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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 830

Hoc TAP, No. 9, 1970



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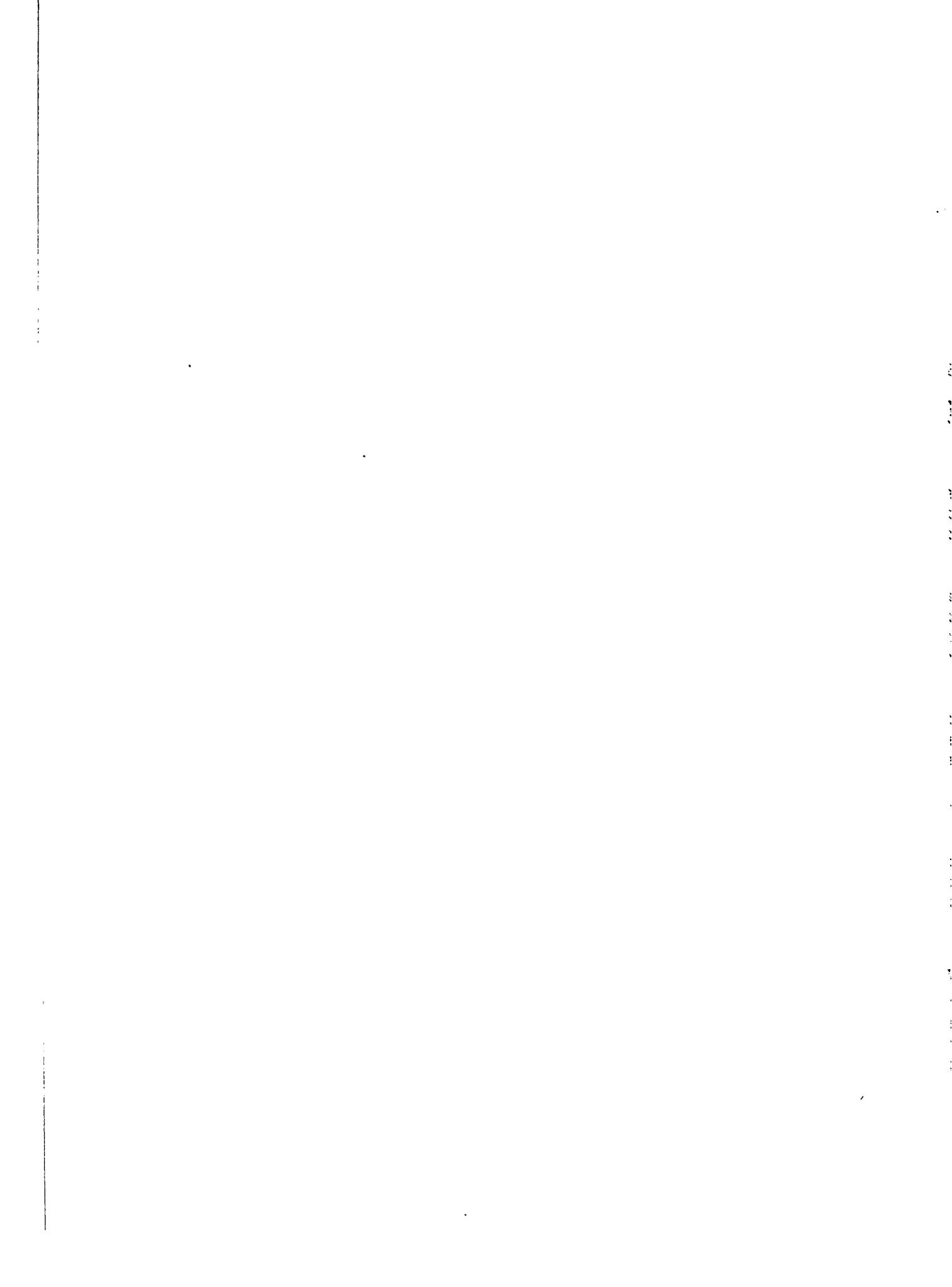
## TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 830

Hoc TAP, No. 9, 1970

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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WARMLY WELCOME THE 25TH NATIONAL DAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

[Editorial: Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 1-15 ]

Twenty-five years ago, during the historic days of fall, a great event took place in our country -- the victory of the August Revolution which led to the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the birth of a people's democratic regime in Vietnam.

Since then, in only a quarter of a century, our people, under the leadership of the party and President Ho, have undertaken the task of carrying out two large revolutions -- a national democratic revolution and a socialist revolution -- and two prolonged resistances against imperialism, previously against the French and currently against America.

Looking back, each of us can be extremely proud of our heroic people and our great Party! We are proud of and remember with deep gratitude our beloved President Ho, the talented leader and great teacher of the Vietnam revolution, founder of our party and country, and a person who was always a symbol of wartime victory for independence, freedom and socialism in Vietnam!

The past 25 years was a heroic and glorious struggle by our people to win political power, and to build, maintain, and consolidate the new political power and new regime. This was also the birth and maturation of the new socialist regime in our country!

The birth of this new regime was the glorious August Revolution. The August Revolution was the inheritor and developer of the heroic tradition of our forefathers during thousands of years of building and holding the country. The August Revolution was the culmination of nearly a century of determined and resolute struggle against the rule of the French imperialists, especially the 15 years of violent struggle of our people under the leadership of the party and President Ho for independence and freedom.

As the organizer of the victory of the August Revolution, since it was founded and in the revolutionary struggle to come, our Party outlines the correct democratic people's revolutionary path; organizes the revolutionary forces of the people closely and completely; and continues to set down rich and flexible policy depending on the specific situation of the revolution at the time. The leadership of our Party guided our country's revolution during the 1930's. It overcame the cruel pressures of the enemy and did not cease to develop.

