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11 July 1968

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 394

Hoc Tap, No. 5, 1968



JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

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This publication comprises the complete translation of the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap, No 5, May 1968, published in Hanoi.

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## HO'S LETTER TO NFLSV URGES 'BIGGER VICTORIES'

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 1-2]

Hanoi -- President Ho Chi Minh yesterday sent the following letter to President Nguyen Huu Tho and the members of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation:

To President Nguyen Huu Tho, to the members of the NFLSV Central Committee:

Under the clear-sighted leadership of the NFLSV, the compatriots, fighters, and cadres in South Vietnam have, since early spring this year, mounted on the general offensive and risen up in unison, fighting very well, winning very big victories.

Upholding revolutionary heroism and combining armed attacks, political struggle, and propaganda among enemy troops, the armed forces and people in South Vietnam have: defeated the 1.2 million enemy troops, including the more than 500,000 U. S. troops; fought victoriously both in the towns and the countryside, and attacked with skill enemy bases, airfields, ports, storages, and communication lines; liberated many more vast areas of heavy populations; fought while building up, hence the unusually vigorous growth of both their military and political forces; done equally very well in implementing the policy of the NFLSV, with the army men devotedly defending and assisting the people giving the army men their unreserved love, helping them, and side by side with them, fighting the aggressors.

For the last few days the armed forces and people of South Vietnam, from Quang Tri-Thua Thien region to the point of Ca Mau, from the plains to the highland, have again launched concerted attacks on the U. S. -- puppets, recording very big victories, and inflicting on the enemy heavier defeats and increasing their consternation and confusion.

So all the armed forces and the entire people of heroic South Vietnam -- the old and the young, women and men, the ethnic Vietnamese and the high-land peoples, the main forces as well as the regional army and the militia and guerrilla forces, have all achieved outstanding feats of arms. The whole of South Vietnam is fighting very well, gaining more strength, and winning greater victories in the process.

I am very elated at this, and I ask the President and the members of the NFISV Central Committee to convey my best regards and warmest congratulations to all the compatriots in South Vietnam, and to all the officers and men of the patriotic armed forces on all battlefields. I send my regards to all patriotic personalities, all patriarches, and all foster mothers of the army. I praise the youth and young pioneers for their enthusiasm in resisting U. S. aggression and saving the country, and for their many exploits.

The victories won by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people are very big, all-round ones which are gladdening the people across the country and our friends on all the five continents. The cause of resistance to U. S. aggression and for national salvation followed by our entire people is making tremendous progress, and is speeding steadily toward complete victory.

Our people love peace very much. But there cannot be genuine peace unless there is independence and freedom. Peace will come directly after the U. S. imperialists have put an end to their war of aggression in Vietnam, brought home all their troops, and let the Vietnamese people decide themselves their own destiny.

The U. S. imperialists at present are losing heavily in Vietnam, and are caught in isolation and confusion, both in the world and at home. Yet they keep acting very obdurately and cunningly. They are talking of peace negotiations while stepping up the war.

Our compatriots and fighters, therefore, should unite more closely, sharpen vigilance, and increase the resolve to fight and to win, develop their strong points and correct their weakness, brave all hardships and sacrifices, fight continuously and on all battlefields, in order to win yet bigger victories.

With North and South Vietnam being of one mind and emulating each other in annihilating the enemy and saving the country, it is a certainty that the U. S. aggressors will be completely defeated.

The day will certainly come when the compatriots in South Vietnam are liberated.

It is certain that our fatherland -- Vietnam -- will have complete independence and freedom, will surely be reunified, and enjoy peace.

Forward!

Complete victory will be ours!

My cordial greetings of determination to fight and to win.

(Signed) Ho Chi Minh.

CSO: 3520-D



## MOBILIZATION OF PEOPLE, LABOR UNION EMPHASIZED

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 3-8]

Our Party is the vanguard unit of our country's worker class. The Party utilizes Marxism-Leninism as its ideological and political basis. In the process of revolutionary activity, the Party has especially emphasized mobilization of the people. The Party believes that the task of educating, bolstering, and training the worker class, enabling it to quickly mature in order to develop its role as the revolutionary leader of our country, is the duty and responsibility of the Party.

In past years, especially during the last three, carrying out the Party resolutions on people's mobilization, the Party committee echelons have given attention to supervising the labor unions in organizing, educating, and mobilizing the workers and public servants to enthusiastically engage in combat and production emulation, and to actively contribute to the task of building up and protecting the Socialist North, liberating the South, and advancing toward reunification of the Fatherland.

Under the leadership of the Party and the education and specific guidance of the labor union, the workers and public servants of all branches have enthusiastically engaged in unselfish labor emulation to protect the machinery and equipment of the State, stay close to their production position, and maintain the routes of supply and communications, at the same time firmly grasping their weapons, prepared and courageous for combat to completely assure the State plan under any situation. A part of the workers has joined the army to take up arms to kill the aggressors or to serve in the national defense enterprises, contributing to the strengthening of the army in both quantity and quality. Raising their patriotic and class struggle traditions, our worker class has boosted revolutionary heroism, devoted a great deal to the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, and measured up as a revolutionary vanguard class. The ranks of our worker class have quickly grown in both quantity and quality.

Naturally, in the people's mobilization task, we have shortcomings because our Party members have not yet carried out correctly or with sufficient spirit the resolutions of the Party concerning people's mobilization, do not yet thoroughly understand the class viewpoint or mass outlook of the Party, have

not yet clearly recognized every relationship between the Party and the worker class, and have not yet recognized the role and position of the worker class in the building of Socialism and the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

In order to develop the accomplishments already attained and at the same time to overcome the shortcomings and mistakes in the task of mobilizing the people, on 21 September 1967 the Central Party Secretariat issued a resolution concerning the task of intensifying mobilization of the people and activity of the labor unions in the new situation (Resolution 167). This resolution is an extremely important document. It summarized the experience of our Party in people's mobilization so far and pointed out a course for people's mobilization and labor union activity in the future. Each of our committee echelons, organizations, cadre, and Party members must deeply examine and strictly execute this resolution.

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The worker class is the vanguard class and the revolutionary leader class of our country, at the same time a main force army in the country's task of democratic national revolution and Socialism. The worker class has an extremely important role in the Socialist revolution and the construction of Socialism in the North, as well as in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, protection of the North, liberation of the South, and progress toward reunification of the Fatherland. The worker class must make every effort to rise in every aspect in order to fulfill its historic mission to the nation and its high duty to the overall revolutionary task of the international worker class.

Concerning the immediate assignments of the worker class, the Secretariat's resolution points out clearly, "The worker class in the North has the great and heavy political mission to enthusiastically lead the way in successfully achieving the Party's and State's economic construction and development policies in the new situation, to courageously fight to protect the North, and to develop its own active effectiveness to build the North into the strong rear area of the entire nation's revolution." The worker class must lead the way in achievement of the three revolutions in production relations, technology, and ideology and culture, aimed at carrying out well the three principal missions which the Secretariat pointed out:

1. Strongly promote production to attain high productivity, good quality, and much economy; successfully completing the State plan under any situation.
2. Protect production well, and fight courageously and victoriously.
3. Bolster materially and culturally, raise political consciousness and technical and professional standards, and forge ethics and behavior in order to build an increasingly larger worker class strong in every aspect.

The specific missions of the Party in the task of mobilizing the worker masses pointed out by the Secretariat in the resolution are: promote production, build up and protect economy, and continue construction of the material and technical base of Socialism in the North; actively contribute to the strengthening of the armed forces and fight to resist the destructive war of the Americans;

promote the anti-U.S., national salvation emulation movement among the people and public servants; care for the life and protect the health of the workers and public servants; intensify education and bolstering of the workers and public servants and develop the revolutionary vanguard role of the worker class; emphasize education of the youth, the women, and the intellectuals among the workers and public servants.

The Party adopted the labor union in order to assemble, organize, and educate the masses of workers and public servants, to carry out the Party policy and line among the workers and public servants, and to strengthen the relationship between the Party and the worker, public servant masses. The Party resolutely relies on the labor union, especially in the strengthening of organization and intensifying of activity of the labor union.

The Secretariat resolution clearly pointed out the function of the labor union as a place to mobilize, organize, educate, and train the worker and public servant in every aspect, to serve as a firm support for the government, a tool for carrying out the industrial-agricultural alliance, a nucleus for a national solidarity bloc, and a foundation for the development of the Party and the cultivation of cadre for the Party and the State; the protector of benefits and care for the material and spiritual life of the worker and public servant; the line connecting the Party and the worker, public servant masses; the mobilizer, organizer, and educator of the workers and public servants to produce and participate in enterprise management and the representative of the worker and public servant in economic and State management; and the special associate with the government in building up and achieving the policies and systems of the State and the control of their implementation. The labor union must carry out the above tasks well before it can truly act as a school of economic and State management, a school of Socialism and Communism for the worker class, and the support of the revolutionary government.

The activity of the labor union must express the revolutionary atmosphere of the worker class. The labor union echelons must improve their work methods, overcome tendencies of bureaucratism, red tape, administrativism, and not maintaining close contact with production, combat, and the lives of the masses, carry out well work close to the primary level units and the masses, and truly go deeply into mobilization of the masses. The labor union cadre of all echelons must set aside a great deal of their time to go down to the enterprises to live and work with the masses in order to clearly understand their thoughts, hopes, production situation, and life.

In order to promote mobilization of the masses and activity of the labor union, Party leadership must be intensified. Party leadership concerning mobilization of the workers and activity of the labor union is a determining factor in successfully achieving the mission of the worker class in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and the achievement of Socialism. There must be a strengthening of Party leadership in mobilization of the workers and activity of the labor union before there can be a firm relationship between the Party and the worker masses. A thorough understanding of the worker class viewpoint and

and a strengthening of the worker mobilization and labor union activity are the missions of Party committee echelons, cadre, and members.

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The resolution of the Central Party Secretariat concerning "strengthening mobilization of the worker and activity of the labor union in the new situation" was promulgated more than a half year ago. However, the transmission and achievement of that resolution has not yet been good. Up to now there have only been a few local areas such as Hanoi, Ha Tinh, Tuyen Quang, Haiphong, Nam Ha, etc., and a few branches such as the General Directorate for Posts and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Water Conservancy, the Ministry of Communications and Transportation, etc., have carried out an examination of that resolution in the Party committee echelons and groups. The number of local areas or branches with specific methods for carrying out the resolution is still extremely small. The transmission and achievement of the resolution therefore is slow. Such a situation is partially due to urgent or crash tasks in the past which had to be done first; another important part was due to the fact that the local areas and branches have not yet recognized the importance of the resolution, therefore, have not yet actively organized the transmission and achievement task.

In order to carry out well Resolution 167 of the Central Party Secretariat concerning intensifying mobilization of the worker and activity of the labor union in the new situation, the localities and branches must hold conferences to examine the resolution and to discuss plans for carrying it out in their own local area and branch. In accordance with decisions of Central, Resolution 167 must be transmitted all the way to the chi bo level. In order to carry out well transmission and achievement of the resolution, the localities and branches must implement inspections of the worker mobilization and labor union activity of their own local area or branch during periods of time stipulated by the resolution.

In achieving the resolution, there must be a distinction made between two types of duties in the worker mobilization and labor union activity, the basic, long term mission and the immediate, specific mission, in order to have a good plan of achievement.

In order to well achieve Resolution 167, the first issue is that our cadre and Party members must boost the worker class standpoint and mass viewpoint of the Party. We must have a truly complete realization of the role and position of the worker class in the Socialist revolution stage as well in the present anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation before we can recognize the importance of the worker mobilization and labor union activity and before we can make every effort in carrying out the Secretariat resolution on those problems.

In order to well achieve Resolution 167, we need to make every effort in overcoming the shortcomings which have occurred in worker mobilization and labor union activity, especially those shortcomings pointed out by the Secretariat: not yet fully realizing the role of the worker class and recognizing only the Party but not the role, the position, and the mission of the worker class; not

yet fully achieving and strongly developing the worker's right to become masters; not yet fully achieving worker supervision of every job in the enterprise; not yet truly guiding the tasks of worker mobilization and labor union activity into achievement of the three revolutions; and State agencies not yet truly and completely relying on the labor union to carry out work and not yet completely developing the role of the labor union in the State organization as stipulated by the Labor Union Regulations.

Each of our cadre and Party members must enter the labor union organization, regularly participate in labor union activity, and set an example in carrying out work issued by the labor union. Each Party member must profoundly realize that he is the vanguard combatant of the worker class standing in the Party organization --the staff of the worker class-- and must have the responsibility for building up the mass organization of the worker class, the labor union.

At the present time, the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation of our people has entered a new period. In the South, the first of the year general offensive and uprising of our army and people has won extremely great victory. In the North, our army and people have also won great victory in defeating the destructive war of the invading American aggressors. The American aggressor imperialists have been clearly defeated but they are extremely stubborn and cunning. Unwilling to abandon their ambitions to invade our country, the American aggressors still continue to increase their army and to initiate "blockade breaking operations" in order to save themselves in the South while insanely bombing an important of the North.

In order to advance and defeat the invading American aggressors, our people still must continue to fight, completing the smashing of their aggressive will. Our important and pressing mission at the present time is mobilizing the greatest efforts of all the Party, the army, and the people to determinedly defeat the American aggressors and their lackey clique. In the North, the mission of our army and people is to make every effort to support the combat of our Southern compatriots, while striving to completely defeat the American's destructive war in the North; to successfully achieve the State 1968 plan under any situation in order to continue strengthening of the economic and military potential of the North, to maintain order and security, and to organize well the material and spiritual life of the people. Achieving Resolution 167 of the Secretariat during the present situation is actually aimed at satisfactorily carrying out the above missions and contributing to promoting of political mobilization for all the people, "Everything to defeat the invading American aggressors." Satisfactory achievement of Resolution 167 will motivate the worker masses to strongly promote the "each person do the work of two" emulation movement, to make every effort in production and production protection, and to complete and overfulfill the State 1968 plan.

Examination of and achievement of Resolution 167 cannot be separated but must be closely connected with achievement of the immediate assignments of each locality, branch, enterprise, agency, etc. In leadership, there must be a firm grasp of the Party and Government policy and standpoint, a proper work and production course, specific methods aimed at resolving the material and raw material

supply problems, a high determination, skillful achievement organization, a grasp of the central issues and key points, regular supervision and inspection, and every effort made to overcome authoritarian bureaucracy. The workers and public servants must strive to overcome the liberal, scattered, and remnant defects in the mistaken ideology of those minor production personnel still in the worker class. They must strive to develop the spirit of collective mastery, revolutionary heroism, and self-reliance, and overcome the rightist and conservative ideologies and the fear of hardship of the cadre, workers, and public servants. Improvement of enterprise management, improvement of technology, raising labor efficiency, raising product quality, conserving raw materials and supplies, and reducing product costs are the general struggle courses of our cadre, workers, and public servants in the industrial branch.

Firmly grasping the spirit of and strictly executing Resolution 167, we will surely additionally promote the political mobilization of all the people, strive to produce and to protect production, successfully complete the State 1968 plan, build up a strong North, and carry out well the duty of a great rear area to a great front line.

On the occasion of International Labor Day (1 May) and the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism and the greatest leader of the international worker class (5 May), each of our cadre and Party members must clearly realize the role and position of the worker class in the new situation, strive to forge the standpoint and ideology of the worker class, raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and feeling of the worker class, and give more emphasis to mobilization of the worker and promotion of labor union activity in order to assure victory for the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and the socialist industrialization of our country.

Under the glorious banner of the Party and Chairman Ho, our worker class will surely complete its brilliant historic mission to lead our entire people in defeating the invading American imperialists, protecting the North, liberating the South, and advancing toward a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam.

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## RESOLUTION ON WORKERS' CAMPAIGNS, TRADE UNIONS ISSUED

[Article: "Resolution of the Central Executive Committee Secretariat on Strengthening Workers' Campaigns and Activities of Trade Unions in the New Situation"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 9-23]

### I THE SITUATION AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORKERS' CAMPAIGNS AND CURRENT TRADE UNION EFFORTS

The resolution of the Third National Assembly of the party and the resolution of the seventh conference of the Central Executive Committee affirmed the concern for workers' movements and the responsibility of trade unions in the industrialization of socialism in North Vietnam. Pursuant to those resolutions, on 16 April 1968 the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee issued Resolution Number 76, which clarified the position of the trade union in a proletarian governmental structure and specifically outlined the role and responsibilities of the trade union in the industrialization of socialism and the buildup of socialism. All of those resolutions emphasize strengthening the party's leadership of workers' campaigns and trade union activities with a view toward adequate expression of the role and position of the working class and trade union organizations in the building up of socialism in the North and the struggle to achieve unification of the country.

To accomplish the goals of the above resolutions, party groups at all levels have been attentive to guiding the trade unions in the organization, education, and mobilization of workers and officials to enthusiastically emulate production and work as well as in caring for the living standards of the workers. Thus, they have actively contributed to the ultimate success of the first state five year plan.

Since the imperialist United States began its war of destruction against the North, to accomplish the goals of Central Executive Committee resolutions numbers 11 and 12 all party echelons have provided timely leadership to workers' campaigns and trade union activities with a view toward concentrating all of the workers' and officials' efforts on the brilliant anti-United States undertaking for national salvation of all of the people.

In warm response to the appeals of the party and Chairman Ho and with the education and specific guidance of the labor union, the workers and staff have enthusiastically emulated unselfish labors, made great efforts to protect their machinery and the property of the state, been determined to remain in their production positions by night and day, maintained lines of communications and transportation, and at the same time have actively performed military training, held tightly to their rifles, been ready and brave in combat against the enemy destruction, and guaranteed the completion of state plans under any and all circumstances. One element of the workers has joined the army and directly taken up arms to kill the aggressor or to serve in the various national defense enterprises and contributed to the strengthening in quality and quantity of the armed forces. The workers of various central industrial branches, especially of such key branches as machinery, electricity, and coal are working earnestly to fulfill their obligation to continue the buildup and expansion of the economy and to serve national defense. The workers of local industry and handi-craft branches are actively serving agricultural production and the living standards of the people. Staff members of the various administrative branches are making great efforts to serve production, the war, and the socialist way of life. Scientific and technical cadres are hard at work on the research of inventions and are fully employing their knowledge to serve the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation. Of special significance, the workers and staff of the communications and transportation branch have bravely struggled to ensure clear lines of communications and transportation under conditions of fierce enemy attacks, fulfilled their support responsibilities to the front lines, served production, and made an important contribution to the victories of the military and civilians on the battlefields.

Through more than two years of resistance to the war of destruction by the U. S. aggressor the workers and officials of the North have forcefully manifested the traditional patriotism associated with the traditional struggle of the working class, upheld revolutionary heroism, bravely and creatively produced, been determined and clever in battle, and continuously overcome many difficulties in production and life to fulfill their immediate objective and be worthy as the vanguard class of the revolution. Many examples of supreme, unselfish, patriotic sacrifice by individuals and units have appeared everywhere illustrating the illustrious and heroic bearing of the working class. The ranks of workers and officials has rapidly grown in both quality and quantity.

Of course, in guiding the implementation, all levels of party committees and responsible branches have not yet performed perfectly or displayed a totally adequate spirit toward the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee on promoting workers' movements and trade union activities. Shortcomings have been observed in mainly the following areas:

- There has not yet been an adequate recognition or a proper estimate of the political and economic role and position of the working class in the socialist revolution; nor in the current anti-United States undertaking for

national salvation. It has not yet been clearly recognized that the party revolutionary line is the political line and viewpoint of the working class. Only the party is seen; and not the role, position, and obligation of the working class. In society, the working class has not yet lived up to its role, position, and obligation. Among the workers, there has not been a complete understanding of the legitimate pride in the working class and its responsibilities and there has not been a proper understanding of trade organizations.

- There has not been adequate achievement or forceful manifestation of ownership rights by the workers and officials. Thus, there has not been a sufficiently strict execution of party and state regulations on worker participation in the management of enterprises. There has not yet been a true respect for and guarantee of ownership rights of the workers in order that there can be a zealous manifestation of the revolution and tremendous potential of the workers and officials in production and the war. On the other hand, party and state labor policies and systems have not been strictly implemented; and there has not been a proper use of social and welfare assets of the enterprises and organs to improve the living standards of the workers and officials. All echelons and branches have not yet implemented effective and practical measures or organized distribution with a view toward reducing the difficulties faced by the workers, which have been caused by air defense and relocation problems, in an effort to ensure that the workers can produce and fight well.

- There has not yet been sufficient attention paid to implementing worker supervision in all activities of the enterprises, such as association with contracts and supervision of their implementation, supervision over the implementation of resolutions passed in workers' and officials' conferences, and supervision over the implementation of labor policies and systems, welfare and social assets, etc.

- Workers' movements and activities of trade unions have not yet been properly guided in the direction of the three revolutions, i. e., the political and economic relationship of production revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, in order that the working class can fulfil its obligation in an outstanding manner, whatever the circumstances.

- Various state organs have not yet completely relied upon organizations of the workers and trade union to carry on work and have not adequately expressed the role of the trade union within the state's governmental system as stipulated by the Trade Union Law. Many levels of party committees have not truly relied upon the trade union, accepted the trade union, or accepted the movements of the workers and officials. As a result, when guiding the activities of the trade union, the various party committees are entrapped in two wayward tendencies; they underwrite or take over (the projects).

The basic cause of the above-mentioned shortcomings is that some party

committees and some leading cadres in the state machinery and among the masses' organizations, including the labor unions, do not completely understand the viewpoint of the working class; possess the party's understanding of the masses; clearly comprehend the intimate relationship which exists between the working class and the party; clearly understand the role and position of the working class in the buildup of socialism and the anti-United States struggle for national salvation. They do not clearly see that promotion of workers' movements and strengthening of leadership over trade union activities has a direct bearing upon successful achievement of party and state policies and lines as well as upon the building up and strengthening of party organizations in enterprises and organs with a view toward fulfilling all obligations of the revolution.

At present, even though it has been severely beaten in both regions of the country, the United States has not yet abandoned its ambitious invasion of our country. Because of the obstinate and warlike nature of the imperialist United States, the war in coming months will become more violent than ever. Our people must make many more great efforts and overcome much more sacrifice and adversity to lead the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation to total victory. Our working class, with its role and position as the vanguard class and the leading class of the revolution, must make even greater efforts to surpass themselves in every field in order to fulfill their historical mission to the people and live up to the loftiness of the common revolutionary undertaking of the working classes of the world. Our working class must forcefully express its role as a main force unit in the people's democratic and socialist revolutionary undertaking and in the current anti-United States sacred resistance for national salvation, which is aimed at liberating South Vietnam, defending North Vietnam, unifying the country, actively contributing to the common struggle of the working classes and the peoples who are oppressed throughout the world by imperialism, with U. S. imperialism at the head, and securing peace, racial independence, democracy, and socialism.

The working class in North Vietnam has the heavy political obligation of enthusiastically leading to success party and state policies for the building up and expanding of the economy in the new situation. It must also fight bravely to defend the North and actively express its role in building up the North into a stable rear area to serve the revolution throughout the country. In order to fulfill this responsibility the workers and officials of the North must lead in the implementation of the three revolutions for total success of state plans under all circumstances. They must express the role as nucleus in the army as well as among the people, and be determined to fight and resist the enemy's war of destruction. They must set the example for thriftiness, honesty, simple living, and good health in their daily spiritual and material lives. The workers and officials of the North must do everything necessary to support the South and stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers and compatriots of the South to complete the people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

Our party is the vanguard unit of the working class. Marxism-Leninism serve as its political and ideological foundation. The party has a duty and a responsibility to educate, bolster, and train the working class to enable it to rapidly mature in all fields and possess the capacity to fulfill its historical obligation. In other words, our party must unceasingly be concerned with and strengthen the leadership of workers' movements. Within the current situation of anti-United States resistance for national salvation, that problem takes on an increasingly significant and pressing meaning.

The entire party must clearly recognize that in order to successfully build up socialism the industrialization of socialism must be accomplished. In order to accomplish the industrialization of socialism there must be a large working class which is strong in every aspect. Moreover, the working class as a basic political force is an essential socialist element of the North Vietnamese socialist system. The great accomplishments of our people throughout their past and present history cannot be separated from the greatness of the working class and party leadership in accordance with proper working class lines. Therefore, rather than being peculiar to individual party groups in the various elements, enterprises, and organs, it is rather for the whole party with all of its cadres and members, whatever their job, to be sufficiently concerned and actively work at party workers' movements.

