the highest principle of proletarian dictatorship. In the course of its leading the Vietnamese revolution, our party creatively applied the original Marxist-Leninist theory about worker-farmer alliance to Vietnam's situation. The 1930 party political platform indicated: "In the revolution... the proletariat and the farmers are two major moving forces, but only when the proletariat seizes leadership can the revolution be successful." The party concept of the special alliance between these two classes prevailed in all the revolutionary activities of our party. Reviewing its thirty years of existence, our party came to this conclusion: "Marxism-Leninism has helped our party to see clearly that, under the conditions of a backward agricultural country like ours, the national problem is actually the farmers' problem, the national revolution is actually the farmers' revolution led by the workers' class, and the people's power is actually the power of workers-farmers. Therefore, through all periods, our party fully understood and correctly settled the farmers' problem, and consolidated the worker-farmer alliance. Our party has struggled against rightist and 'leftist' tendencies that underestimated the role of farmers being the main force of the revolution, the principal and most reliable ally of the workers' class, the basic force that, along with the latter, builds socialism. The experiences of our party in the course of the revolution clearly proved that wherever and whenever our cadres properly solved the farmers' intimate interests and fully understood the principle of worker-farmer alliance, the revolution would always move ahead fast." (Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Party Activities," Hoc Tap, No. 1, January 1960, page 6.)

The Vietnamese workers' class, the most advanced class in the Vietnamese society, was born when our people's struggle against the ruthless imperialist and feudal rule was going on at a fast pace, and when throughout the world the workers' class had grown up, opportunism in the international workers' movement had been repulsed, the proletarian revolution had succeeded

on more than one-sixth of the earth. It was under such conditions that the Vietnamese workers' class inherited the nation's traditions of firm invincible struggle, acquired the Marxist-Leninist scientific theories and the experiences of the international communist movement, and became our people's reliable leader. The Vietnamese farmers' class many times rose up to fight against the oppression of the feudal and foreign aggressors' rule. The farmers were the largest social force in our country, accounting for over 90 percent of our population. Unlike farmers in many other countries, our country's farmers, basically speaking, did not follow the political leadership of the bourgeoisie. Having the correct leadership of the workers' class, they soon became the main force of the revolution.

Our party affirmed that, in the Vietnamese revolution, if success were to be secured, the Marxist-Leninist principle about worker-farmer alliance must be used as strategic-guidance line. In our country, that was the alliance in all political, military, economic, and social fields between two fraternal classes under the leadership of the workers' class--a long-lasting alliance that was maintained in the first fifteen years of the party's existence, during the entire war of resistance against the French colonial aggressors, and through the period of socialism-building and struggling for reunification of the country. As early as in 1930, the year of its birth, our party already proposed the tasks of achieving national independence and giving land to the tillers. Under the leadership of the party, the workers and farmers of Nghe An and Ha Tinh, solidly united, rose up to overthrow the rule of the exploiting class and to set up the soviet power. In 1936, our party established the Democratic Front against the Fascists and Colonial Reactionaries in Indochina, and united the people on the basis of worker-farmer alliance for the purpose of struggling for democratic freedom and better living. When World War II broke out, the party united all the nation in the Viet Minh Front, the basis of which was the worker-farmer alliance; proposed the policy of reducing land rent and confiscating land from the imperialists and Vietnamese traitors to give to farmers; led the entire nation in fighting the Japanese fascists and the French; set up revolutionary bases in some rural and highland areas; at the same time, built the revolutionary force in cities; moved toward launching an uprising to seize power in both cities and rural areas throughout the country. In the period of the war of resistance against the French colonial aggressors, our party led all our people in the fight against the aggressors, mobilized the masses for demanding land rent reduction and land reform. Members of the main force, local army, and militia were mostly farmers wearing soldiers' uniforms and the hard-core force which, under the party leadership, had been fighting bravely to bring victory to the first war of resistance. After peace had been restored, in the north that had been completely liberated, the party led the people toward building the material and technical base of socialism along with reforming of the old economy; led the farmers toward completing the land reforms, abolishing permanently the feudal system of land seizure, and making their age-old dream come true; and later led the farmers toward giving up individualistic work to move to collectivized work. The farmers' living and the face of the countryside were completely changed;

the workers' class, along with the farmers, again gave priority to and carried out development of heavy industry, agriculture based on establishment of cooperatives, and light industry. At that same time, the national liberation revolution in the south scored successive victories again due to the application of the Marxist-Leninist original theory about worker-farmer alliance.

II

At present, to try to save themselves from an unavoidable defeat in the south, the U.S. imperialists on the one hand intensify the aggressive war in the south, and on the other daringly widen the war of destruction to the north, thus throwing the whole of our country into a state of war.

In the new situation of our country's revolution, the workers' class must lead the farmers and other social strata in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation to score victory and to continue the building of socialism in the north. To do so we need to consolidate further the worker-farmer alliance.

The workers' and farmers' classes must now recognize the U.S. imperialists as the enemy of the class and the people, clearly see their heavy and glorious responsibility, enthusiastically fulfill their military duties, build a strong people's armed force, and supply the front with utmost manpower and resources. The national liberation task at this moment must be closely linked with the basic interests of workers and farmers. These two classes must heighten revolutionary vigilance, do productive work and protect production at the same time, remain ready to combat and combat at the same time, check in time all the enemy's counterrevolutionary acts, and resolutely defeat the U.S. aggressors in their destruction war and espionage and psychological warfares. Only by doing so can they consolidate the political aspect of the worker-farmer alliance.

To defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in all the country, the workers' and farmers' classes in the north must do what is necessary to develop the effects of the big rear upon the big front, the south. To do so they must strengthen the economic and national defense potentialities of the north by continuing to speed the three revolutions--the production-relation revolution, the technical revolution, and the cultural and ideological revolution, of which the technical revolution is the key one. The worker-farmer alliance at this moment must, in the economic aspect, guarantee priority development of heavy industry and also utmost development of agriculture and light industry. At this time we need to build and to consolidate the north so as to make it strong in all aspects and to a high degree, with efforts being much greater than those in peacetime.

The relation between industry and agriculture at this time is a major

sign of the alliance between the workers' and farmers' classes. Now, more than ever, the workers' class must direct industry toward speeding the technical revolution in agriculture, with an effort to satisfy the two very important needs:

To guarantee technical measures, to try to build the material and technical base of agriculture for the purpose of increasing cultivation and animal husbandry productivities;

To guarantee the most effective use of labor in agriculture, to make a large part of our manpower available for serving the front and building industry.

We must actively build the network of small machinery among cooperatives and move agricultural cooperatives to a new phase--to use semimechanized and mechanized tools, to provide the countryside with electricity, machines, and workers. With the assistance of industry, particularly heavy industry, we can have millions of people available for military needs, communication-transportation work, and central and local industrial building; we can assign women in rural areas some heavy work, the task of speeding grain and food production and animal-raising, thus satisfying the national defense needs and the needs for improving our people's long-range productive and fighting power. By doing such work properly not only can we defeat the U.S. imperialists, but we can also guarantee our people's living.

Agriculture has the task of providing the war of resistance and the people's daily living with grains, foods, raw materials, manpower, etc. to satisfy their needs and the need for industrial development. In the time of war, such needs increase very fast and considerably, and there usually are more difficulties in satisfying them all. Many people having good health must go to the front, serve communication-transportation, work in plants and mines; on the other hand, the enemy does his best to destroy, thus creating obstacles to our production and transportation.

In order to guarantee the tasks of agriculture, we have no other choice than achieving intensive rice cultivation by introducing science-technology to agriculture, with the goal of 5 tons per hectare of rice annually even in the time of war. This requires that we have the assistance of industry, particularly heavy industry, in carrying out the "water, fertilizer, tilling, seeds, prevention of insects" measures. In the time to come, heavy industry must concentrate on equipping the agricultural production cooperatives with 10,000 small machines to replace human energy with machine power, first in the fields of water-pumping, rice-threshing and -grinding, and processing of agricultural products. We must struggle hard so that any cooperative having 150-200 families will have all the mechanical power to do the above-mentioned work. The central and local mechanical engineering plants must have plans to speed the manufacture of power machines like pumps, grinders, rice threshers, processing machines for agricultural products. In addition to manufacturing machines, by the end of 1967, the heavy industry branch has the task of satisfying the needs of agriculture for rakes and rudimentary transportation means, at the same time

working for and step by step drawing experiences from widening the area in which agricultural machinery is being supplied, actively producing farm machines besides tractors to supply to agriculture. Heavy industry must also actively produce fertilizers, insecticides, coal, cement, glass, lumber, etc. to supply to agriculture.

To improve the productive and fighting power of farmers, the light industrial branch has the task of providing them with good-quality consumer goods that is needed everyday, such as cotton material, paper, matches, soap, tobacco, medicines, household utensils, etc. Local industry needs to exploit and to use fully the raw materials and materials available in local areas to manufacture and to supply on-the-spot the locally needed consumer goods, and to overcome the wartime difficulties in transportation. It is necessary to organize mobile service cells and to manufacture spare parts for repair and replacement needs.

To do well the above work, the industrial branch has the duty to help farmers to train operators of small machines; in this regard, many local areas had good experiences, with workers being trained right in their jobs, who would work in villages in the crops and study in cities between crops.

To introduce the technical revolution to agriculture for increase of labor productivity is an urgent task in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation and at the same time a vital step on the road to modernization of agriculture. Therefore, the workers' class must educate farmers so that they would pay attention to capital accumulation as a means to achieve the technical revolution. That is also a practical content of the worker-farmer alliance at this moment. The technical revolution in agriculture requires capital accumulation. This is hard to achieve in peacetime and even harder in wartime. This is the problem of solving the contradictions between spending and accumulation, between immediate and long-range interests, between localistic and general interests. Therefore, to teach people to bear hardships in order to serve the front and to build the material and technical base of socialism is actually to teach people about the collectivized, socialist way of working. To do this teaching job properly among farmers is to consolidate realistically the worker-farmer alliance.

In addition to achieving the technical revolution in agriculture, the workers' class must attach great importance to perfecting and consolidating the new production relation in the countryside. The technical revolution is indeed the decisive condition for raising agricultural-production capacity, consolidating the new production relation and developing its supreme effects; however, if the struggle between the collective and individualistic roads were neglected, we could not consolidate our cooperatives, nor develop agricultural production fast. To consolidate the cooperatives and to unite the working farmers into a solid collectivity is the fundamental condition for using the new techniques and strengthening the productive force in agriculture. Therefore we must attach utmost importance to improving cooperative management, developing the cooperative members' spirit of owner-

ship of the collectivity, and stopping any passive and unhealthy tendencies in our cooperatives.

The more the workers' class pay attention to agriculture, the more they must try to strengthen the leadership of their pioneering party in the countryside so as to push ahead the campaign for cooperative managerial and technical improvements. Party members in the countryside must stress the socialist collective spirit, always try to study, lead the march toward science-technology, be pioneers and models in all the work of their cooperatives.

The problem of worker-farmer alliance, as comrade Stalin once said, "is not purely moral, but for the interests of both classes, which benefit from it." (Stalin: "The Problems of Farmers and Establishment of Agricultural Cooperatives in the Soviet Union," Vietnamese translation, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, page 164.) The farmers' class must clearly see that socialist industrialization benefits workers, farmers, and the nation as a whole. Therefore, farmers must know how to sacrifice and must think hard--how to do things, how much spending, how much accumulation of capital to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors and to build socialism. This task is closely linked with their own interests. At this time, the countryside must provide manpower for national defense and other branches of activities. Agriculture must satisfy the needs of the people and soldiers for enough food to eat to defeat the U.S. aggressors, supply industry with raw materials and the exporting branch with farm products which would be exchanged for machinery and equipment for industry and agriculture. For farmers, the fraternal association with the workers' class must be shown by actively paying agricultural and other taxes, by fulfilling their duty to the state--selling farm products to the state, by doing their military tasks, by building strong big cooperatives. Recently President Ho sent commendation letters to five cooperatives which obtained 6.5 tons or more per hectare a year, sold more rice to the state than the previous years at state encouragement prices, and successfully built themselves up, thus improving their members' living. That was a common honor for all the working farmers in the north.