Entering the 1940's, our Party continued to energetically prepare every aspect of the revolutionary forces. The eighth meeting of the Party's Central Committee at Pac Bo in May 1941, which, chaired by President Ho, perfected the strategic direction of the party with regard to national and democratic revolutions. The meeting raised many important subjects such as national liberation, the determination to establish the Viet Minh Front and the National Salvation Congress, the build up of revolutionary bases in the countryside, the organization of the armed and paramilitary forces of the masses, and so on in an effort to prepare conditions for a national uprising to gain political power and destroy the enemy's ruling yoke.

In August 1945, the opportunity arose. The Central Committee of the Party launched a national uprising to win political power through the entire country. Relying on their own political and military forces which had been prepared beforehand, our people from the north to the south, in accordance with the appeal from the Party and President Ho, stood up to take political power from the hands of the Japanese aggressors and overthrew the lackey administration in the cities and the countryside.

The August Revolution was a people's national democratic revolution with special characteristics of anti-imperialism and national liberation. The August Revolution wiped out nearly a century of French imperialist rule and nearly a thousand years of feudal rule in our country.

The August Revolution had very broad people's characteristics and very deep class characteristics. It was the mighty action of tens of millions of people whose hatred had become extreme for the cruel rule of the enemy and were determined to regain the independence of the fatherland and freedom of the people. It was a widespread revolutionary struggle, attracting all classes -- using the worker-farmer class as the main force -- and led by the worker class.

The August Revolution victory ushered in a new era in the history of our country -- an era of independence, freedom and socialism. The August Revolution brought a new period to our country -- the period of the glorious Ho Chi Minh.

The August Revolution was the first great victory of Marxist-Leninism in a colonial and semifeudal country. It dealt a strong blow to the colonial system of imperialism and made important contributions to the coming of a time for the destruction of that system all over the world.

The August Revolution is one of the revolutions that has important significance in the present era. It portrays the precious experiences with regard to correctly solving the relationship between the subject of nationality and the subject of class; the close association between the task of opposing imperialism and the task of opposing imperialism, and centering the thrust of the attack on the enemy's weak area; on coordinating the military struggle with the political struggle to crush the ruling grip of the enemy; on advancing the uprising step by step and arriving at a general uprising to gain political power throughout the entire country; and so on.

After the August Revolution, on 2 September 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born. It was the first people's democracy in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia.

A revolutionary achievement of the people of the entire country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam realized the political power of our people in every part of the fatherland. It realized the deep-seated aspirations of our people for a happy life in independence and freedom. It expressed the will and determination of our people to protect their basic rights and build a new life. Approximately a year's existence as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam proved that our regime and our country, led by our Party and with the wholehearted protection of the people, and even though the country was still young, had very great potential. In the span of approximately one year, we had to cope with a myriad of serious problems created by internal and foreign enemies and by nature. The Chiang Kai-shek and British armies entered our country with the excuse of disarming the Japanese army, but they schemed to overthrow our revolutionary administration. The French army with British and U.S. aid once again began to occupy our country. Traitors and reactionary elements within the country rose up in many areas to oppose and destroy the revolution. Unprecedented starvation and flooding ravaged our country, and so on. Difficulties pushed in again and again; it appeared that they might crush the revolutionary government. However, all these difficulties were adroitly and determinedly overcome by the Party, government, and people. This speaks well for the talents of President Ho, the brilliant leadership of the Party, the untiring and extraordinary efforts of the people, and the resilient vitality of our regime.

The history of the past 25 years is the history of our people's struggle aimed at completing the people's democratic national revolution, protecting the revolutionary government, and building a new society. Two outstanding aspects of the lives of our people throughout that quarter of a century are the attacks on the aggressors and the building of a new socialist regime. In both these aspects our people are carrying out victories under the correct leadership of the Party.

Concerning attacking the enemy: Our people have carried out two prolonged resistances, one against the French colonialists and one against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. They did and are winning glorious victories.

The resistance against the French colonialists was mainly to continue and complete national liberation. Following the sacred appeal of President Ho, "We would rather sacrifice everything than accept the loss of our country; we are determined not to submit to slavery ..." and correctly carrying out the resistance policy of the Party is "complete, total, and prolonged resistance," and "self-reliance," the people of our entire country have manifested the heroic traditions of the nation. They simultaneously carried out resistance and national construction, reduced the interest rate and, making initial steps in land reform, insisted on combating the enemy throughout 9 long years of struggle which culminated in the violent victory at Dien Bien Phu, forcing the French imperialists to end their war of aggression, going to the 1954 Geneva on Vietnam and formalizing the worker's independence, united power, and the territory of our country.

After the victory of the resistance against France, North Vietnam was completely liberated and became the base for the revolution in the whole country. Meanwhile, our South Vietnamese compatriots had to continue the struggle against the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialist's neo-colonialism with a view toward completing the people's democratic nationalist revolution in South Vietnam. Since 1959, after several years of resisting the enemy's extremely cruel suppression, the compatriots in South Vietnam changed to an era of simultaneous military and political struggles, carrying out "simultaneous uprisings" in many places, destroying many "strategic hamlets" and the enemy's administration at the grass roots. After that, the South Vietnamese compatriots completely defeated the U.S.-lackey "special warfare," and since 1965 they have and are defeating the U.S. limited warfare which is participated in by more than half a million U.S. troops. The strong attacks and uprisings at the beginning of the Year of the Monkey (1968) by the army and people of South Vietnam was an important milestone that marked a turning point in the war in South Vietnam. From that point on, more than 1 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops from a strategic counter-offensive were placed in a posture of passive defense on the entire battlefield. Following the Tet of the Year of the Monkey, our people opened a new front -- the foreign diplomatic front -- in conjunction with the military and political struggles within the country.