Our party must be determined to rely upon trade union organizations and be attentive to building them up strongly to become factors in the creation of "four goods" party cells and groups. At the same time it must strengthen the leadership of trade union activities and enable the trade union to adequately express its role from top to bottom as stipulated by the Central Executive Committee resolution and the State Trade Union Law. The party must adopt the trade union in order to unite, educate, and organize the masses with a view toward successful achievement of party lines and policies among the workers and officials. That will reinforce the relationship between the party and the working masses, serve as a stable basis of reliability for the government, strengthen the industrial-agricultural alliance, and serve as a nucleus of unity among the people.

Under the leadership of the party, the trade union must unite, educate, and organize workers' and officials' movements to succeed in the three revolutions: the political-economic relationship of production revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. It must participate much more in the formulation and achievement of economic plans, production and distribution plans, and economic and technological targets. It must manifest the role of the worker's collective ownership right through participation in economic and state management, ensure the success of production obligations, protect production, fight, and organize the lives of workers and officials. On the basis of expressing the collective ownership and revolutionary vanguard roles of the working class, the trade union must profoundly motivate the workers and officials to advance in the study of science and technology with a view toward accomplishing the most

important objective of the anti-United States wave of emulation for national salvation, i. e., increasing labor efficiency. On the basis of education, the trade union must raise class awareness, improve the ideology of collective ownership, train workers and officials, and build up the new man according to the mold of the working class. One for all and all for one.

The trade union must be closely related to the United Liberation Trade Union of South Vietnam and achieve unanimity of the Vietnamese working class in the struggle to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance toward unification of the country.

The trade union must strengthen its relationship with trade union movements in other countries, actively contribute to the unanimity of trade union and workers' movements of the world, and make great efforts to achieve the sympathy and support of labor organizations of other countries for the struggle for justice of our people.

All government branches must completely rely upon the working class on the political, economic, and social fronts and provide wholehearted service to the working class. They must respect the role of the trade union as the representative of the worker and official in matters pertaining to participation in economic and state management. Directors of enterprises must be determined to achieve a democratic management system accompanied by improved discipline. First of all they must truly the ownership rights of the workers and officials and the right of the trade union to participate in the management of the enterprise. Also they must create conditions under which the workers and officials can positively express their collective ownership rights in a conscious and regular manner. It is on that basis that unanimity can be achieved between the directors' sections and the workers with a view toward mutual accomplishment and success in state plans under the leadership of the party.

The Lao Dong Youth is responsible for teaching communist theory to the youth. It must associate with the trade union in education on awareness of the working class. Youth movement efforts in the enterprises, organs, stores, and hospitals, etc., are a part of the efforts of workers' movements. The Lao Dong Youth in the enterprises must express the viewpoint and class line of the party in all of their activities and avoid a lack of co-operation with the trade union.

The women working in the enterprises and organs are a part of the working class. All activities of the women must be confined to the united body of workers' movements and trade union organizations. The liberation of women lies in the liberation of the classes and liberation struggle movements of the womens' elements among the workers must be a nucleus for the general liberation of women.

All of our cadres and party members must clearly understand the role and position of the working class in the new situation. They must make

great efforts to forge the proper viewpoint and ideology, raise revolutionary zeal and class sentiment, give greater importance to workers' movements, and promote activities of the trade union in order to ensure the success of the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the industrialization of socialism in our country.

Immediately, party workers' movements and trade union activities in the North must be concentrated upon the forceful manifestation of the collective ownership role of workers and officials in participation in economic, enterprise, and state management to perfect the three revolutions, i.e., the political-economic relationship of production revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution with a view toward successful accomplishment of the three following primary responsibilities:

1. Promote production which attains the highest productivity, is of the best quality, and conserves the most. Successfully complete state plans under any and all conditions.
2. Defend production well and fight bravely and victoriously.
3. Bolster themselves materially and culturally; raise political awareness and professional and technological levels; and develop ethics and behavior to build up the working class more and more forcefully on every front.

## II SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PARTY IN WORKERS' MOVEMENTS

Efforts of the party in movements by the working masses and officials are aimed at implementing the role, position, and responsibilities of the working class and the responsibilities of trade union organizations in the current phase as has been stated above. Below are some specific immediate obligations:

1. Promoting production, building up and defending the economy, and continuously building up technical and material bases for socialism in the North.

At present, the economy of North Vietnam must not only guarantee the needs of the war, bolster the strength of the people, and strengthen the country's economic and national defense potential to defeat the U. S. invader but must also guarantee the requirement to continuously build up technical and material bases for socialism. In order to do this, we must have a high degree of labor efficiency in industry and agriculture, stabilize and expand communications and transportation, and develop industry causing it to gradually occupy a key role in the overall national economy. The position of the working class is to understand progressive production concepts, maintain a decisive role in the technological revolution, and create an ever-improving labor efficiency. These are specific illustrations of the superiority of the socialist system and the clearest illustrations of the leading role and revolutionary vanguardism of the working class in the anti-United

States struggle for national salvation and the buildup of socialism. Therefore, the promotion of production accompanied by an ever increasing labor efficiency is a continuing and basic responsibility. It is both a specific economic and political responsibility of the working class.

We must educate and mobilize the workers and officials so that they clearly understand the role and position of the working class in regard to this responsibility. We must strongly express revolutionary ardor and their creativity; at the same time we must see that the workers advance scientifically and technologically, are determined to complete state plans under any and all conditions, guarantee the success of the requirement to serve the front lines, serve communications and transportation, serve the expansion of production, expand local industry, and strive to serve agriculture and the lives of the people.

We must educate, mobilize, and organize the workers and officials to make great efforts to act conservatively, uphold their responsibility to protect state and collective property, and be determined to resist corruption and waste.

The collective ownership rights of the workers and officials must be truly manifested in the enterprises and organs and a democratic management system must be implemented. The party must honestly rely upon the trade union to achieve sufficient collective ownership rights for the workers in their participation in enterprise management and be determined to overcome the phenomenon of blaming the war in order to limit and violate the collective ownership rights of the workers and officials. In wartime, production often undergoes changes and greater attention must be paid to organizing the workers and officials to participate in the improvement of the organization of production appropriate to the new situation. All echelons of the enterprise leadership must clearly affirm that if the masses achieve their full measure of collective ownership rights in the enterprise there will be many good suggestions forthcoming which will overcome all difficulties in production and the lives of the people. There will be many ways to protect production and prevent corruption and waste. Therefore, the political-economic relationship of socialist production in the enterprises will become more and more strong and perfect and the power of production will forcefully expand.

2. Actively contribute to the reinforcement of the armed forces and fight to resist the war of destruction.

We must educate the workers and officials to assimilate the party's concepts of a people's war and national defense by all the people. This will enable them to clearly understand their responsibility while fulfilling their obligations to both promote production and simultaneously be prepared to fight to resist the enemy's war of destruction.

Mobilize the workers and officials to express a spirit of bravery and cleverness in protecting production, serving the war, and fighting. Be attentive to solidifying and bolstering the workers' self defense units in spirit and military knowledge to improve combat posture and in coordinated operations with main force units to destroy the enemy.

At present, the army is urgently increasing its workers' elements; not only to add to its numbers but to possess the technological force necessary to employ and safeguard modern weapons. It is very easy to strengthen the material and spiritual force in the army. Therefore, when the state decides to employ a workers' element in the army, the workers must be mobilized to enthusiastically enlist. In order to perform well in this area, it is necessary to express the role of the trade union in order to make selections appropriate to the requirements.

Teach the workers and officials to have a high spirit of regular revolutionary alertness and to quickly resist the psychological warfare activity and other destructive actions of the spies. The system of civil air defense must be regularly strengthened. Assign clear cut responsibilities to each individual and unit and have specific methods for active resistance against enemy plots in all circumstances. Guarantee security for people, machinery, and equipment.

3. Promote anti-United States emulation movements for national salvation among the workers and officials.

Anti-United States emulation movements for national salvation among the workers and officials are, at present, substantially in the form of production and class struggles. These movements must become a fervent revolutionary wave of the working masses and officials. They must attract all of the workers and officials to conscious participation and express the collective ownership spirit of the working class.

While leading the emulation, the party must rely upon the trade union and the Lao Dong Youth to continuously motivate the masses. It must lead in the creation of the new man according to the mold of the working class; and it must guide the masses toward science and technology.

The current targets of emulation by the workers and officials are to increase labor efficiency, increase the effectiveness of work, skillfully defend production and the war, and successfully complete state plans under any and all conditions. They must employ the standards of the heroic people and units, which were reviewed during the conference on anti-United States heroes and emulation soldiers for national salvation, and establish specific targets for which to strive for each person and each unit.

The contents of emulation are the improvement of management and technology, more appropriate production, and progressive accomplishment of the technological revolution. We must rely upon the specific situation in each branch and place at each time to introduce slogans for specific action in order to mobilize the masses to concentrated struggle upon the key areas of production, the defense of production, and the war.

Conditions must be created for the masses to express their good ideas. The most careful attention must be given to those ideas and there must be timely dissemination of them to regularly expand their application. Within a war situation, production is faced with many more difficulties; greater attention must be paid to campaigns among the masses to raise their spirit of self-reliance, express their good ideas in order to ensure the completion of planned targets as stipulated by the state, and provide themselves with substitute materials for those which are hard to get.

The foundation of emulation movements is class awareness and the worker's spirit of collective ownership. Therefore, we must use the movements of the masses in production management as part of our emulation campaign efforts, thereby enabling the workers and officials to clearly illustrate their spirit of collective ownership in the formulation and accomplishment of progressive quotas, the raising of scientific and technological levels, the execution of labor discipline, and the implementation of safety measures in production.

There must be many forms of activity in which emulation by the masses can be organized. We must be especially attentive to strengthening and expanding struggle movements to become socialist worker teams, groups, and units which will serve as the nucleus for the wave of anti-United States emulation for national salvation in the enterprises and organs. The "three readies" movement of the youth, the "three assumptions of responsibility" movement of the women, and the "three determinations" movement among the intellectuals in the enterprises and organs must have the effect of promoting struggle movements to become socialist worker teams, groups, and units.

#### 4. Care for the lives and protect the health of the workers and officials.

The problem of improved living standards for the people must be based upon the expansion of production. That is an objective law of socialist economics. But we must have a proper class understanding in order to ensure production and the success of a long war. We must care for the lives and protect the health of the workers and officials according to our capability. The care for the lives and protection of the health of the workers and officials at present is essentially covered by strictly adhering to the systems and policies previously established and supplemented and by changing inappropriate practices, resolving the problems of distribution, and campaigns among the masses for self-reorganization of their lives. The party and the state has many active methods aimed at successful resolution of this problem. At the same time, we must uphold the ownership role of the masses in order that they can shoulder their share. We must severely criticize the failure to understand classes in relation to serving the lives of the workers and officials.

We must consider the importance of collecting suggestions from the masses for study, supplement and change labor policies and systems, and distribute consumer goods as appropriate to the new situation. Special attention must be paid to policies and systems as they affect workers and officials engaged in heavy, dangerous, and harmful work and as they affect women workers and officials. The policies and systems applied to workers and officials in local, semi-public enterprises must advance toward unity as is the case in centralized enterprises. There must be research into the use of social welfare assets with a view toward resolving the needs in the lives of the workers and officials in the new situation and advancing toward uniting the social welfare assets which have been entrusted to the trade union for management.

Published systems and policies on living standards must be disseminated to workers and officials in order that they will completely understand them; and we must uphold the supervisory role of the masses in the implementation of those policies.

Have well organized eating, living, sleeping, and working condition, and good treatment and prevention of disease especially in relocation positions, mobile units, and combat service units. At the same time, we must be well organized in the relocation of the families of workers and officials, actively assist the families with growing children, do well in our efforts to set up nurseries and care for young children, and be especially concerned for orphans whose parents gave their lives to the war and production. In those places attacked by the enemy we must quickly stabilize conditions for the workers, officials, and their families.

Faced with a difficult situation created by the war, we must guide the workers and officials in good reorganization of their own lives; mobilize them to uphold their spirit of self-reliance, be prepared to bear any adversity and overcome all difficulties, conserve consumer goods, and actively raise production for self-improvement; participate in workers' and officials' campaigns to uphold a compassionate spirit for the classes and help each other in their daily lives.

Promote cultural, literary, and physical activities to achieve a militarized way of life. Establish a happy, enthusiastic, and healthy life appropriate to wartime.

5. Improve education, bolster the workers and officials, and manifest the revolutionary vanguard role of the working class.

The education and bolstering of workers and officials in every field is not only an important requirement so that they will have adequate standards and energies to complete their responsibilities in the new situation; it also has a decisive affect upon the buildup of the ranks of the working class and the party.

The education of workers and officials has at its goals: raising the awareness of the rights of the working class in conjunction with building up a patriotic spirit and a love of socialism; building up a determined to win ideology and a spirit of sacrifice for independence, freedom, and socialism; upholding an absolute faith in the party revolutionary line; doing well in all efforts; and creating new workers who are skilled in their trades, have high political, ideological, and cultural standards, and possess the revolutionary qualities and virtues of the working class.

Teaching the workers and officials to raise their awareness of the rights of the working class is essentially teaching them the concepts of collective ownership, revolutionary tradition, and the role, position, and responsibility of the working class during the current revolution. We must closely associate the contents of education in patriotism and love of socialism with the awareness of the rights of the working class. The workers and officials must be allowed to profoundly understand that the struggle for independence, freedom, and socialism is the reason for their existence, and that their responsibility to win victory for the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and build up socialism means fulfillment of the historical mission of the Vietnamese working class to the people and to revolutionary movements of the working classes of the world.

Teaching the workers and officials about the party's line, anti-United States obligations for national salvation, and the buildup of socialism must be closely associated with the specific responsibilities of each branch, unit, and individual. On the basis of raising their awareness of the rights of the working class to teach them about party lines and responsibilities, we must: enable the workers and officials to profoundly understand that the party line and responsibility represents the political line, will, and aspirations of the working class. From that we can raise the absolute faith in party leadership and complete all revolutionary obligations with determination.

To bolster the culture, science, technology, and enterprise management knowledge for the workers and officials is to create conditions wherein they can express the role of enterprise ownership. It is also an important factor in promoting the technological revolution.

Adopting the above education problems bolsters the workers and officials in quality, revolutionary virtue, and the revolutionary heroism of the working class. It enables the ranks of the workers and officials to truly demonstrate that they are the vanguard class of the revolution.

At present, the ranks of the workers are being swelled more and more with new workers. We must pay special attention to organizing and teaching them the basic and universal political line and policy of the party along with increasing their occupational skills.

While carrying out this education, we must be most attentive to using such education methods as model matters, model personalities, and model units. We must be aware of the different objectives of education. In regard to those workers who have lived under two systems, we must teach them to hate the system which exploited men and to love the socialist system. In regard to new workers, we must teach them to love the socialist system and to hate all systems which oppress, exploit, etc.

The various propaganda and education organs, the arts and literary branches, and especially the press organs of the party and trade union must go right into the enterprises in order to understand the working class, effectively mobilize and stimulate workers' movements, and forcefully propagandize about the role, position, and responsibility of the working class in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the buildup of socialism. They must cause the revolutionary vanguardism of the working class, that is the ideology of the party, to occupy the leading position among workers, officials, and every level of society. They must actively create literary and artistic material which illustrates the role, position, and historical mission of the working class. They must be determined to criticize material which takes the role and position of the working class in the revolution lightly.

6. Consider the importance of teaching the youth, women, and intellectuals among the workers and officials.

The youth occupy a major part of workers and officials and represent an important force in production and the war. We must be attentive to bolstering them so that they can raise their awareness of the rights and position of the working class and improve their occupational standards with a view toward expressing their forceful role in production and the war.

Women are fairly well represented among the workers and officials, and the number of women participating in industrial production grows more by the day. They have many capabilities in production and the war. We must be attentive to bolstering them so that they can raise their will to be self-reliant, improve their technological and occupational standards, and actively create conditions wherein they can overcome all difficulties in their daily lives, especially in the matter of raising children and in family efforts, in order to strongly express all of their capabilities in production and the war. We must be mindful to adjust the employment of the female labor force so that it is appropriate to their capabilities and strength.

The intellectuals have an important role in research and in guiding the progress of scientific and technological applications. We must be attentive to bolstering them in every area, especially politics and ideology, in order that they can truly become the new intellectuals of the working class. Be attentive to helping them and creating conditions wherein they can develop their talent to capably serve the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the industrialization of socialism.

Revolutionary movements among the workers and officials must be ones which are united in goals and actions. Therefore, the "three readies" movement of the youth, the "three assumptions of responsibilities" movement of the women, and the "three determinations" movement of the intellectuals must dynamically stimulate the anti-United States wave of emulation for national salvation among the workers and officials.

### III SOLIDIFYING THE ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTHENING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TRADE UNION

The trade union must forcefully express its function as the point of mobilization, organization, education, and training for the workers and officials on every front; it must serve as a solidly reliable position for the government, a tool to achieve the alliance between industry and agriculture, a nucleus for a united racial bloc, and a foundation for party expansion and the training of cadres for the party and the state. It is the defender and caretaker of the workers' and officials' material and spiritual lives and the binding tie between the party and the masses of workers and officials; it is the mobilizer, organizer, and educator of the workers and officials who produce and participate in the management of the enterprise, and the representative of the workers and officials who participate in economic and state management; it is the capable worker with the government in formulating and achieving the various policies and systems of the state, and in supervising their implementation. That is the basis which allows the trade union to be truly a school for economic management, state management, socialism, and communism for the working class as well as a staunch supporter of the revolutionary government.

The activities of the trade union must reflect the above-stated function and must be closely aligned with the requirements of workers' and officials' mass movements in the current situation.

Trade union elements must firmly understand the contents of basic and effective activities, especially workers' and officials' mass movements to participate in management of the enterprises. Emanating from this requirement to participate in the successful management of enterprises must be the attainment of a high degree of labor efficiency, good protection of the enterprise so that it can carry out its various educational efforts, emulation movements, improved living standards, a buildup of trade union organization. Adoption of these activities will specifically illustrate the collective ownership rights of the working class.

The creation of "four goods" trade union elements is an important factor in the creation of "four goods" party chapters, cells, and groups. Therefore these two efforts must be closely associated. The above activities must be used to create "four goods" trade union elements. The major element of trade union members must be strengthened so that they will become "four goods" members, thereby improving the quality of the trade union. Those workers and officials desirous of struggling to become party members must first of all become "four goods" trade union members.

A most basic principle which must be completely understood is that trade union activity is activity of the masses. The trade union elements must attract more and more of the workers and officials into the network of people active in the trade union. It must be clearly affirmed that trade union activity is essentially mass activity of a unit or element. The Lao Dong Youth is the vanguard and the assault unit in mass activities of the elements.

The United Local Trade Unions must achieve perfect organization in order to have sufficient power to assist leading party committees in general campaigns among the workers and officials in the localities and to have sufficient power to participate in the building up and expansion of the local economies, especially in the areas of guaranteeing communications and transportation and expanding local industry.

The trade union branches must accomplish their primary functions of intensely educating the workers and officials in the branches, campaigning among the masses for the accomplishment of the technological revolution, and improving labor efficiency within each branch. Efforts in other fields must also deeply penetrate the various trades and there must be participation in the building up and development of the branches. The organization of the various echelons of the trade union branches should be set up according to those functions; the apparatus should be simple and light.

The General Trade Union organization must improve the research capability of and provide guidance to the entire trade union system and increase its capability to participate in economic and state management.

The executive committee organizations at all levels of the trade union must reflect and represent the ranks of the workers and officials. They must have a political capability, understand mass activity methods, be flexible, and be knowledgeable about enterprise and economic management. The trade union executive committees at all echelons must above all have its members directly involved in production in the elements. In order to gain the faith of the masses it must include skilled workers, technical cadres, young workers, and female workers who have recorded accomplishments in production and the war. In the enterprises, the Lao Dong Youth Executive Committee must have people participating in the executive committees of trade union elements. In those places where women make up the greater part of workers and officials, the trade union executive committees must have women as a majority of their membership and the people with key responsibility must be women. In the mountain regions, ethnic minority people must be the trade union cadres.

Substantially improve the newspaper Lao Dong in content as well as professionalism to allow it to actually become a keen propaganda and education tool for the workers and officials with a view toward greater than ever expression of the vanguard role and creativeness of the working class in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the buildup of socialism.

Earnestly train and bolster trade union cadres in response to the need to expand mass movements. At the same time, respond to the need to expand efforts of the party and the state. Be attentive to training cadres who have no speciality in order to have a replacement force for specialists. The contents and teaching programs of trade union schools must be improved. In addition to the content of teachings on theory and party line and policy, special attention must be paid to reviewing mass movements of workers and officials and every activity of the trade union must form the primary content of teaching. It is essential that trade union cadres be products of mass movements. Therefore, we must train and bolster cadres in actual production and war movements of the masses. Trade union cadres must have a stable class viewpoint, high revolutionary zeal, technological and economic management knowledgeability, and be intensely familiar with the masses and know how to campaign among them. Those are the standards on which to base trade union cadre training.

Be mindful to assign those cadres with supervisory capabilities in trade union efforts to the communications and transportation branches and to important production elements such as electricity, machinery, coal, and production to serve national defense. There must be special attention paid to building up and strengthening the trade union organizations in local industry enterprises and light industry and handicraft co-operatives in order to strengthen mass movement efforts in these areas. This not only has an important meaning in the matter of ensuring complete success of the responsibility to expand local economies but also to the effective reinforcement of the industry-agriculture alliance.

There must be an improvement in working methods of all echelons of the trade union; a determination to overcome the illness of bureaucracy, paper shuffling, and administration-ism as well as estrangement from production, the war, and the lives of the masses. Implement work methods which bring closeness to the elements and the masses and become deeply involved in mass movement efforts. In order to accomplish this, trade union cadres at all echelons, especially key cadres, must reserve a great deal of time for direct involvement in the enterprises, activities, and work of the masses in order to clearly understand their psychology, hopes, production situation, and lives. In this way, there can be an improvement in leadership efforts of all echelons of the trade union and its activities will demonstrate the fervent revolutionary zeal of the working class.

#### IV STRENGTHENING PARTY LEADERSHIP OF WORKERS' CAMPAIGN EFFORTS AND TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

The accomplishment of the party line in regard to guiding the buildup and expansion of industry and the economy is developing in a new direction, especially in local industry and communications and transportation, on which the working class force is concentrating more and more. In order to forcefully accomplish the party line on building up and expanding the economy, we must consider agriculture as a basis for industrial expansion, require industry to actively serve agriculture, and have industry gradually assume

the guiding role in the overall national economy. Promotion of the political-economic relationship of production revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution has a decisive meaning in the accomplishment and fulfillment of the responsibility to industrialize socialism. Therefore, all echelons of party groups must completely understand both agriculture and industry and consider as important the leadership of industry. In order to stimulate agriculture the links of production must be understood. At the same time, there must be a firm grasp on the distribution processes in order to promote production and bolster the strength of the people.

Strengthening party leadership over workers' movements efforts and trade union activities is a decisive condition in the successful accomplishment by the working class in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the industrialization of socialism. At the same time, it also more closely binds the relationship between the party and the workers and officials who have adopted the trade union organization and associates the political line of the working class with its party. The entire party must understand the the working class viewpoint and clearly illustrate it by a proper estimate and awareness of the role, position, and historical mission of the working class in carrying out the revolution. It must be specifically illustrated in strengthening party leadership of workers' movements and trade union activities.

All echelons of party groups must firmly understand the situation in the expansion of workers' movements in their localities, branches, and elements and closely guide trade union activities in the accomplishment of party efforts in workers' movements. The resolutions and instructions of the higher echelons of the trade union and party committees must be studied and their strict implementation must be supervised by individual echelons of the trade union. Let us put an end to the situation wherein efforts at movements by the workers and officials are considered the private affair of the trade union or an action to be completely underwritten by it.

All echelons of party groups must ascertain that party cadres have a perfect organizational capability at all levels of trade union executive committees with a view toward increasing the activities of the trade union and creating conditions for adequate accomplishment of its functions. The party must make progress in ensuring that party members do not occupy more than one-half of the total membership of trade union executive committees. This is to guarantee that the voices of workers outside the party will be heard on the executive committees and to ensure that the party performs well in education efforts which are persuasive rather than authoritarian and arbitrary.

All echelons of party committees, especially those at enterprise element level, must supplement workers' elements justly. Generally speaking, in the enterprise elements they must assign a standing member to be directly at the disposition of the trade union. In the regions, cities, and provinces a committee member, from a working class background, who is capable, has been

active in workers' movements for many years, and has the respect of the workers and officials shall act as the secretary for the enterprise trade union. The standing committee of the party committee at all echelons must appoint an observer who will be responsible for trade union reports on efforts and estimate the true value of trade union efforts.

All echelons of party committees must closely supervise the coordinated efforts of the trade union, the Lao Dong Youth, the United Womens' Society in order to unify the policies and plans carried out in efforts toward movements by the workers and officials.