In the cultural field, the two fraternal classes must unite with each other to abolish the culture of slavery and to build an advanced culture in conformity with the views of the workers' class. This is a very difficult class struggle that covers a wide range of activities, from customs and manners to culture, arts, etc. To pull all the roots of the remnants of the colonial feudal culture is not an easy thing to do; the workers' class, in order to do it, must patiently use Marxism-Leninism as the weapon of their struggle. Under the leadership of the party, we need to develop the victories in the cultural, ideological revolution; to continue raising patriotism, the love for socialism and revolutionary heroism, the hate for the U.S. aggressors; and at the same time to keep applying science-technology in the countryside for winning in the building of the economy and the new life. The workers' class have the heavy responsibility for

wiping out the remaining injustices against women, liberating the latter from heavy manual work, and helping to protect mothers and children. They must, through productive and combat work, bring women to a more deserving place in society and at the same time pay proper attention to training and improving women so that they could do their tasks well. They need to pay utmost attention to the youth force, to develop their combating role in all fields of action, to train an army of young intellectuals to engage in science-technology. The workers' class must also help the farmers to get rid of superstitions, etc.

III

More than ever the workers' and farmers' classes must now recognize their heavy glorious responsibilities to the revolutionary work at home and abroad. The two fraternal classes must strengthen their alliance in the political, military, and economic fields and serve as a solid base for the people's democratic state to fulfill its historic mission. We must do our best to develop the leadership role of the workers' class and the main-force role of the farmers' and workers' classes in the democratic national revolution and in the socialist revolution. To carry out correctly the principle of worker-farmer alliance in our country's actual situation is a very complicated matter which our party has successfully solved. However, to understand this principle fully is not so simple. In some areas and branches, at one moment or another, there were shortcomings and either "leftist" or "rightist" mistakes in the implementation of that principle. That was because some of our cadres did not fully recognize the important effects of the worker-farmer alliance in the revolution; consequently they did not make the workers and farmers fulfill all their tasks in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation and in socialism-building.

In order to achieve correctly the alliance between workers and farmers, first we must fully use our potentiality in industrial production so as to manufacture goods of good quality at lower costs, to help to increase the potentiality of industry and agriculture, and to consolidate the revolutionary state. It is necessary to stress the spirit of cadres and workers of being owners of the collectivity and to develop the effects of factories upon farmers' living and agricultural economy. This spirit of collective ownership must be realistically shown in effectively serving agricultural development. Such phenomena as working carelessly, doing enterprise work mainly for profit, and failing to improve quality of products are all wrong and must be overcome.

Phenomena, such as factories failing to calculate carefully in recruiting workers, thus easily wasting labor; relying solely on grain supplies from farmers without having production increase plans to help achieve self-sufficiency in supplies, at least partial, of grain and food; using land too freely to build houses, warehouses, roads, thus affecting the acreage that



otherwise would be used for cultivation, would all affect, either directly or indirectly, the farmers' living.

Grain and food, which are produced by farmers with so much toiling and sweat, because of shortcomings in transportation and handling, can become mildewed or can be wasted; goods sent to the countryside is sold without instructions given as to how to use it, and in some places is sold just to help guarantee a good turnover, with no attention paid to the farmers' living--in such cases, how can we say the worker-farmer alliance principle has been correctly followed? Worker-farmer alliance is not an abstract matter; it is very real. We must consider all matters, beginning with the real ones, and if so will find that we have a lot of shortcomings. For instance, in industry, labor productivity is still low; the quality of products is not yet good; their costs are still high; capital accumulated is still little. In production, industrial enterprise, commerce, communication-transportation, there still is the phenomenon of paying more attention to enterprise and less to service; in some places there is a tendency not to pay enough attention to serving the masses. The use of labor, materials, and capital still involves a lot of waste as thrift-practicing is not strictly carried out. Those are the things that limit our ability to speed industrial production and the effects of industry and other economic branches upon serving a developed agriculture.

In the last ten years, although our technical revolution was making progress, the latter was in general too slow. The current fight against the U.S. for national salvation makes us feel all the bad effects of such a shortcoming. At present, farmers still have to use their hands to dig or to build millions of cubic meters of soil, still use their shoulders to carry things, still spend a lot of time to grind and to process the rice; agriculture is short of a great deal of fertilizers; every year hundreds of thousands of tons of rice are destroyed by insects; many farmers who want to build houses, water tanks, drying backyards, etc. find they cannot buy bricks and tiles; processing of grains and other farm products still faces a lot of difficulties. We need to see this situation very clearly so as to do our best to speed the technical revolution, to serve agriculture and farmers better, to consolidate the worker-farmer alliance. We need to understand that speeding the technical revolution has a lot to do with other problems, particularly the problem of freeing women from doing heavy manual work. Women in the countryside, particularly in the highland, in addition to working hard, must also take care of their children and do house work; as a result, they do not have time to study and to take part in social work and, in addition to that, suffer from many inequalities left behind by the old customs of the former society. If we further speeded the technical revolution, we would make a big contribution to liberating women, a big work that has a lot to do with implementing the worker-farmer alliance principle.

To implement the worker-farmer alliance principle is not the affair of only cadres and workers in industrial branches, but is the revolutionary task of all branches and echelons. At present, in our mind, we all recog-

nize the great effects of the worker-farmer alliance upon the revolution, but in reality we have not done many things that can be done better. Why? Because we have not yet thought seriously about it, we have not made up our mind to do our very best to solve the difficulties that would appear during the implementation of that principle and line. The evidences of fear of difficulties and hardships in serving agriculture and farmers are pretty numerous.

To achieve the worker-farmer alliance, our people's democratic state must mobilize the two main forces of the revolution--the workers and farmers--for industrial and agricultural development in accordance with the spirit of self-sufficiency and hard-working and thrift-practicing to help build the country. On the one hand the state must have some necessary policies and measures and put out a lot of capital to develop production and to improve the people's living; on the other hand farmers must, along with the state, invest capital in agriculture, help to build industry, at the same time actively speed production and practice thrift to improve their own living.

A number of policies and measures which the state usually adopt are directly related to the worker-farmer alliance problem, as well as to prices of industrial and agricultural products for both purchases and sales, taxes, etc.; these are very complicated problems that need to be considered and solved correctly and in conformity with the actual conditions of our country. Price and tax policies must be aimed at speeding production and at the same time mobilizing to the highest degree the workers' and farmers' force for capital accumulation to be used in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist industrialization and for improving our people's long-range productive and fighting power. To defeat the U.S. aggressors, to develop industry and agriculture, we must have a lot of capital; the latter depends on our people's contributions. Workers, in doing productive work, get only certain wages; all the capital thus accumulated is collected and used by the state. Farmers make contributions in the form of paying of agricultural taxes and selling of farm products to the state at the fixed prices. To accumulate capital for the construction and defense of our country is everybody's duty. The farmers' class, who have been paying agricultural taxes and selling farm products to the state, deserve a great deal of credit for contributing to state capital accumulation; as to the workers' class, with advanced productive conditions and higher labor productivity, have made a major contribution to society's accumulation of capital.

At present our accumulated capital is not large because labor productivity in industry and agriculture is very low, costs of products are still high, the people's living, particularly the farmers', is still poor. Consequently, there appear contradictions between the needs of society and those of farmers, between long-range and immediate interests. Because our industry is still small and because industrial goods, in general, is expensive, those are the things that we cannot avoid. We cannot overcome these contradictions by raising the prices of farm products and lowering the prices of industrial

goods in a widespread manner (some industrial items, of course, can and need be sold at lower prices, such as capital goods for agriculture, medicines, stationery and student supplies, etc.), for by doing so the state will lack capital for use to build the economy and to improve the people's living and farmers, though having a lot of money, will not be able to buy the goods they need. To solve this situation, workers and farmers must do their best to raise labor productivity and to lower the costs of their products so as to have plenty of products to supply to each other and to help to accumulate more capital for the state. Only on the basis of a plentiful economy that our living can be improved. Prices are an effective tool to satisfy that need. It is not true that we should only lower the prices of industrial goods and raise the purchase prices of farm products in order to achieve a good worker-farmer alliance, but we should consider the effects of such an action upon the goals of the revolution and the workers' and farmers' interests.

The party and state have been taking and will take series of financial, credit, commercial, and transportation measures to help farmers to develop production and to improve their living; at the same time, such measures are also aimed at creating a basis for industrial development and strengthening of our country's economic and defense potentiality. The various branches--science-technology, literature and arts, education, public health--must direct all their activities toward the countryside and the highland, do their best to serve production and the farmers' living. Those are practical and realistic works that contribute to the building of the country. Those are also the works that reflect the party's worker-farmer alliance principle.

The glorious historic road that our party and people have taken proves that the worker-farmer alliance is the vital problem for the revolution and the basis that safeguards our people's democratic state, a proletarian dictatorial state that must fulfill its historic tasks. The brilliant victories which our party has scored since its establishment prove that it correctly and creatively applied the original Marxist-Leninist principle about worker-farmer alliance to a colonial, semifeudal country. We did recognize the great importance of the problem, but we are still confused and still have shortcomings in applying it to the practical, everyday work; therefore, we must actively study the experiences obtained; patiently and painstakingly think about our country's reality; and from the actual work of each branch, each echelon, each person, from the problems that come from the real revolutionary struggle, move forward and implement better and better the party's worker-farmer alliance principle.

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LET US BREAK THE SO-CALLED U.S. 'AIR FORCE SUPERIORITY'

Following is a translation of an article by Phung The Tai in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No.6, June 1966, pages 58-64.]

In the aggressive war against our country, the U.S. imperialists used many tactical air groups and part of the strategic reserve air force in the Pacific. They successively mobilized ten aircraft carriers for continuous operations near our coast, of which three or four were standing by ready to fight all the time. Compared with the aircraft used in their Korean aggressive war before, the aircraft used in the present Vietnam war are higher in quality, with many types being manufactured by the U.S. imperialists to prepare for a big war fought against the whole of the socialist bloc and many others like the Thunderchief F105 which they have been bragging as "representing the summit of international aeronautics(!)" Moreover, they also have modern command, communication, and reconnaissance means and many dangerous technical weapons. They used a part of the tactical air force and navy aircraft from inland bases in South Vietnam, Thailand and the floating airfields of the Seventh Fleet to attack the north. With such an air force, the U.S. imperialists have been loudly claiming "absolute superiority of U.S. air force," which they hoped would save them from complete defeat in the south. But what happened was entirely against their hope. Although in the past year, according to their own statement, they ordered their combat aircraft to fly nearly 20,000 sorties and to drop 30,000 tons of bombs in the north, our people's determination to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, to build and to defend the north, to liberate the south, and to move toward reunification of our country was further heightened rather than destroyed. With such emulative movements as "a hammer in one hand, a gun in the other; a plow in one hand, a gun in the other," "three readinesses," "three resourcefulnesses," and others, our army and people scored big victories in the production and combat fields.

Along with the successive big military and political victories of the heroic army and people of the south, our anti-aircraft and air forces in the north were fast strengthened, grew up in many aspects, and succeeded in breaking the so-called "absolute superiority of the U.S. air force."

The fact that more than 1,000 U.S. combat aircraft (including many modern types and accounting for about one-sixth of all their combat aircraft) were shot down in the north and that hundreds of others were damaged is a big loss for the U.S. imperialists. According to U.S. press revelations, which

of course were far from accurate, the U.S. aircraft shot down in the north in 1965 alone were valued at more than one billion dollars. The U.S. imperialists' economic and defense potentiality is great, but not limitless. While they are short of aircraft to save their critical situation in the south, in the north our army and people shoot down in average two U.S. aircraft a day; this makes the U.S. imperialists even more confused.

Many top U.S. aircraft-flying aggressors--a part of their most precious vitality--were either killed or captured; this was quite a headache for the U.S. imperialists. According to the U.S. "Weekly News" issue of 25-10-1965, because the number of U.S. pilots killed in both parts was increasing everyday, the U.S. Defense Department had to use the pilots doing experimental work in its air force command as pilots of combat aircraft. The more our antiaircraft force was developed along with our tactical and technical capacities being improved ceaselessly, the more serious the shortage of skilled U.S. commanding officers and combat pilots became.