Accompanying the victory of the South Vietnamese compatriots in the defeat of the U.S. limited warfare, the people of North Vietnam, under the Party's people's war and national defense policy, relying on the strength of the socialist regime, defeated the U.S. imperialists war of destruction, smashed the prestige of the "American Air Force" and forced the U.S. imperialists to unconditionally stop the bombing and shelling of the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. With this victory, our people assured the stability of North Vietnamese socialism and the rear area of the entire country.

The victories in the earlier resistance against the French colonialists and in the current resistance against the U.S. imperialists have important international significance. The victories dealt strong blows to old and neo-colonialism throughout the world and greatly encouraged revolutionary movements in various countries, especially national liberation movements.

Summarizing the experiences of the two resistances, President Ho pointed out that "Through our own experience, the Vietnamese people firmly believe that under the advantageous conditions of the revolutionary movement of the current age, any people, although small, if they are closely united and determined to fight in accordance with a correct political and military policy, and receiving the active support and help of the socialist camp and revolutionary people all over the world, can surely defeat any imperialist aggressor, even the ringleader imperialists -- the U.S. imperialists."<sup>1</sup>

Concerning building a new socialist regime: Our people have also won great victories in this field.

Our North Vietnam entered the road of socialist revolution just 16 years ago. If we subtract the 4 years of resisting the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and the years of economic restoration following the war we have been truly building socialism in peace less than 10 years. Nevertheless, during that short period of time, our people have carried out work of great significance.

Under the leadership of the Party, in only 3 years (1958-1960) our people basically completed the implementation of socialist reform concerning ownership with regard to agriculture, handicrafts, light industry, and privately owned industry and commerce, setting up socialist relations of production, and basically converting the economic base in North Vietnam into a single socialist and semisocialist economic base. This victory basically eliminated the system of one person exploiting another in our North Vietnam.

During the period of the first 5 year plan (1961-1965), we began to seriously build socialism and began to socialize industry. At the same time, we continued to carry out socialist reform under the guidance of the joint policy of the Third National Congress of the Party and resolution of the Party's Central Committee meeting following the congress. As a result, we moved the partial cooperativization of agriculture higher; built up and relied on the products of our first installations in machinery, metallurgy, chemistry and materials to build more new industries and product new products; improved the lives of the people; and won new and outstanding victories in culture, education, public health, and so on. Appraising the advances made in building the economy and culture of the people during the years from 1955 to 1964, President Ho stated, "During the past 100 years, our North Vietnam has taken long strides never before witnessed in the history of our people. The country, the society, and the people have all changed anew."<sup>2</sup>

During the difficult years of resisting the U.S. aggressors war of destruction, our people heroically struggled to carry out the Party's economic redirection policies, increase the economic potential in agriculture increase the localities and cooperatives that achieved a 5-tone per hectare yield of paddy, develop local industry, maintain a number of heavy industry sectors, increase transportation and communications, basically stabilize the lives of the people, and continue to win more victories in education, public health, culture, and so on.

At the present time, our people are making every effort to struggle with a view toward building a rational economic organization that is in agreement with the Party's economic development policy of which the first step is to "give priority to the development of heavy industry in a rational manner on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry; build up the national economy, and, at the same time, develop the local economy." This policy was pointed out in Le Duan's writing for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Party. It is putting into specifics and developing the policy of the Third Party Congress based on our new experiences in building socialism.

The victories of our people during the past 25 years on these two fronts -- in attacking the aggressors in building a new society -- have been very great and are worthy of pride. These victories cannot be separated from the correct leadership of the party represented in the policy of resistance, the policy of building socialism, the Party's foreign policy, and represented in the organization, education, and motivation of the people to carry out these policies. The leadership of the Party is an essential and decisive factor in every victory of our people. Our political party has educated the people and developed their revolutionary heroism to a high level. It has strongly motivated the forces of our people and coordinated these forces with international aid for victory over the enemy and to build a new regime.

These victories cannot be separated from the role of the new socialist regime and the new government of our country.

The new socialist regime has increased and strongly developed the material forces and morale of our people and has developed the effectiveness of international aid. Under the leadership of the Party, our new socialist regime and new government have played an important role in the day to day build up of our people's armed forces; and in the motivation and organization of the political forces of the masses' millions, and in coordinating these two forces to create a combined force in a people's war to defeat an enemy that is twice as well technically equipped as we are. Our socialist country has effectively organized aid for the frontline. It has used every aspect of our people's strength to carry out a total resistance, militarily, economically, culturally, ideologically, and internally and, on the international scene, in the diplomatic struggle. The new socialist regime has

and is playing a large role in the struggle to completely eradicate the old social order. Mainly through the decisive struggle between the two opposing social regimes, that is to say between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary, between the progressive and the reactionary, between the new and the old, and between the civilized and the savage, the new social regime in our country has grown strong and rapidly matured on every front. The economic installations of our regime, following the victory of land reform and of the implementation of socialism and the building of socialism, have become more stable than they were previously, thanks to a regime of socialist ownership of the primary means of production. The dictatorship of the people (the substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat when North Vietnam arrives at that stage of socialist revolution) has become stabilized on the basis of the worker-farmer alliance; the singlemindedness of our people with regard to politics and morale has increased. Our people's armed forces have grown stronger than ever before. And, one thing of which we can be proud is that under the leadership and education of the Party the new people of Vietnam were born into and grew up during years of difficult revolution and especially during the building up and consolidation of the new social regime in our country. These are the "loyal to the country, true to the people" people, intelligent, brave, talented, patriotic, and with a high spirit of international proletarianism. They combine the beautiful traditions of the nation with the most advanced thinking of mankind during the present age.