Party, trade union, youth, and womens' groups must closely co-ordinate in order to have unified policies in workers' and officials' movements in the branches and localities.

Each party member must profoundly recognize that he must be the elite member of the working class and that as such he is on the staff of the working class. Therefor, he has a responsibility to build up mass organizations of the working class, such as the trade union. All party members must absolutely join the trade union, regularly participate in its activities, and set the example for achievement in efforts assigned by it. To do so is to reinforce the relationship between party members and the masses, teach and mobilize the masses to successfully accomplish party policies, and express the leadership role of the party over the trade union. Party members wanting to strive to become "four goods" party members must first of all become "four goods" trade union members. They must clearly recognize that party members can mature only through the process of training realistically in revolutionary movements of the masses.

All echelons of party groups must base their determinations on the content of the Third Party Congress resolution, Resolution Number 11 of the Ministry of Politics on leadership and management systems of socialist enterprises, and Resolution Number 76 of the Secretariat on the obligations of the trade union in the industrialization of socialism and building up socialism when reviewing weak and strong points in guidance of the achievement of those resolutions. At the same time, study these resolutions carefully and have specific plans for carrying them out.

This resolution is to be disseminated to and discussed in all party cells. Region, city, and provincial committees, sections, and party groups must report the results of the review and discussion on implementation of this resolution to the Central Executive Committee.

Hanoi, 21 September 1967  
Witnessed by the Secretariat  
Signed: Le Van Luong

6794  
CSO: 3520-D

## IMPORTANCE OF LABOR UNION ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

[Article by Nguyen Van Tran; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 24-36, 85-87]

The Party Central Committee Secretariat issued a resolution on the matter of increasing worker mobilization and labor union activities during the new situation. This resolution is important to the present and future of our country's revolution.

Upon beginning the period of socialist construction in the North, our party issued many resolutions relating to the subject of workers and the labor union. The resolution of the Third National Congress of the Party, the resolution of the Seventh Conference of the Central Committee, and Resolution No 76 of the Secretariat and so on all defined the role and position of the working class and the labor union in socialist construction activity. The implementation of these resolutions has had the effect of mobilizing and encouraging the working class and the labor union to contribute its share in carrying out the first five year plan and in carrying out the tasks of the party during the three anti-American years of national salvation and socialist construction; it has also developed and consolidated the ranks of the working class and brought about an acceleration in the activities of the labor union in national development.

During the past three years, our working class and people have virtually defeated the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, have strengthened the economic and defense potential of the North, and have actively supported the liberation

struggle of the compatriots in the South. The victory of our people during the three anti-American years of national salvation has really been immense and all-embracing! The working class, with its vanguardism, exemplaryism, courageous character, and increasingly stronger forces, has made a very large contribution to that victory.

The anti-American resistance for national salvation of our people has now entered a very tense and decisive period. During this period, our tasks are extremely heavy and difficult. We must defeat the war of destruction of the enemy, continue socialist construction in the North, and increase support for the revolution in the South under conditions wherein the enemy will be reacting more insanely and wherein the requirements of the revolution in the South will become greater and greater the closer victory approaches. This situation and task demands that all our party and people display a higher sense of sacrificing their lives for independence, freedom, and socialism, a spirit of determination to fight and to defeat the invading U.S. aggressors, and a spirit of surmounting difficulties and hardships in order to secure victory. To accomplish this, we definitely must intensify the inculcation of the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class so that the revolutionary cause of our people will have a firm ideological base.

This situation and task also presents a very large responsibility to the working class. As the leadership class and as a main force army of the revolution, the working class has a very enormous duty to strengthen the economic and defense potential, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, to strengthen solidarity and unanimity among all of the people, to strengthen the people's democratic political power in the North, to consolidate and develop the party, and so forth. While the number of new workers has been growing constantly the teaching and training of the workers has been deficient. All of these situations demand that we aggressively build up and develop the ranks of the working class so that they are very large and powerful in every respect in order to complete the historic mission in the anti-American undertaking for national salvation and socialist construction.

There are at present still instances of vagueness among cadre in the party and in the government with respect to the position and viewpoint of the working class and instances of misapprehension about the role, position, and duty of the working class in the socialist construction work of the North and in the anti-American task for national salvation. There is still a sizable number of people who do not fully under-

stand the leadership role of the working class. There are still incorrect ideas at all levels and in all branches about the role and position of the labor union and a failure to clearly recognize that the labor union is a broad mass organization of the working class and the advanced revolutionary force of society. For its part, the labor union has not fully discharged its own mission and function. As a result, the effort to expand the collective master role of the working class has been inadequate. This situation demands that there be an intensification of education among cadre, party members, and the people concerning the position and viewpoint of the working class and that the leadership role of the working class be emphasized in all facets of activity because this is essential to assuring victory for the revolution. This situation also demands an improvement in the understanding of the role and position of the labor union and an increase in the responsibility of all levels of the party, government, and labor union in vigorously developing the collective master role of the workers so that the state plan will be completed in all situations.

For all of the aforementioned reasons, the Party Central Committee Secretariat issued its resolution on worker mobilization and labor union activities with a view to building up and developing the ranks of the working class so that they are very large and powerful in every respect, emphasizing the responsibility of the party and government organizations and labor union in worker mobilization and labor union activity, and increasing the education of all party members and people about the position and viewpoint of the working class; in this way, it will be possible to more aggressively develop the vanguard and leadership role and the collective master spirit of the working class in order to assure the successful implementation of every line, policy, and revolutionary task of the party, especially assuring the defeat of the invading American aggressors and the development of socialism in the North.

The Party Concepts on the Role, Position, and Duty of the Working Class.

The resolution of the Party Central Committee Secretariat very clearly stated the viewpoints of the party on the role and position of the working class. This is a matter of great importance because it is the conceptual and theoretical basis of the entire resolution. Only by clearly understanding this problem can we fully absorb the spirit and content of the resolution and, thereby, be able to successfully carry out all of the specific tasks set forth in the resolution.

The following are some of the party viewpoints on the role, position, and task of the working class.

1. The role of the working class in leading the revolution.

The resolution of the Secretariat clearly defined that the working class of our country is the vanguard class leading the revolution and is a main force army in the national democratic revolution, as well as in the socialist revolution and in the anti-American resistance for national salvation. This is a very important conclusion which is not only consistent with Marxist-Leninist theory but is also increasingly reaffirmed by the reality of our country's revolution.

In the Marxist-Leninist concept, the role of the working class in leading the revolution essentially derives from its position in the social economy. From his profound analysis of the capitalistic economy, Marx studied the birth, the growth, and inevitable destruction of capitalism and arrived at the conclusion that the historic mission of the working class is to lead the revolution to ~~dispose~~ of the capitalistic society and to build the socialist society. Lenin also spoke on this subject: "Because of its economic role in large-scale production, the proletarian class is the only class capable of leading all of the working and exploited masses; these masses are usually exploited, repressed, and trampled upon by the bourgeois class at least as much as the proletarian class or more but they are incapable of independently struggling for their own liberation." (1) Because it represents the most progressive method of production in the history of man, the working class is the most advanced, the most revolutionary, the most disciplined, and the most tightly organized class, the only class capable of leading the revolution to eradicate the old society and build the new society -- the socialist society.

Although the working class constitutes a small percentage of the population in our country it still is fully capable of leading the revolution and, in fact, the working class in our country has played this role in an outstanding manner because in addition to the general strong points of the international working class our country's working class also has its own peculiar features such as: being born and raised before the national bourgeoisie; having, as it grew up, a party loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and, therefore, being protected against ideological and organizational division and against the influence of reformism; having close contact with the peasants and entering the political arena after the

Russian October Revolution had succeeded and so forth. These special features helped our country's working class to acquire increasingly more favorable conditions for early securing complete leadership of our country's revolution.

The working class leads the revolution essentially through its political line, the line fixed by the vanguard unit of the working class, our party, on the basis of a combination of Marxism-Leninism and the domestic revolutionary reality and based on the position and viewpoint of the working class. The position of the working class is the most resolute and most thoroughly revolutionary position. The viewpoint of the working class is the most correct and most scientific viewpoint. The reason this is true is that the working class represents the most advanced method of production and is led by the most correct revolutionary doctrine of mankind -- Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the doctrine on revolutionary struggle and on building the new society of the working class; it is the theoretical distillation of the rich revolutionary struggle experiences of the international working class. Marx and Engels created their great theory precisely because they worked from the revolutionary point of view of the working class and inherited the highest wisdom of mankind. Lenin was able to develop Marxism another step and, thereby, create Marxism-Leninism, because he worked from the point of view of the working class, absorbed the new knowledge of mankind, and synthesized the rich revolutionary experiences of the international working class since the death of Marx and Engels. Consequently, we must realize that the political line of the party is, in essence, the political line of the working class, embodying the point of view and position of the working class. Unless we proceed from the position and viewpoint of the working class and unless we fully comprehend Marxist-Leninist theory and appropriately adapt it to the milieu of our country, the party will be unable to devise its own correct political line. In order to fully understand and correctly implement the political line of the party each of us must study Marxism-Leninism and inculcate in ourselves a firm proletarian position.

The working class leads the revolution through its political line and through its resolute and radically revolutionary spirit. Throughout all the processes of arduous and complex struggle, the working class of our country has upheld its vanguardism, exemplarism, and heroic character. As a result, it has been able to attract the following of countless revolutionary forces of the nation. In the present anti-American undertaking for national salvation and socialist construction in the North, whether on the front line or in the rear area and whether on the production front or the combat front,

our working class is constantly in the lead in all struggles.

In the specific circumstances of our country, the working class is not only the class which leads but is also one of the two main force armies of the people's national democratic revolution and of the socialist revolution (the other main force army is the peasants). The reality of our country's revolution for almost 40 years now has proven this point. The Nghe Tinh Soviet movement, the first full-blown revolutionary movement led by our party, was inaugurated through a strike by workers. And since 1930, the working class has been in the vanguard in all revolutionary movements. The August Revolution, the previous anti-French resistance, and the present anti-American resistance of the compatriots of the South were all, to different degrees, a combination between military struggle and political struggle or mass uprisings and between a struggle in the countryside and a struggle in the cities and they all used the working class and the peasant class as the main force army.

During the period of the socialist revolution, the historic role of the working class is all the more important. This is because our working class in the North is, during this stage, developing rapidly in number and in quality; as the resolution of the Secretariat stated: "The working class is a basic political force and one of the principal social foundations of the socialist system in the North."

The working class plays an extremely important role in the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country. In order to successfully build socialism and in order to carry out socialist industrialization it is imperative to have a large working class that is stable and powerful in every respect. Moreover, the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country is a process which combines socialist reform with socialist construction and it is a process which combines three revolutions -- the revolution in the production relationship, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. Socialist industrialization is the central task and the technological revolution plays the key role. Without the leadership of the working class in regard to ideology, viewpoint, method of management, and socialist methods of distribution and without the decisive contribution of the working class, especially in the technological revolution, it is impossible to successfully carry out these three revolutions. Consequently, in order to successfully carry out the socialist revolution in the North, we definitely must develop the leadership role and nucleus role of the working class. The only way we can improve the life of the people is to accelerate the three revolutions, especially the techno-

logical revolution. The question of upgrading the life of the people depends, in the final analysis, on the role of the working class and on the political line of the party.

2. The working class and the matter of the worker-peasant alliance and the united national front.

The question of the worker-peasant alliance is an extremely important question in Marxism-Leninism and is a strategic question within the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Marx himself spoke of this matter: "All questions in Germany will depend upon the ability to support the proletarian revolution by some repetition of peasant warfare. In this case, then, everything will go smoothly..."(2) Marx's ideas on the worker-peasant alliance were further developed by Lenin in the new historical conditions. Lenin viewed the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class as a matter of decisive importance to all victories in the revolution and as the highest principal of proletarian dictatorship.

Loyal to Marxist-Leninist theory, our party has always attached importance to the matter of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Summarizing the actual experiences of our country's revolution, Chairman Ho emphasized the need to "achieve the worker-peasant alliance because it is the firmest guarantee of victories in the revolution. The only way to resolutely and thoroughly overturn the counterrevolutionary power, seize and consolidate the political power of the working people, complete the historic task of the national, democratic revolution, and proceed forward to socialism is to have a worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class."(3)

The resolution of the Secretariat once again brings up the question of the worker-peasant alliance, viewing it as a responsibility which the working class and its party must successfully carry out. The working class must clearly recognize the great role of the peasants in our country's revolution and intensify the education of the peasants and lead them on the path to socialism; this is the only way that the working class will be able to increase its own leadership over the revolution.

The socialist revolutionary line of the party has clearly stated the need to combine socialist industrialization with agricultural cooperativization, using socialist industrialization as the central task and using agriculture as the foundation for developing industry and regarding industry as the main

force army in the national economy. It has pointed out the need to strive to build up the local economy, to closely combine agriculture and industry in a rational way in each locality, and to coordinate the central economy with the local economy. Consequently, in order to achieve the worker-peasant alliance, the working class must strive to carry out the socialist revolutionary line of the party, actively contribute to the building up of the local economy, and attach importance to helping the peasants in every way (in their thinking, in management, in the supply of technical equipment, and so forth) so that the peasants will increasingly elevate their socialist consciousness, earnestly devote themselves to the task of consolidating the cooperatives, closely mesh the business activities of the cooperative with the requirements of the state plan, adapt industrial management organization methods to agricultural management, and attach greater importance to technical improvements and to building up the material and technical base in agriculture. At the same time, it is necessary to closely unite with the peasants in order to work together to accelerate production and increase social labor productivity.

The working class must, on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, effect broad solidarity with other revolutionary and patriotic forces and the various nationalities in the country and educate and lead them to actively participate in the socialist construction in the North and in the present anti-American undertaking for national salvation.

### 3. The working class and the proletarian dictatorial state.

The proletarian dictatorial state is one of the principal tools of struggle which the working class has taken in its hand in order to repress counterrevolutionaries at home, smash aggression by outside imperialist elements, achieve the alliance between the working class and the working peasant and other workers, and attract them into the work of socialist construction, and organize the new economy, the socialist economy. The resolution of the third congress of the party clearly stated that "The people's democratic government in the North is, during the present stage, the principal tool of the working class and of the working people for carrying out the revolutionary struggle on all fronts and for achieving victory for socialism and achieving national unification." (4) Our government must fully embody the will and aspirations of the working class and working people, uphold the role and position of the working class in all of its activities, draw outstanding workers into its apparatus, resolutely rely on the working class, develop the collective master role of the working class,

and create favorable conditions whereby the working class can participate in the management of enterprises, the management of the economy and the management of the government. Under the leadership of the party, all branches of government must fully rely on the working class politically, economically, and socially; wholeheartedly and unreservedly serve the working class; respect the role of the labor union as the representative of the workers and functionaries in the matter of participating in the management of the economy and in the management of the government; and make it possible for the labor union to fulfill its mission and function.

In recent years, our government has clearly shown itself to be a sharp struggle tool of the working class in vanquishing the enemy within and the foreign aggressor and in building the new society. However, there are still some specific things that have not been properly carried out. For example, we have encountered fairly many difficulties in the effort to raise the percentage of people from a worker's background in the government at all levels; there are objective causes for this situation but the principal cause has been our failure to fully address ourselves to the problem of training and developing the working class and bringing outstanding workers into the government at all echelons. The various branches of the government have also failed to devote adequate attention to the matter of upholding the role and position of the working class, have failed to create all of the requisite conditions so that the workers and functionaries can exercise control in the enterprises and agencies, and they have failed to comprehend that the labor union is their most effective collaborator and, therefore, have not really respected the role of the labor union. When we go into the countryside, we see with even more clarity the fact that many cadre of the government are still confused about the position and viewpoint of the working class. For example, many places have failed to make the peasants clearly understand that socialist construction requires accumulation, requires that the peasants make a contribution to the state, requires that they supply grains and foodstuffs, and requires that the state purchase farm products and so forth.

Because of the nature and function of our government, the working class has the duty to build up, strengthen, and protect its own governmental power, to set the example in executing all of the decisions and policies of the state, and to constantly struggle to increase labor productivity in order to strengthen the economic and defense potential of the Fatherland, protect public property, combat waste and corruption and so forth. It must be noted that economic development is always the fundamental task of the working class. However, the

responsibility of the working class toward consolidating the national defense and building up the armed forces is also very important and heavy, especially in the present anti-American struggle for national salvation. In order to make a pragmatic contribution to the development of the national defense, the working class not only must endeavor to build modern industry and develop communications and transportation in order to create a foundation and effectively serve the task of consolidating the national defense; it also must directly contribute to the development of the people's armed forces, especially the technical services and the special services, and supply the people's armed forces with outstanding people from its own class so that they can be trained and developed into courageous, dedicated, and talented military cadre.

#### 4. The working class and the party.

The party is the vanguard unit of the working class; it is the most advanced and the most conscious element and the highest organization of the working class. The working class is the class foundation of the party and it leads the revolution through its party. This is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. It is also a very important concept of our party. What conclusions must we draw concerning practical activities from this principle and concept?

Speaking first of all about the party, it is necessary to constantly keep in mind that the party, although it is the vanguard unit, is only one inseparable component of the overall working class. Therefore, every line and activity of the party must originate in the thinking of the working class and be inseparably allied with the working class. The political line of the party must be the political line of the working class; i.e., it must be consistent with Marxist-Leninist theory and be able to embody the viewpoint and position of the working class. Party development and cadre activities of the party also must thoroughly embrace the class line of the party. The resolution of the third congress of the party stressed that it is "imperative to regularly carry out the work of party development, especially concentrating on developing the party among workers." (5) This resolution also stated that "The cadre line of our party is to attach importance on the selection, development, and promotion of cadre from among the outstanding people of worker and peasant stocks while, at the same time, selecting, developing, and promoting cadre from among outstanding people of an intellectual background -- people who have close contact with the workers and peasants and who are wholly dedicated to the workers and peasants." (6) Obviously, we cannot slavishly follow social background but neither can we forget about the class character of

the party. If they are estranged from the class character of the party, the line and activities of the party will inevitably be mistaken and deviationist.

In obeying the principle of Marxism-Leninism concerning the relationship between the party and the working class, party committees at all echelons and all party members must pay the utmost attention to worker mobilization and labor union activities. They must resolutely rely on the labor union organization and concentrate on developing the labor union organization in order to create favorable conditions for the development of "four good" party chapters and party organizations. At the same time, it is imperative to strengthen the leadership of labor union activities and to use the labor union to bring together and educate the working masses, to carry out all of the lines and policies of the party, and to thoroughly develop the role of the labor union as a school for economic management and government management and as a school for socialism and communism. Each party member must fulfill the duty of an outstanding fighter of the working class and must participate in the labor union.

For its part, the working class must actively participate in the development and protection of the party, strengthen the leadership of the party in all respects, and set an example in executing all of the lines, decisions, and policies of the party and mobilize all other strata of people to solemnly carry them out. As a mass organization of the working class, the labor union must obey the leadership of the party and must fulfill its function as a bridge between the party and the working masses.

##### 5. The working class and the international obligation.

The working class is the only entity of all the classes in society which has an internationalist ideology. The reason for this is that the working class by virtue of its economic position is the only class which has a spirit of impartial dedication; moreover, the class struggle interests of the working class requires that there be international solidarity among the working classes of all countries in order to combat their common enemy: international capitalism. The internationalist ideology of the working class not only does not contradict but also closely coincides with the genuine patriotism of the working class and infuses it with a new and higher content. This internationalist ideology of the working class has been given a concentrated generalization in the following famous slogans set forth by Marx and Lenin in different historic circumstances: "Proletariat of all countries unite;" "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples unite!" Lenin himself said

that "There is only one genuine internationalism: working selflessly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and supporting (through propaganda, through sympathy, through material assistance) this struggle, this line, and only this line in all countries with no exceptions." (7) This teaching of Lenin has been loyally carried out by our party and our country's working class. The reality of our country's revolution has proven that our party and our country's working class has always carried out in an outstanding manner its national and international obligations. Our people's present great anti-American undertaking for national salvation is an outstanding example of the union between genuine patriotism and the international proletarian spirit. We are proud to have contributed our share to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world not only through our own struggle and our own blood but also through our support for revolutions in various countries and through our experiences in struggling against imperialism and in building socialism in a country historically colonialist and very backward economically. On the other hand, we are also grateful to the working class and people of the world who have actively supported and assisted the revolutionary struggle of our people. From now on, our party and working class certainly will continue to successfully carry out their national and international obligations.

#### Some Specific, Immediate Tasks in Worker Mobilization Activities.

In this section, the resolution of the Secretariat spells out six duties, only three of which are presented here.

1. Accelerate production, build up and protect the economy, and continue to build the material and technical base of socialism in the North.

This is a fundamental duty which manifests very strikingly the vanguard and leadership role of the working class in the anti-American undertaking for national salvation and for socialist construction. This duty is also intimately related to the interests of the working class and of all society. Lenin himself said that "Once it has seized political power, the proletarian class has a basic life or death interest to increase the volume of products and to place social production on a broader scale." (8) Resolution No 167 of the Secretariat also emphasized that "accelerating production with constantly higher labor productivity is a basic continuing duty and is both an economic and a political duty for the working class." (9) In order to accelerate production during the U.S. imperialists'

war of destruction it is imperative to protect production; therefore, there must be a plan for covering and protecting, dispersing and evacuating equipment, machinery, and personnel in order to cope with an intensification of destruction by the enemy. At the same time, it is necessary to protect and develop central industry according to priorities and to accelerate local industry. On the other hand, the working class must strive to exert an effect on the agricultural development, one of our strategic tasks at the present time.

How can the working class carry out its duty to accelerate production with constantly increasing labor productivity?

First of all, it is imperative to clearly define its combat position on the production front because in a fierce war environment rear area production requires the same valiant and dedicated spirit as combat on the front line.

Secondly, it is imperative to continue to march into science and technology. There are some people who maintain that it is very difficult to carry out a technological revolution in a war environment. Such thinking is incorrect. The experience of the past three years has proven that we have the capability to continue to march into science and technology even in the fierce circumstances of the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction. For example, in agriculture, all the various tasks such as water-conservancy development, fertilizing, and applying advanced cultivation techniques, especially in selecting and improving seeds and using new seeds and so forth have been carried out more aggressively and successfully and have, as a result, brought higher yields. In industrial and handicraft production, we have improved many tools and machines in production. It should be noted that our cadre and workers have invented very intelligent and very successful methods for repairing bridges and roads in their effort to guarantee communications.

Thirdly, it is imperative to concentrate on combatting waste and corruption. These maladies can in time of war be regarded as a crime against our people and our Fatherland. If our various production branches work like slaves but fail to concentrate on combatting corruption and waste, then, the results of the production will be very considerably limited. Moreover, in the situation wherein state property at present is very large, these maladies, if developed, would inflict heavy losses on the state and damage some of our good cadre and people. Consequently, combatting corruption and waste has become an important and urgent problem. In this struggle, the working class must uphold its own spirit of responsibility in order to guarantee good production and combat, assure the

development of the role of the great rear area to the great front line, assure constant progress for our society, and combat all speculators and all bad ideas of the exploiting class. This is a problem of immense economic and political significance.

In order to successfully take care of the important aforementioned tasks, we must vigorously develop the collective master spirit of the worker and functionary in participating in economic and state management, causing the workers to display a higher revolutionary attack spirit in production and in all other types of activities and causing them to attract the following of large numbers of the working masses.

2. Intensify the education and development of the worker and government employee and develop the revolutionary vanguard role of the working class.

This is a very important matter not only so that the working class can fulfill its duty during the present stage of the revolution but also because of the great importance to the development of the working class and to the development of the party. Marxism-Leninism has taught us that in leading the revolution, in reforming the old society, and in building the new society the working class must concurrently train and reform itself in order to be able to complete the proud task which history has assigned it. In the present situation, this problem has a new aspect. This is because our working class is developing and is changing; one element of the workers must be switched over to build up a modern regular army and the new members participating in the ranks of the workers, despite their enthusiasm, have not been trained and educated much. This situation imparts an importance and urgency to the matter of educating the worker.