Many very shrewd tactics of the U.S. air force were broken by our army and people. The U.S. imperialists were getting very confused and passive. As their use of small force was defeated on 5-8-1964, they had to switch to the method of concentrated attack to develop the power of their air force "with a short time and the destruction of many targets," but the more they had recourse to concentrated attacks, the more losses they suffered; consequently, after "the darkest hours of the U.S. air force" in Thanh Hoa on 3 and 4-4-1965, they had again to turn to small, sneaky, fast-attack-fast-retreat attacks, which limited the U.S. piratical pilots' use of tactics, weapons, and techniques. In the face of the thicker and more accurate firepower from our antiaircraft and infantry guns, the U.S. piratical pilots had to fly high; however, they were again compelled by our high-altitude firepower to fly lower--a situation that forced the U.S. air force specialists to refer to a new tactic called "throwing over the shoulders," "jumping the fence," or "striking at medium low altitude." But as they flew at low or medium low altitudes, again they had to face a series of difficulties that they had tried to avoid, particularly the widespread fire net sprung by our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen and antiaircraft artillery units.

The resounding victories of our antiaircraft force and the successive defeats of the U.S. air force made the morale of the U.S. aircraft-flying aggressors go down. The U.S. military commanders had to determine both the number of flights and the time of combat for each of their pilots on the Vietnam battlefield. Many pilots called the time when they had to fight against our army and people "the most horrible hours of (their) flying career." A captured pilot said: "I usually figured it out that I must fly twenty sorties a month, thirty-five every two months, and that if I did not die this week, I would die next week, if I did not get hit here, I would be shot down somewhere else."

After more than a year of waging the war of destruction in the north,

not only were the U.S. imperialists unable to save themselves from more and more serious defeats in the south, but they also suffered new defeats. In regard to the strategic aims of the war of destruction and the military aspect alone, they clearly tasted defeats of a basic character. They constitute the miserable failure of the so-called "absolute superiority of the U.S. air force." To this moment, even the U.S. officials like McNamara, Taylor, Westmoreland did not believe that attacking the north could encircle and isolate the South Vietnam battlefield although they were stubbornly intensifying their aggressive war, and had to admit that "the war is mainly a land war" and would be "long, difficult." Meanwhile, U.S. Senator George McGovern made it clear that "most air raids were ineffective," that the U.S. "lost a rather large number of skilled pilots and expensive aircraft in North Vietnam," and that "bombing further infuriated the people (of North Vietnam--author's note) and made them unite and, with the Government (of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--author's note), resolutely fight back" the U.S. ("Washington Post" of 27-1-1966).

The U.S. imperialists, in spite of their many modern aircraft and technical weapons, have been painfully defeated and lost whenever they fought while our people got stronger as we kept fighting and won whenever we fought.

That was first of all due to the fact that the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the north was an unrighteous war. The brazenly aggressive and extremely ruthless and rude acts on their part made our people hate them so deeply and fight back with all our power. The peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world were opposed to them more and more strongly. The movement of struggle of the U.S. people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors was more and more heightened. Even among the ranks of the imperialists and their lackeys there were no agreement and solidarity. On the other hand, as the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the north was primarily aimed at saving them from a defeat in the south, at the very beginning it was of strategically passive nature. It was the U.S. imperialists' ever increasing political isolation, coupled with their being strategically passive in conducting the war of destruction, that forced the U.S. imperialists to combine destructive military acts with deceiving political and diplomatic maneuvers. As the U.S. air force, the most modern arm of the U.S. imperialists, is carefully trained to satisfy the needs of a large-scale war involving the use of nuclear weapons, it was unable to develop the characters and effects of the weapons, techniques, and strong points of the U.S. pilots just because it had to adapt itself to the war of destruction fought in an "escalating" trend, with scattered targets, complicated terrain, changing weather, difficult logistical means, and particularly such a well-experienced adversary as our army and people. Not that they did not have adventurous strategic schemes, but the time in which the U.S. imperialists could do whatever they liked to has gone for good. Today they cannot get whatever they want; and even if they were very daring, they would still be unable to change the ultimate course of history. The heroic Vietnamese people have a good cause to serve, an invincible political and moral force and a stronger mate-

rial force, and the correct line of our pioneering party; and consequently will be the victor.

The more the U.S. imperialists widen their destructive acts, the more politically isolated they become and the more they are unable to avoid serious military defeat; to escalate the war step by step leads to military disadvantages and to keep escalating while knowing that doing so is inviting death shows the reactionary, stubborn nature of the U.S. imperialists and also reflects their being in a stalemate.

The more the U.S. imperialists fight, the more they lose, and the more they lose, the more confused they are; on the contrary, the more our people fight, the more powerful we become, and the more powerful we are, the more we win; and we will surely obtain complete victory, for with our good cause we have absolute political and moral superiority over the enemy. Under the clear-sighted and resolute leadership of the party and President Ho, our army and people more and more develop such a superiority and turn it into an extremely great material force, which increases with our growth in all aspects.

With a love for our country and socialism and a deep hatred for the aggressors and traitors, with a determination to defend the north, to liberate the south, and to reunify the country, with a fathomless confidence in the party leadership, all our antiaircraft soldiers on all front lines have been proving they are "loyal to the party, pious to the people," stressing their determination to fight and to win, ceaselessly developing the revolutionary heroism, and along with the people continually downing many modern aircraft of the U.S. imperialists.

Slogans like "Follow the example of Nguyen Van Troi by aiming straight at the enemy's face to shoot and to hit hard," "As long as we still have men and guns, we still fight" and the eternal images of political cadre Nguyen Viet Xuan and of chief gunners Phan Dang Cat, Dinh Ich Nhuong, and Nguyen Van Dien symbolize the antiaircraft soldiers' utmost revolutionary spirit and will to fight till the end. The indestructible political and moral power we possess makes the antiaircraft services develop their forces in spite of the conditions of war under which they have to fight the enemy and to build simultaneously, be able to use fast all kinds of weapons and resources and to improve their fighting ability, shorten the training time so as to be combative early, and guarantee victory in the first combat action and in the subsequent battles. This power is also the moving force that drives the antiaircraft cadres and soldiers toward overcoming all difficulties and hardships, and makes them optimistic all the time in spite of hard-working and toiling and brave and witty in the face of the enemy. Knowing how to escape a disadvantageous situation and to take initiative instead, and later to fight back the enemy with great determination--such was the case in which many of our soldiers sometimes solved their critical situation.

With indestructible political and moral power, our young air force soldiers, in the face of a modernly equipped enemy who outnumbered them, have been combining wit with bravery in combat, thus scaring the enemy to death and having felled "thunderchiefs" and smashed "phantoms" right in the first battles, with the first shots, and at the first attacks. The more it fights, the faster our air force grows.

In the emulative movement of all our army and people to shoot down U.S. aircraft, members of our militia and self-defense corps, both male and female, have been showing progress in many aspects--from mainly serving combat at the beginning to both serving combat and directly taking part in combat alongside the soldiers or all by themselves, with increasing enthusiasm and confidence in the weapons they have in their hands; from shooting as a "warning" at enemy aircraft and shooting while trying to save ammunitions to fighting at close range, fighting to hit, fighting continually and to win. Regular rifles and machineguns fired by our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, by downing many supersonic jets, have actively contributed to defeating the "absolute superiority of the U.S. air force," thus along with our army and people throughout the country scoring new feats of arms in the antiaircraft history of our army and people.

The success of our army and people in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction has affirmed the correct view of our party: although each type of weapon has its own importance, the main factor that determines victory in a war is the political and moral power of the participants.

Our army and people have won in the fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors because we fully understood the political line and the line on the people's war and the building of the people's armed force put forth by our party. If the line of our party on the people's war had been proved absolutely correct during the war of resistance against the French, today in our struggle against the U.S. imperialists in the war of destruction, which they conducted mainly with their air force, the same line has been creatively applied to the new situation and has proved itself correct and fruitful. In the movement launched and organized widely everywhere in the north and aimed at shooting down U.S. aircraft with any types of weapons available, the firepower of our main force (of which the antiaircraft artillery was the hard core), closely combined with the antiaircraft firepower of local troops and militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, provided many layers of protection and widespread and effective attacking force to strike at the enemy everywhere, at any time, thus inflicting punitive blows upon the U.S. piratical aircraft whether they flew high or low. In actual combat, the rifle and machinegun cells of local militiamen, self-defense corpsmen, and troops proved themselves a very good supporting force for our main force at low altitudes and outside the effective ranges of antiaircraft artillery; and scared the enemy very much. Some U.S. pilots, after raids against the north, admitted that "shells from antiaircraft guns could be avoided, but bullets from small guns could never be seen and avoided," and that "a 7.6mm

bullet from a rifle would be as dangerous as a rocket"; a captured pilot said that he cunningly flew between two mountain sides, but still he was shot at from the mountain slopes.

The development of the all-people movement to shoot down U.S. aircraft, along with the formation and development of the local anti-aircraft force, strengthened the air defense capacity of every district and province, created favorable conditions for anti-aircraft soldiers to concentrate on more important locations and to operate with greater mobility; at the same time, it was a source of supplementary force beside the main-force anti-aircraft units. Members of the militia and self-defense corps, both male and female, not only fought very well, but also substituted for gunners and reconnaissance agents when necessary and acted as a major force in capturing U.S. pilots. The three armed forces, closely coordinated with one another, were also a big force that, along with the people, would fast overcome the damages caused by the enemy's strafings.

The people's extremely great assistance helped to create the victories of our anti-aircraft forces. The people's engineer corpsmen in plain clothes, including old and young, male and female, helped the anti-aircraft forces to overcome difficulties that seemed insurmountable. The people contributed millions of workdays to the building of entrenchments and changing of terrain to suit the arrangement of gun positions as dictated by combat needs; sometimes they helped to build combat positions right in the middle of flooded ricefields, sometimes to assist soldiers in pulling artillery pieces to hill tops, or to tie several fishing junks together to carry artillery guns and ammunitions across the river, or to supply ammunitions, to take care of the wounded, to bring in foods, to guarantee continued communications and contacts day and night, to serve their anti-aircraft forces unconditionally just for the sake of victory. The people also contributed labor and money to feeding tens of thousands of militiamen and self-defense corpsmen so that they could fight everyday. It was so clear that every success in our fighting the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction was the result of a sound coordination among different arms and services, among the three kinds of armed forces, and between soldiers and the people. The people's assistance and encouragement made the anti-aircraft soldiers always feel that they were surrounded by blood-relation love and were given more and more strength; as a result, they further stressed their will to fight and their determination to shoot down as many U.S. aircraft as possible and to fulfill all the tasks entrusted to them by the party and the people.

The achievement of our army and people, over 1,000 U.S. aircraft shot down, not only reflected their firm will to fight and to defeat the U.S. imperial aggressors, but also proved that they were both active and creative while seeking to understand our party's military ideas and combat guidance principle. We found very creative and unique ways to fight the enemy, the ways that were suitable for our own conditions, with using weakness to fight a strong enemy and developing absolute political and moral superiority to defeat an enemy having modern weapons being the main characteristics. After

more than a year of fighting the war of destruction which the U.S. imperialists conducted mainly with their air force, we made big progress in regard to tactics, organizational capacity, and combat command. We properly solved for the first time the relation between destroying the enemy and protecting our bridges, economic establishments, etc., and strengthened our forces. As the slogan, "Hit with the first shots, shoot down on the spot many enemy aircraft, shoot and save ammunitions," was followed more and more closely by many main-force antiaircraft units and local troops, militiamen, and self-defense corpsmen, we succeeded in eliminating a great deal of shooting "to chase," "to run after," and "to warn." The rate of shooting down U.S. aircraft with the least amount of ammunitions was sharply increasing, thus increasing more and more the enemy's losses, reducing more and more our damages, and boosting more and more our army's and people's confidence in victory and will to fight.

With an absolute revolutionary spirit and the spirit of actively destroying the enemy and of taking a small force to fight a large one, weakness to defeat strength, and the rudimentary to beat the modern, our antiaircraft force actively "look for the enemy to fight, lure the enemy to fight"; widely coordinated the arms and three kinds of forces; tried hard to overcome all difficulties and hardships; and relied on the people's great strength to have combat mobility at different levels. We adopted a "thousand changes, ten thousand transformations" tactic, which kept the enemy passive all the time. A captured U.S. pilot said that he and his companions "got mad" because we compelled them to "fight in strange ways that are not said in textbooks." The local antiaircraft forces and aircraft-hunting cells of the militia and self-defense corps also adopted the lively form of mobile combat, organized thousands of ambush fields, and along with the people "set traps" to lure enemy aircraft which they destroyed in coordination with the antiaircraft units. Our army's and people's creative, secret, sudden fighting denied the enemy of sound judgments and led to the enemy's tactical mistakes, sometimes very serious ones, and greater losses.