Twenty-five years of revolution has shown us that our new social system has not failed to grow because of the mutual effects of the two tasks of attacking the aggressors and building a new regime, and of the mutual interplay between the frontline and the rear area. A more fierce attack on the enemy on the frontline demands a step-up in building the new social regime in the rear area. Conversely, the stronger the new social regime in the rear area, the greater effect it will have on promoting and aiding the victory on the frontline.

Our new social regime has had a great effect in the two prolonged resistances of our people against imperialist aggression.

During the period of building socialism, the new social regime creates conditions for the rational use of manpower and the material and technical ways and means and has an overall plan. And, primarily during this period, our new government has and is using as one the tools of the party and people in an effort to carry out the revolutionary mobilizations, in the relations of production, in technology, and in ideology and culture. Of the three, the technology revolution is the focal point. A summary of the simultaneous execution of these three revolutionary mobilizations is a summary of the disciplined development of the overall socialist revolution in our North Vietnam.

Looking back over the past 25 years, we are very proud of the stability of our regime, a regime that has clearly shown its excellent character and strong vitality through extremely difficult challenges. We

are also very proud of the stability of the government of our country, a government that is continually growing stronger in every respect -- ideologically, organizationally, in ability, in management, and so on -- under the leadership of the Party!

Presently, the people of our country are confronted with a pressing and urgent task -- insist on and carrying the resistance against America for national salvation to complete victory.

In South Vietnam, our heroic people are struggling with a view toward smashing the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization of the war" policy, winning larger victories each day, continuing the liberation of South Vietnam, protecting North Vietnam, and carrying out the peaceful unification of the fatherland. The struggle of our people is still dangerous and full of hardships because the U.S. imperialists, although they have been heavily defeated, still have strong military and economic potential and have not abandoned their ambitions to carry out neo-colonialism in South Vietnam and prolong the division of our country. Their "Vietnamization of the war" policy has the characteristic of prolonging the war of invasion in South Vietnam. In an effort to carry out this policy, they are making efforts to consolidate the puppet army and administration and are pushing the "pacification" work in hopes of destroying the revolutionary base of our compatriots. They are carrying out military police operations in hopes of protecting their lackey administration in South Vietnam. At the same time, they have strongly stepped up the special war in Laos and they organized the overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and invaded Cambodia in an effort to help the "Vietnamization of the war" policy and to build a strategic defense line for the United States on the Indochinese Peninsula running from South Vietnam through Cambodia and Laos and into Thailand.

However, reality has progressed contrary to the hopes of the U.S. aggressors because the "Vietnamization of the war" policy was outlined from a position of defeat and contained within it the elements of an unavoidable defeat. With the "Vietnamization of the war" policy the U.S. imperialists have prolonged the war of invasion of Vietnam and have widened the war throughout Indochina. They have and are stumbling over the decisive retaliations of the people of the three countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and the strong protests of the world's people -- including the people of the United States. Even a number of people in U.S. political circles are protesting Nixon's policy of prolonging the war. And, the Allies and satellite countries of the United States show anxiety over the "Vietnamization of the war" plan. It is obvious that in stepping up the "Vietnamization of the war", the U.S. imperialists will only encounter heavier defeat in Vietnam and throughout Indochina and will encounter greater difficulties in the United States and throughout the world. One outstanding point is that the U.S. imperialists are not only encountering difficulties in Vietnam and Laos, but they are encountering serious difficulties in Cambodia where their presence is vanishing before the heroic struggle of the people of Cambodia under the leadership of the Cambodian United National

Front led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Their Invasion into Cambodia has prompted the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos to increase the united struggle against them. This was clearly evidenced in the victory of the recent summit conference of the Indochinese people and close coordination of the struggle by the people of the three countries following the conference.

Clearly recognizing their heavy responsibility for totally defeating the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization of the war" policy and confident of final victory in the revolution, the people of our country are determined and are stepping up the resistance against America for national salvation for final victory and are carrying out the sacred testament of President Ho, "Though many hardships may come, our people will surely win final victory. The U.S. imperialists will surely have to leave our country. Our fatherland will surely be united. The compatriots of North Vietnam and South Vietnam will surely be reunited. Our country will have the great honor of being a small country that heroically defeated two large imperialists -- the United States and France; and that made worthy contributions to the national liberation movement."<sup>3</sup>

In our people's resistance against America for national salvation there are hardships and the resistance will possibly be prolonged before the final victory. The people of North Vietnam have a great responsibility. It is that they must continue to step up the building of socialism, increase the economic and military potential of North Vietnam, timely and adequately respond to the needs of the large frontline, and, at the same time, increase vigilance and be ready to smash every new scheme of the U.S. imperialists with regard to North Vietnam.

Especially on the economic front, during the next few years, the people of North Vietnam must make every effort to overcome the effects of the war, restore and expand the economy, rapidly step up social production, and bring about a strong change in the economy in an effort to assure adequate production of consumer goods and provide for an accumulation. At the same time we must gradually change our economic base so it is more in keeping with the economic development policy of the Party in the initial steps. On that basis, we must solidify North Vietnam on all fronts, carry out the responsibility of the large rear area to the large frontline, and create conditions for the building of socialism on a large scale later on.