In order for our working class to become a core genuinely worthy of being the class which leads the revolution, we obviously must teach it love of country, love of socialism, revolutionary traditions and virtues, and science and technology. But, above all else, we must instill the spirit of being collective master and the working class point of view. To be collective master is, first of all, to be the master in production and to be the master in distribution; to be the master politically, economically, and socially. But, to accomplish this, it is necessary to have a struggle and to clearly define the class struggle form of the working class which has already seized political power and thoroughly understand the working class point of view in the present situation. It is necessary to clearly recognize that in the circumstances of a proletarian

dictatorship, in addition to the function of combatting the enemy at home and the foreign aggressor, the class struggle form of the working class which is exercising political power is to build up and manage the economy. The point of view of a working class which has already seized political power is, as comrade Le Duan said, to "build up the collective master thinking and upgrade the political, cultural, and technical level and the efficiency in the management of enterprises and of the economy in order to develop its collective master role in the fullest way... The present working class position is to resolutely fight until the end and to be ready to endure the greatest sacrifices in order to defeat the invading U.S. aggressors, protect the fruits of the socialist revolution in the North, maintain the independence and freedom of the Fatherland, achieve national reunification, help protect the socialist camp and protect peace, and help intensify the revolutionary movement of the working class and the oppressed peoples throughout the world."(10)

We also must teach the virtues of the working class in order to train the working class and develop its influence over the entire society. The virtues of the working class are the radically revolutionary spirit, socialist collectivism, the high sense of discipline and organization, the consciousness about attending to production, increasing labor productivity, conserving public property, and protecting public property and so forth. On the other hand, we must raise the cultural and technical level of the working class so that it will have the requisite knowledge for managing and for performing technical work in order to successfully develop socialism. But, in reality, the labor union organizations have not successfully carried this task out; no echelon of the party has paid adequate attention to this problem. Indeed, in this educational matter, our cadre can and must successfully study the beautiful ideas and virtues of the working class; but our organization of their education has not been adequate because we have failed to clearly understand. At present, there is a problem of studying too much, with every branch and every matter being brought down for study, and with people being forced to study very much. Although study is necessary it must be organized in a practical way so that its results are good. "Study must be joined with action" as Chairman Ho has said. Study must involve struggle and criticism of deviationist and mistaken ideas if it is to be successful.

3. Look after the life and protect the health of the workers and functionaries.

This is a problem which falls within the law of a socialist revolution and the line and policy of the party. At the

same time, it is a problem which concerns the working class point of view and our revolutionary sentiments toward the masses. We have given attention to this problem during the three anti-American years for national salvation but not adequate attention.

In a war situation with the enemy fiercely attacking and with the need to evacuate and disperse and with the occasional inability to produce, the workers and functionaries cannot avoid encountering difficulties in their lives. Therefore, it is increasingly imperative for us to concern ourselves with the life of the personnel. We must view the matter of assuring the life of the worker and government employee as one of the important political tasks on par with production and combat tasks. Moreover, we must instill in the worker and government employee a spirit of readiness to sacrifice and endure difficulties and deprivations in order to contribute to the victory of the anti-American undertaking for national salvation; at the same time, we must make them clearly recognize the common difficulty so that they will work together with the party and government and labor union to effectively resolve problems affecting life during the war.

In order to successfully carry out this matter, all agencies must conduct a review to see whether they have followed the working class point of view in settling problems affecting the lives of the workers and government employees. Especially in the matter of distribution, what have the agencies directly responsible done and from what class position have they worked in resolving this problem? Naturally this matter is quite difficult but we will be able to find ways to solve it if we proceed from the position of the working class and discuss it with the working masses.

The Labor Union, the Government, and the Leadership of the Party.

In the foregoing sections, I presented the objective of the resolution and the viewpoints of the party on the role and position of the working class and the specific duties in worker mobilization activities; in this, I spoke about the relationship between the working class and the proletarian dictatorial government and the party. In this section, I will present some additional ideas primarily concerned with the position and function of the labor union organization and the relationship between the labor union and the government and the party.

Lenin himself spoke about this matter: "The labor unions are the closest and the most necessary collaborators of the

government in all of its political and economic activities, under the leadership of the conscious vanguard unit of the working class: the communist party. If labor unions are in general schools of communism, then, in particular, they are schools for socialist industrial management (and later on, gradually agricultural management) for the working masses and later for the workers."(11) The resolution of the Secretariat also stated that "The labor union must vigorously develop its function of being the place which mobilizes, organizes, educates, and trains the worker and government employee in every respect, serving as a firm support for the government; of being a tool for effecting the worker-peasant alliance and a base for developing the party and training cadre for the party and state; of being the protector of the interests and custodian of the material and spiritual life of the workers and government employees; of being the link between the party and the working masses and government employees; of being the person who mobilizes, organizes, and educates workers and government employees to produce and to participate in the management of enterprises and the person who represents the worker and government employee in participating in the management of the economy and in the management of the state; of being an effective collaborator with the government in formulating and carrying out the various policies and systems of the state and the person who oversees their implementation. On this basis make the labor union really be a school for economic management and government management, a school for socialism and communism for the working class, a pillar of the revolutionary government."(12) We can clearly see from the above text that the labor union is the closest collaborator of the government led by the party; the labor union is the link between the party and the working masses. All three of these organizations (the labor union, the government, and the party) lie within the system of organization of the proletarian dictatorship; the labor union is a very important organization, the government is a sharp tool, and the party is the leadership organ of the entire system.

We have endeavored to carry out the aforementioned principles and concepts but have not made much progress. Our shortcomings in this matter are not small. In reality, the labor union has not been consolidated and is not fulfilling its mission and function; the government is not relying on the labor union; and the party is not really concerning itself with effectively leading the labor union. Party committees at many echelons either give a blank check to the labor union for worker mobilization activities or usurp the work of the labor union and when they usurp it they do too much. For example, in the matter of the workers participating in the management

of the enterprise, the party organization in the enterprise should learn how to use the labor union organization in order to mobilize the worker and government employee masses to offer many suggestions about management. But this thing is done seldom and usually in a formalistic manner because there are many party organizations which have not yet really attached importance to the collective master rights of the workers and to the labor union's right to participate in management. Heretofore, the role of the labor union in many factories and agencies have consisted almost entirely of keeping the worker from complaining about his life or of assisting the cadre of the party and state so that they can have free time to pursue their own tasks. At present, this situation is less prevalent but the role of the labor union has yet to receive appropriate attention.

Some cadre of the government have failed to respect the role of the labor union as the representative of the worker and have failed to attach importance to creating favorable conditions for the workers to participate in the management of the enterprises and of the economy. Although our government is the dictatorial tool of the working class and operates under the leadership of the party from central down to the installations that alone is insufficient. It is also necessary to actively create conditions wherein the workers can participate in large numbers in the management of the economy and in the management of government. The same is true in the management of enterprises. If we take the attitude that we already have a board of directors and a party committee which represents the workers and, therefore, the workers do not have any responsibility in managing the enterprise, this would be wrong. We must clearly recognize that unless we effect the right of the worker to be the master and unless the worker participates actively in the management of the enterprise, the enterprise will be unable to successfully operate. Without the contribution of the worker no efforts made by the board of directors or the party committee will be able to overcome the deficiencies in the management operation. Therefore, we must clearly recognize that our failure to fully implement the right of the worker to be master in the enterprise is a very large shortcoming in our socialist system. Naturally, the labor union also bears some responsibility for this shortcoming because the labor union has also failed to carry out its function. As a broad mass organization of the working class, the labor union must have a very close relationship with the working masses, closely collaborate with the government in managing the economy, and especially successfully discharge its role of being a contact between the party and the working masses. All of the cadre of the labor union and the party must keep in mind the following words of Lenin: "Our socialist construc-

tion will be unable to avoid disaster if the linkage between the communist party and the masses -- the labor union -- is shaken and is running badly just as one of the best factories with a very good motor and first rate machinery will shut down if the linkage from the motor to the machinery is broken." (13) In order to successfully achieve the right of the worker to be the master, the party must strengthen its leadership over worker mobilization and labor union activities, the government must attach importance to the labor union, and the labor union must act in such a way as to be worthy of being the representative of the working class.

Under the leadership of the party, the labor union must successfully carry out its task of educating the working class in every respect. The best method of ideological education is to teach in the reality and in struggle. The teaching of management of the economy and of the government must essentially be done through the reality and through struggle if it is to succeed. To accomplish this, on the one hand, the working class must train itself, i.e., it must study politics, raise its spirit of labor discipline, study culture and technology, and acquire the knowledge for managing the economy and the government. On the other hand, the party must mobilize the workers to struggle against corruption, waste, bureaucracy, irresponsibility, and so forth which are things that are now impeding the successful management of the enterprises and agencies. Unless the party provides leadership in this matter the labor union will find it very difficult to carry it out.

At present, the anti-American undertaking for national salvation has entered a very decisive period filled with expectations of victory. This situation requires that we intensify our teaching of the working class position to all cadre, party members, and people so that everyone will do his utmost, be resolute, be firm, and be confident; at the same time, we must strive to consolidate and train the working class as the vanguard, most resolute, and most loyal force of the revolution. Our party has always recognized that the growth and maturity of our party is inseparable from the growth and maturity of the working class because the working class is the stable and resolute support of the party in the revolution, both in the immediate fighting and in future socialist construction. The resolution of the Secretariat on worker mobilization and labor union activities embodies the great determination of the Central Committee about building up the working class so that it is strong in every respect in order that it can serve as a base for the development of the party and in order to assure victory for the anti-American undertaking for national salvation and socialist construction. All echelons and branches of the party and government must have

very much determination and work to successfully implement this resolution of the party.

In order to successfully carry out the resolution, we not only must have the correct appreciation of the role, position, and task of the working class and of the labor union but also must possess the position and point of view of the working class and profound class sentiment. It can be said that the lack of class sentiment is an important cause for our shortcomings in worker mobilization activities during the recent period. There is a situation wherein many of our comrades who have been participating in the revolutionary struggle and participating the party for a long time have still failed to gain sympathy for the working class. What else can this mean except that the sentiments of these comrades for the working class are weak? Therefore, I think that our comrades must attach importance to training and developing in themselves profound sentiments for the working class. All localities, branches, and agencies should create opportunities so that cadre and workers in their respective localities, branches, and agencies can live and work alongside the workers in order to study the precious virtues of the working class and inculcate in themselves a firm class point of view and profound class sentiments. In the reality of the revolution, each of our cadre and party members must concentrate on regularly nurturing himself so that he becomes worthy of being a vanguard fighter of the working class.

Under the enlightened leadership of the party, led by the beloved Chairman Ho, the great leader of the working class and our people, all our party members, workers, and people are determined to successfully carry out the resolution of the Party Central Committee Secretariat on strengthening worker mobilization and labor union activities in the new situation in order to bring the anti-American undertaking for national salvation and socialist construction of our people to new victories and to final victory.

Footnotes:

1. Lenin: Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, Part 1, p 195.
2. Marx; "Letter to Engels on 16 November 1856," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, 1962, Book II, p 740.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "The Great October Revolution Paves the Way For the Liberation of All Peoples," Hoc Tap, No 11, 1967.
4. Congress Documents, published by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Book I, p 189.
- 5,6. IBID, p 199.

7. Lenin: Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, 1960, Volume II, Part 1, p 36.
8. IBID, Part 2, p 573.
9. Resolution On Intensifying Worker Mobilization and Labor Union Activities in the New Situation, Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 14.
10. Le Duan: "The Role of the Vietnam Working Class and the Task of the Labor Union in the Immediate Period," Hoc Tap, No 5, 1967, p 23.
11. Lenin: Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, Part 2, p 574.
12. Resolution On Intensifying Worker Mobilization and Labor Union Activities in the New Situation, Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, pp 23-24.
13. Lenin: Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, Part 2, pp 576-577.

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## ACHIEVE 'AN ENTIRE ARMY OF VALIANT MEN' SLOGAN

[Article by Major General Le Hien Mai, Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 37-44]

The great, total, firm, and strategically significant victories of the army and people of the South in the first days of spring have brought the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation of our people into an extremely favorable situation. The central mission of the army and people of our entire nation at the present time is the concentration of effort to achieve the "Everything to defeat the invading Americans aggressors" slogan aimed at bringing victory to the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation. That is the very heavy but extremely glorious sacred duty of our people.

The basic function of our ideology work is to firmly grasp the political mission and to serve in the most competent manner the task of successfully completing the revolutionary missions proposed by the Party. That issue brings up the Party spirit of ideology work. The higher the Party spirit is in the ideology work, the higher and sharper the composition of the ideology work; on the other hand, if there is no firm grasp of the political mission, the ideology work will lose direction and will have no political composition. Faced with the new situation at the present time, our ideology work must be aimed at causing every cadre and men in the people's armed forces to thoroughly understand the political and military mission of the Party, to boost his political awareness, his patriotism, and his class consciousness, to highly develop his determination to fight and win, and to turn his ideological realizations into specific revolutionary actions in order to successfully complete every proposed political and military mission.

The anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation of our people is a violent national and class struggle on every military, political, economic, cultural, and ideological aspect. At the present time, that struggle has begun an extremely savage stage. The American imperialists have been severely defeated in both the South and the North but they still remain stubborn and still continue to insanely struggle. The closer our people's anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation becomes to victory, the more hardships and sacrifices there are. In order to serve the political mission with the highest efficiency, the ideology work must change strongly, must firmly grasp the evolution of the

anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, must delve deeply into each mission, firmly grasp the objective, firmly grasp the ideological changes of the cadre and men, and constantly take the initiative in every sharp and tense situation. It must enable the entire army to unceasingly raise its heroic bearing, to overcome every danger and difficulty, to level every difficult challenge, and to properly and completely carry out the "an entire army of valiant men" slogan, at the same time developing its revolutionary atmosphere, taking advantage of victory to surge forward, continuously attacking the enemy, and winning increasingly greater victories.

The general demand of the ideology work in the people's armed forces at the present time is: causing the cadre and men to thoroughly understand the new situation and mission, to clearly recognize the great and glorious mission of the people's armed forces in the great undertaking of all our people to protect the North, liberate the South, and advance toward reunification of the Fatherland, to develop every potential strength of the armed forces, to build up a thorough revolutionary spirit and a high determination to fight and win, changing revolutionary spirit into revolutionary actions, and outstandingly completing every mission under any combat situation.

That demand of the ideology work is constantly aimed at serving the extremely great political and military mission at the present time and also reflects the most fervent hopes of the cadre and men in the new situation of anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. It demands an extremely high solidarity between ideological realization and revolutionary action. Realization of revolutionary ideology is the basis of revolutionary action; revolutionary action is the expression in actual practice of ideological realization and at the same time, effectively raises the standards of ideological realization. We must firmly grasp that relationship in order to carry out the ideology work well.

In order to serve the political and military mission at the present time, we must satisfactorily achieve the following specific demands of the ideology work:

1. Develop a high determination to fight and defeat the invading American aggressors, raise the heroic bearing and the revolutionary attack spirit, stimulate a seething atmosphere of merit achievement, and continuously attain victory.

The determination to fight and win is the most concentrated manifestation of revolutionary heroism in the people's armed forces. It is not only inherited and a long term development of our people's traditions of fearless struggle but also illustrates the thoroughly revolutionary character of the proletariat. Consequently, the ideology work must rely on a basis of educating the thoroughly revolutionary character of the proletariat which highly develops the determined to win traditions of the people. Only in this manner will the determination to fight and win of the people's armed forces have a profound class composition, a deep national character, and be able to answer the demands of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation during the present extremely savage period.

The determination to fight and win of the people's armed forces originates from the very revolutionary and scientific political and military policies of our Party. This policy illustrates the enlightened application of the general principles of Marxism to the actual revolutionary struggle of our people. It reflects the extremely fervent hopes of our people, therefore has a great power to stimulate, persuasively mobilize, and organize the people. On the basis of correctly evaluating the comparisons between our forces and those of the enemy in the entire war as well as in each step of development in the war, our Party has firmly grasped the conventions of revolutionary war in Vietnam. The military policy of the Party consists of the art of war supervision and enlightened, correct military art, firmly coordinating the scientific military theory of Marxism-Leninism with the development of our people's ancient and rich inheritance of military art, and with the selective study of revolutionary experience of brother nations and others. The political and military policies of the Party are the source of every victory of our people's armed forces. Only by following the revolutionary policies of the Party can the people's armed forces develop their determination to fight and win and win victories in combat and well as in production. Consequently, the people's armed forces must profoundly and thoroughly understand the political and military policies of the Party and must clearly understand the revolutionary situation and mission during each period. There must be a thorough understanding of the revolutionary policy before there can be a profound realization of the situation and mission. On the other hand, the more clearly realized is the revolutionary situation and mission in each period, the deeper the understanding will be of the Party revolutionary policy because the mission entrusted the armed forces by the Party is aimed at achieving the policy of the Party in specific development periods of the revolution. At the present time, we need to educate every cadre and man to clearly understand the situation and mission of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, to clearly understand the objectives, the composition, and the evolution of the general offensive and uprising of the Southern army and people, to clearly understand the significance of the great and total victories in the past in both sections of the country, and to clearly see the plots of the enemy, the development capabilities of the situation, the general mission of our army and people, and the specific mission of the people's armed forces in the new period. The cadre and men must be made to clearly understand the situation and mission in order to have strong revolutionary action and to prepare themselves to hurl into the revolutionary gale with a high determination to fight and win, optimism, enthusiasm, and firm confidence in final victory in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

The determination to fight and win at the present time must completely express the revolutionary spirit to attack, resolutely attack, and continuously attack. Our ideology work must cause the cadre and men of the people's armed forces to have a spirit constantly aimed straight at the enemy that overcomes every difficulty, brings all their soul and energy, courage and ability, resolutely strikes the enemy blow after after blow, wins one victory after another, and contributes the greatest devotion to the class and national undertaking.

In teaching a determined to fight and win spirit, it is necessary to raise a spirit of combat sacrifice for the benefit of the class and the nation.

Everyone must be caused to clearly see that the revolutionary struggle is an extremely great and glorious undertaking, and that there must be sacrifice before there can be victory. The anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation of our people has entered a period filled with expectations of great and glorious victories, at the same time filled with savage challenges. The ideology work must constantly arouse a deep hatred for the enemy, raise class consciousness, bolster noble revolutionary quality, and cause everyone to stand firmly on a thorough revolutionary viewpoint which correctly resolves the relationship between sacrifice and enjoyment and between the general and the specific in order to conscientiously overcome every individual consideration to resolutely and courageously fight, work, and successfully complete the mission. At the same time, there must be stimulation of a spirit of infatuation with training and practice to raise combat ability, the art of command, and an understanding of the technical skills and combat tactics of people's warfare. Especially, the cadre must make every effort to raise their standards of leadership, command capability, and mission ability in order to follow in a timely manner the increasingly higher demands of the combat mission. Those are extremely important points for changing determined to win ideology into victorious attack actions.

2. Foster a proletarian viewpoint which causes everyone to always be firm before every challenge and to adamantly believe in the victory of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

The basis of the determined to fight and win spirit of the people's armed forces is the thoroughly revolutionary viewpoint of the proletariat. There must be a firm stand on the revolutionary viewpoint of the proletariat before there can be full development of genuine patriotism, before there can be a grasp of the revolutionary composition and scientific nature of the Party policy, and before a determined to fight and win spirit can be developed in revolutionary action. Consequently, bolstering everyone with a firm proletarian viewpoint is a basic demand of the ideological education task. That demand must be tested based on the political mission of the Party during each period. At the present time, strengthening the class viewpoint is actually strengthening the viewpoint of anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation to final victory, and strengthening the viewpoint of successfully building Socialism in the North. Only when a firm viewpoint such as that is fostered can the people's armed forces successfully complete their glorious mission in the present revolutionary period.

The principal function of the people's armed forces is to fight on the military front in order to carry out the political mission of the Party. Therefore, strengthening the class viewpoint within the people's armed forces during the new situation is essentially resolutely and victoriously achieving every combat mission in order to complete the liberation of the Nation and the protection of the Socialist construction task in the North. The ideological education task must cause every cadre and man to concentrate his will, ability, and feeling into striking and defeating the invading American aggressors, protecting the North, liberating the South, and advancing toward reunification of the Fatherland.

In revolutionary struggle, the more complicated the situation becomes and

the more challenges are encountered, the more demand there is for forging of a truly firm class viewpoint. With such a class viewpoint, under any condition of war, the cadre and men will still be optimistically confident, with no pride in victory or dejection in defeat, developing their intelligence, creating opportunity, and searching for methods to overcome difficulty, to change the situation, and to defeat the enemy.

To build a proletariat viewpoint, there must be a constant strengthening of absolute confidence in the great revolutionary forces of the masses, in the great strength and creativity of the people, and in the correct policies and outstanding leadership of our Party. There must be constant stimulation of class and national pride, and belief in the splendid future of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and the construction of Socialism.

3. Elevate a spirit of political responsibility, a concept of organization and discipline, and profoundly complete every combat and construction mission.

The attitude of each individual toward the missions given him by the Party is the measure of his level of awareness and thorough understanding of the Party's political mission. It also is the real basis for evaluating the effectiveness of the ideology work. The ideology work must be advanced, going deeply into actual activity, to cause everyone in the people's armed forces to have an extremely revolutionary attitude toward the overall mission as well as the specific mission of each unit, agency, cadre, and man, on the front line as well as in the rear area, and in the main force army as well as in the local forces and guerrilla militia. This means that the people's armed forces must be caused to resolutely complete every mission under any circumstances with the highest results.

The ideology work must build for the cadre and men an extremely high political responsibility toward every mission given them by the Party and higher echelons. That is an entire continuous education process aimed at raising the class and national consciousness. At the same time, the ideology work must be carried out on specific missions, causing everyone to clearly see the significance and demands of specific missions in order to act. If education is given only on the overall mission and the specific mission education is neglected, the ideology work will be sharply reduced, and it will not be able to follow the situation development in a timely manner. On the other hand, if there is too much emphasis on the ideology work in each task and no attention is given to profound education of the overall revolutionary situation and mission, the ideology work will become administrative and will not be able to answer the demands of the revolution. If there is an understanding of both aspects, utilizing education of the general mission and class education as the basis aspect, causing the cadre and men to have a high political responsibility to the revolutionary undertaking, then despite any condition, in combat formation of many echelons or independently, whether higher echelons and companions are present or not, favorable conditions or difficulties, etc., they will be able to find a way to overcome the difficulties in order to satisfactorily complete every mission.

A concept of organization and discipline is extremely important to each person and each unit. As our army is an army of the people led by the Party with noble combat ideals and consisting of cadre and men aware of class and national benefits, it is inherently an army with a high concept of organization and a spirit of strict conscientious discipline. At present, our people's war has developed to a high degree and the composition, demands, and scale of the war are much different than before. Under the wartime conditions at the present time, not only is the coordination between branches and arms of the service greater and larger than before and the coordination between the three troop types more widespread but the coordination between the armed forces and the people is also extremely firm and timely. When the scale of the war increasingly develops, the coordination constantly becomes more widespread and the coordination planning must be stronger. The speed of combat service work is more tense and the service demands are greater and more complete. The new combat mission has also created new problems in executing policies directly relating to the completion of the mission of the people's armed forces. Consequently, the task of additionally raising the organization and discipline concept and responsibility spirit of each unit and each individual is an extremely essential and pressing issue.

Conscientious and strick execution of all orders and stipulations in the army is the most concentrated illustration of an organization and discipline concept. Stipulations and orders demand that each person conscientiously obey and unconditionally execute them in order to assure the victorious completion of every mission. The only proper attitude toward orders and stipulations of higher echelons is, on the basis of thoroughly understanding the revolutionary spirit of attack, to make every effort to examine in order to grasp the contents and demands of the order or stipulation, to create favorable conditions, to overcome every difficulty, to surpass every sacrifice and hardship, to create the best methods, and to resolutely execute the order or stipulation with the highest results. Occurrences of liberalism, establishing conditions in order to obey, executing orders and stipulations in a constrained manner, etc., create severe obstacles for completion of the mission, and may even lead to failure. Those occurrences must be criticized in a timely manner before it can be assured the people's armed forces will fulfill its function in the war.

The cadre and men of the people's armed forces must set the example in executing the wartime policies of the Party and State, observing and protecting the local Party chapters, the government, and mass organizations, strictly executing laws of the State and local stipulations, and maintaining discipline in relations with the masses. Uniting the internal armed forces into a bloc of unified will and action, and maintaining a firm solidarity between the armed forces and the people are factors which create a great strength of victory over the enemy.

4. Elevate a spirit of revolutionary vigilance and resolutely smash every enemy plot and stratagem.

Revolutionary vigilance is one expression of the class consciousness level. The more enthusiasm there is over class interests, the higher and

sharper will be the revolutionary vigilance. In the ideology work, we cannot base ourselves only on the enemy activity each moment but must cause everyone to fully realize the extreme reactionary nature of the enemy, utilizing that basis to raise hatred for the enemy and to raise class consciousness. Only then will a situation of high revolutionary vigilance be created.

The American imperialist and their lackey clique have been severely defeated but they still are insanely furious. The ideology work must cause the people's armed forces to both clearly recognize the stubborn and reactionary nature of the enemy and the enemy's defeat and passiveness, to develop a revolutionary spirit of attack, to sharpen vigilance, and to prepare to strike the enemy appropriate blows to smash every one of his perfidious plots and insidious stratagems.