Shooting down over 1,000 U.S. aircraft is a very proud victory of the army and people in the north. This victory is that of our army's and people's will to fight and to win, and of our party's correct political and military line--the line on the people's war and the building of the people's armed force, as well as on the all-people defense view. People's war is the most basic aspect of the military line of our party; the traditions of our people as a whole; the most effective weapon for us to defeat the enemy on land, in the sea, and in the sky; and the "hundred battles, hundred victories" banner of our party. This victory is also the result of the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal countries and the active support of the people of the world, including the U.S. people. It strikes hard at the U.S. imperialists' very reactionary and deceitful argument, namely, "nobody wins militarily." It asserts that, although the U.S. imperialists have a lot of money and modern weapons, they are not powerful and have nothing we should be afraid of; our army and people will surely totally defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The U.S. imperialists are like the ephemera that blindly fly into the sea of flame of our people's war in both the north and the south. They have suffered successive heavy defeats, but their warlike and aggressive character never changes. They are planning new military adventures. Although the U.S. air force has suffered heavy losses inflicted by our army and people throughout the country, the U.S. imperialists have not yet used up their aircraft and bombs; they might in the future madly adopt many shrewd, ruthless, violent maneuvers.

To fulfill the heavy tasks entrusted to it by our party, President Ho, and the people, our antiaircraft force pledges to raise higher the "resolve to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors" banner, to do its best to harden its will to fight, to raise its spirit of understanding, to remain combat ready all the time, to develop to a high degree revolutionary heroism and solidarity, to secure modesty and tight coordination, not to be arrogant after victory nor discouraged in the face of difficulties, not to underestimate the enemy subjectively, to understand better the people's war and all-people defense views, and ceaselessly to strengthen itself in every aspect. Although the downing of over 1,000 U.S. aircraft over the north is a big victory, it is still small as compared to the combat achievements of the army and people in the south; consequently, the army and people in the north must make a greater effort. We must do our best to learn from the heroic army and people of the south; review and widely popularize the very rich recent combat experiences so as to improve our combat capacities; closely combine the destroying of enemy aircraft and special-force ships with defeating the enemy's espionage and psychological warfare; and do our best to do good people's antiaircraft work everywhere, to carry out the formula of destroying the enemy and defending ourselves at the same time and of doing both combat and construction work at the same time.

We are determined to fight, along with the army and people throughout the country, until we completely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in order to defend the north, to liberate the south, and to move toward reunification of the country.

5598
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HAI DUONG PROVINCE ACTIVATES WOMEN

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Chuong in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June 1966, pages 65-70.]

During the past several years our provincial committee has had, with regard to the work of activating women in Hai Duong Province, such practical leadership policies and methods as training, promoting, and strengthening female cadres, organizing children's groups and mother-teacher classes, women's welfare, etc. Relatively good results were attained in the achievement of those policies.

In the new situation, the mission of resisting America and saving the nation requires that the Party unit of Hai Duong increase its determination to promote both production and combat. In order to achieve that determination, we must go more deeply into actualities, so that we may correctly evaluate the revolutionary capabilities of the masses and further strengthen the work of activating the masses, in order to develop to a high degree the revolutionary capability and creativity of the masses. Therefore, we follow the policy of resolving, one by one, such matters as the activation of women, the activation of youths, the activation of old people, the education of children, etc. Women constitute a large force with great capabilities in production and combat; their "three responsibilities" movement is a great and profound political campaign. Therefore, we have joined the province's Women's Association in carefully investigating all aspects of the women's movement, and of the Party echelons' leadership of women, in order to help the provincial committee to evaluate correctly the good points and shortcomings

of the work of leading women, and therefore to be able to come forth with methods for promoting the work of activating women, promoting the "three responsibilities" movement, and meeting the needs of the new situation. Furthermore, many comrades in the provincial committee's standing committee made direct investigations in villages. Instruction No. 99 of the Party's Central Secretariat showed the way for our provincial committee's investigations. Carrying out Instruction No. 99, and basing ourselves on the points actually investigated, we held a provincial-level conference on the activation of women, in order to bring about a transformation in the knowledge of key cadres at the provincial and district levels, and to thereby bring about a transformation in the application of measures intended to strengthen the work of activating women. That conference discussed Instruction No. 99 and approved a resolution of the provincial committee regarding the strengthening of the province's work of activating women. That resolution evaluated the results of the work of activating women in Hai Duong during the past several years and brought up the good points and deficiencies of the work of leading women, and of the common directions and specific missions of the work of activating women in the coming period, in order to meet the needs of the enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism. After that, the districts, one by one, held meetings of district committee members, village Party committee secretaries, and district and village cadres responsible for the activation of women, with the above-mentioned goals and contents. At these meetings the district and village cadres not only reviewed the situation and discussed directions and methods for further promoting the work of activating women, but also reviewed their thinking and awareness regarding that work. With this careful, profound working method, we brought about a transformation in the awareness of cadres, Party members, and the masses with regard to the work of activating women in general, and with regard to the "three responsibilities" movement in particular. Therefore, many specific policies and methods regarding the work of activating women have been achieved well.

Missions of the Work of Activating Women

In Hai Duong, women account for 65% of the agricultural labor force. In many localities and cooperatives, women account for 70% of the labor force. They constitute an important production and combat force. Because of the needs of the mission of resisting America and saving the nation, many men have gone to fulfill their military obligations, so the labor force provided by women is even more important. Therefore, it is very essential that we strengthen the work of activating women in the new situation. In all of the Party's revolutionary tasks, the women of Hai Duong have heightened their spirit of self-strengthening and

their determination to struggle to advance strongly in order to fulfill the new responsibilities entrusted to them by the Fatherland. The women of Hai Duong have produced, have enthusiastically taken over the work of their husbands and sons who have gone to fight or to perform other urgent tasks, have gone all out to study science and technology, have participated in the cooperatives' production management, have participated in the management of the administration work, have joined militia and self-defense organizations, etc. In areas attacked by American airplanes, women have heroically fought and served the fighting. In the present struggle to resist America and save the nation, the women of Hai Duong have heightened their patriotism and their anger toward the American bandits, and are now advancing strongly. If the various Party echelons pay attention to developing that revolutionary spirit to a high degree, the tens of thousands of women in Hai Duong will constitute a great force, produce skilfully, and overcome all difficulties and fulfill every mission.

The work of activating women in Hai Duong must be strengthened, for the revolution is making great demands of women. Our people's struggle to resist the aggressive American imperialists is certain to win an ultimate victory, but for the immediate future it will become increasingly fierce. Many men have gone to fight the enemy troops directly, so most production tasks, service to the fighting, etc., in the localities are done by women. Hai Duong is an important rice-producing province which has a great responsibility for providing men and material for the great undertaking of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism. In order to fulfill those great missions, there must be great efforts on the part of the entire Party, on the part of the entire population, and, especially, on the part of the heroic and hard-working women.

Women play important roles in production, combat, and other tasks. But they are also beset by more difficulties than are men. While engaged in productive labor, the women still must think of their domestic work, maintain sanitation when pregnant, etc. When, in the course of their work, they encounter difficulties caused by a low educational level, they must also struggle against thoughts and attitudes which are disrespectful toward women. But the most serious shackle imposed on women is domestic work; they must be concerned with raising children, with marketing, with cooking, with raising pigs and chickens, with husking and crushing rice, etc. Everyone should be sympathetic toward women and be concerned with resolving their difficulties, but because of the feudalism ideology and the tendency to respect men and disrespect women are still strong, many people do not yet have real confidence in the capabilities of women, and do not positively resolve their difficulties in order to create conditions under which they can advance. Even some women do

not have full confidence in their abilities, and do not positively resolve their difficulties in order to create conditions under which they can advance. Even some women do not have full confidence in their abilities, and do not bravely accept the heavy responsibilities placed on them. If those difficulties are not overcome, the great capabilities of women cannot be developed; and therefore, the contributions of women to the enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism will be limited.

In order to strengthen its work of activating women, our provincial committee carried out the following tasks:

First of all, we taught the entire Party unit and the entire population in the province to have correct awareness of the important role and the great capability of women, caused the various Party echelons to be constantly concerned with the work of activating women and regarded that as important mass work of the Party which must be achieved well.

Second, we positively trained, promoted, and strengthened female cadres. This is an urgent need of the present revolution, and is also a practical method for achieving equality between men and women. It is important to train and promote female cadres so that they may participate in village and cooperative leadership, but it is even more important to strengthen them. We believe that if we are not concerned with strengthening women in every way, we cannot do a good job of training or promoting them. In order to strengthen women, we selected some of them to attend political, cultural, professional, and technical classes. In this regard, the greatest difficulty encountered by women was that their cultural level was too low. We cooperated with the province's Women's Association unit and its Education Office in holding "three responsibilities" cultural and technical classes, so that women could study cultural and technical subjects, and have a level of education sufficient to perform their work well. But the best method of strengthening is supervision, to assist women in their actual work, from small tasks to large ones, from guiding a conference to determining policies regarding daily work, etc., so that they can gradually become expert in their work and perform their work entirely on their own. Every three or six months, therefore, the various provincial-level and district level sectors organize discussions for their women, so that they may exchange work experiences, and so that they may be strengthened with regard to working methods, etc.

Third, we paid attention to resolving the women's difficulties, and to resolving the matter of welfare for women and children, so that women could have conditions for participating

in production and other work. We had the policy of carrying out the three "sends": sending children, sending markets, and sending food. As regards sending children, during the past several years mother-teacher classes and nurseries have, generally speaking, been well organized. But they have not been developed extensively, and many nurseries have not been strengthened. On the basis of the experience we gained, we took the stand of strongly developing children's groups and mother-teacher classes in all cooperatives, or for every two or three production units, and strengthened those bases well, assuring that they have adequate housing, have the necessary facilities, have safe air-defense shelters, and have good supervisory personnel who receive work points in the same manner as do producers in cooperatives. As regards marketing, we have taken the stand of leading the buying-selling in villages, in order to be of good service to production and the lives of the masses, for we must assist the women in buying and selling so that they can spend less time marketing. The sending of food is a complicated matter, but we have tested it in a number of advanced cooperatives in order to gain experience for disseminating them to the other cooperatives. In addition to the "three sendings," the various Party echelons have led the cooperatives in granting maternity benefits to women, in accordance with the actual circumstances of each person; people with many difficulties receive many benefits, people with few difficulties receive few benefits; the largest grant is 15 work days, the smallest grant is five work days. They have also led the cooperatives in achieving the system of giving light work in dry places to pregnant women, or to those who are weak or old, and of providing near-by work for women with nursing children. We are positively building a network of small machinery in the countryside which consists of rice huskers, machines for chopping animal feed, etc., in order to reduce the women's labor and the time they spend doing minor tasks. The achievement of village sanitation, the digging of wells, the building of new-style latrines, the building of concealed and simple bathing houses for women, and the campaigning for women to participate in the sports movement, have also received attention, in order not only to improve the lives of the people, but also to protect the health of peasants in general, and women in particular. The campaign for planned births and the achievement of marriage and family laws are also matters to which we give guidance in the cooperatives. Our provincial committee constantly pays attention to leading the Women's Association, to helping it develop the "three responsibilities" movement, and to strengthen the Association's organization and enable it to unite the masses of women to participate positively in the enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation. We also constantly assist the Association with regard to specific work directions and to increasing cadres and facilities.