Our main direction at the present time is to step up agricultural production and the production of consumer goods. Agricultural production must assure that during the years to come we can solve the basic problem of grains and foodstuffs and create more and more raw materials that can be processed by industry into agricultural products for export. The production of consumer goods must satisfy the basic needs of the locality. Along with increasing state management, we must not cease to widen the base of socialist democracy, develop the spirit of collective ownership in the workers, make

sure that every person is aware of his responsibilities and make every effort to assure that he has a high sense of responsibility and that he has a spirit of strict discipline because that which is best for the collective and the society is best for each worker.

If everyone is to devote his strength effectively to the development of production, there must be coordination between planning and the correct use of economic levers, coordination between encouragement through the use of material advantages and political and ideological education, and coordination between economic measures and political and ideological measures and administrative measures. And, there must be an increase of worker discipline.

Along with developing production we must carry out strict economization as taught by Lenin: "We must carry out a high degree of economy in our state machinery... We must make great efforts to build a nation .. in this, the workers must make every effort to economize in an effort to wipe out even the smallest amount of waste in each area of social life."<sup>4</sup>

In order to provide the the resistance against America for national salvation and victoriously build socialism, a central point is that we must increase the leadership of the Party in policy, organization, and ideology. We must continue to perfect policy; continue and step up the struggle between the two paths to settle the question of "who defeated who" in North Vietnam; understand and correctly use the economic laws of socialism; and so on. We must increase leadership in terms of organization with regard to society. On this subject, raising the leadership ability of the Party organization and of each Party organization has a very important effect. Therefore, we must successfully mobilize to raise the quality of Party members and admit Ho Chi Minh-Class Party members as the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee has initiated. This mobilization must be closely connected with the requirements of the revolution. We must simplify the process from the national level down to the localities and increase the number of workers in production and reduce the number of non-productive workers (not counting national defense forces); promote the cadres that have both revolutionary qualities and specialist abilities; the cadres that have received specialist training must serve production; make every effort to provide economic management training for the political, scientific, and technical cadres; and so on. We must increase ideological training in a practical and effective manner so that every person can have a revolutionary assault spirit, develop revolutionary heroism, and collective mastership thinking; and be prepared to overcome every hardship and sacrifice and become active soldiers in every revolutionary field of endeavor, including economics.

In circumstances where the people's democratic governments carries out the duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Party must aim at highly developing the function and role of the state in carrying out the three revolutionary mobilizations, in economic management as in the task of resisting America for national salvation. Every

Party member and cadre of the Party must set an example for carrying out the state plan, and abiding by the second rule of the Party and obeying the laws of the state, seeing this as their sacred duty.

The past 25 years of the revolution in our country has been very difficult and hard, but they have been filled with glorious victories because we have had the enlightened leadership of the Party, the determined struggle of the people, and the unequalled strength of a new social regime.

Today there are also many difficulties, nevertheless conditions within the country and on the international scene are very advantageous to the revolution in our country. Therefore, we firmly believe that, with the struggle efforts of the entire people, the revolution in our country will win surely even greater victories in the upcoming period of time.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, following the road that the great President Ho outlined, the entire Party, army, and people are heroically pressing forward, carrying the resistance against America for national salvation on to final victory and carrying the building of socialism to a shining successful completion.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh, For Independence and Freedom, For Socialism, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, page 307.
2. Ibid, page 257.
3. Ibid, page 330
4. Lenin, Collected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, Part 2, page 698.

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## CONTINUE IMPLEMENTING PRESIDENT HO'S TESTAMENT

[Article: Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 16-21]

A year has elapsed since the day President Ho passed away. In the past 12 months, turning their suffering into revolutionary deeds, the entire Party, army, and people have perseveringly stepped up the resistance against America for national salvation, pursued socialist construction in North Vietnam, and endeavored to implement President Ho's sacred testament. Our revolutionary deeds in the past year demonstrate that our love for President Ho -- mixed with our love for our Party, our fatherland, and socialism -- has created a strong power which has brought us brilliant feats of arms and achievements everywhere in our heroic country.

President Ho was the great leader of our party, the working class, and our people. For more than half a century, President Ho was the voice of our beloved fatherland; he was the brilliant truth that showed our people the path to follow to achieve independence, freedom, and socialism. Throughout his life, President Ho "had only one desire, the dominant desire was to make our country fully independent, our people fully free, and to bring an abundant and comfortable life and education to all our compatriots." Before departing from this world, President Ho expressed his "ultimate wish" which was that "our entire party and people, closely united in struggle, would build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution." He pointed out that "the resistance against U.S. aggression may drag out. Our compatriots may have to sacrifice much property and many human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight the U.S. aggressors till total victory." He stressed that we "must preserve the unity of mind in the Party as a man preserves his eyes" and that we must keep "our Party truly pure, and remain worthy of its role as the leader and a very loyal servant of the people." He taught that "the Party must work out a good plan for economic and cultural development with a view toward ceaselessly raising the living standards of the people." He added "I wish that our Party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in a way consonant with the requirements of heart and reason".

Undertaken in compliance with the 29 September 1969 directive of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau, the "study and implement President Ho's testament" political action phase has enabled all our Party members and the army and people to more clearly realize the great services rendered by President Ho to our party, our people, and to world revolution as well as his noble and pure revolutionary quality. This realization has increased our pride, enthusiasm, confidence, and determination to advance and pursue his revolutionary career by implementing his testament. The "study and implement President Ho's testament" political action phase has had an important effect on the development of revolutionary feelings and will of the cadres. Party members, and the masses, strengthening the unity and fighting power of our party, army, and people, and accelerating the successful completion of the immediate tasks. To manifest our deep love for and gratitude to President Ho, our Party, army, and people have been engaging in an emulation movement to step up our resistance against America for national salvation and the building of socialism.