We must educate the cadre and men of the people's armed forces to be constantly vigilant and extremely alert to discover every destructive stratagem of the enemy on the battlefield and raise a spirit of discipline to conscientiously execute the regulations concerning spy defense and security in order to protect themselves, protect the revolution, and defeat the enemy.

Psychological warfare is an important part of the American imperialist's war of aggression. Every enemy stratagem of psychological warfare as well as espionage warfare is aimed at serving their aggression plot. The greater their defeat on the battlefield, the more the American imperialists intensify their psychological warfare activity. However, although the psychological warfare stratagems of the enemy are meticulous and cunning, they still cannot hide their warmongering, aggressor, and reactionary nature or their severe defeats. The more our people fight, the stronger they become, the more determined they are, the more united they become, and the more they trust in the leadership of the Party. However, we must also recognize that the class struggle is entering a violent period. The people's armed forces are an important objective of the enemy's psychological warfare. Therefore, raising the spirit of revolutionary vigilance to resolutely smash every stratagem of psychological warfare and to expose the enemy's deceitful "negotiated peace" argument is an important demand in the class struggle on the political and ideological front of the armed forces at the present time.

With high class consciousness, a wide political outlook, and a sharp revolutionary vigilance, not only can the enemy with gun in hand be clearly recognized but also the enemy on the political and ideological front; not only can one but many combat situations be seen. Constantly recognizing the enemy nature and plot, wholeheartedly taking the initiative in ideology and organization, etc., the people's armed forces will surely win victory in all the military, political, and ideological aspects, defeat any foe under any conditions, and profoundly complete every mission entrusted them by the Party.

5. Foster a noble revolutionary quality in the cadre and men, causing everyone to wholeheartedly undertake the great revolutionary mission in the new situation.

The central political slogan "Everything to defeat the invading American aggressors!" indicates the heavy and great revolutionary mission of our army and people at the present time. In order to serve that revolutionary mission, the ideology work must not only cause the people's armed forces to clearly understand the revolutionary policy of the Party and to thoroughly understand the revolutionary situation and mission in general and of each period but must also enable the cadre and men to have sufficient revolutionary quality to successfully execute that mission. The principal revolutionary quality of the cadre and men in the people's armed forces at the present time is: to wholeheartedly devote their strength and ability to the revolutionary undertaking of the Party, the worker class, and the nation, to fight resolutely and courageously, to work actively without fear of sacrifice or hardship, to be prepared to die for the liberation of the nation and for Socialism, and to make every effort to carry out the slogan, "Everything to defeat the invading American aggressors!" That quality illustrates the warm patriotism and thoroughly revolutionary character of our armed forces.

The cadre and man with revolutionary quality is also a person of modesty, simplicity, and diligence, setting the example and active in individual routine as well in collective life, with profound, tense, specific, meticulous, and scientific behavior in work. The fine quality of the cadre and men additionally clarifies the revolutionary traditions of the people's armed forces, terrifies the enemy forces, and is treasured by the people. That quality does not suddenly appear but is the result of an entire process of self-cultivation and training in actual combat and work. The above revolutionary quality demands of the cadre and men of the people's armed forces are not only consistent with the combat and production life of our people but cannot be neglected in the face of the revolutionary situation and mission at the present time.

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Education of ideological politics and leadership is a key element in the political mobilization of the entire army to advance toward successful completion of the central mission of the army and people of the entire nation at the present time, "to determinedly defeat the invading American aggressors."

The ideology work must skillfully coordinate education of the cadre and Party members with the widespread mobilization of the masses. The cadre and Party members are the nucleus of the mass movement. Consequently, from the leadership position of the cadre and Party members must originate the intensification of ideology work in order to competently express the determination of the Party in the new situation. At the same time, we must adopt widespread ideological motivation among the men and rely on the revolutionary atmosphere of mass movements to continue boosting the standards of the cadre and Party members in every aspect. That double faceted coordination process will cause the ideology work composition to be more profound, the revolutionary movement of the masses to constantly rise, the ideology work itself to become reality, and will additionally increase the combat strength and spirit to competently serve the political mission of the Party.

The ideology work must be tightly coordinated with the organization work to cause a strong change in ideology, changing it into actual practice and into seething and continuous merit achievement emulation movements. On the basis of unanimous agreement with Party policies and the revolutionary situation and mission, everyone must be caused to clearly understand what and how his unit and he should do in order to best achieve a determination to defeat the invading American aggressors; each individual and each unit must be stimulated, mobilized, and organized to enter revolutionary activity with a strong air and to create a new seething high tide of merit achievement emulation in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, correctly achieving the slogan, "an entire army of valiant men."

The new situation is extremely advantageous for the revolutionary undertaking of our people. The sacred appeal of the Fatherland is urging each of us to devote our entire effort to liberation of the South, protection of the North, and advancement toward reunification of the nation.

Our entire army is determinedly studying the brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism of Nguyen Viet Xuan --"aim straight at the enemy and fire"--, the attack courage of Nguyen Van Be, the one-defeating-twenty enemy-overpowering spirit of Bui Ngoc Du's squad and of the Hue City women's squad, the noble revolutionary quality of Bui Ngoc Duong, and countless other examples of collective and individual heroism springing up like flowers in both sections of the nation in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Everything to defeat the invading American aggressors!

An entire army of valiant men!

Under the leadership of Party Central and Chairman Ho, the entire army is determined to take advantage of victory to surge forward, to strike strongly and continuously, and to win increasingly greater victories.

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## VAN DAI COOPERATIVE MEETS 'THREE OBJECTIVES'

[Article by Nguyen Van Khao, Head of Van Dai cooperative; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 45-51]

Our Van Dai cooperative has a total acreage of 124 hectares, or an average per capita acreage of 3 "sao" 11 "thuoc." Prior to 1966 our productivity was quite low, averaging only 3.5 tons per hectare. But in 1966 it increased to 5.2 tons and in 1967 to 6.1 tons per hectare. Before, we had no secondary crops, but now sweet potato is grown on 6 percent of the cooperative's total cultivated acreage. Livestock raising by both the cooperative and member families has increased rapidly, and has reached the present level of 2.3 pigs per cultivated hectare. Our cooperative also raises fish, plants trees and carries out some other trades.

Our efforts to increase rice productivity to the present level of 6.1 tons per hectare and to reach the present livestock raising level of 2.3 pigs per cultivated hectare have been linked to our efforts to increase labor productivity and to carry out gradually the new labor distribution system aimed at ensuring the goal of "one labor works one cultivated hectare."

Thanks to increased productivity, 31 percent of our cooperative's main labor force had been withdrawn from agriculture during a period of three years (1965-1967), yet our agricultural output value in 1967 increased by 35 percent over 1966 and 60 percent over 1965. The number of laborers used in food production was reduced rapidly, yet food output kept increasing considerably: from 395 tons in 1965 to 509 tons in 1966 and 566 tons in 1967. Our cooperative has withdrawn 14 percent of its main labor force from cultivation to put into other branches. This has had a clear effect on expansion of livestock raising and handicraft in the cooperative. The output value of these branches has increased from 5 percent (in 1965) to 10 percent (in 1967) of our cooperative's total output value. Initial steps have been taken to change the cooperative's system of growing rice only.

Thanks to this new labor distribution, a new balance in agricultural production has been created in the cooperative, resulting in a greater variety of agricultural products. The amount of rice sold to the State by our cooperative has increased substantially: from 46 tons in 1965 to 253 tons in 1966 and 279 tons in 1967. The average amount of rice sold by each family in the cooperative to the State last year was 1,303 kilos. In 1967, we also sold the State a number of pigs and fish valued at 9,400 "dongs." In the first quarter of 1968, another sale of pigs and fish brought us nearly 3,000 "dongs."

Our cooperative members' income and life have been gradually improved.

The reasons for our being able to supply the State with plenty of rice were increased labor productivity and intensive cultivation. The income of each agricultural worker in our cooperative has increased considerably: NVN\$167.00 in 1965; NVN\$386.00 in 1966; and NVN\$621.00 in 1967. The average staple food production by each labor has also increased: 946 kilos of rice in 1965; 1,534 kilos in 1966; and 1,944 kilos in 1967 (1). The number of workdays used to produce 100 kilos of 5th month rice was 13.9 in 1965; in 1966 it was reduced to 12.9; and the number of workdays used to produce 100 kilos of 10th month rice in 1965 was 10.3; in 1966 it was reduced to 9.7.

These achievements were the results of our efforts to carry out intensive cultivation to increase productivity and crop and livestock production, and at the same time to implement certain measures to increase labor productivity and gradually liberate the rural labor force.

Following are some of our cooperative's experiences in labor management and in increasing labor productivity to meet the three objectives of "one labor cultivates one hectare," 6 tons of rice per hectare, and 2.3 pigs per hectare.

#### Rational Organization of Production Labor in the Cooperative.

At first, as our cooperative was still small our rational utilization of land and labor was greatly limited. But at present our cooperative has a total acreage of 124 hectares and a total labor force of 308 persons (including people of labor and non-labor age groups, principal and secondary labor). We have organized production teams, based on land and labor conditions of the cooperative. Larger teams have 27 hectares, 60 members and 12 draft buffaloes each. The smallest team has 14 hectares, 30 laborers and 9 draft buffaloes. The production area of each team is rationally defined: all ricepaddies under its charge are located side by side, and each team has a rice-drying yard, a storage house and a manure storage house. Each team, as we had defined clearly, has the duty to manage itself and to use effectively its production labor and materials. As a result, our production teams have taken initiative in using their production labor and materials, thus developing the cooperative members' labor experiences and capability.

We have also organized specialized teams and cells, such as collective pig-raising team, water-conservancy team, fish raising cell, brick making cell, carpentry cell, rice grinding cell, etc., and also semi-specialized cells (which only work when there is specialized jobs that need to be done while the rest of the time they serve in production teams), such as boat cell, wheelbarrow cell, bricklayer cell, tree planting cell, etc. Thanks to this organization of production teams and cells, our cooperative has been able to carry out rational labor specialization and to increase

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(1) The average rice production by each agricultural labor is 2.22 tons.

its members' labor productivity.

We have also put emphasis on training and specializing our cadres. The rank of cadres in our production organizations is stabilized. All our cadres have served at least two years -- some of them as many as eight years -- as management cadres or production team leaders. As a result, they are all familiar with their jobs and men, and their good experience in leadership has helped improve the management of the cooperative.

Our cooperative has carried out well the "three-assignment" system. After accepting assignments from the cooperative, production teams in turn give out assignments to various groups. In each crop season, temporary working groups are set up by production teams to carry out the assigned jobs. Team leaders stick firmly to job quotas set up by the cooperative in order to assign jobs to working groups, supervise them and help them fulfill their assignments. After accepting assignments from production teams, the working groups make their own arrangement and preparations, and help each other fulfill the assignments effectively in terms of quality, quantity and time.

This well applied system has had a good effect in promoting the cooperative members' sense of responsibility and their interest in the cooperative's affairs, thus helping increase labor productivity.

To rationalize production labor, we have effectively solved the contradiction between limited labor and limited production time. Our cooperative used to grow only rice; its average per capita acreage was relatively high. As our works usually piled up during the busy crop months we could never finish them on time, even by doing a very sloppy job ... as a result, our crop productivity was always low. The rest of the year we were mostly idle. Our cooperative has boldly tried to carry out crop diversification by growing secondary crops and spring rice crop, with the purpose of spreading work evenly throughout the year. Formerly, during the winter-spring season we used all our acreage for the summer rice crop, but now we have set aside 29 percent of our total acreage to grow spring rice and sweet potato. For the 10th month rice crop, we do the transplanting in many phases in order to prevent work from accumulating in one specific period of time. Spreading crops and works is an important measure to carry out well intensive cultivation and ensure crop time, and at the same time to utilize as many labor days as possible to expand production in the cooperative.

Our cooperative has also paid attention to labor arrangement for the purpose of fulfilling well the production plan. In each crop time, each work, everything is well planned and prepared in advance. For instance, we have since September 1967 finished moving to the cooperative the amount of chemical fertilizers and lime needed for the 1968 summer rice crop. And when the 1967 10th month rice crop was harvested, the cooperative had finished transporting half of the tax rice and duty rice to the storehouse, sowed summer rice seeds on 22 "maus," grown potato on 30 "mau," plowed one-third of summer rice paddies and fulfilled 18 percent of the water conservancy plan. By

April 1968, fertilizers, seeds and tools needed for the crop were all well prepared... The cooperative divides the production calendar into periods of 10 days each to permit working groups to do different jobs each day. Its chain of production is closely controlled and runs smoothly. As soon as the rice is harvested it is threshed and distributed to cooperative members' families for processing. The harvester must provide enough paddy for the thresher. The thresher in turn must provide enough rice for the dryer. The person in charge of irrigation must provide enough water for the plowman. The plowman in turn must prepare the land carefully for the person who does rice transplanting... As a result, there is no undue delay in any link, thus ensuring success for the whole operation.

Thanks to a rational organization of production labor, our cooperative has been able to increase its members' work efficiency and enthusiasm, therefore despite a reduction in agricultural labor we have still been able to ensure intensive cultivation, increased crop productivity and greater outputs.

Material-Technical Bases Well Managed and Utilized -- Technical Ability of Cooperative Members Improved

Despite its poor material-technical bases, our cooperative has nevertheless learned how to manage and utilize effectively what it has on hand to develop production and increase labor productivity.

Because we do not yet have tractors, we consider "buffaloes as our main asset," and we have done our best to give them good care, protect them and use them well. We have 58 draft buffaloes and we assign them to cooperative members' families for tending. We set aside 7 "maus" to use as grass land and every year we buy from 200 to 300 tons of grass from cooperative members to feed the buffaloes. In each crop season, we always set up working regime for the buffaloes to be executed by the plowing-harrowing cell. We regularly inspect the tending and caring of cattle by the members. As a result, we have not lost a buffalo to diseases yet, while buffaloes in other cooperative died in relatively great numbers. As our buffaloes are all healthy and strong, we can use each of them to take care of from 5 to 6 "maus" each time, and the plowing and harrowing are always done carefully and in time, thus ensuring conditions for other intensive cultivation links to work smoothly.

We are still in short of production tools. So we pay great attention to managing and utilizing well our available tools. Inspection of tools is made regularly by production teams so as to keep the tools in good use. Thanks to our efforts in setting up a good reserve of tools and spare parts and good repairing facilities, any broken or damaged tool can be repaired or replaced in time; as a result, everybody always has his tool to work with without having to wait for a long time due to a lack of tools.

We have also made effort to purchase and use well modified tools. Due to a popular movement of using sickles in our cooperative, we have been able to reduce in half our labor used in harvesting, particularly in cutting rice

stalks. For weeding, we use only the best grass rake, the 64A, which helps reduce greatly our weeding labor. By using sampans and wheel-barrows we have increased our transportation loads by 3 to 4 times. When a power station was built, we immediately set up a system of water pumps and pipes to reduce our water bailing labor.

We have also tried to modify our tools so as to make them lighter, easier to use and more suitable to the strength of our cooperative members, who are mostly women, and to the local production conditions. We have improved our 64A grass rakes to make them easier to use, improved the chains and paddles of the paddle wheel to increase its effectiveness and output, improved the wheelbarrow ball-bearing to make it lighter for operation and reduce labor, etc.

We have set up concrete standards for the use of production tools so as to ensure the tools' durability and output. For instance, we have decided that the maximum load for each wheelbarrow cannot exceed 170 kilos (to prevent the user from overloading it to get more credits). The user must also clean the vehicle before returning it to the comrade in charge of all the cooperative's wheelbarrows. Similar standards and regulations have been set up regarding the use of other tools. Such good management and use of the cooperative's material-technical bases has had a clear effect in increasing labor efficiency and ensured a good implementation of technical measures.

The peasant's labor skill plays a very important part in increasing labor productivity and developing the benefits of material-technical bases to agricultural production. Therefore we have paid great attention to training the cooperative members and to helping them acquire better technical skills. For instance, when new transplanting techniques -- straight line transplanting -- were first introduced, each peasant in the cooperative could not transplant more than half a "sao" a day. Our management cadres and production team leaders then went out to the field to both work and watch, and through this discovered the unnecessary and incorrect movements then showed the peasants the correct techniques; as a result, after only one transplanting season everybody seemed to acquire the new techniques, and productivity increased considerably. As regards the use of grass rakes 64A, our management cadres found that people did not follow the proper technique, which resulted in loss of effectiveness. So, we immediately showed the people how to use the grass rake in a most effective way, and before long they all became experts in using the 64A grass rake. For other farming works, we have also helped our cooperative members do their jobs in accordance with proper techniques.

The good management and use of material-technical bases and the training of cooperative members in new techniques have had a practical effect in increasing labor productivity. This effort reflects our practical way of doing things and our diligence in building our cooperative. It helps us gradually overcome the backward and dispersed situation in agricultural production labor, improve the management of the cooperative, lead everything

into organization with adequate technical management and regulations as well as labor discipline, and increase labor productivity.

Practicing Democracy in Production and Distribution, Showing Interest in Co-op Members' Family Economy and Life

When the plan was first set up and throughout the plan implementation period, we have always attached great importance to practicing democracy in the cooperative, ensuring the cooperative members' right to discuss and participate in any decision involving the cooperative's affairs, such as working regimes, assignment of jobs, etc. At meetings of the cooperative or production teams, all members have been assured of the right to express their opinion on the cooperative's affairs and they have exercised their right. They have also checked on and helped each other to heighten their sense of responsibility to the building of the cooperative.

We have practiced democracy in both production and distribution. In each harvest season, cooperative members are asked to participate in any decision concerning the distribution plan. The results of the harvest and the distribution of products are always made public so that everybody would know about them. By knowing well the results of their production through the balance sheet issued by the cooperative and by realizing clearly the contributions made by the cooperative and cooperative members to the State, all families in the cooperative would feel assured and encouraged to carry on the production task.

Our cooperative cadres have a great sense of responsibility and are all dedicated to the cooperative. The relations between party members and the masses are very good. Every 6 months, the local Party chapter holds a public self-criticism session and receives constructive criticism by the masses. Our youth organization always leads in every affairs of the cooperative.

Through this experience, we have learned that by practicing democracy in production and distribution and ensuring the cooperative members' right to participate in any decision involving the cooperative's affairs, we can heighten their enthusiasm and fervor. This is a very important measure to develop the cooperative members' labor ability and to increase labor productivity in the cooperative.

In order to heighten its members' labor enthusiasm and discipline, our cooperative has also carried out ideological education, launched emulation drives and given awards and praises to outstanding members. Every 10 days, we hold a meeting to review our members' work, praising the outstanding ones and encouraging bad elements to work harder. In various working groups, any time a job is finished a meeting is held to praise outstanding persons and to criticize those who lack interest in their work. We also elect advanced laborers in each crop season. At present 45 percent of our cooperative's labor force are in the advanced category.

To ensure the cooperative members' right to be masters is also to show interest in their life. Our cooperative has always paid attention to its members' family economy. Each year, member families of our Van Dai cooperative have to set aside part of their labor to work on 16 "maus" of 5 percent land, grow 7 "maus" of "rau muong," raise poultry and pigs, grow vegetables, build houses... for each other. We think that if we do not care and just let them be preoccupied with these works, it would greatly hinder the cooperative's collective economic development, especially during crop seasons. Our cooperative has solved this contradiction not by limiting its member families' private economic activities but by guiding and helping the families to develop correctly their private economy. Our cooperative has organized the plowing of its member families' land. Cooperative members must only do the transplanting and harvesting, and pay a certain amount of products or money to the cooperative. Under the cooperative's guidance, production teams make arrangements for the member families to solve their affairs before or after the busy crop times, so that when crop times arrive the cooperative can concentrate all its labor force on the needed works. Each year, the cooperative organizes house roofing for its member families during the idle months, thus overcoming the members' habit of roofing their house during the busy crop months. For this service, cooperative members have to pay the cooperative a certain amount of products or money...

In addition to helping its members solve their families' problems, our cooperative has also paid attention to their daily life. It has opened a kindergarten and several children keeping groups so that the mothers in the cooperative can be free to do their production task. For the sick, the cooperative would send nurses to take care of them. Besides, our cooperative has organized a "mobile store" (with the assistance of the village trading cooperative) which goes directly to production teams to serve the cooperative members, so that the latter do not have to go to market places. Since our cooperative bought a rice mill, it has organized a special cell in charge of grinding rice for all member families so that the latter have more time to rest and to study after long hours of hard laboring.

We think that such a concern about the cooperative members' families and their life not only reflects a sense of responsibility to the life of the masses but it is also a good method of cooperative management. By doing so, the cooperative, of course, would have to make greater efforts, but only by doing so can the cooperative combine successfully its common interests with its members' private interests, its collective economy with its members' private economy. And it is this which brings cooperative members closer to the cooperative and increases their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative labor capability in order to increase labor productivity and step up production.

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CSO: 3520-D



## ROLE OF BLUE, WHITE-COLLAR WOMEN WORKERS DISCUSSED

[Article by Truong Thi My; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 52-59]

In the former anti-French resistance war as well as in the current socialist revolution and anti-U.S. fight for national salvation, our blue and white-collar women workers have been playing an increasingly important role. They have always demonstrated the vanguard nature and revolutionary heroism of the worker's class in every field of activities, deserving to be the key force of our women's movement.

### The Growth of the Rank of Blue and White-Collar Women Workers

In addition to its growth in politics, ideology, class consciousness, technical and professional ability and economic and production management ability, the rank of our blue and white-collar women workers has also developed rapidly in quantity and has become an important force in the fulfillment of every revolutionary task of workers in general and of women in particular. If after peace restoration, the number of our blue and white-collar women workers represented only 5 percent of our total blue and white-collar workers force, then in 1967 it has increased to 33 percent. At present, there are tens of thousands of technical, scientific and professional women cadres, from lower to higher levels, including doctors, engineers, etc. In central agencies alone, thousands of our scientific and technical cadres are women. In the production field, 39 percent of our total labor force are women; the number of women workers directly involved in production in such important branches as machinery, electricity, coal, communication-transportation... is increasing considerably. In certain branches and establishments where working conditions are suitable to women's capability, the number of blue and white-collar women workers has increased by 50 to 60 percent. In 1967, 52 percent of the total number of blue and white-collar workers in light industry were women. In the weaving industry alone, women represented 80 percent of the total labor force. In other branches, such as commerce, public health, education... women also represented from 50 to 70 percent of the total number of blue and white-collar workers. Our women labor force will increase further in accordance with the development needs of local industry and other branches.

In Hanoi alone, in 1960 there were only 3,024 blue and white-collar workers, but by early 1967 this number increased to 34,427 -- representing 49.18 percent of the total number of blue and white-collar workers of the city (not including various factories and central agencies). In Nam Ha,

women now represent 45 percent of the total number of blue and white-collar workers, an increase of tens of times over the pre-August Revolution period and about three times over 1960. In other localities and branches, the rank of blue and white-collar women workers has also increased rapidly, especially during the past three years of fighting the U.S. for national salvation. But what is more important is the fact that it had developed rapidly not only in quantity but also in quality. Most of our blue and white-collar women workers have strived energetically to fulfill every task assigned them by the Party in any situation. Throughout the past three years, fighting the U.S. for national salvation, they have proved to be firm, brave, imaginative and responsible in both production and combat. Many advanced models have appeared in the "three responsibilities" movement. Illustrating this movement were: the C.9 road-bridge women workers team, which had been awarded the title of hero in the recent Congress of "fighting the U.S. for national salvation" heroes and emulation fighters, 1,359 socialist labor cells -- with two-thirds of their members were women -- representing one-fourth of the total number of socialist labor cells, 4 industrial labor heroines, 6,000 emulation women fighters and tens of thousands of blue and white-collar women workers, who had been awarded the title of advanced and "three responsibilities" labor.