Initial Results of the Work of Activating Women

Because of the concern of the Party and the efforts of the Women's Association, the women's movement in Hai Duong during the recent period has made many advances. Therefore, the great abilities and latent capabilities of women have been developed. In the "three responsibilities" movement, 18,000 women learned how to plow and harrow; more than 7,500 women learned to sow rice; 13,000 women in irrigation teams learned to sharpen knives (all of these things were formerly done by men); nearly 8,000 women participated in technical teams to select rice seeds, process fertilizer, etc.; 1,500 women participated in collective pig raising, etc. The number of women strengthened, used rationally in the various sectors and trades, and promoted to the leadership echelons of the Party, the political administrations, the cooperatives, and the production units, increased rapidly, especially after the inauguration of the "three responsibilities" movement and the resolutions of the Party's Central Committee regarding the work of activating women. After the essential completion of agricultural cooperativization, the various places trained 1,150 women to participate in cooperative management committees (a proportion of 11%); of them, four were directors, 172 were assistant directors, and 773 were production team leaders or assistant leaders (6%). As compared to the general regulations (30% of management committee members must be women), the number of women participating in management committees is still small. During the campaign to improve technology and cooperative management, we paid greater attention to bringing women into management committees. After that campaign there were 1,435 female management committee members in the province (12.4%), and more than 2,000 female production team leaders and assistant leaders (13%). Therefore, the training and promotion of female cadres were improved, but still did not meet the needs. And after the women were promoted, their strengthening was not given adequate attention. During some periods, large numbers of female cadres at the base level left their jobs. In Tu Ky District, 43 of 44 female assistant directors left their jobs; in Chi Linh District, of nine female assistant directors, eight left their jobs, etc. The number of female management committee members, production team leaders, and assistant team leaders leaving their jobs is also quite great. Twenty-seven cooperatives in Gia Loc District and 16 cooperatives in Cam Giang District have no women in their management committees. Having gained experience in previous movements, our provincial committee, at the beginning of 1965, when the "three responsibilities" movement began, held discussions and came forth with resolutions regarding the training, promoting, and strengthening of female cadres with specific quotas, policies, and methods. In August 1965, when a resolution regarding the

strengthening of the work of activating women was issued, we again stressed the training, promoting, and strengthening of female cadres by many concrete, positive methods. At present, there are 55 female directors in the province (including 12 who have been directors for some time), 227 female assistant directors (including 204 who have just been promoted), and more than 6,000 female production team leaders and assistant leaders, bookkeepers, and management committee members. The number of female cadres participating in other sectors of activity has also increased. In all the province there are 5,500 female cadres in the various sectors, and 667 of them hold key positions. Many of them have done their jobs very well, and have gained the confidence and support of the masses. Nearly all female cadres working in villages, cooperatives, and production teams have good working practices; they always remain close to the masses, enter deeply into the actualities of their work, listen carefully to the opinions of the masses, and discuss all tasks with the masses. The actualities of the autumn season of 1965 proved that women are entirely capable of fulfilling the positions of cooperative director and production team leader; in actuality, many women have led cooperatives and production teams, and have promoted production and achieved high rice productivity. The districts, villages, and sectors have paid attention to strengthening female cadres. Many villages have held "three responsibilities" cultural classes (288 classes in the province) in order to strengthen 6,000 female cadres culturally. Many political, professional, and agricultural technology classes strengthened nearly 4,500 female management committee members, production team leaders, and assistant production team leaders. Thanh Mien, Cam Giang, and other districts held discussions with women who served as chairmen, vice-chairmen, members of village administrative committees, directors and assistant directors, and leaders and assistant leaders of production teams. The province's Labor Youth League unit also held discussions with production team leaders and assistant team leaders who are young women. Nearly all districts held separate training classes for women who were sympathetic to the Party. Our province's Party school also held separate classes to strengthen women who were key cadres in villages and cooperatives. Many village-level Party committees used the form of "supervision," and thereby helped women to advance rapidly in their work. During the past year our province brought 772 positive women into the Party.

Such things as child care, marketing assistance, maternity benefits, etc., have helped the women to resolve some of the difficulties in their lives, so that they can better participate in production and other work. They have created conditions so that women can contribute positively to the enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation, and have also represented a step forward in the liberation of women. There are now more than

1,700 permanent children's groups in the province, and nearly 500 mother-teacher classes; many places have sufficient housing, the required facilities, and sufficient shelter space for the children. Therefore, nearly all cooperatives in the province have day nurseries, and large cooperatives have two or three. And therefore, 38,500 children have been sent to day nurseries and mother-teacher classes, and more than 30,000 women have been able to produce and contribute tens of thousands of working days to the cooperatives; most of the children sent to day nurseries and mother-teacher classes have been obedient, clean, and healthy. Hai Duong Province has built 74 electric pumping stations and many oil-burning pumping stations, and near them have been set up more than 90 rice-husking machines and feed-chopping machines; the women, therefore, have to spend less time husking and crushing rice for their children. The manufacture of such improved tools as improved grass rakes, wheel-barrows, three-sided carts, etc., has also been promoted in many villages and cooperatives; the women's production and transportation work has, therefore, been made less arduous. Other policies, such as maternity benefits, concern for pregnant women, weak women, or women with infants, etc., have served to increase the women's enthusiasm in production, combat, and service to combat.

The above are some of the initial advances in the work of activating women in Hai Duong; but in some aspects of that work there are still matters the achievement of which we must continue to lead well. Under the conditions of more and more positive women appearing in the course of the "three responsibilities" movement, as well as in production and combat, and in consideration of the new needs of the revolution, the number of women recently admitted into the Party is too low. Many cells have not paid attention to admitting women into the Party; some cells, indeed, have accepted no women into the Party during the recent period. A number of Party echelons have not paid attention to promoting women, and have been even more reluctant to promote women to key positions. And even after women have been promoted, they do not pay attention to strengthening them, especially in actual everyday work; therefore, many women are still confused about their work. Day nurseries and mother-teacher classes have been developed relatively well, but many of them are lacking in quality and are deficient in facilities and equipment; some women who care for children have not been strengthened politically and professionally, so their sense of responsibility and methods of caring for children are lacking, and many places have not adequately rewarded such women for their services. Production and transportation implements have not been improved so that they may be appropriate for women, and they have not been extensively disseminated; the intensity of the women's labor, therefore, has not been reduced, and they have not been helped to increase their labor productivity. Furthermore, the achievement of policies related to the

liberation of women have not been achieved uniformly.

The carrying out of Instruction No. 99 of the Party's Central Executive Committee has favorably influenced the women's movement in Hai Duong. We do not over-evaluate those initial advances. In order to meet the increasingly greater needs of the revolution, there must be even greater efforts on the part of the Party, the Women's Association, and all women in the province. The Hai Duong Party unit is determined to struggle to do a better job of achieving Instruction No. 99 of the Party's Central Committee and the resolutions of the provincial committee regarding the work of activating women, and to promote the "three responsibilities" movement even further. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, with the heroic traditions of the people and women of Hai Duong, and with the positive spirit of achieving the policies for activating women of the various Party echelons and of the various Women's Association units, we believe that the tens of thousands of women in Hai Duong will advance strongly and contribute worthily to our people's enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism.

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STRENGTHENING THE GOVERNMENTAL LEADERSHIP
OF THE VINH PHUC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

[Following is a translation of an article by
Kim Ngoc in the Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June 1966,
pages 71-73.]

In order to meet the needs of the new situation and missions, the Vinh Phuc provincial committee has had policies and methods for improving the organization and working methods of the various Party committee and governmental administration, with the aim of strengthening the Party's leadership of the governmental administration. In the past, the situation in Vinh Phuc was that the governmental cadres usually concerned themselves only with administrative affairs; for other things they usually relied on the various Party echelons, and seldom manifested initiative in resolving matters coming under their authority. On the other hand, the various Party echelons reserved too much time for resolving matters which actually were the responsibility of the governmental authorities. There was no clear division of labor and responsibility among the various sectors of the governmental apparatus, so they could not enter deeply into their work; there were instances of the various sectors doing one another's work, and there was no organization for watching out for such things. That situation prevented the role of the governmental administration from being strongly developed; the various Party echelons stuck their heads into minor tasks, and the members of Party committees had no time to investigate the general situation, or to become thoroughly familiar with all aspects of their work. After a period of achieving the policies and methods of improving their work, the various Party echelons in the province were less busy with minor tasks, had time to think about and resolve major problems, and had conditions for going down to the base level and getting

closer to reality. The governmental cadres boldly manifested a spirit of initiative and creativity in their work, and no longer relied on the Party echelons. Therefore, all tasks were resolved better and faster. The Party's leadership was made tighter, and the role of the governmental administration with regard to all aspects of the work was developed more and more strongly.

After a period of achieving policies to improve organization and working methods, we abstracted the following experiences:

1. We must heighten the ideological awareness of cadres and Party members with regard to the role and position of the governmental administration.

One of the reasons for confusion regarding working methods is that some of our cadres do not have full awareness of the role and position of the governmental administration, and do not clearly realize the content and methods of the Party's leadership of the governmental administration. Some comrades sent by the Party to do governmental work thought that the governmental administration should be concerned only with resolving administrative matters, and believed that they should do what the Party told them to do; therefore, they had a sense of responsibility toward the Party! Some comrades believed that the role of the governmental administration is only to be concerned with travel papers and tax assessments, and that the matter of organizing and educating the masses to achieve the policies of the Party and Government is the responsibility of the various Party echelons. And some comrades of the Party echelons thought that in leading the governmental administration they had to give concrete guidance and participate in the resolution of daily tasks, and that not to do so would be bureaucratism, would be to give a blank check to the governmental administration, and would be to lack a sense of responsibility!

The above-mentioned ideological attitudes exerted an adverse influence on the Party's leadership of the governmental administration, and on the development of the role of the governmental administration. Therefore, if we were to really strengthen the Party's leadership of the governmental administration and develop its role, we had first of all to cause both governmental cadres and Party cadres to have full and clear awareness of the role and position of the governmental administration and of the Party's leadership of the governmental administration, while criticizing incorrect awareness of the governmental administration.

The Vinh Phuc provincial committee arranged study for cadres and Party members so that they could realize clearly the role and position of the governmental administration, and the Party's leadership of it. These were not completely new things for the cadres and Party members of our province. But in the course of

study combined with practice, the level of awareness of cadres and Party members with regard to these matters was clearly raised. Everyone came to understand clearly that the governmental administration plays an important role in organizing and managing our society, and in economic and cultural development. The Party's leadership of the governmental administration must make it stable and capable of organizing the correct achievement of all lines and policies of the Party. In the present situation of resisting America and saving the nation, we must strengthen the governmental apparatus even more, in order to assure victorious guidance of production and combat. Only thereby can the various Party echelons fully achieve the policy of strengthening their leadership of the governmental administration and develop its use in the most effective manner.

In addition to raising the level of awareness of the role of the governmental administration and the Party's leadership of it, we have also paid attention to correcting such ideological mistakes as fear of making mistakes, fear of responsibility, haughtiness, etc. For in reality, such mistakes have created obstacles for harmonious cooperation among the various parts of the governmental administration.

2. On the basis of assuring the concentrated, unified leadership of the Party, we must carry out a clear division of labor and responsibility within the governmental administration.

Another reason for the confusion about working methods was that the Party's leadership of the governmental administration had not been specifically delineated, and there was no clear division of labor and responsibility within the governmental administration. In the past, when it was necessary to resolve such administrative matters as those related to land, housing, famine relief, salaries, etc., and even when it was necessary to ask for a few dozen kilograms of sugar, a few dozen logs, or a few dozen cubic meters of rock, there was a tendency to rely on the Party echelons. And at times the Party echelons even ordered the mobilization of vehicles and pumps to meet one need or another. Within the governmental administration there had been no clear delineation of the responsibilities of each committee, each group, and each individual, so various elements did the same work and stumbled over one another, but there were some tasks for which no one was responsible. At times, therefore, there were many people but the work still did not move smoothly. Faced with that situation, our provincial committee joined the provincial administrative committee in drawing up documents which clearly determined which matters fell under the leadership of the Party and which matters were to be determined by the governmental administration, and clearly delineated the responsibilities of each committee, each group, and each individual

in the various Party echelons and governmental echelons. Furthermore, as regards organization, we readjusted and rearranged irrational elements. In the course of discussing and exchanging opinions about this matter, everyone was able to distinguish clearly the role and position of the Party from those of the governmental administration. The situation of people running up to the Party to ask its opinions about the resolution of administrative matters was greatly alleviated, and the phenomenon of the Party during the work of the governmental administration practically disappeared. Matters falling within the sphere of responsibility of the governmental administration were entrusted to it by the various Party echelons for resolution. Furthermore, because of the clear division of labor and responsibility within the governmental administration, everyone was able to see their responsibilities and to show initiative in performing the tasks for which they were responsible.

Whether the Party's leadership of the governmental administration and the division of labor and responsibility within the governmental administration are achieved well is still dependent on the activities and working methods of the various Party echelons. Therefore, we must resolve this matter within the Party. Because key members of Party committees usually hold positions in the governmental administration, they usually discuss the tasks of the governmental administration very minutely, but they do not distinguish which tasks the committees should concentrate on resolving and which tasks should be discussed by governmental organs, so that they can draw up specific plans for their resolution. The committee meetings, therefore, usually take a long time, but still do not completely resolve the tasks of the governmental administration. If we do not pay attention to improving the working methods of the various Party echelons, therefore, there may easily be adverse influences on the strengthening of the role of the governmental administration, and its use in guidance may be limited.