South Vietnam, our army and people are focusing their efforts on completely defeating the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy of the U.S. imperialists. Strengthening their gallantry, resourcefulness, and creativeness, our army and people in South Vietnam are attacking the enemy on all battlefields, achieving great victories and, at the same time, strengthening their own forces.

In North Vietnam, we have achieved good results in building socialism and providing aid to the frontline. We have made progress in industry -- especially in the sectors that produce consumer goods and agricultural machinery. Through improving their management -- especially management of labor -- a number of factories have initially increased the number of useful work days and work hours of their workers and have achieved greater economic results in their business transactions. Agriculture in North Vietnam has been strongly developed through various mass movements such as the "3 September" water conservation movement, the "plant trees out of gratitude for Uncle Ho" movement. The movement to carry out the motto "thoroughly understand and correctly implement the cooperative statutes," the struggle movement to achieve the three agricultural objectives, and so forth. The circulation and distribution sector and the communications and transportation sector have scored new accomplishments. The cultural, social, educational, public health, literary, artistic, scientific, and technical sectors have made new contributions to serving the resistance against America for national salvation struggle, the building of socialism, and the people's livelihood. Socialist relations of productions have been consolidated and developed continually. The people's livelihood has been stabilized and even improved in some respects. The great rear's duty toward the great frontline has been fulfilled satisfactorily. Attention has been paid to making preparations for a new step in economic development.

Since early this year, to strongly accelerate the building of socialism and continue to give aid to the frontline, in answer to the appeal of the

Party and government, the people of North Vietnam have endeavored to satisfactorily carry out the productive labor and economy movement in order to successfully fulfill the 1970 state plan.

The Party-launched movement to develop democracy and strengthen the collective ownership system of cooperative members in the countryside has contributed to consolidating a step further the socialist relations of production in the countryside, insuring cooperative members' collective ownership rights in the fields of production, distribution, voting, and supporting elections; developing the masses' revolutionary spirit; and developing agricultural production a step further.

To increase the Party's fighting power, consolidate the unity of mind inside the party, and strengthen the party-masses relationship, the Party Central Committee Political Bureau has decided to launch a movement to improve the quality of the Party members and recruit party members of the Ho Chi Minh class. Enthusiastically joined by a majority of cadres and party members, this movement has contributed to keeping the Party pure, stable, and strong so that it can lead our people in defeating U.S. aggression and successfully build socialism.

Heightening their revolutionary vigilance, the army and people of North Vietnam have fought heroically, downing many U.S. aircraft which violated the airspace of North Vietnam to bomb and strafe many areas and annihilating many spies and commandoes sent into North Vietnam by the United States and the puppets.

Standing side by side with the friendly Laotian and Cambodian army and people, both the army and people of North and South Vietnam, in a year of implementing President Ho's testament, have fought heroically and won glorious victories and inflicted heavy defeats upon the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, driving them into a confused and stalemated situation and causing them to encounter insurmountable difficulties.

Shortly after President Ho's passing away, the U.S. aggressors stubbornly pursued their war of aggression against our country and other Indochinese countries. On the battlefields of South Vietnam, they have launched many sweep operations with the aim of "pacifying" the countryside and occupying the liberated areas. They have intensified their war of aggression and occupation of the liberated areas in Laos. They have staged a coup d'etat in Cambodia and sent troops to invade that country, thus expanding the war to the whole of Indochina. At the Paris conference on Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have manifested their stubbornness and insolence. They have withdrawn their delegation head and clung to their unreasonable stand on "mutual troop withdrawal" which puts the aggressors and the victims of aggression on an equal footing. They have clung to their policy of using the traitorous "Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique to oppose the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. The U.S. imperialists have

often uttered insolent threats against our people. They have undertaken many bombing and strafing missions against a number of areas in North Vietnam with the aim of shaking our people's determination to oppose U.S. aggression and save our country. All the aggressive activities of the U.S. imperialists have been properly punished and ignominiously defeated. The U.S. imperialists have sustained heavy defeats not only in South Vietnam, but also in Cambodia and Laos.

Events occurring last year demonstrate that our entire Party, army, and people have valiantly advanced and pursued the great work of President Ho. Our entire Party, army, and people have resolutely implemented President Ho's testament, are determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, defend and build up North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam, and advance toward unifying our country peacefully. Our Party is united and determined to lead our people to advance steadily behind President Ho's glorious banner and has shown itself worthy of being called a Party founded and trained by President Ho. The Party Central Committee, headed by First Secretary Le Duan, has demonstrated that it is a firm, resolute, and clear-sighted collective leadership worthy of taking up the work of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

The great victories which all our people have achieved in a year of implementing President Ho's testament are a basis for enabling our people to accelerate our resistance against America for national salvation and building socialism.

At the present time, the revolutionary work in our country is entering a new phase of development and setting forth many heavy and urgent tasks to be fulfilled by all our Party, army, and people. The U.S. imperialists are obviously defeated, however, they are stubbornly pursuing their war of aggression against our country, they are endeavoring to implement their "Vietnamization-of-the-war" plan in order to prolong their war of aggression in Vietnam. They have expanded the war to Cambodia and intensified their intervention and aggression in Laos. Our army and people must heighten our revolutionary vigilance and fight resolutely in order to crush the aggressive will of the U.S. imperialists and lead our resistance against America for national salvation to total victory. The building of socialism demands that our people of North Vietnam exert greater efforts, all of us must clearly understand the situation and our tasks and make great changes in thought and deeds in order to lead our people's revolutionary work to total victory. Our entire Party, army, and people must continue to implement President Ho's testament and step up the resistance against America for national salvation and the building of socialism.