#### Accomplishments of Blue and White-Collar Women Workers in Production, Combat, Combat Serving and Life Organization

Since the American imperialists began their destructive war against the North, our blue and white-collar women workers have further demonstrated the heroic tradition of the worker's class and the nation by energetically engaging in national as well as family activities, actively carrying out production, directly and indirectly participating in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and achieving outstanding success in every field of activity. Emulating the heroic women in the South in both production and combat, our blue and white-collar women workers in the North have always demonstrated their revolutionary assault spirit, developed their self-reliance and sense of being collective masters, their creativity and diligence in labor. In spite of many difficulties encountered in public as well as in private life, they have strived to move forward relentlessly, trying to increase labor productivity and work efficiency by working extra hours, extra days, in order to fulfill and overfulfill the State plan. Many of them, including those with small children, have successfully achieved up to 25, 26 working days. The number of absent days -- caused by their children being sick -- has reduced to below the level specified in the plan. The movement of technical and professional study has become commonplace among them, providing them great opportunities to develop their initiatives for rationalizing production, improving techniques and bettering working methods; as a result, not only have they fulfilled successfully their task but they have also assumed certain jobs from their male colleagues who have gone on combat duty. From simple jobs, hundreds of our blue and white-collar women workers in many establishments have now taken over many jobs requiring a relatively high technical and professional level. There is a great increase in the number of scientific and technical women cadres of both middle and high levels, and also in the

number of women serving as cell leaders and deputy leaders, or holding responsible positions involving the economic and production management of various branches. Most of them have proved to have a great sense of responsibility and a great ability to fulfill successfully their task, even under fierce fighting conditions. Following are a few examples: X is a factory where most workers are women, with up to 90 percent of the women participating directly in production management, from the cell level up. Despite continuous raids by the enemy against the city and against the factory itself, they have continued to demonstrate their revolutionary heroism and sense of being collective masters by, together with their male co-workers, bravely staying close to the factory and maintaining their production and work positions. Educated and encouraged by Party, government and union officials, particularly through democratic discussions of how to carry out the State plan, many of them have suggested hundreds of ideas on how to solve difficulties, thus helping step up production with increased productivity, higher quality and greater savings. Most of the factory's 110 women-led cells have overfulfilled the plan, which resulted in the overfulfillment of the factory's plan.

Blue and white-collar women workers at the Hanoi distillery have had many good changes too. Since the movement of democratic discussion was launched, many of them have come up with lots of initiatives to increase labor productivity, which resulted in a saving of NVN\$105,000 for the State. Many other light industries (such as the Nam Dinh weaving factory, the Dong Xuan knitting factory, the Viet Tri food seasoning plant, the Thang Long tobacco factory...), where most workers are women, have been for many years classified as advanced or above-average in the fulfillment of the production plan. In 1966 alone, of the 455 socialist labor cells of the light industrial branch there were 350 cells, in which at least 60 percent of the workers were women. Many sections, where more than 90 percent of the cadres and workers were women, have been given the title of socialist labor section. There is at present a great increase in the number of "three responsibilities" mechanic cells and "three responsibilities" sections. In heavy industry, our women have also fulfilled outstandingly their task. For instance, in the casting workshop of the Tran Hung Dao factory, in the coiling cell of the transformer plant and in many other places, nearly 100 percent of the cadres and workers are women; but their productivity and product quality are quite high. Although women represent nearly 90 percent of the total personnel of many commercial stores, such as the department store, the Nam Bo store No. 5..., their buying and selling as well as their property management and goods maintenance are very good. In other fields, such as culture, education, public health... our women in general have fulfilled well their task.

Our blue and white-collar women workers have made outstanding achievements not only in production but also in combat and production protection as well. They have enthusiastically joined the self-defense force and, through good training, many of them have become outstanding riflemen. Many of them, despite having four or five children, have been given excellent grade in shooting contests. In areas subjected to continuous attacks by the enemy, many of our women have proved to be very courageous, persistent and determined in protecting factories, in maintaining communication arteries, in

serving combat and even in fighting the enemy despite all the bombs dropped by the American pirates. Many outstanding examples of individual and collective sacrifice and dedication have appeared everywhere, underlining the heroic revolutionary tradition of our Vietnamese worker's class, people and women. Thousands of our women have been cited as "two talents" fighters, self-defense fighters and "determined to win" fighters.

Located in a most dangerous area in the North, the K pharmaceutical plant -- where 80 percent of the workers are women -- has to carry out its production task under most difficult conditions and at the same time fight back against the American pirates' barbarous actions. Yet, it never failed to fulfill its responsibility to the front and to the people's life. With their self-reliance spirit and their positive efforts, the plant's women workers have, together with their male colleagues, actively stepped up the production of high quality products and played a decisive role in the over-fulfillment of the plant's 1967 overall plan. To protect the plant and its production activities, they have enthusiastically joined the plant's self-defense women company, in which 90 percent of the members are mothers of one to five children. They have many times fought bravely face-to-face against the enemy, contributing to shooting down several American aircraft, and have been recognized as the "determined to win" company. Most of the company members have been awarded the title of "two talents" fighters.

On the communication-transportation front, they have also made outstanding contributions. Cell 8-3 of the X provincial communication service has been called the "cell of baby's mothers" (the cell members have an average of two children each), and is now directly responsible for the maintenance of an important strategic road. This road has been subjected to continuous bombings by the American aircraft, which have dropped tons of bombs very close to the cell members' living quarters. The cell members have decided that being communication fighters they have to stick to their road as closely as the troops stick to the battleground. After each enemy raid, they encouraged or mobilized each other to rebuild their barracks, repair and dig hundreds of meters of trenches to protect themselves and their children, and at the same time enthusiastically carried on their task of keeping the road open and maintaining safety. The "baby's mothers cell" has been cited by the district party committee and used as an example to mobilize and encourage the district people to stick to their land, their village for production under any circumstances. Living and working on often attacked communication arteries, they continued to defy all difficulties and kept on organizing well their life. They continued to prepare hot meals for themselves and for their children. They have transformed American bomb shells into pans, pots, washing bowls, hair pins...they have transformed American flare parachutes into artificial flowers, curtains, blankets, pillow cases.... They have also used parachute cords to knit sweaters, gloves, handbags... and used rocket shells to make desk cover. Sister Nguyen Thi Lien (team 25) has not only made American time-bombs explode harmlessly but also prevented the bombs from damaging our roads. Her experience has been well popularized. Then there are women who, wearing white cloth, stand along the roads at night to serve as living guiding posts in order to prevent our vehicles from running out of the roads into ditches. It is clear that

American bombs and rockets can neither vanquish these valiant women nor cut off our roads nor cut off our women's singing. Our women's blood has spilled, but they continue to stay in their position even if they have to fight to the last of them. Their blood has spilled but our roads are kept opened, linking the great rear to the great front. Thanks to its high determination and concrete measures, C. 2 (all female) of the sampan transport company in province T. has always overfulfilled its goal despite fierce attacks by the enemy, which sometimes happened 21 times in one month. There were times when their sampans were sunk, the survivors among them dived into water to save those who had been wounded and to save the goods, repaired the damaged sampans then continued their way to the front.

Besides production, work, combat serving and combat, our women have to shoulder heavy family tasks. Under war conditions, they have encountered greater difficulties in their living. But with their perseverance and their "three responsibilities" spirit, and particularly thanks to their thorough understanding of the Party's policy of fighting the U.S. for national salvation, they have more than enough strength to overcome difficulty. Not only have they encouraged their husband and sons to join the army but they have also taken care of their family affairs and at the same time participate in various social activities, because they have realized that women must be equal to men not only before the law but also in political, economic and social life as well. To achieve such equality they must participate more in factory management and State management. Many of them, including those with many children, have made great efforts in their study and other activities, thus making their husband and sons feel more encouraged to participate in combat or to serve combat.

There are many other heroic examples set by blue and white-collar women workers in production, combat and life organization. But what has been told above is enough proof of their increasingly important role in production, work and other fields of activity. With the assistance of the Party, government and union and with their own efforts, they have proved that not only have they the ability to fulfill well any task but they have played an effective role in economic and production management as well. This is also enough proof that the disdainful attitude toward women still existing in our society and on the part of certain cadres and party members and the inferiority complex still remaining among a number of our women are entirely unjustified and must be severely criticized. A number of our men still think that women can do only simple jobs or lack leadership ability... therefore they do not want to work under women's leadership. When they see a woman being promoted they would become sarcastic, laugh at her and even refuse to cooperate with her. On the other hand, some of our women still lack self-confidence, therefore they have an inferiority complex, dare not assume jobs that they are responsible for and lack determination to study and to train themselves in order to increase their capability. This has proved that women emancipation is a long, hard struggle for it requires fundamental changes not only in economic, technical and social relations but also in customs and attitude as well. Those who still have a disdainful attitude toward women have not yet realized that "as today the government is already in the people's hand and led by the Party, all important political tasks involve everything that is directly related to

the future of the working people. In this connection, it is imperative to have the participation by women workers, including both party and non-party members" (1). "We should welcome the increased participation of working women in social activities and their gaining leadership positions as a clear sign of our cultural progress" (2). In fact, as Lenin said, the cultural level of a nation is reflected most clearly in its women's legal status. The content of the continued emancipation of women is to achieve equality for women in production labor, in distribution, in society and in family. Equality between men and women is one aspect of the liberation of oppressed classes and the build-up of the worker's class.

#### Further Stepping Up the Revolutionary Movement Among Blue and White-Collar Women Workers

The urgency of the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and building of socialism requires us to attach greater importance to the mobilization of blue and white-collar women workers and to build up a large force of women cadres and workers, who have both a high political awareness and sense of being master and a high technical and professional level to take care of their own affairs as well as the common task of the worker's class.

This is the common responsibility of the entire Party and people, but women themselves must make greater efforts to really become masters of their society, their country. They must realize their own responsibility and overcome their inferiority complex, their timidity, their narrow view... and at the same time further develop their independent spirit.

To develop our women's role and to create conditions for them to fulfill well their task, we must first of all mobilize them and create conditions for them to participate more in the three revolutions set forth by the Party: the revolution of production relations, the technological revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution.

To blue and white-collar women workers, the pursuit of these three revolutions has a great significance, for it affirms and consolidates their role of master in the revolution. It is also the base of women emancipation and of the achievement of equality between men and women in production; as Lenin pointed out, "we want women workers to have equality with male workers not only before the law but also in life. To achieve this equality, women workers must participate further in the management of public factories and State affairs" (3).

Indeed, through the revolution of production relations which is aimed at consolidating and perfecting socialist production relations and the ideological and cultural revolution which is aimed at building new people, par-

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(1) Lenin-Stalin: "Women and the Socialist Revolution," Vietnamese version, Su That publisher, Hanoi, 1959, page 38.

(2) Lenin-Stalin: Same book, page 46.

(3) Lenin-Stalin: Same book, page 21

ticularly through the key technological revolution, our blue and white-collar women workers now have a higher class consciousness and sense of being master, a higher technical and professional level and a greater ability to participate in our economic and production management. This has been proved by the real situation in many establishments as we have described above. But not all of them have realized this, not all of them have boldly taken the lead in these greatly significant revolutions.

Therefore, an urgent problem of Party commissars is to continue to make all cadres and party members understand thoroughly the Party's basic viewpoint on the mobilization of blue and white-collar women workers and, on this basis, try to correct any wrong thinking and attitude regarding this problem. At the same time, it is necessary to urge all levels, branches and organizations to implement fully the Party's resolution on this matter, and to translate the resolution into real action by the masses to fulfill the Party's task of women emancipation. All levels, branches and unions must coordinate their activities closely to fully ensure the rights of blue and white-collar workers in production and distribution, and at the same time urgently carry out labor policies that concern woman labor force, pay more attention to improving working conditions so that they are suitable to women's size and strength, provide more technical equipment and improve production tools to reduce their labor and to ensure safety for them, create conditions for them to constantly increase labor productivity and work efficiency. On the other hand, it is necessary to step up ideological and political education among women, especially among new and young women workers, including those who come from other classes and do not know anything about the working class or about socialism, and help all of them to acquire a class consciousness, a socialist consciousness, a high sense of being master, a high determination to study sciences and technology in a "daring think, daring do" spirit, to develop initiatives, to improve work, to overcome any difficulty and to fulfill any task of production, combat and life organization.

At present, our women's cultural and professional level is still generally low, thus greatly limiting their ability to participate in production management and to step up the technological revolution at base level, and at the same time affecting their efforts to increase labor productivity, to ensure product quality and to economize materials and raw materials. Consequently, one of the urgent tasks now is to create conditions to increase their cultural and professional level. In the immediate future, it is necessary to organize short-term supplementary cultural courses for those who are just promoted to leadership positions, to complete all current level I supplementary cultural courses and to step up the levels II and III supplementary cultural courses for blue and white-collar women workers. At the same time, it is necessary to increase their technical and professional level as well as their ability for economic management and management of State affairs, and on that basis promote them to leadership positions of various echelons, branches and mass organizations in accordance with the Party's motto: "Train energetically, use boldly and promote; while boldly using and promoting, train energetically to use and promote effectively; after promoting, continue to train and use effectively."

In addition to training and improving, we must give greater attention to life organization, distribution and mess hall work so as to reduce our women's family burden and make them feel assured in carrying out production and work. Greater attention must also be given to mother and child protection, health examination and medical treatment, and to helping them acquire general knowledge of sanitary measures to protect themselves and their family and to give better care to their children.

While carrying out these works, we must pay special attention to those having a big family and to workers' housing areas.

These are concrete problems that cannot be ignored by our Party as well as our comrades at various echelons and branches in the mobilization of blue and white-collar women workers. By carrying out well these works, we will contribute greatly to the building up of a blue and white-collar women workers force strong in every field, capable of assuming its great role in the emancipation of women as well as in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and the building of socialism, and worth of being an important force of the Vietnamese worker's class -- the leading class -- and a main army, a major political force of the socialist system in the North of our country.

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The exceptional growth of our blue and white-collar women workers in all field of activity is an encouragement to and pride of not only women alone but also the entire Party and people.

In a situation where our people in both zones are moving from one victory to another to determinedly defeat the American aggressors, a stronger development of the role of our blue and white-collar women workers in production, combat and life organization will further consolidate and strengthen our rank of workers and give it more strength to lead our entire people toward fulfilling the glorious revolutionary task for the nation and class.

Under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by beloved chairman Ho, and with the full attention of various echelons, branches and unions, our blue and white-collar women workers are having a greater confidence and making greater efforts to heighten the heroic and undaunted tradition of their nation and class, determined to fulfill any task in this once-a-thousand-year opportunity. Our blue and white-collar women workers will certainly strive to step the "three responsibilities" movement aimed at further developing their role and ability to contribute to defeating the American aggressors, defending and building the socialist North, liberating the South and moving toward national reunification.

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CSO: 3520-D

## GROWTH AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HAIPHONG EVALUATED

[Article by Tran Kien: "Haiphong Ever Growing"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 60-67]

Haiphong is the biggest port of North Vietnam. It is also an industrial city where a concentrated rank of workers having traditions of revolutionary struggle and experience in production can be found. Haiphong has also a large rural area. Because of these characteristics, the city plays an important role in the construction of socialism in North Vietnam as well as in the present anti-US war for national salvation of the entire country.

Ever since the US warmongers launched their war of destruction against North Vietnam, they have always threatened Haiphong and stepped up their attacks on the city. Nevertheless, the US bombs and bullets will never subdue the population of Haiphong. Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Party Central Committee, government and President Ho, and under the direct guidance of the various Party echelons and local authorities, the army and people of Haiphong have courageously fought and gradually built and oriented the latter's economy to fit wartime. Along with the entire people in North Vietnam, Haiphong has contributed to the defeat of each step of the US war escalation. And it has incessantly pushed the construction of socialism forward.

### Important Accomplishments of Haiphong

In attacking Haiphong, the US warmongers have been severely punished. Whether they come at night or in the daytime, however cunning aggressive schemes may be, they cannot escape from the punishing blows of the army and people of Haiphong. After three years during which the army and people have courageously fought, they have shot down over 200 US planes. This brilliant exploit clearly shows the will of the army and people of Haiphong to fight and defeat the US aggressors. It confirms the correctness of our Party line on the people's war and people's national defense. Under the leadership of the city committee, the strategic coordination has been very effective among the three armed forces branches and services. The self-defense militia forces have accomplished

exceptional performances and shot down 16 planes among the 200 US planes brought down by the army and people of Haiphong (with the participation of the self-defense brigade of factory X. and the woman defense platoon of Voi mountain). The armed forces of Haiphong are growing ever stronger through fighting and producing. Together with the fighting task, the people's air-defense activities have been given a great attention. Dispersion, evacuation, digging of shelters and trenches have been positively carried out by all the population. And any damage caused by the enemy's attacks has been repaired in an expeditious and orderly manner. The living conditions of cadres and people have been readjusted in accordance to the war conditions. Thanks to this, Haiphong has been able to limit to the utmost the damages caused by the enemy despite the latter's violent attacks.

The maintenance of order and security has become a widespread movement. The mass has taken an effective part in the war by checking every scheme, intelligence activities, psychological warfare of the enemy spies, commando troops and anti-revolutionaries, and also the activities of criminals. They have thus effectively insured the order and security of the city in all situation.

The anti-US war for national salvation has given rise to numerous exceptional cadres and soldiers, symbol of the traditions of "Unity, Loyalty, Determination to win" so vibrant in this heroic port city. The more Haiphong fights, the stronger it grows, thus deserving the Independence Order First Class which the National Assembly, government and President Ho have conferred to the army and people of the city. It is worth being praised many a time by President Ho. And it earns its renown of being the steel-fortress of our Fatherland on the China sea.

Enlightened by the resolutions of the Party Central Executive Committee, Haiphong has step by step shifted the construction and development of the local economy in conformity with war conditions. While accelerating the completion of the socialist relationship of production in industry, agriculture and handicraft, Haiphong has made great efforts to push the technical revolution and achieve the cultural and ideological revolution. Our city council has concentrated its efforts on directing the three important sectors of the economy: industry, agriculture, transport and communications, and has obtained great results in these areas.

In the past three years, the industrial production of Haiphong continued to expand. The general output value for 1966 increased to 12.7 percent compared to 1964. In 1967 when the war was raging fiercely with the enemy attacking sometimes for 45 consecutive days, Haiphong never stopped to develop the production of essential goods in order to serve production, fighting and the people's living conditions. The percentage of the output of local industries which was directed to agriculture continuously raised: 2.39 percent in 1962 and 7.7 percent in 1967.

In three years of wartime, Haiphong has equipped the agricultural cooperatives with nearly 300 small mechanized units, over 400 electric and manual pumps and installed about 100 kilometers of high and low tension wire. The mechanized sector has rapidly developed at the average rate of 16 percent yearly. The mechanized plants in the city have been provided with additional machines and equipment, and have manufactured a greater variety of new merchandises. The factories which repair and fabricate the equipment for road or water-way transport have also rapidly expanded. The mechanized network has been extended to all districts and villages. A machinery plant can now be found in every district. One hundred forty seven smithies have been set up in the villages and cooperatives and are now serving to the utmost the agricultural production.

Food industry has recorded great progress. In 1967, the salt output alone increased to 76.9 percent compared to 1964. Handicraft production has been firmly maintained and more and more oriented to wards serving the people's living conditions. The working class has been further strengthened both in qualitative and quantitative terms. It has increasingly developed its role of leader and its vanguard nature in every aspect of the social life.

The agriculture of Haiphong has started to have some good changes. In spite of the difficulties caused by the enemy and natural calamities, Haiphong has recently had three very good rice crops. The general agricultural output value in 1967 increased to 10.3 percent compared to 1965. In 1967, Haiphong obtained the highest rice productivity ever seen since 1960 till now (47.5 "ta" per hectare). The number of cooperatives which harvested 5 tons of rice per hectare in 1967 is three times higher compared to 1966. The area reserved to the grains cultivation was continuously enlarged in the past three years. In 1967, the yield of sweet potatoes reached 75 "ta" per hectare on the average. Animal husbandry has also progressed. Fish raising in 1967 increased to 45 percent compared to 1964. These successes of Haiphong in the agricultural production in the past three years cannot be detached from the strengthening of the socialist relationship of production in agriculture. By now, 94 percent of the peasant households have joined the cooperatives; about 96 percent of the agricultural cooperatives are of the advanced type; and half of the cooperatives total over 100 hectares of agricultural land. Great efforts have been made to raise the management and technical standards of the agricultural cooperatives. The material and technical base of agriculture has been constantly reinforced.

The first accomplishments of Haiphong in the transport and communications field are remarkable and have a great significance in the revolutionary struggle of the entire country. Although the US aggressors have sought to isolate Haiphong and limit its port activities by every means, all their schemes have met a dramatic failure. The communication

lines, roads or water-ways have been kept in continuous operation. And the port has always maintained its activities. The organization of transport, loading and unloading in the city's communication arteries has been ameliorated. The network of local transport and communications has been expanded. Various organizations for the maintenance of transport and communications have been set up in the city, districts and villages and have functioned on a regular basis.

In the past three years, Haiphong made great efforts to oriente trade and finances towards serving the production, fighting and people's living conditions. The cultural and social activities were intensified. The health network was extended to street quarters and villages. The scores of thousands of children who were evacuated to the city's outskirts are now provided with lodging, schooling, etc.. Due to the solicitude of the Party and government, the endeavor of the working class and collectivized peasant group, and the efforts of the various sectors of production, transport-communications, distribution of the city, the living standards of people were continually insured and even improved for some aspects despite the destruction caused by the war. As a result, all social strata in Haiphong came to realize more clearly every day the superiority of our regime, and they became all the more confident in the ultimate victory of the anti-US war for national salvation of our entire people.

In order to insure success in all aspects of production and fighting, our Party chapter has paid a great attention to the building of the Party and the mass mobilization. The mobilization movements for the building of "four good" cells and "four good" district committees, and for the safeguard of the Party have contributed to the improvement of the ideological and organizational standards of cadres and Party members, and to the strengthening of the overall leadership of various Party echelons. In the last two years, the Party chapter of Haiphong enrolled many outstanding elements from the working class and collectivized peasant group into the Party. Our Party chapter has also paid an appropriate attention to develop the Party among youngsters and women. The labor unions, youth and woman organizations and the associations of the National Front have constantly consolidated and developed their influence.

In three years Haiphong has grown ever stronger in fighting the US for national salvation and building socialism. The achievements of Haiphong in production and fighting are the victory of the correct revolutionary line of our Party, which has been strictly implemented and successfully applied by the Party echelons and authorities to the local conditions. These achievements are also the product of the spirit of selflessness in work and courage in combat which the working class, collectivized peasant group, armed forces and entire population of Haiphong have manifested. In looking backwards to the hardships that they have endured and in assessing the important achie-

vements which they have recorded, each cadre, Party member and people in Haiphong is proud of himself, and advances with enthusiasm and confidence towards fulfilling the heavy but glorious tasks entrusted by the Party and government.

### Experiences of Haiphong

The realities of production and fighting in Haiphong in the past three years prove that the maxime of producing and fighting at the same time as set forth by the Party is fully correct. They also bring into light the organic ties existing between the two tasks of production and fighting and between the anti-US war for national salvation and the construction of socialism. And they show that we can perfectly continue to develop economy and culture despite the most bitter conditions of our resistance against the US war of destruction.

The problem is that, in order to keep up and expand production, we must take the initiative and have the will to fight the enemy. The Party echelons must be attentive to direct the fighting; organize and educate the self-defense militia forces; and help everyone to carry out successfully both tasks of production and fighting. Of course, for a centralized industrial city, the dispersion and evacuation of factories, the maintenance and development of production are a problem of great significance for the successful accomplishment of both production and fighting. Practical experience shows that the evacuation of an industrial city is a most complex and difficult problem. It demands a centralized and overall leadership. As for the ideological aspect, the Party echelons must make so that all levels and sectors deeply understand the Party policy concerning the new orientation in the building and development of the economy; adopt an unique view when appreciating the enemy's schemes; clearly see that evacuation and dispersion is not a passive but active action; and take the initiative to attack the enemy on the economic front by keeping up and expanding production. As for execution, there must be a close and smooth coordination between the local echelons and the central economic sectors, between the military and political activities. To organize evacuation and dispersion does not mean that we need only to solve the problem of location, safety and camouflage. It also implies that we have to consider economic and technical factors which are to insure production; adopt plans for solving the problems of transport-communication, supply of raw materials; set up programs for intensifying trade activities and organize the education of the local population so that the latter can help the factories to build their new bases and stabilize the living conditions of workers, etc..

It is because they fail to grasp firm to the production and fighting aspects when carrying out the evacuation and dispersion work, and are insufficiently imbued with the idea of continuous offensive against the enemy that, a number of factories have delayed their

evacuation, lack determination, fail to see the close relationship between the necessity of developing production and the safeguard of their own forces, and to follow closely the new developments in order to adjust accordingly their program of production. As a result, the production diminishes, the living conditions of workers become harder and the machines and equipment of the factories remain unprotected. On the contrary, those factories which are attentive to both aspects of production and fighting, are impregnated with the spirit of continuous offensive against the enemy, do not fear difficulties, and positively hold firm to the tasks and objectives of production, successfully fulfill their task even if they have to face a number of difficulties.