After the working methods were improved, the above-mentioned situation was overcome. The various Party echelons only discussed major problems related to the major policies, paths, and methods, and did not take over the work of the governmental administration. The Party secretaries have the responsibility of thinking about, and considering from an over-all point of view, the major problems, and of exchanging opinions with members of the standing committees about which matters should be discussed first, and which later. Therefore, we are able to avoid the situation of some comrades wanting to discuss only matters falling within their sphere of responsibility, and we save time which members of standing committees may use to keep close to the base level. Furthermore, the working methods of the governmental organs, especially the administrative committees, were also improved.

Other points to which we have given much attention are the specific definition of the Party's leadership of the governmental administration and a clear division of labor and responsibility within the governmental administration, which must be achieved on the basis of the concentrated and unified leadership of the Party. Only thereby can we help the governmental administration to have directions for its activity which are correct and appropriate to the needs of the revolutionary situation and missions of the localities. During the recent period, a number of comrades on the standing committees of the Party committees have been selected to participate in the work of the governmental administration in order to assure the concentrated leadership of the Party in the new situation; at the same time, the activities of the standing committees were made uniform and tight, in order to resolve problems and correct distortions in the governmental administration's guidance.

In order to maintain the concentrated and unified leadership of the Party, the various Party echelons in our province also strengthened their investigative work. The principal investigative method is to keep close to the base level, determine whether the governmental administration's specific resolutions and decisions are in accordance with the stands and resolutions of the various Party echelons, and observe how they are achieved at the base levels. Furthermore, the members of the governmental administration help the various Party echelons to grasp the contents of the meetings of the governmental administration's meetings, and assure that the meetings' discussions are in accordance with the directions set by the Party.

Whether the Party's leadership principles of concentration and unity are fully achieved or not still depends to a large extent on the cadres' awareness of organization and discipline. In the training and strengthening of cadres, and in the meetings of the Party and the governmental administration, we have paid attention to this matter. During the stage of organizing the achievement of the various tasks, impediments and obstacles often appear. If cadres do not have an awareness of organization and discipline, they may tend to do things according to their own desires, and may do a poor job or fail to do it at all. Under the present wartime conditions, when there are many urgent tasks, the Party's cadres must heighten their awareness of organization and discipline, in order to assure the concentrated and unified leadership of the Party, and must explain the Party's lines and policies to the masses.

Reviewing the actualities of the past several years, we may draw the conclusion that whether the activities of the governmental organs are strong or weak depends greatly on whether the Party

strengthens its leadership. That leadership must be manifested first of all in correct stands and in plans which are appropriate to the specific circumstances of the localities. But the improvement of working methods is also an important matter.

In the present situation of resisting America and saving the nation, the various echelons of the governmental administration in our province are continuing to improve their working methods in accordance with the above-mentioned directions, so that they can better meet the needs of the new situation and missions.

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STRONGLY DEVELOP OUR POPULAR EDUCATION

Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Van Huyen in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June 1966, pages 74-84.

The extremely barbarous American imperialists have made schools target of their bombing and strafing. But our schools have, along with our soldiers and people, struggled to resist America, and have won many glorious victories. Teachers and pupils have resolutely held their positions in the struggle: teaching and studying well. To teach and study well is to contribute to defeating the American aggressors.

Under the leadership of the Party and with the all-out assistance of the people, our schools have rapidly overcome the initial difficulties in the new situation, and have united teaching and study even more closely with production and fighting.

The 1964-1965 academic year concluded victoriously. The 1965-1966 academic year began well and is also concluding victoriously. During this academic year, in many places the number of students surpasses the planned total. In the ten lowland provinces alone, the number of pupils entering the fifth grade has surpassed the plan by 8%, and the number of pupils entering the eighth grade has surpassed it by nearly 4%. In Nam Ha Province, the number of pupils entering the first grade surpassed the planned quota by more than 6,000; 2,832 more children than planned entered the fifth grade; and 355 more children than planned entered the eighth grade. The total number of popular education pupils in the North during this academic year is 9% greater than the level achieved during the previous academic year.

Those actualities prove that even under wartime conditions our popular education can and must continue to develop on a large scale. That victory has an important political significance: our people are not only defeating the American bandits on the fighting and production fronts, but also on the cultural and educational front. That victory reflects the profound political awareness of our people in general, and of teachers and pupils in particular. We clearly realize the position and role of education in the socialist revolution and in the struggle to resist America and save the nation. This is also a victory for our Party's line of developing education on a large scale.

I

The large-scale development of education is one of the basic, important viewpoints of the Party with regard to the line of education. That viewpoint arises from our people's correct awareness of the position of education in present and future social life, and from the awareness of the need to study of millions of workers and of the young generation which is now growing up. It is intended to meet the need to train a large army of cadres and skilled workers for the building of socialism.

In the history of the social development of mankind, educational activities appeared early, and played the role of transmitting experiences of production and life from one person to another, and one generation to another. This role demands that education be carried out on a large scale within a society. But within the various societies there have been opposing and exploiting classes that have used education as a tool for controlling the workers. The landlord and capitalist classes open schools only when it is advantageous for themselves. Only at the end of the 19th Century, when capitalism was developing heavy industry on a large scale, and when the capitalist market was entering the stage of desperate competition and demanding a rapid increase in the number of workers with cultural and technical knowledge in order to serve the machinery, was the capitalist class forced to open technical schools and promulgate laws regarding elementary education. But the achievement of such laws was delayed and was not complete. Today, the most developed capitalist nations have begun to achieve high-school level universal education, but not a few children of workers are uneducated or poorly educated. The struggle slogan demanding the large-scale development of education is still one of the basic slogans which rallies the working masses against the oppression and exploitation of the capitalist class.

The victory of the October socialist revolution opened a vast horizon for the education of the Soviet people. Lenin came forth with the famous doctrine regarding the transformation of

schools from instruments of control of a group of exploiters who monopolize culture and technology into implements of all the working people, in order to utilize the cultural, scientific, and technical accomplishments of mankind, to eradicate exploitation and classes, and to build socialism and communism. The reorganization of production to increase labor productivity, electrification, the complete achievement of agricultural cooperativization, the good use of good that have been produced, and even the eradication of bureaucratism, greed, etc., demand that we constantly raise the cultural and technical levels of the workers and of the young generation. Guided by such principles, the enterprise of educating the Soviet people rapidly attained the largest scale in the history of mankind.

From the very first days of his revolutionary activity, Chairman Ho has been concerned with developing our people's education on a large scale, and with enabling all our people to study. He clearly exposed the great difference between the educational policy of the Soviet Union and that of the French colonialists in Indochina. He exposed with concrete documentation the French colonialists' policy of "keeping people ignorant in order to rule them."

In 1930, the initial program of our Party set forth the slogan of "achieving universal education." That slogan included the large-scale development of education, in order to escape from illiteracy forever, bring our workers and peasants to the science and technology front, and create conditions for building a strong and prosperous nation.

After the success of the August Revolution, our people's regime immediately began to achieve the Party's policy toward education. The achievement of universal education is a long-term undertaking, especially since we began with a very small cultural base and have encountered many limitations caused by the war. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have overcome countless difficulties and have made great accomplishments with regard to education. During the rule of the French colonialists, the number of children from 6 to 15 who were allowed to study never surpassed 10% of the children in that age group. But under the people's democratic regime, and even during the long and difficult struggle against the French colonialists, the proportion was more than 20%. When peace was restored, and when the North was completely liberated, our educational enterprise had favorable conditions for developing strongly. We realized clearly that the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the achievement of the revolution in production relationships, the promotion of production, and the improvement of technology had to be based on an increasingly high level of political consciousness, and an

increasingly skilful ability to perform economic management, on the part of all our people. In order to accomplish this, we realized that we must raise the cultural, ideological, and technical levels of the entire population by strongly developing popular education. That realization guided the educational work in overcoming difficulties, making new accomplishments, and meeting the most urgent needs, especially during the initial period of economic and cultural development. During a period of three years of economic restoration, 190,000 pupils completed the first, second, and third levels. But by 1959-1960, when the revolution in the North was making the building of socialism its principal concern, that level of educational development could no longer meet the needs.

The great task of socialist industrialization demands that we transform millions of workers, and even an entire younger generation, all of whom are growing up and working under the circumstances of a backward agricultural economy, into a class of new-style workers with political consciousness, cultural and technical knowledge, and good health, and who know how to make expert use of highly productive machinery; and into a vast army of good scientific, technical, and economic management cadres for the homeland. Education, one of the Party's very important weapons on the ideological and cultural front, must contribute positively to creating actual capabilities for millions of workers to raise their level of political consciousness, to change their old working habits, and to achieve a new division of labor. Socialist industrialization urgently demands that our education develop on a large scale. The Party's Third National Congress resolved that "The cultural and educational work must be developed on a large scale and must serve the revolutionary lines and missions of the Party." The large-scale development of education has become a specific struggle slogan of the education work. The large-scale development of education is at present manifested first of all in the promotion of cultural supplementation for millions of workers who are engaged directly in building the material and technical bases of socialism, and who are preparing to fight, and fighting, the American aggressors. Furthermore, they lack the cultural and technical knowledge needed to increase further their labor efficiency and combat efficiency. Therefore, cultural supplementation is placed in the forefront of the education missions. The large-scale development of education is also manifested in the training of cadres. This is a task which will have to be continued for a long time to come, although during the past several years great accomplishments have been made. The training of cadres has not yet fully met the needs of the revolution, either quantitatively or qualitatively. In the present urgent situation of resisting America and saving the nation, the large-scale training of cadres is even more urgent with regard to the building of an army of cadres with high political, cultural, and technical levels. After

the 1959-1960 academic year, when more than 50% of the children from 6 to 15 were studying, and when the students accounted for 10% of the total population, our popular education entered a period of large-scale development. During the 1964-1965 academic year 19% of the total population were students. That is a high proportion. In order to realize how great our progress has been, we may compare it to the "Karasi Plan of 1959 of the Cultural Organization of the United Nations. (1) According to this plan, the non-socialist nations of Asia (except Japan) were to struggle to achieve a student-population ratio of 11% by 1965!

From the point of view of the development of each level of study, during the 1964-1965 academic year there were more than two million first level pupils in the North; that total is greater than the total number of children in the first level age group, so it may be said that we surpassed the level of "total" universal education at the first level. The number of second level pupils reached 600,000, which is 50% of "total" universal education at the second level.(2) There are great results in educational development of which we may be proud. In the past, England wasted hundreds of years of preparation and campaigning before promulgating a first level universal education law, and not until 50 years later did it increase first level universal education to pupils 14 years old, and even now that level of universal education has not been fully attained. In the meanwhile, in only ten years of educational development we have passed more than half way along the road of second level universal education. The intermediate level is the level the younger generation must attain in order to assure the fulfillment of relatively simple missions in mechanized production, in other work, and in combat. It is not surprising that the socialist nations with developed industries have achieved universal education at a level equivalent to the second level in our country, and that some of them are advancing to the achievement of ten years of universal education. The struggle to achieve intermediate level universal education during a 5-10 year period in the North has as its aim the meeting of many needs of the revolution in general, and of socialist industrialization in particular. With regard to the needs of production and combat, the present rate of development of second level universal education is too slow. Only if all youths mobilized on the production and combat fronts have a second level cultural level can they assimilate and utilize complicated technical matters related to production and combat; but at present, a very large number of people have not attained that cultural level.

The number of pupils in popular third level schools increased from 26,000 during the 1960-1961 academic year to more than 80,000 during the 1965-1966 academic year. Although that rate of development of the third level has been high, the number of students graduating from that level is still quite insufficient to meet

the rapidly increasing needs of production and combat.

The needs of defeating the American bandits in any kind of warfare, and the needs of present production and the future building of our nation after the war ends, demand that we continue to strongly develop popular education on a large scale.