In his speech read at President Ho's memorial service, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee, on behalf of our entire Party, army, and people, took the following oaths in front of President Ho's Soul:

--To forever hold high the banner of national independence, to be determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate South

Vietnam, to protect North Vietnam, and to reunify the country, in order to fulfill his hopes.

--To make an all-out effort to continue to struggle to materialize the lofty and beautiful socialist and communist ideals which he set forth for our working class and people, in order to bring prosperity to our country and happiness to our compatriots.

--To wholeheartedly maintain the Party's solidarity and unanimity as one would protect his own eyes and to strengthen the combat ability of the Party, serve as the nucleus of the national solidarity bloc, in order to insure the total success of the revolutionary undertaking of the Vietnamese working class and people.

--To constantly develop President Ho's pure and brilliant international sentiments, wholeheartedly contributing to restoring and strengthening solidarity and unanimity within the socialist camp and between fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; to tighten fraternal solidarity between the Indochinese peoples; to strive to support revolutionary movements of other peoples, making active contributions to the world's peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

--Throughout our lives, to learn from his ethics and behavior, improve our revolutionary qualities, fear no hardship nor sacrifices, and train ourselves to become combatants loyal to the Party and people, thus being worthy of being President Ho's comrades and disciples. Emulating him, all our people and youths pledge to strive to cultivate themselves into the new men who are masters of their country and new society and who will carry President Ho's every victorious banner to the final goal.

Let the entire Party, army, and people endeavor to implement these five oaths of honor.

On the frontline, let us heighten the determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors, attack the enemy continuously, strike the enemy vigorously and on a widespread basis, and achieve more glorious exploits, advancing toward smashing the U.S. imperialists' scheme of prolonging and extending the war of aggression.

In the rear area, let us strive to fulfill the 1970 state plan, to make satisfactory preparations for carrying out the 1971 state plan, to strengthen the material and technological bases of socialism, to give aid to the frontline, and to stabilize and improve the people's livelihood.

Let us satisfactorily carry out the labor productive campaign and the campaign to practice economy, strengthen labor discipline, insure the number of workdays and workhours, and heighten labor productivity.

Let us satisfactorily carry out the campaign to develop democracy, to strengthen the cooperative members' system of collective ownership, develop the masses' revolutionary fervor, and develop agricultural production in a comprehensive and steadfast manner.

Let us satisfactorily carry out the campaign to raise the quality of Party members and to recruit the Ho Chi Minh class Party members, strengthen the Party's combat strength, consolidate the Party's solidarity and single-mindedness, strengthen relationships between the party and the masses, and strengthen the Party's leadership.

Let us be worthy of being the ones to continue President Ho's great revolutionary undertaking.

Let us valiantly advance under President Ho's glorious banner!

CSO: 3909-W

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

[Speech by Pham Van Dong delivered at a meeting to celebrate the 25th Anniversaries of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 22-50]

Respected President Ton Duc Thang,

Dear members of the presidium,

Comrades and friends,

Dear compatriots and combatants,

This year, we solemnly celebrate the 25th anniversary of the success of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at a time when our people, shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos, are persisting in and stepping up the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation for complete victory, and at the same time, endeavoring to build socialism in North Vietnam and strengthening the great rear in all fields in order to fulfill its duty towards the heroic great frontline. The past quarter century has been the most glorious period in the history of our nation. It is closely linked with the birth and growth of the new social regime and is the offspring of the August Revolution. The new regime embodies the combination of the two forces of our era -- national independence and socialism -- the combination of the fine traditions of our nation and the most advanced ideology of mankind. It represents the close ties between our people and the revolutionary forces in the world.

During this historic period of 25 years, our country has gone through profound revolutionary changes: First there was the August Revolution which took our people from the double yoke of oppression by the colonialists and feudalists to the status of master of society and which brought our country out of darkness to become the present Democratic Republic of Viet Nam whose

exploits in fighting and construction are resounding far and wide. Then came the victorious war of resistance against the French colonialists, which dealt a crushing blow to old colonialism, helping to usher in the process of chunk-by-chunk disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. And today, there is the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, which brings our people to the forefront and the peak of the world people's fight against aggressive and bellicose U.S. imperialism. There are also the pridet-worthy accomplishments recorded in all fields -- political, economic and cultural -- in the building of a new life in North Viet Nam which is advancing from a former colonial and semi-feudal country straight to socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development.

In this glorious historic day, the heart of every Vietnamese is filled with pride and gratitude as he turns his thought to the beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the leader and great teacher who, together with our Party has led our people to the success of the August Revolution, the founder of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam who, all through the past half-century, led, and will forever lead our people from one victory to another.

#### The August Revolution and the Founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Comrades and friends, the August Revolution was the first national and democratic revolution led by the political party of the working class to succeed in a colonial and semi-feudal country, that was a great victory of the Vietnamese people and of Marxism-Leninism.

The August Revolution developed the tradition of heroism of our forefathers in building and defending the country. The August Revolution was the fruit of 100 years of indomitable struggle against the French colonialists' domination. The August Revolution was a success of the revolutionary line of our party after 15 years of persistent, dauntless and fierce struggle.