The US warmongers are cruel and cunning, but their abilities are not limitless. If we hold firm to the Party line on the anti-US war for national salvation and the new orientation in the building and development of the economy, and if we are determined to overcome all difficulties, hardships and sacrifices, we are fully capable of defeating the US war of destruction, continuing to bring forward the construction of socialism in North Vietnam and making a positive contribution to the liberation of the South. This is the first lesson that we draw out from the practical experiences of Haiphong in three years of resistance against the US war of destruction.

Haiphong is a centralized industrial city where a considerable number of factories are run by the central echelon. Up to now, the activities of the local factories have been closely connected to the central factories. The problem has been recently raised on whether the local industry of Haiphong should be mainly oriented towards serving its local economy or the percentage of goods directed to the central factories should be maintained as it was before.

Through practical experiences, we have seen that in order to rapidly develop the local economy, it is primordial that the local industries closely link themselves and give a strong impulse to the local agriculture, transport-communications and people's livelihood.

The industry must thoroughly search and know the needs, abilities, raw materials, technical conditions and characteristics existing in the localities in order to produce appropriate goods; and must apply science and technology to agriculture so as to develop the latter. However, agriculture must also make greater efforts so that it can actually be the base on which to develop industry. Only in thus doing, can the local economy develop in a rapid and overall manner in order to serve the local needs and satisfy the requirements of the central echelon and other provinces.

By now, the local economy of Haiphong has developed, but the

development is not overall and balanced yet (between requirements and abilities, industry and agriculture, farming and animal raising). Besides, Haiphong has not yet paid a proper attention to the production of industrial plants and foodstuffs. The source of export goods is also far from being properly exploited.

We have come to recognize that, in the process of the building and development of local economy, the local and central industries in the same city must be closely linked together and help each other. The central industries can assist the local factories in techniques, formation of workers, etc.. Local industries can accept orders from the central industries for the processing of certain goods. Besides, they must know how to exploit the waste and debris left out by the central industrial factories in order to manufacture new products. By thus doing, can both central and local industries expand in the most propitious conditions. This is the second lesson that we draw out from the practical experiences of Haiphong in production and fighting during three years.

To carry on the construction of socialism in North Vietnam means that we have to execute simultaneously the three following revolutions: revolution of the relationship of production, technical revolution, cultural and ideological revolution, among which technical revolution is the knot. To achieve the above revolutions, we have to correctly and deeply understand the contents of each revolution, and also know how to apply them properly to the concrete conditions of the localities.

In looking into the practical situation of the localities, we have seen that due to an insufficient awareness, this problem has not yet been thoroughly understood at some places and times. Some comrades think that the problem of management is the main and immediate cause for the slow development of the Haiphong's production in the past years. Therefore, attention must be first concentrated on the revolution of the relationship of production, and particularly on the management problem which must be effectively solved. Other comrades place emphasis on the technical revolution, but know superficially and incompletely the contents of both technical revolution and revolution of production relationship. We think that, in order to complete the revolution of the production relationship, it is not sufficient to solve only the problem of public ownership of the means of production, but we also have to effectively solve other problems such as management, democracy, relationship between leaders and producers, distribution, etc.. Realities in Haiphong show that even though the means of production have become the property of the entire collectivity and people, many aspects of the above problems still need to be studied and solved. Besides, when dealing with the technical revolution, it is not enough to only consider the state of equipment and machines of the factories or to only think about the rationalization of production and technical

improvement. The completion of technical revolution implies a whole process which comprises from the building of material and technical bases, formation of technical cadres and workers, strengthening of the technical management mobilization of the masses to master science and technology to the modernization of local economic sectors, etc.. Although Haiphong is an industrial city, its material and technical bases are still very poor and deficient. If we fail to consider the technical revolution as the knot, we cannot benefit from advanced techniques in order to constantly increase production and develop the local economy in a rapid and overall manner. But if we want to push forward the technical revolution, we have to pay a concurrent attention to the completion of the revolution of production relationship. These two revolutions are to be closely linked together and concurrently coordinated with the cultural and ideological revolution. This is the third lesson that Haiphong has drawn out from three years of carrying on the production and fighting tasks.

To deeply understand the class line and incessantly strengthen the leadership role of the Party is the decisive factor for all victory. This is a matter of principle and also an experience that we have come to deeply realize through the practical experiences of production and fighting in the localities.

Due to a deep understanding of the class line of the Party and the efforts to strengthen its leadership role, many places have achieved great victories. However, at a number of localities, the leadership role of the Party has not yet been properly developed, and the ownership role of the factories' workers have not been really promoted.

A number of factories' cadres have not yet got rid of their bureaucratic, authoritarian, anti-democratic and capricious attitude when coming to solve the various policies and regimes applied to the comrade workers. Although the problem of democratizing the planning process has been raised, and meetings among workers and employees have taken place, many factories have not yet created the conditions which would have enabled the workers to really participate in the factories' management. There also are cadres and Party members which have not clearly realized that labor unions are a school of economic management, of socialism and communism, they thought that the responsibility of the labor unions is limited in solving the problems concerning the living conditions of workers and employees. Some leaders cadres have not properly implemented the regulations and regimes governing the management of factories as decreed by the government. They have failed to promote the overall leadership of the Party committees in the factories.

Those examples prove that greater efforts are needed so that the class line and the necessity of strengthening the Party's leadership are better understood and more satisfactorily solved. This is the fourth lesson that we have drawn out from the practical work of Haiphong during the past years.

To improve the leadership work, strengthen the organization and leadership in execution, build the rank of workers, develop the spirit of cooperation and assistance in the task fulfillment and increase unity are crucial if we want to push forward all the activities of the localities.

We all know that with appropriate policies and lines, the success or failure of our work will depend on the organization of their execution. The problem of organizing the execution is all the more important in times of war. The revolutionary mission at present is extremely heavy and complex, the situation is so crucial involving so many difficulties that if the leadership in execution is deficient, our work will be inevitably delayed.

The experiences of Haiphong show that to improve the leadership work and strengthen the organization and leadership of execution, we must be attentive to organize and deploy in a rational manner the cadres' forces and administrative machinery; and clearly define the functions and responsibility in order to avoid duplication of responsibility and stepping on each other's toes. Also, we must heighten to the utmost the spirit of socialist cooperation and assistance; hold firm to the principle of collective leadership and individual responsibility; and know how to rely on the masses and develop their creative capacities. As for the organization of execution, we must see to set up a good system for controlling and following up the work so as to promptly detect and correct the errors and deviations. By thus doing, can we draw out good experiences, complement the various policies and improve the leadership style. This is the fifth lesson that we have learned from the practical work of our city during the past years.

The above is a number of experiences which Haiphong has learned practical work of the localities. We believe that if these experiences are properly applied to the leadership work, Haiphong will be certainly in a position to overcome all the difficulties encountered and fulfill its immediate tasks.

Through three years of hardships when we were simultaneously carrying on the production and fighting tasks, Haiphong has grown ever stronger and has achieved important victories. We clearly realize that shortcomings still exist in many areas, for instance, we know to little on the spirit of the resolution adopted by the 11th and 12th Convention of the Party Central Committee; we have not hold firm to the spirit of vigorous offensive against the enemy on the economic front; we have not yet established the equilibrium between industry and agriculture, farming and animal raising; the workers and peasants' role of collective owners has not been sufficiently promoted; and the leadership organization in execution is still weak. Our common visitors have been limited to some extend by the above shortcomings.

The present, the anti-US war for national salvation of all our people is entering a new phase which is very advantageous to our people. But the US imperialists, stubborn and cunning, still refuse to accept their defeat. They are making frantic efforts and plotting to sow new atrocities consequently, the anti-US war of our people is still arduous and difficult. Haiphong still has to go through days of fierce fighting the building and development of the local economy will involve many more difficulties. However, under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, Government and President Ho, and with the fine traditions of revolutionary struggle and of production of the Haiphong working class and people, with the maturity of the Haiphong Party chapter through production and fighting, and the stimulation created by the great victories of the South Vietnamese army and people, we believe that Haiphong is fully capable of overcoming its difficulties, and shortcomings, develop every advantage, push forward production and fighting and thus contribute a positive part to the building of socialism in North Vietnam and the anti-US war for national salvation of the entire population.

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## LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF KARL MARX DESCRIBED

[Article by Nguyen Van Son: "Study of Marxism"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 68-75]

Together with all workers, we celebrated in May this year the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communist doctrine, the greatest teacher and leader of the world's worker and labor class.

Karl Marx was born at Treves in the Rhineland on May 5, 1818. At that time, the Rhineland was the most developed industrial province of Prussia where big capitalist industries began to spread out and a new class, the industrial proletarian class started to take shape and enter into the political scene.

Marx began to take up a life of struggle as a democratic fighter and worked as a collaborator first and then as an editor for the Rhineland Journal (1842). The democratic principles of Marx became richer every day through his contacts with practical life and especially with the forces of the new class, the industrial proletariat, thus giving his newspaper a clearer and clearer democratic revolutionary tendency. In 1843, the reactionary regime of Prussia closed down the Rhineland Journal and Marx left for Paris. There, Marx continued the struggle with all the boiling enthusiasm of youth. He published "La Chronique Franco-Allemande" in which he criticized the reactionary regime of Prussia, and at the same time concentrated his efforts on studying political economy and the history of the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the 18th century. In 1844, Marx and Engels met in Paris, and since then became most intimate friends.

In the following works "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, Introduction", "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts", "The Holy Family", "German Ideology", Marx and Engels criticized the idealism of Hegel and the young Hegelians; refuted the economic theory of Ricardo and Adam Smith; defined the base of neo-materialist Weltanschauung; and presented the great invention of Marx on dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The most famous and also the first complete work of Marx -- "The Misery of Philosophy" (1847) -- gave a more thorough presentation of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and clearly predicted the unavoidable destruction of capitalism and the historic mission of the proletarian class.

Marx was a genius scientist and a great revolutionary, the author of many books on the struggle. In the present course of liberation of the proletarian class, Marx was precisely the first to awaken the latter to the consciousness of its role, requirements and mission, and of the conditions for its liberation from the capitalist yoke. Marx was absorbed in organizing the practical activities of the labor organizations in Paris, Brussels, London. For Marx, this task was all the more important in 1847 when Marx joined the Communist League, and especially after he was elected chairman of this first international organization of the proletarian class. That same year, by order of the General Convention of the Communist League, Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto (published in February 1848) which expressed in a deep and brilliant manner the three forms of the proletarian revolution: philosophical, economic and scientific socialist.

In April 1848, Marx and Engels returned to Germany out of revolutionary necessity. Marx founded and edited the new Rheinish Gazette, the only voice to express the proletariat's viewpoint. In the meantime, Marx was the one who organized and led the violent mass struggle against the then reactionary government. Because of his revolutionary activities, Marx was expelled from Germany in May 16, 1848, and from France in June 13, 1848 by their reactionary governments, and was forced to go to England where he settled until his death.

Life in exile was extremely arduous since Marx and his family were relentlessly pursued by the reactionary governments, and were often in the severest financial straits. But with the staunch and unreserved help of Engels, Marx overcame the difficulties, worked and fought with ardor for the noble principles of the world proletarian class.

In the fifties and sixties of the 19th century, Marx devoted himself to economic research. It was precisely his friendship with Engels which induced Marx to enter this subject. After years of arduous research, Marx finished in 1859 his well-known work on the "Criticism of Political Economy". And the first volume of his great work on Das Kapital appeared in 1867. This immortal work was the acme of the scientific research of Marx. It is not only an important study on political economy, but also a monumental work on philosophy, history and scientific socialism.

Before and after the first volume of Das Kapital was completed, Marx worked harder than ever in order to organize, unite and educate the laboring class. The "International Association of Working Men" was formed in August 1868, and Marx became the leader and soul of the First International throughout its glorious existence.

In the letter addressed by the First International to its chapters (which was published under the name of "French Civil War of 1871"), Marx reviewed with ingenuity the history of the Paris Commune of 1871 from which he drew most valuable lessons which hold as principles in order to arm the international laboring class.

In 1875, Marx wrote "Criticism of the Gotha Program" which was a severe criticism of the opportunism of Lassalle. This work provided a most important teaching on the form of scientific socialism.

During the same period and in the following years, Marx wrote the second and third volumes of Das Kapital. But unfortunately, the treatise was not yet finished when Marx died on March 14, 1883 and Engels took up the responsibility to finish up the work.

Marx passed away, but his name and undertaking will live for ever! Marx left to mankind an infinitely valuable heritage which is Marxism.

Marxism is composed of three parties which are intimately related: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

The Marxist philosophy comprises dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Marx founded his philosophy on the basis of a scientific analysis of the natural and social development, on the refutation of the mechanical, metaphysical and intuitive character of the old materialism, and also on the separation of "human reason" of the "common dialectical method" from utopianism, and the reformation of the latter following a materialistic viewpoint. The dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels gave mankind the most thorough weapon to sharpen its knowledge; it became the supreme realm and the correct and really scientific form of reasoning whose essence is the concrete analysis of practical events. It is entirely opposed to utopianism and metaphysical materialism.

While developing his materialist philosophy Marx broadened the latter from the natural consciousness of mankind to his social awareness and from there formulated historical materialism. Before Marx, even the most materialist brains had limited materialist explanation to natural phenomena, but when coming to explain historical and social events, they had never been able to get off from the idealistic viewpoint. The historical materialism of Marx is a very consistent and scientific theory. Its formulation puts an end to the chaos, opportunism, dogmatism and metaphysics which had ever predominated the political and historical viewpoints in the past. Marx actually brings about a philosophical revolution.

Dialectic materialism and historical materialism are the greatest production of mankind's thinking due to this genius revelation of Marx, philosophy is for the first time put into science and reflects in an accurate manner the objective laws governing the development of nature, society and thinking of mankind. Marxism is not only a weapon to sharpen the world consciousness, but also a weapon pointed at the reforming the whole world. It shows the proletarian class and all oppressed people who have apathetically lived till now the path of their own liberation.

The economic theory of Marx is the basic substance of Marxism, the field in which "Marx' intelligence is professed and applied in the deepest, most absolute and particular manner". (1) The economic theory of Marx inscribes a fundamental change and a genuine revolution in the world political economy. This theory is expressed in the most concise manner in Das Kapital collection, and it is also its most consistent system. In this work, Marx studied and analysed the capitalist modes of production, and exposed the economic laws regulating the activities throughout the whole process of its birth, development and extinction.

The principle of "surplus value" is the central substance of the Marxist economic theory. It is the foundation stone of the economic theory of Marx, for it is the key to the understanding of the entire capitalist system of production and the explanation of the multifaceted, and extremely complex phenomenon of capitalism. In basing on the principle of "surplus value", and especially on the analysis of the substance of "surplus value", the conditions and modes which engender "surplus value", the transformation of the latter into capitalist the distribution of "surplus value" among the exploiting groups, Marx demonstrated to the workers that the enemy which is exploiting and oppressing them is not only their capitalist who employ them but the entire collectivity involving the different exploiting group of the capitalist society. From there, Marx found out that the basic contradiction in the capitalist society is the contradiction between the social nature of production and the capitalistic mode of private possession of the instruments of production. Marx went farther in analyzing this basic contradiction and all its phenomenon; and came to the conclusion that the state of impoverishment of the capitalist class, the recurrent economic crises, unemployment, etc.. are to be inherent in capitalistic production basing on the scientific analysis of the contradictions inherent to capitalist society and on the development laws of human society that we discover, Marx proved that the passage of capitalism in history will be brief and its fall and substitution by socialism through the proletarian revolution, will be inevitable. Marx pointed out that among the oppressed and exploited classes in the capitalist society, the proletarian class is the most revolutionary one and it is accredited with the historic mission of digging the grave to engulf the capitalist society and building the new socialist society. This is a monumental revelation of scientific socialism.

As Lenin has said. "The fundamental contribution of Marxism is that it brings to light the world historic role of the proletarian class which is the builder of the socialist society!" (2) The proletarian class, though immature and inexperienced, has an extremely brilliant future and a historic role that no class can take over. Marx proved that in the development process of capitalism, the laboring class will develop ever stronger every day and further consolidate due to the growth of big industries, and will become larger and larger as many small farmers and middle classes, unable to hold their own with "big capital", will be driven down and down until they land in the proletariat. Representing

the most progressive productive force of the society, and being the most oppressed class exploited by capitalism, the proletarian class is impregnated with thorough revolutionary spirit and holds the future in its hands. The proletarian class will never be completely freed until it has liberated all other exploited classes and strata and wiped out the system of private ownership from the society. The above has determined the leadership role of the proletarian class in the course towards the suppression of the old society and the building of the new one.

Concurrently with pointing out the historic role of the laboring class, Marx showed the latter the path towards the fulfillment of its historic mission. That is the road of class struggle. Marx proved that when a society is divided into antagonistic classes, then there can be no freedom of any kind which can be gained from the ruling exploiters without a strong resistance from that ruling class and a decisive struggle of the oppressed people against the ruling class. To overthrow the capitalist regime and build the socialist society, the proletarian class has no other choice than reorganize itself, not only in one single country but in the world over, and use revolutionary violence to counter the anti-revolutionary violence of the capitalist class.

The proletarian class must hold on and apply the three forms of class struggle: ideological political and economic; but stress the political struggle and orient all other forms of struggle towards supporting the latter with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the capitalist regime and gaining back power.

Marx made it clear that the class struggle will inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. (3) The proletarian class must dismantle and erase the state apparatus of the old capitalist class, establish the proletarian dictatorship and use the latter as an instrument to build the new society. Besides, the dictatorship of the proletariat is in fact the continuation of class struggle under new historical conditions.

Marx, however, made it clear that political power is not the ultimate objective of the proletarian revolution, but only the first step and the "transitional period before advancing towards the suppression of all classes and the setting up of a classless society". (4) Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat will remain as long as the building of communism is not yet achieved.

As they realized that the class struggle between the proletarian and capitalist class will be an all-out and bitter confrontation, Marx and Engels put forth the proper revolutionary tactics and strategy in order to permit the proletarian class to undertake a victorious revolution. According to them, the immediate aim for the communists is to unify all proletarian people into class organizations. At the same time efforts should be made to bring all revolutionary forces together under the leadership of the proletarian class in order to fight the common enemy.

As they clearly realized the great importance of an alliance between the proletarian class and the peasants, Marx and Engels asserted that the proletarian class cannot win over capitalism unless it succeeds in mobilizing the peasant mass to rise up and oppose the capitalist domination, and driving the peasants to ally themselves with the proletarian class and recognize the latter's leadership. As for the peasants, they cannot liberate themselves unless they follow the proletarian line. In basing on the intimate union of all principal revolutionary forces, the proletarian class must see to push the progressive forces to oppose the actual immediate enemy. Marx, however, urged that when allying themselves with progressive political forces in order to topple the existing social and political order, the communists must be attentive to maintain their independence, strengthen their own forces, preserve the right of criticizing their allies when ideological matters are at stake, and made the workers ever conscious of the violent confrontation between the capitalist and proletarian class.

Many important theories have been proposed by Marx in order to solve the problem of nationality. Marx declared that when a nation enslaves another nation, it puts itself in chains; and he then showed the proletarian class how the latter can support the progressive national movements. Marx unreservedly supported the national liberation wars, fought those viewpoints which overlook this nationality problem, and also opposed the nationalist conception of the capitalist class. Marx, especially, attached a great importance to the solidarity of all proletarian class the world over. Marx and Engels brought up the theory of international proletariat ever since they wrote the Communist Manifesto, a theory which was exhaustively summarized in their call "Proletarian of all nations Unite" the life of Marx itself was a brilliant example of the spirit of international proletariat. It was not only for the sake of the revolution in Germany, but also for the revolution in Europe and the entire world that Marx engaged in revolutionary activities, the ambition of Marx was to liberate all mankind and install communism all over the globe.

To insure the victory of the revolution, Marx and Engels saw the necessity of forming a revolutionary Party of the proletarian class, that is to say the force which will lead the proletarian class and all other laboring strata in their struggle to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism. Marx and Engels regarded this Party as the most advanced guard of the laboring class. This Party must hold onto scientific principles as its first weapon; "bear in mind and defend the general interest of the proletarian class without national discrimination," and always represent the interest of the entire movement." (5) Marx and Engels insisted that the proletarian party preserves the probity of its stand" (6) and never deviates even for a minute from keeping its organization independent" (7) while allying itself with other political forces.

Marxism is the most thorough doctrine which has ever recapitulated the progressive knowledge accumulated by men. Marx took in but in a critical manner and thoroughly reformed the most progressive theories of the thinking stream prevailing in the 19th century: the German classical philosophy, the English political economy and the French socialism. Marxism has become the thought of the proletarian class, the theoretical epitome of the practical experiences of the workers' movement and the finest product of scientific knowledge. "The genius of Marx resides in the fact that Marx found out the solution to all problems raised by progressive people". (8) The great force of Marxism is that it succeeds in combining an absolute revolutionary and highly scientific characteristic which becomes irresistible material force when penetrating the masses. The enemy of the proletarian class spares no spiteful means to distort and slander Marxism, but the more the latter is under attack, the more it shows its strength and becomes more vital and active than ever among the laboring class. It is evident that "there is no genius in history that can compare with Karl Marx, there is no theory that has such deep influence on the development of human society as Marx's theory" (9) Marx' theory was founded hundred years ago. But it is still as bright and active as ever. At the beginning of this century, Lenin, in continuing the work of Marx and Engels, developed Marxian ideas and brought Marxism to new dimensions according to the new historical conditions. Leninism is simply the projection of Marxian ideas into the imperialist era and proletarian revolution. Under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the working class, laboring masses and all oppressed nations in the world have achieved infinitely great victories, among which the Great October Revolution has been the most important of all in setting out the transitional period from capitalism to socialism .

Today, the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism has become a vital reality in 13 socialist countries which represent over one-fourth of the globe and one-third of its population. Socialism has spread beyond the limits of one country and the world socialist system which has taken shape, is becoming the decisive factor of development of human society. In the capitalist countries, the working class and laboring masses unite stronger every day under the Marxism-Leninist banner in their struggle against monopolistic capitalism for the safe-guard of people's livelihood, democracy and social progress. The national liberation movements which oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism are storming the Asian, African and Latin American continents. The anti-imperialist movement for the safe-guard of peace is developing every day among progressive people the world revolutionary movement is being an offensive position. Meanwhile, the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. imperialists are driven down and down into a general crisis because of the deepening of the contradictions inherent to capitalism and the continuing and all sided attacks of the world revolutionary forces. Despite all their economic, political and military plans, the imperialists are forced to keep on withdrawing from one position to another.

All those facts clearly show the falseness of capitalist rhetoric aimed at saving the capitalist regimes, and at the same time spell out the correctness, great force of attraction and deep influence exerted by Marxism-Leninism.

Since its birth till now, our Party led by President Ho, has always been truthful to the Marxist-Leninist principles. In applying the latter to the concrete conditions of our country, our Party has set a correct and creative national revolutionary line which best corresponds to the development laws of the Vietnamese society. In leading the Vietnamese revolution, our Party has found out a creative revolutionary tactic and strategy in conformity with the conditions of our country, and thereby contributed to the enrichment of the principles on the people's national democratic revolution in an agricultural and colonized country. The creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the formulation of a correct political and military line are among the major factors leading our people from victory to victory in the past years.

This year, we celebrated the birth of Karl Marx at a moment when the anti-US war for national salvation of our people is entering a new and decisive phase. We must strive to study Marxism and the revolutionary qualities of Marx; magnify his absolute revolutionary spirit and thorough scientific characteristic in everyone of our activities, and at the same time make every effort to study and strictly observe the revolutionary line and policy of our Party—product of the correct and creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country—in order to lead the anti-US war for national salvation and the construction of socialism towards ultimate victory.

- (1) Lenin: Marx - Engels - Marxism, Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 23
- (2) Lenin: "Historical Fortune of Marxism" Marx - Engels - Marxism, Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 75.
- (3), (4) Marx - Engels: "Letter Addressed to Videmyer by Marx", Selected Works, Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, volume II, p 738.
- (5) Marx - Engels: "Selected Works", Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, volume I, p 37.
- (6), (7) *ibid* p 151-152
- (8) Lenin: "The Three Sources and Forms of Marxism", Marx - Engels - Marxism, Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 68.
- (9) Le Duan: "International Problems", Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, p 55.

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## NEW POLITICAL VICTORY SCORED IN HEROIC SOUTH

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 5, May 1968, pp. 76-79.]

Along with resounding victories on the battlefields, our compatriots in the South have just scored a new political victory of important significance--the birth of the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces headed by lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao.

In the last 12, 13 years, the U.S. imperialists carried out aggression in our country, committed many crimes that both Heaven and the earth could not tolerate. Our Southern compatriots had to live shameful days under the ruthless rule of the U.S.-puppet clique. The aggressive war started by the U.S. imperialists seriously threatened the material and spiritual living of our Southern compatriots. Their bombs, shells, and chemical poisons destroyed villages, houses, ricefields, gardens, cities in the South. Hundreds of thousands of our compatriots were killed by them. The more they lost, the more ruthless they became, the more crimes they committed.