II

The history of our nation is a history of constant and unyielding struggle to defend our national independence. In the course of that struggle, our people have constantly paid attention to study, in order to strengthen themselves so that they could defeat the aggressor troops and build a prosperous homeland. Because of that historical characteristic, our people have constantly endeavored to increase their knowledge and become capable of assimilating the cultural achievements of the world. In the past, the French colonialists attempted to limit our people's study, but we constantly struggled to obtain more schools, in order to raise the level of knowledge of our children. Our Party has developed that traditional love of study into a factor which determines victory in the achievement of its educational line. That tradition also explains in part why, under the conditions of American airplanes constantly attacking our schools, our people still find ways for their children to study and to bring their studies to a successful conclusion.

The victory of the revolution in production relationships has enabled the Party's viewpoint of developing education on a large scale to become a reality. It is clear that the essential completion of the socialist reform has created new political, economic, and social conditions which are very advantageous for the large-scale development of education in peacetime as well as in wartime. Furthermore, our Party has creatively applied the educational theories of Marxism-Leninism to the actual circumstances and conditions of our country. The economy of the North is principally an agricultural and handicraft economy; most of our people are laboring peasants, so study in popular schools must be appropriate to such an economy, and must have as its aim allowing peasant children to study, for only then can we achieve the large-scale development of education, which is a requirement of socialist industrialization. Chairman Ho has brought forth the system of work-study for our education sector. The popular schools have resolutely maintained that system. In general, that system is that students study in schools for part of the day, then return to their families or cooperatives and participate in work which is appropriate to their age. During the anti-French resistance, the work-study system not only helped pupils to create material conditions for studying, but also helped the schools to

achieve the rule of "study combined with practice" taught by Chairman Ho. With the work-study system, youths and children may study at popular schools without placing a strain on their families. Under the present economic conditions in the countryside, the system of studying half the day and producing the other half is a relatively stable balance between the needs of study and those of an economic life which does not allow a further reduction in the pupils' participation in labor. If we do not fully understand the objective necessity of that balance; if families, because they love work, do not assure that their children have the necessary time to study; or if, on the other hand, schools keep students for longer periods, difficulties will be created for the families' ordinary production activities and the large-scale development of education will be impeded. With the work-study system, of course, we must endeavor to simplify curricula and to improve the quality of instruction and study. To achieve the work-study system is to achieve the "education combined with productive labor" rule of Marxism-Leninism, to develop the efficiency of education, to improve the quality of instruction, and to create a new type of person. We are much concerned with the labor of pupils in school, and especially in families and cooperatives, for that plays a practical role with regard to ideological and political education as well as to increasing our labor capability. The labor done by pupils in families and cooperatives also serves to cause the study content to be closely united with the activities of production and revolutionary struggle in the localities. Because of its economic role in educating a new type of person, we resolutely maintain the work-study system. We have also created such work-study forms as ethnic-group youth schools, popular schools with vocational training, etc. Furthermore, we are advancing to the building of "schools close to the people," in order to create more advantageous conditions for pupils who are studying while working in the present situation of resisting America and saving the nation. During a period when we must investigate the resolution of many different matters; the employment of the work-study method in order to achieve the socialist educational principles is the most appropriate, effective course in the large-scale development of education in the present circumstances of our nation. The achievement of the work-study system creates for the pedagogical sector the great task of training and strengthening teachers in order to achieve that direction of education. If teachers limit their activities to instruction in schools, and do not endeavor to understand local production and production technology, lack organizational ability, and do not campaign to have the people unite with the schools to educate the pupils, the effectiveness of the work-study system will be greatly limited.

In the development of education, the composition of the educational system plays an important role. From the point of view of the history of education, systems of education have not been

fixed, but have changed in accordance with the political missions they must achieve. In order to strengthen its ruling position, the capitalist class created a system of education with a whole series of major and minor obstacles, in order to restrict the study opportunities of workers' children. At present, the popular education of the oldest capitalist nations usually includes two different systems, one of a long period of study and another of a short period of study. In France, after a child completes five years of study in an elementary school, the first path leads to seven years of study in an intermediate school, then to entrance into a university. That path is too long, so the children of workers are not able economically to follow it and therefore must follow the second path of a short three or four year course in an intermediate school, then begin production or study a trade. In England, the system of study reserved for children of the capitalist nobility extends 13 or 14 years at high-quality schools; but the children of workers must study in a ten-year system at poor-quality schools, and cannot enter a university. In our country during the rule of the French colonialists, the educational system was very restricted, and there were serious obstacles, especially the great difference between the native schools and the "Western" schools; therefore, the children of workers were unable to study. After our people took control we, under the leadership of the Party, quickly abolished the old system of education and created a new system in accordance with socialist principles of education, and assured the right to study and to continue studying of all workers' children. Our system of education is a single system which encompasses all workers and is appropriate to the actualities of our nation. The creation of that system of education created conditions for organizing the large-scale development of popular education, not only for the development of the first and second levels today, but also for the future development of the third level.

Because of our historical conditions, the system of popular education increased from nine years during the resistance to 10 years after the restoration of peace. The period from the time our children begin to study reading to the completion of the second level is only eight years. Such a period of study is relatively short, and is appropriate to the immediate conditions of our nation.

During the process of achieving a system of popular education we gained experience in applying fixed age groups to each class, in order to promote the large-scale development of education. During the first years after the restoration of peace we, in order to open school doors to all children of school age, established very wide age groups for the various popular school classes; the difference between the minimum and maximum ages for a class was four years, and at times even six or seven years. In the seventh grade there were youths from 14 to 19 or 20. With such a broad age group

classification, the popular schools assured the mission of cultural supplementation and enabled a number of workers' children whose education had been impeded by wartime conditions to rapidly raise their over-all cultural and educational levels. Although it created many difficulties for instruction, the creative application of age groups allowed us to rapidly increase the number of popular school pupils. Gradually, as popular education and cultural supplementation attained large-scale development, wide age groups for popular school pupils were no longer necessary, and even created many negative obstacles and retained at school desks youths who were needed in production. We were fully capable of transferring adult popular school pupils to the cultural supplementation classes. After the 1963-1964 academic year the fixed age groups for the popular classes began to be narrowed. This caused parents to start their children in school earlier, so that when they reached working age and had attained the necessary level of education, they could participate in production.

The present wartime situation is creating certain difficulties for pupils studying in first and second level schools. We must, of course, struggle to overcome all difficulties and assure the complete safety of the pupils, but we must also consider our capabilities for expanding the age group to a certain degree in certain areas with first level schools.

III

The path of large-scale educational development is the path of combining the forces of the State with those of the people.

Our people have participated in educational development in three ways: a) building schools; b) assuring part of the salaries of teachers; c) assuring, under wartime conditions, the safety of of teachers and pupils, and providing instructional equipment.

By the 1963-1964 academic year, of 7,920 popular schools built, only 620, most of them third level schools, were supported by the State budget, and the rest were built by the people. In the present situation of dispersed classes, in a period of only a few months the people have arranged for 50 or 60 thousand classes to operate as usual. Many complicated problems which have arisen have been resolved. Because we relied on the seething revolutionary spirit and great creativity of our people, teachers, and pupils, our schools have once again defeated the American bandits. It is clear that American bombs and shells cannot destroy our correct "path" of relying on the people to develop education.

Another major aspect of that path is "citizen teachers." The number of such teachers has increased rapidly during the past

several years, especially during the period in which popular schools began to be developed on a large scale. The number of "citizen teachers" increased from a proportion of 5% of all teachers during the 1955-1956 academic year to 64% during the 1963-1964 academic year. The "citizen teachers" have made great contributions to the brilliant accomplishments of our education. The Party, the State, and the people have great respect for teachers in general, and for "citizen teachers" in particular, and constantly pay attention to raising their levels and improving their working conditions. The actualities of many areas show that if, even in the difficult circumstances created by war, we pay full attention to the army of "citizen teachers," we can not only maintain it, but can even develop it further.

But basing education on the people does not mean that it may be developed in just any way. It must advance in unison with economic development, and must have as its main goal the meeting of the great needs brought forth by the revolution. During the past several years, during which time education has developed on a large scale, the efforts of the people have constantly increased. When the large-scale development of education has become relatively stable, the rate of increase of students will gradually slow down and the educational expenditures of our society will focus primarily on improving quality. Then, the contributions of the people will gradually decrease, and the national income will rapidly increase, for education will have supplied the economic front with a young labor force with high cultural and technical levels which can rapidly increase labor productivity. The people's investment in education is an investment which will pay future dividends.

With a method of development which is appropriate to the realities of our nation, with correct mass viewpoints, and with a strong spirit of self-reliance, our educational enterprise is fully capable of constantly developing on a large scale, no matter how far the American aggressors escalate their war of aggression. Many new difficulties have arisen, but so have methods for resolving them. In the course of struggling to overcome difficulties and fulfill the missions in the new situation, our schools have advanced constantly, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Each step in the development of our education must be bound to the improvement of its quality. That is an objective requirement of the revolution in the education of the young generation. In each period of the large-scale development of education, therefore, we continually bring forth, and appropriately resolve, matters related to the quality of education, while correcting incorrect tendencies. When achieving educational development in accordance with the mass viewpoints, and when achieving the work-study system, we have struggled against the tendency to demand education

of excessively high quality, not practical, and not appropriate to economic development and production technology, and the tendency to demand that the State build more schools and provide more equipment than it is capable of doing. When achieving the simplification of curricula, we have corrected the viewpoint of teaching which relies too much on textbooks and which is unilateral. When bringing forth the matter of technical education in order to serve socialist industrialization, we have criticized the viewpoints of pragmatism and of neglecting the improvement of the systematic teaching of cultural knowledge.

Under no conditions can we neglect or regard lightly any aspect of the over-all contents of education: ethics, intellectual subjects, physical education, and artistic training. If schools do not do a good job of teaching basic cultural subjects which are modern, systematic, and close to the realities of our nation, and do not train students in productive labor and revolutionary struggle, we cannot assure rational relationships between culture and technology, between theory and practice, and between academic activities and extra-curricular activities. Therefore, no matter how much the number of students increases, such development cannot be called educational development in accordance with the viewpoints of the Party. And in all cases, schools must pay attention to ethnical training, for this is one of the most important aspects of the training of new, socialist people. Physical training and artistic training have been two weak aspects of our popular schools, so we must pay adequate attention to them. Under the present war-time conditions, of course, the assuring of some qualitative aspects of education is beset by many difficulties. But the lesson of the determination of a number of schools in the areas that was formerly Interzone 4, which has been attacked most often and most fiercely by the enemy, has helped us to see clearly that we must struggle against "doing the easy and neglecting the difficult," and that we must assure the quality of education. The first level school of Hai Nhan lies in the zone attacked often by American airplanes, but it still teaches and studies well, and the safety of its teachers and pupils is still assured.

The most important matter in assuring a rational relationship between developing schools and improving the quality of education is the creation of an army of good teachers. The education of the young generation is the mission of our whole society, but teachers are the people who directly guide and teach students. Therefore, training teachers so that the supply keeps up with the demand is the foremost condition for assuring the large-scale development of education. If we do not do a good job of achieving the plan to train teachers, we cannot speak of opening new schools. This seems to be a simple, easy matter, but actually it is not always correctly understood and carried out. In 1957 and 1958

all new schools had sufficient numbers of well-trained teachers. After 1959, the building of schools took a great leap forward, and surpassed the planned quotas. Because there were not enough teachers, many places trained teachers with emergency methods, or trained them not at all. The quality of education, therefore, clearly declined. This was a violation of the principles of socialist education, and reflected a lack of awareness of assuring the quality of education. Many localities, although they had rather strong plans for developing schools, did not have plans for training teachers in accordance with fixed standards. This is something which must be avoided. The more highly we evaluate mankind, the more attention we must pay to the younger generation, and the more we must strengthen and train teachers. The strengthening and training of good teachers is a matter which we must investigate more closely. If we are to meet the over-all needs of education and be appropriate to the work-study system, the key point is that teachers must be strengthened with regard to virtue, ideology, politics, culture, professional matters, and health, and must also be people steeled in the realities of revolutionary struggle, who have organizational ability, who are capable of activating the masses, and who have the necessary knowledge of production technology and production management. If we are to train and strengthen such teachers, we must have methods for improving training in pedagogical schools. If teachers want their instruction to be effective and of high quality, they must, of course, struggle assiduously, and must manifest the revolutionary spirit of teachers. The strength of the socialist teaching teams lies in their unity, in their mutual assistance in raising their levels in all ways, and in their stimulating one another to manifest a revolutionary spirit, to overcome all difficulties, and to constantly improve the quality of education. The experiences of advanced schools show that if teachers do a good job of strengthening one another, they can develop to a high degree everyone's good points, constantly increase the efficiency of education, and overcome the difficulties remaining in training in pedagogical schools.