In the cities temporarily occupied by the U.S.-puppets, our compatriots' economic, political, cultural, and spiritual living was suffocating. The economy was on the decline; money lost its value; prices went up fast; unemployment was spreading; social ills like prostitution, hooliganism, stealing, rape were terribly common; terrorism, oppression, seizure of draftees, eviction from houses and land continually took place. Under the heels of U.S. expeditionary troops, national culture and education were trampled over; the U.S.-styled "fast living" was destroying the spirit of a number of people in cities. The cities of the South under the U.S.-puppet rule became barracks, whorehouses, a society full of dishonesty, lewdness, debauchery, decadence.

In the face of such a situation, any Vietnamese still having the people's blood in his veins could not stand still. Iron and steel, money, psychological warfare, and all other maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists were unable to prevent the awakening of nationalist spirit among strata of the city populations. Long ago our city compatriots began rising up to struggle hard, patiently, continually; refused to coexist with the U.S. aggressors and their lackey -traitors; and one after another began joining the anti-U.S. resistance

for salvation of our nation and families, regaining of independence, sovereignty, freedom, democracy, peace. The first struggles were those firm lasting ones by the worker class and the working people, which had the effect of attracting other population strata; there were struggles of workers in entire branches like dock workers, rubber and coffee plantation workers, taxi drivers, pedicab drivers, with hundreds of thousands of participants. Particularly since the U.S. expeditionary army directly invaded our country, the struggling movement of our city compatriots was rising fast to be in harmony with the successive struggles of our rural compatriots. Among those social strata, including civil servants and puppet officers, there were clear changes in spirit and attitude; and by one way or another they acted against the U.S. and Thieu-Ky. The general offensive and uprising of our Southern compatriots early this year, which struck the very nest of the U.S.-puppets, further aroused the nationalist spirit of those strata, helped them to see the people's great strength, permitted them to evaluate more correctly the aggressors' force and to think more about their responsibility for the nation's destiny. Since then, there have been more notables, intellectuals, doctors, teachers, writers, journalists, students, businessmen, members and officers in the puppet government and army joining the struggle against the U.S. and Thieu-Ky. A wide anti-U.S. front for national salvation, consisting of individuals and political and religious organizations of many tendencies and shades, was actually formed in the Southern cities and led to the birth of the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces.

The birth of the Alliance is a great achievement in the revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South in general, and of the city populations in particular. It eloquently proves the deep patriotism of all strata of the people of the South. Those who joined the Alliance are all those who have clearly recognized the situation, know how to place the vital interests of our fatherland and nation above everything else, and pledge to share together the heavy responsibility to history. Patriotism always is a sacred sentiment of our people. This sentiment is the source of our strength, the strength of a people that never submits itself to slavery. In the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation today, it is multiplied several times. It exists not only in the hearts of all strata of the working people, but also in the mind of the above-mentioned strata, including those who still remain in enemy ranks but have some conscience of their own.

The birth of the Alliance is a new development of the all-people great unity bloc. The NFLSV advocates great unity among the people to fight the U.S. for national salvation. This correct line is the source of every gain of the army and people of the South. The fortress of the all-people great unity bloc turned all the shrewd plots of the U.S.-puppets bankrupt, made them bog down more deeply and suffer from miserable defeats. Today, the people of the South have new favorable conditions to expand further this great unity bloc. The great and all-out victories scored by the army and people of the South since the general offensive and uprising early this year are strongly encouraging all strata of the people in the South. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are having big losses, and getting seriously weakened. Their extremely savage aggressive and traitorous policies are seriously affecting the living, sentiments, and interests of the great majority of the people; digging wider than ever the

contradictions between our people and the U.S. imperialists and the clique of Vietnamese traitors.

The Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces, by its birth alone, deals another blow at the desperate effort of the U.S. aggressors to protect the Thieu-Ky puppet regime, which has always been shaky, from the attacks of the army and people of the South. Never before has the U.S.-Thieu-Ky clique been as isolated as it is today. The social base of the puppet army and puppet government, which has always been weak, is being weakened further. A number of people in the puppet army and puppet government now recognize better the loathsome face of the U.S. imperialists and the Thieu-Ky clique, hate them, stay away from them, hope to be able to contribute to the anti-U.S. resistance of all our people for national salvation.

The Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces has set forth its stand, attitude, goal, and program of action. In its national-salvation declaration, it set forth this goal: to unite all patriotic forces and individuals; to fight foreign aggression firmly; to overthrow the whole of the Nguyen Van Thieu-Nguyen Cao Ky puppet regime; to establish a national coalition government; to regain independence, democracy, and peace.

That is a correct stand, calling for wide unity of all patriotic forces to fight the U.S. imperialists and the Nguyen Van Thieu-Nguyen Cao Ky puppet regime, created and nurtured by the U.S. to serve as its tool for aggression of the South and oppression against the people of the South. This stand is consistent with the earnest aspirations of our Southern compatriots in the present stage for independence, democracy, and peace.

In its declaration, the Alliance also set forth a practical program of action consisting of the following: to end the aggressive war, to restore peace, to regain independence and national sovereignty; to create South Vietnam as an independent, free, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous nation; to move toward peaceful reunification of the country on the basis of the North and the South discussing and negotiating on an equal footing and respecting each other's characteristics.

Our people eagerly want peace, not a U.S.-styled peace, but peace in true independence and freedom. And there can be peace in true independence and freedom only when the U.S. aggressors no longer trample over the land of the South, when the puppets-lackeys are overthrown. Therefore, in order to regain independence and national sovereignty, the Alliance demands that the U.S. government end the war, withdraw U.S. and allied troops from South Vietnam, dismantle its military bases, respect Vietnam's independence and sovereignty as the 1954 Geneva Accord on Vietnam stipulates.

Our people not only want to live in peace, but also want to live free and happy. Therefore, after regaining national sovereignty, the Alliance will always unite with patriotic forces and individuals; heal the war wounds; reconstruct the country; build an independent, sovereign, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous nation. The political system in South Vietnam must be one in which the people have true democratic freedom, all citizens are equal

in every way; South Vietnam's economy must be an independent, self-ruled, and prosperous one, with the interests of the working people and other social strata being well taken care of; the influences of the decadent degenerate culture must be abolished, the fine traditions of the nation's culture must be developed. South Vietnam will be an independent country having full sovereignty and an unaligned diplomatic line; maintaining good relations with all countries without discrimination of political system, provided these countries truly respect Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; attaching importance to friendship with the neighboring countries of Cambodia and Laos.

Regarding reunification of the country, the Alliance indicates that it is the earnest desire and sacred duty of all our people. The Alliance advocates discussions and negotiations between the South and the North on the basis of equality and mutual respect of each other's characteristics in order to move toward peaceful reunification of our country. While reunification has not yet been achieved, there should be relations between the two parts in regard to economic, cultural, postal, free-circulation matters.

The stand and views of the Alliance in the political, economic, cultural, and foreign policy fields are rational and consistent with the actual current situation in the South and with the political platform of the NFLSV.

Regarding the NFLSV, the Alliance recognizes and highly evaluates its role and big contributions to the fight of the Southern people against foreign aggression. The NFLSV has been relentlessly developing the traditions of unity and invincible struggle; encouraging, organizing, leading the different strata of the population of the South in the struggle against the U.S.-puppets; leading the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation to brilliant victories. The line the NFLSV adopted has been proved correct; the Front forces have a decisive character, with its achievements being very great and its prestige in the country and the world being raised higher than ever. Therefore, the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces clearly indicated in its declaration that the NFLSV cannot be absent in the settling of any problem in South Vietnam. The Alliance advanced the stand calling for joint efforts and discussions with the Front in order to regain national independence, to restore peace, to reconstruct the country, to bring a life of freedom and happiness to all our people.

On its part, the NFLSV highly evaluated the birth of the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces. Loyal to its national-salvation goals and its great-unity policy, the Front supported the political stand and program of action of the Alliance, stayed ready to combine its action with that of the Alliance in order to defeat a common enemy; to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous South Vietnam; to move toward reunification of the country.

A form of uniting the new patriotic forces in the Southern cities, the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces, by its birth, marks a new development of the Southern people's great unity bloc. Born in the most decisive stage of our people's revolutionary work, the Alliance will surely

develop its role fast and make a glorious contribution to the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation.

We warmly welcome the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peaceful Forces; warmly welcome and support its national-salvation declaration and program of action.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S ECONOMY GROWS CONTINUOUSLY

[Article by Quang Hai; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 5, May 1968, pp.80-84.]

Prior to World War II, Czechoslovakia had been a country with a developed economy. However, the Czech economy then was one that had been lame in its development. Industry mainly produced such consumer items as cotton materials, shoes, glass wares, foods, etc. Agriculture had not been developed, with grains being mostly imported from other countries. Moreover, production arrangements had not been done smoothly. Slovakia, a large area with 31.1 percent of the country's population, had been remaining in a backward agricultural state. In addition to that, during the Nazi occupation, many pieces of machinery and economic establishments were destroyed and looted; therefore, Czechoslovakia's industrial output after the day of liberation (9 May 1945) was only 50 percent of its prewar output.

After the day of liberation and mostly after the victory in February 1948, when the resistance of the Czech bourgeoisie was defeated, the worker class and its party, the Czech Communist Party, led the Czech people toward rebuilding their country. Since then, the face of Czechoslovakia has completely changed. Today, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia is one of the countries in the world having a developed economy and a modern industry. With a population equal only to .5 percent of the world population, Czechoslovakia's industrial output accounted for 2 percent of the world's total industrial output. The continuous development of socialist Czechoslovakia in the last 23 years eloquently proved the superiority of the socialist system as compared with the capitalist system.

After the return of power to the people, under the leadership of the Czech Communist Party, special attention was paid to the building of heavy industry for the purpose of eliminating the lack of balance in the prewar economy. At present, Czechoslovakia's heavy industry, with over a million workers, accounts for 41 percent of its total industrial output and provides it with 62 percent of the goods for export.

Metallurgy and machinery making are the two branches in the Czech heavy

industry that are developed with priority. Compared to 1948 represented by an index of 100, the present Czech industrial output is 444, with the indexes for metallurgy and machinery making being 447 and 318, respectively. In this period, the composition of the machinery industry increased from 18.9 to 31.8 percent. This is a pretty high rate of increase. The Czech machinery-making industry can supply all the necessary equipment to thermoelectric or hydroelectric plants, mining industry, metallurgical plants, chemical factories, etc. Moreover, it also manufactures other pieces of machinery, such as 200-megawatt steam turbines, water turbines of all sizes, equipment for chemical industry, means of transportation, farm machinery, medical tools, radios, television sets, etc. In the past years, not only did Czechoslovakia's machinery-making industrial branch satisfy the needs for machinery and equipment for building and repairing projects in the country, but it also provided materials for export. Czechoslovakia supplied many countries in the world with tens of thousands of machine tools, tractors, generators, etc. Hundreds of factories of all kinds have been built in Asian, African, Latin American countries with Czechoslovakia's equipment.

Metallurgy is the base for the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia to develop machinery making and other people's economic branches. It is among the top countries in the world having the highest per capita steel production. It is not a coincidence that people call it the "forge in Central Europe." In fact, if the per capita steel output is 100 for Czechoslovakia, it is only 81 for Austria, 93 for Sweden, 78 for Britain, 66 for France, and 97 for the U.S. In 1966, Czechoslovakia produced 8.25 million tons of steel (excluding the output of machinery-making plants), nearly 8 million tons of metals of various shapes and types. This output can be further increased after completion in the coming years of the metallurgical plants in East Slovakia, and as the existing ones are further modernized.

The Czech electrical branch also shows remarkable progress. In 1966, its output was 36.5 billion kilowatts/hour, or nine times that of 1937; it is expected that by 1970, or the end of the fourth five-year plan, this output will be 149 billion kilowatts/hour.

Along with the priority given to heavy industrial development, the party and Government of Czechoslovakia also pay much attention to the development of light industry to satisfy their people's consumption needs and the need for export. The branches that bear some traditional character like pottery, ceramics, glass industry, etc. made new progress and account for a considerable portion of all exports. The lumber exploiting and processing industry also made fast progress and is now 3.5 times as large as it was in 1948. Other production branches like the shoe making and weaving industries also developed fast.

As we deal with the achievements in Czechoslovakia's industrial development, we cannot help talking about the industrial development of Slovakia. As required by the decision to change the face of the entire nation and to bring a new living to all parts of Czechoslovakia through implementation of the party's national policy, Slovakia which had been staying away from economic development has undergone great changes. Since 1948, more than 250 new plants have

been built there; at the same time, the old plants were expanded and given new equipment. Slovakia now is among the most industrially developed areas in terms of per capita industrial output. With a population of 4.4 million people, it has an industrial output equal to that of all 14 million people of Czechoslovakia before World War II. At present, it has all the major industrial branches, and very modern ones. There they produce 30 percent of the country's total chemical output and have plans to build many new big chemical plants. Czechoslovakia is also building the steel-cast iron complex in East Slovakia to provide an annual output of 4 million tons of sheet steel. When this big complex starts production, not only will Czechoslovakia be able to satisfy its increasing needs for good-quality sheet steel, but it will also have plenty of steel for export. The Bogiani electric power plant in East Slovakia, with an output of 600 megawatts, has recently started operating. The machinery-making industry has made fast progress in its development, with production of items like machine tools, medical appliances, radios, river boats, and complicated ball bearings. At present in Slovakia there are plants and products that satisfy international standards.

Another remarkable thing is that in the last 23 years the Czech people scored big victories not only in industrial production, but also in agricultural production.

The above victories are closely linked with the movement for agricultural cooperativization, which the party launched in 1949 and was completed in 1960. At present, the socialist sector in agriculture accounts for over 90 percent of agricultural land and 92.5 percent of cultivated land. Agricultural cooperativization created favorable conditions for the application of advanced techniques to agricultural production and increasing of agricultural productivity. Although the weather in the last few years was unfavorable and there was still difficult manpower problem in agriculture, with the urgent efforts of the Czech people their agricultural production increased to a considerable level. Compared to 1948, the Czech total agricultural output in 1966 increased by 45 percent. In 1967, with a greatly successful crop, it increased 3.5 percent over the 1966 mark, which had been the highest annual output. Output per hectare of grains increased 30-40 percent over the prewar level. While in the years 1930-1932 a Czech agricultural labor unit produced enough food to supply to three persons, in 1966 it produced enough food for 11 persons and despite the fact that individual rations had increased about 25 percent. Productivity of cultivated crops, particularly barley and sugar beet, was raised. Intensive cultivation through the use of high-productivity seeds and a lot of chemical fertilizer brought about good results. The average productivity of barley was 25.5 quintals/hectare, in some areas even 40 or 45 quintals. The average productivity of sugar beet was 320 quintals/hectare, an increase of 60 percent over the prewar level.

Animal husbandry also developed on a large scale and along with modernization. For every hectare of land, the Czech people produced 67.2 kilograms of beef, or 37 percent higher than the prewar level, 90 kilograms of pork, or 30 percent higher. Milk production also reached good results. At present every cow supplies 2,081 liters of milk a year, as compared with 1,000 liters in 1963.

With a large state-operated sector, Czechoslovakia's agriculture is moving fast on the road to using farm machinery. In the last 23 years, more farm machines were used. Before the war the Czech farmers had only two tractors for every 1,000 hectares, but now they have 17 tractors for the same area. At present there are in the Czech countryside 130,000 tractors (as compared with 8,000 before the war), 11,000 trucks, 20,000 wheat threshers, and about 30,000 generators. Mechanization of agriculture gets more and more perfect everyday, with a lot of complicated machines. Cultivation and harvest of grain-yielding plants, as well as growing and storing of grass, all are done by machines. According to present plans, by 1970 the Czech people will use machinery to harvest 90 percent of grain-yielding plants, 80 percent of potato, 84 percent of sugar beet, and 85 percent of grass. Animal-raising is also mechanized. Animal-raising farms and stables are equipped with milking and feed-pumping machines.

Chemicals are also used more and more in agriculture. The amount of chemical fertilizer used per hectare increased from 13kg in 1938 to 125kg in 1966, and is expected to increase to 200kg in the future.

On the basis of developed industrial and agricultural production, the Czech people's material and cultural living has been raised continuously. As compared to 1965, consumption of individuals and society increased 4 percent in 1966, national revenue 7 percent; actual salaries of workers and civil servants increased 2 percent. Health allowances and social security benefits amounted to 26.3 billion crowns. Since 1 July 1966, all Czechoslovakians could get free medical care. The number of universities and high schools has been increasing more and more. At present, Czechoslovakia has 48 universities, with 108 schools and 141,943 students. Primary and junior high school students do not have to pay tuition; books and teaching materials are all financed by the Government. The number of kindergarten schools in Czechoslovakia has been increasing, too. At present there are 7,300 kindergarten schools taking care of 330,000 children from 3 to 6.

The great achievements in Czechoslovakia's economic building and developing work have been the results of sacrifices and hard work of the worker class and working people, led by the Communist Party in the last 23 years. Such achievements are not separated from the cooperation and mutual assistance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist camp.

Regarding the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation, the Czech people have been showing their agreement, support, and valuable assistance. The Czech party and Government many times announced their total solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and firm support for the correct stand of the DRV Government and the NFLSV Political Platform. The Thirteenth Congress of the Czech Communist Party (May 1966) issued a statement "firmly and angrily to condemn the shameful U.S. aggression against the peace-loving Vietnamese people." The Congress "highly evaluated the courage and heroic spirit of the Vietnamese people, and once again solemnly affirmed its total solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle against

the U.S. aggressors."

The Czech people's movement to support Vietnam has widely developed and has been carried on in many rich forms. From rural areas to cities, all strata of the Czech working population have been following the situation in Vietnam and realistically supporting Vietnam in the following forms: to collect signatures throughout the country to protest the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam; to organize labor teams bearing the name of Vietnam; to organize "show solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people" days; to work overtime to raise money for Vietnam and to collect contributions to be sent to the Vietnamese people for rebuilding of the hospitals and schools destroyed by U.S. aircraft; to manufacture the lines of goods needed by Vietnam, etc.

In the face of the U.S. imperialists' war escalations in Vietnam, many Czech citizens and army units expressed their desire to fight at the side of the fraternal Vietnamese people. Expressing the Czech people's desire, the Czech party and government delegation, in its visit in Vietnam in September, 1966, made it clear: "... The Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia will continue to support the DRV spiritually and politically, and also to assist it in strengthening its economic and defense potentiality. Our delegation reaffirms that, by virtue of the Bucharest Declaration, if the DRV Government requests, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia will readily make it possible for Czech volunteers to go to Vietnam to fight at the side of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression."

Recently many leaders of the Czech party and Government welcomed the Vietnamese people's brilliant early-spring victories, and once again reaffirmed the agreement and support of the Czech party, Government, and people for the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation until complete victory.

We earnestly thank the Czech party, Government, and people for having warmly requested and assisted our people in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. We wish that the Czech people, with a tradition of revolutionary struggle, would score even bigger victories in the building of socialism in their country, thus strengthening the socialist camp and effectively defending peace in Europe and in the world.



## U. S. AGGRESSORS BEATEN BUT REMAIN STUBBORN

Commentary; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1968, pp 87-897

Heavily defeated in both parts of our country, the Americans must sit down with us for official talks in Paris. But they have not abandoned their scheme to invade our country. From the speeches of Harriman, the U. S. Government representative in the official U. S. -- DRV talks in Paris, everyone knows that the United States remains stubborn in its aggressive, colonialist stand on the Vietnam problem. The U. S. representative is trying to distort the cause of the Vietnam war, which is U. S. aggression.

The United States has sent its troops tens of thousands of kilometers to invade Vietnam, slaughter the Vietnamese people, and destroy Vietnamese territory. It is the aggressor in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are opposing this aggression. This is as clear as day.

But the U. S. representative has turned white into black, distorting the truth and using sophistry to argue that the Vietnamese people's anti-U. S. struggle for national salvation is "an aggressive act," whereas the introduction of U. S. troops into Vietnam is meant only to "oppose aggression."

Day and night, the United States has sent warplanes and ships to bomb, strafe, and destroy the DRV, an independent and sovereign country. The entire world has condemned the United States, demanding that it unconditionally end these piratic acts. But the U. S. representative continues to demand "reciprocity" -- that is, the DRV must pay before the United States will end its illegal acts.

The U. S. representative is attempting to evade those basic problems dealing directly with ending the Vietnam war and peacefully settling the Vietnam problem -- for example, U. S. respect for the Vietnamese people's basic national rights to independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity; an end to the aggressive U. S. war in Vietnam; U. S. and satellite troop withdrawal from South Vietnam; an unconditional halt in U. S. air attacks and all other acts of war throughout DRV territory; and a halt to U. S. interference in Vietnam's internal affairs.

Denounced by our representative, the U. S. representative cannot evade completely the above basic problems. He can merely reply obstinately that the United States has "a legal basic for maintaining its presence in Vietnam." In order to cause misunderstanding among public opinion, the U. S. representative has stated loosely that similar viewpoints exist between the DRV and U. S. stands; that both sides have talked of an independent, democratic, peaceful, and prosperous South Vietnam, stating that the restoration of peace must be based on the respect for the 1954 Geneva agreements; that the South Vietnamese people should be free to settle their own internal affairs; that reunification must be carried out peacefully; and that the military clauses of the 1954 Geneva agreements must be strictly observed.

The "similarity" that the U. S. representative has talked of is merely a "similarity" between water and fire. Faced with the unsubmissive and heroic struggle of our people and the just stand of our government, it is impossible for the U. S. Government not to mention "independence, democracy, and peace in South Vietnam" if it wishes to deceive public opinion. The terms independence, democracy, and peace, as used by the U. S. representative, only mean independence, democracy, and peace under the domination of a puppet government set up by the Americans, merely a type of U. S. neocolonialism.

It is quite clear that the Americans continue to talk of "respect for the 1954 Geneva agreements" while ruthlessly trampling them. The Americans have introduced troops and weapons into South Vietnam and set up many military bases to wage an aggressive war against Vietnam and to interfere in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people, brazenly violating the 1954 Geneva agreements. It is quite clear that the Americans continue to say that "the South Vietnamese people must themselves decide their own destiny" while sending troops to wage an aggressive war against South Vietnam and ruthlessly interfering in the internal affairs of the South Vietnamese people.

They have said that reunification must be carried out peacefully, but for the past 13 years, they have continually made every effort to prolong the division of Vietnam and tried every means to carry out their armed aggression against the DRV. It is quite obvious that the Americans talk one way and act another.

The contradictions between their words and acts have been bared before the eyes of the world's people. In his plea for the unjust stand of his government, the U. S. representative has revealed the stubbornness and inconsistency of his arguments. He has made every effort to prettify their lackeys in Saigon, but everybody knows that they are merely U. S. helpers, nourished and protected by U. S. dollars and weapons and representing no one.

The U. S. Government's position on the Vietnam issue, as presented by Harriman in the official talks in Paris, is a colonialist and aggressive one, and one which is very stubborn. Minister Xuan Thuy, our government's representative, has profoundly criticized and resolutely rejected that reactionary position of the U. S. Government.

At the same time, Minister Xuan Thuy has clearly expounded the principled position of our government and people, pointing out the heavy U. S. setbacks and our great victories, and voicing our people's iron-like determination to fight to the end to defend their basic national rights. Our government's representative's attitude is one of correctness and good will.

The stubborn U. S. attitude has been expressed not only at the Paris talks, but also on the battlefield. Recently in the south, the Americans have launched successive largescale military operations in eastern Nam Bo, on Route 9, and in western Thua Thien. They have started large fires in the U Minh forest and carried out mop-up, terroristic operations and great massacres in many rural areas while wantonly bombing populous centers in Saigon and other cities and towns.

In the north, the Americans have failed to stop unconditionally the bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV. From the time the Americans announced a "limited bombing," and even while official talks proceed in Paris, they have accelerated their attack against an important part of DRV territory. These U. S. actions have proven that although sustaining heavy setbacks and having to sit down with us to talk in Paris, the Americans remain stubborn, lacking a proper attitude for solving the Vietnam issue peacefully.

Our government and people dearly love peace. But it can only be a genuine peace in real independence and freedom. Our government and people clearly showed their good will by sending a representative to Paris to talk officially with the representative of the U. S. Government. The progress of these official talks depends primarily on the attitude of the U. S. Government. As long as the Americans stubbornly cling to their colonialist and aggressive position and continue the aggressive war against our country, our people will continue to heighten vigilance and resolutely fight to defend their basic national rights.

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