Under the leadership of the Party, our education has developed more strongly than at any time in our history, and has contributed positively to the great victory in our country. Our people have a right to be proud of the results they have attained in their educational work.

The enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, and building socialism is making new, greater demands of the education work. There are still many aspects of the large-scale development of education which must be investigated and resolved during the coming educational reform. Many new difficulties, especially difficulties created by the war, will appear and require immediate resolution. Therefore, all of our educational

cadres must have a better understanding of our Party's educational line, heighten their revolutionary will, and under all conditions resolutely struggle to achieve the educational missions brought forth by the Party.

We firmly believe that, under the wise leadership of the Party, with the positive assistance of the people, with the redoubled efforts of all cadres and members of the education sector and of all teachers and pupils, and with the increasingly greater victories of our people in both parts of our country, which are great sources of encouragement, our education sector is certain to fulfill victoriously its glorious missions and contribute worthily to the enterprise of building and defending the North, liberating the South, and achieving the peaceful unification of the homeland.

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PEOPLE IN CITIES OF THE SOUTH STRUGGLE
AGAINST AMERICA AND ITS LACKEYS

[Following is a translation of an article by
Ha Van Lau in the Vietnamese-language period-
ical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 6, June
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In the middle of March of this year, a struggle movement of the people in the cities of the South against America and its lackeys began, and since then it has developed strongly and fiercely, seriously deepening the existing political crisis within the puppet regime and the puppet army in the South.

This struggle cycle began on 12 March 1966 with demonstrations of thousands of people in Da Nang and Hue, and within a few days spread to Saigon and many other cities in the South. In a period of more than two months, more than two million people in 22 provincial towns and in nearly all cities in the South have participated in the movement, which has taken the forms of meetings, demonstrations, the closing down of stores, student strikes, and labor strikes; in some places the movement has developed to a very high level, and has been combined with armed self-defense. Recently, in the face of the deception of Thieu and Ky, who sent troops to suppress Danang and to bloodily terrorize the mass movement and the opposition groups, and in the face of the ruling clique's fascist activities in Saigon, the struggle movement of our compatriots in the cities of the South has developed more widely and resolutely than ever.

The movement began among students, and rapidly won the support of all classes of people in the cities: youths, students, intellectuals, industrial workers and other laborers, capitalists

and merchants, members of religious groups, and many members of the puppet regime and the puppet police and army in the five northern-most provinces of the South, including soldiers of the 1st Division and a number of high-ranking officers and officials. In some cities, the activities of the local puppet administrations were practically paralyzed, and the activities of the military bases and organs of the American aggressors were directly affected.

In the face of the strong struggle of the people, the American aggressors in many places for many days had to restrict their travel in cities, and ordered the hiding of vehicles, lest they encounter the demonstrating masses, for many of them had been beaten to death and many American vehicles had been burned.

In the seething atmosphere of the struggle of our compatriots in the cities of the South there appeared everywhere slogans demanding the improvement of living conditions, demanding democracy, and demanding national independence, such as the slogans "End inflation," "Lower prices," "Overthrow the Thieu-Ky lackeys," "Resist American intervention," "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," "Annihilate colonialism," "Defend our national sovereignty" "Resist America's war of annihilation," "End the bombings and the use of poison gas," "End the suppression and terrorization of the people of Danang," etc. The people of the South have strongly condemned the Thieu-Ky clique for selling land in the South so that the American imperialists can build military bases, have revealed that "all governments, past and present, in Saigon, have been set up by foreign countries and have not represented the people," have revealed that the American imperialists have "used war to enslave the Vietnamese people" and that they have helped the Thieu-Ky clique to kill the people of Danang," and have resolutely demanded that "Vietnam's sovereignty must be restored at any cost." Day after day in the cities of the South, especially in Hue, Danang, and Saigon, thousands, tens of thousands, and even scores of thousands, of people took to the streets to struggle against America and its lackeys, despite the imposition of "martial law" and the bloody suppression by the Thieu-Ky clique.

The struggle movement of our compatriots in the cities of the South is becoming more and more seething, and is characterized by resistance to the American imperialists and the Thieu-Ky clique of traitors. That struggle movement has struck a direct blow on the American imperialists' policy of aggression against our country. It is not an isolated phenomenon, but is the continuation of the political struggle movement of our people which has been waged for ten years. It is a new development of the political struggle of our compatriots in the South, on a larger scale, with the participation of more people, with the participation of many classes of people in the cities; it has a more

intense struggle nature, has stronger struggle slogans, and is united with armed self-defense. That struggle is an inseparable element of the struggle of the 14 million people in the South, at a time when the American imperialists' war of aggression is taking a new turn, and has posed for all our people the question of the life or death of our nation. That struggle is the inevitable result of the great victories of the armed liberation force in the South, and of the heavy defeats suffered by the aggressor American army and the puppet army in the South, on all battlefields in the South.

The struggle of our compatriots in the South has caused the American imperialists and their lackeys to encounter many difficulties and to become confused. The American imperialists cannot resolve the increasingly deep contradictions within the society of the South. In addition to the principal contradiction, that between the American imperialists and their lackeys on one hand, and all classes of our people on the other hand, there are also a whole series of such extremely complicated contradictions as that between the American aggressors and their lackeys; that within the clique of American lackeys; that between the puppet army and regime on the one hand and the opposition groups on the other hand; those within each of those opposition groups; that among the various religious groups, etc.

The seething movement of our compatriots in the South will deepen the opposing contradictions between, on the one hand, the people of the South, including the working class, the peasant class, the small capitalist class, the national capitalist class, and other patriotic classes and individuals, and, on the other hand, the American imperialists and their lackeys, including the most reactionary pro-American elements of the landlord and comprador capitalist classes. These contradictions arose from the aggressive, neo-colonialist policy of the American imperialists in the South of our country, and are developing more and more profoundly and fiercely because the American imperialists have intensified and expanded their war of aggression in our country, have brought tens of thousands of American expeditionary troops and vassal troops to participate directly in the war in the South, and have started a war of destruction by air against the North of our country.

For nearly a year now the American aggressor troops, in hopes of halting the decline and deterioration of the puppet regime and army in the South, and in order to save themselves from defeat in their war of aggression in the South, have, with napalm bombs, heavy artillery, poison chemicals and gas, and thousands of modern aircraft, including B-52 strategic bombers, every day committed countless barbarous acts against our people; wherever they go

they kill everyone, burn everything, destroy everything, and level each hamlet, including schools, pagodas, etc., in hopes of placing our people in desperate straits so that they may be easily enslaved. Our people in the South, with their seething anger toward the American aggressors, will certainly not acquiesce to such enormous crimes, and are resolved to make them repay their blood debt.

In the cities and the regions still temporarily controlled by the enemy, our compatriots have come to see more and more clearly that the American imperialists have "used war to enslave our people" and have crudely intervened in the internal affairs of our nation, and that what is called the "Government of the Republic of Vietnam" has for the past 12 years consisted of rotten lackeys put in power by the Americans in order to serve their colonial privileges. The people of the cities of the South have had to bear the consequences of the American imperialists' sending of tens of thousands of expeditionary troops into the South. The economy of the South, which has continually declined, has become even more chaotic; prices of goods have risen enormously; the lives of the people of the cities, especially those of manual and white-collar workers, have become even more miserable; and even the puppet soldiers and members of the puppet regime have encountered difficulties in their lives. The traitorous Thieu-Ky regime has served as pimps for the American bandits, has spread among the young men and women in the cities of the South a decadent American-style culture, thus offending the customs, conventions, and national self-respect of our people. Furthermore, the American aggressors' attitude of despising our people has also caused many members of the puppet regime and army who are still proud of their country to gradually awaken, to increasingly hate them, and to be prepared to join their compatriots in struggling against them. The desire for revenge against the American aggressors and the traitorous Thieu-Ky clique which had been burning within the people in the cities of the South has burst into flames of struggle which are constantly spreading and growing, thus causing the enemy troops to be confused and perplexed. Our compatriots have exposed their crimes before our people and the people of the world, have exposed their rottenness, have smashed their lying, deceptive arguments, and have caused them to reveal their true nature of nation-robbing colonialists and extremely despicable, traitorous lackeys.

In order to cope with the strong struggle movement of the people in the cities of the South, the American imperialists and the Thieu-Ky lackeys have used every trick to suppress and eradicate it, and are preparing even stronger methods of suppression. When those tricks to deceive the people and eradicate the movement were defeated, they changed to the use of bombs and shells to suppress and terrorize the mass movement and the opposition

groups. But no matter how barbarous and cruel they become, the American imperialists and their lackeys cannot extinguish the struggle movement of the masses. The American aggressors have declared that they are not interfering in the struggle for power between the Thieu-Ky clique and that opposing it, but the people of Hue and Danang exposed and condemned America for obstinately controlling the dictatorial, corrupt Thieu-Ky clique, and for masterminding the plot for the Thieu-Ky clique to send troops to suppress the people of Danang and the opposition groups. The American imperialists cannot avoid responsibility for their crimes. They agreed that the Thieu-Ky clique should expel the Thi faction and provided airplanes in which the Thieu-Ky clique could transport troops from Saigon and other places to Danang, while sending to Danang more than 40 additional heavy armored vehicles and allowing the Thieu-Ky clique to use the American airfield at Danang as an attack and supply base for suppressing the struggle of the people of that city. American military policemen shot to death large numbers of our compatriots on the streets of Saigon, used tear-gas and smoke grenades to suppress the demonstrations of the people in Saigon, and arrested hundreds of people in Qui Nhon; in Danang American soldiers cynically used truck-mounted cranes to destroy banners which bore anti-American and anti-Thieu-Ky slogans, and drove vehicles into the demonstrations in order to weaken the struggle spirit of the people of Danang. The American imperialists and their lackeys will strengthen their suppressive measures and will come forth with new, deceptive tricks. But the level of political awareness and the struggle spirit of the people of the South have risen to great heights. The more strongly it is suppressed, the more fierce becomes the struggle movement of the masses. The deceptive tricks of "general elections," "constitution drafting," "National Assembly elections," "the establishment of a popularly elected government," etc., of America and its lackeys cannot deceive the people of the South. The resolute struggle of the people in the cities of the South have created an extremely serious crisis for the Thieu-Ky lackey administration, and has caused the development of the contradiction within the lackey clique of the American imperialists to become more serious and to be prolonged.

This is a new, very painful political defeat for the administration in Washington. Although Johnson endeavored to strengthen the "little rascal" Premier Nguyen Cao Ky at Honolulu last February, and made an appointment to meet again to "celebrate victory" six months later, the people of the South only two months later struck a hard blow against the "brave leader" complimented by Johnson, and at the same time defeated the plan to "selectively pacify the South" and the "dry season counter-offensive" plan which the teacher and the pupil had bombastically announced.

The direct reason for this new decline of the puppet regime in Saigon is not only the recent political struggle of the people in the cities of the South, but also the continued and great military victories won by the soldiers and people of the South since the time the American imperialists brought in tens of thousands of American expeditionary troops to participate in the war in the South. The American imperialists themselves had had to admit that during the first three months of 1966 the number of American troops annihilated by the Liberation Army and people of the South was greater than the total number of Americans killed in 1965! Their "dry season counter-offensive" was painfully defeated. The initiative remains with the soldiers and people of the South, and is certain to develop during the coming period, whether in the dry season or the rainy season. Those victories have deepened, and will deepen even further, the contradictions within the puppet regime and army in the South, and will be the main sources of support for the struggle movement of the people in the cities of the South against the American imperialists and their lackeys, and will cause that movement to develop ever more strongly.

Large numbers of puppet soldiers and officials sympathize with, support, and participate in, the struggle of the people in the cities of the South, for in the face of the cynical aggression of the American imperialists and the rottenness of the puppet regime and puppet army in the South, their own interests are affected, and their national spirit is awakened. They have come to see more and more clearly that the course of unity with all the people against America and its lackeys is the true patriotic course, that it is a glorious course, and that it is a course for their own survival.

The people in the cities of the South are struggling for their just rights, and have the direct support of all people in the South and the positive support of their compatriots all over the country. They are certain to win greater and greater victories and contribute worthily to our whole people's struggle to resist America and save the nation.

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