Right from the day of its founding and through many periods of crucial and complex revolutionary struggle from 1930 to 1945, our party's leadership was reflected in these three aspects: working out a clearsighted revolutionary line, organizing well-knit and powerful revolutionary forces, and adopting diversified and flexible methods of revolutionary struggle. Our party attached first importance to the leading role of the working class, firmly held the banner of national and democratic revolution, mobilized the big forces of workers and toiling peasants, and at the same time, built a broad national united front on the basis of the worker-farmer alliance. Right from its founding, our Party closely linked the revolutionary cause of our nation to that of the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world.

In particular, throughout World War Two, in the midst of white terrorism by the colonialists and feudalists, our Party made painstaking preparations in all fields for a revolutionary high tide. In May 1941, the eighth conference of the Party Central Committee held in Cao Bang under the chairmanship of President Ho Chi Minh decided to set up the Viet Minh (Vietnam

League for Independence) and national salvation associations, decided to step up preparations for insurrection, build guerrilla bases and strengthen leadership toward the military and para-military forces. The conference stressed: "A force must always be made ready so as to defeat the enemy at the most propitious moment, then with our forces available, we can lead partial uprisings in various localities and win victory to pave the way for a large-scale general uprising."

In August 1945, the heroic Soviet army defeated the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, creating very favorable objective conditions for the revolution in our country. The historic opportunity had arrived. Under the Party's timely leadership, the people throughout the country, who had been prepared ideologically and organizationally, valiantly and resourcefully acted with remarkable swiftness and firmness, and seized power from the hands of the Japanese fascists and their lackeys.

Dealing with the August Revolution, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "Not only our working class and people, also the working class and oppressed peoples elsewhere, may take pride in this fact: For the first time in the revolutionary history of colonial and semicolonial peoples, a party, only 15 years old, has led a revolution to success and seized power throughout the country."

The August Revolution was the explosive power of millions of people whose hatred for oppression and exploitation. They were resolved to smash the shackles of the colonialists and the monarchists, to gain independence and democracy and pave the way for the advance of the revolutionary. The August Revolution was a far-reaching class struggle, rousing to action the most wretched strata in the Vietnamese society, attracting all patriotic and progressive strata of people, thus mobilizing the strength of our whole nation.

The August Revolution was a national liberation revolution, a decisive step in the whole process of the Vietnamese national democratic and people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution in which the resistance to imperialism and the recovery of national independence was the primordial task. The August Revolution bears a very marked character of a national liberation revolution and a people's democratic revolution. It was the rising up of the entire people to turn our country from a colonial and semi-feudal country divided into three parts into an independent and democratic country, a unified country stretching from Lang Son to Cape Ca Mau, to assert their role as real master of their own destiny, opening a new era and clearing the way for new, truly glorious victories!

In the course of preparing for and carrying out the August Revolution, the Party applied a correct line in settling a series of important problems of the revolutionary struggle and gathered rich experiences. In the new period of struggle inaugurated by the success of the August Revolution, those experiences continued to develop their effects, especially in the national people's democratic revolution in South Vietnam. Those are experiences in

correctly handling the relations between the national and class problems, in creatively combining the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist tasks, in combining political and armed struggle, in carrying out partial uprising before waging a general insurrection to seize power in the whole country. Those are precious experiences of one of the highly significant revolutions in the present epoch.

The August Revolution led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the first people's democratic state in Vietnam's history.

The basic question of revolution is the question of power. The more thoroughly the old power is destroyed and the more truly the new power belongs to the people, the bigger the strength of the revolution and the greater its capability for development. That fundamental revolutionary truth was firmly grasped by our Party right at its founding. The "Nghe-Tinh" Soviet movement eloquently indicates the direction of struggle of our party and people from the very outset. Throughout the process of the revolutionary movement, we have consistently adhered to the slogan: "Prepare our forces, seize the opportunity to overthrow the ruling clique and bring back power to the people." Even before the day of the August general insurrection, at a national conference of the party, President Ho and our Party Central Committee had correctly and clear-sightedly pointed to the immediate goal of struggle: "Protest aggression, full independence, people's power."

Two September 1945, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam came into being. President Ho Chi Minh delivered the declaration of independence: "Viet Nam has the right to be free and independent, and in fact it is so already. The entire-Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their freedom and independence."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the fruit of the revolutionary struggle of the people throughout the country, is a national people's democratic state representing the right of our people from the north to the south as master of the country. Looking back into the past, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the abolition of one century of colonial domination and of several thousand years of feudal rule. Looking into the future, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam reflects the will and represents the forces of our people determined to safeguard their national independence and pave the way for advancing directly to socialism.

In the space of only 1 year or more from the success of the August Revolution to the outbreak of the nation-wide resistance against the French colonialists, the new regime went through successive trials and had to cope with extremely complex and difficult situations. It was in the midst of such trials that the genius of President Ho, the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, and the revolutionary energy of our people stood out.

Only 5 days after the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the provisional government decided to hold general elections for the National Assembly. On 6 January 1946, our entire people went to the polls on a universal suffrage basis to elect their genuine representatives. Two months later, the first National Assembly in our country's history met to form an official government, and then adopted the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The elections to the National Assembly were followed by elections by people's councils at village and provincial levels, which in their turn set up administrative committees at all levels. Within a few months, we built a new state of the people having a constitution, a national assembly, a government, elected bodies, and administrative organs at all levels. We succeeded in setting up a democratic administration of the people, an effective instrument for mobilizing the forces of the people to safeguard the fruits of the revolution and build a new social regime.

Right after its founding, the people's state abolished head tax and all the other vestiges of the colonialist rule, proclaimed democratic liberties, issued an order on reduction of land rent, effected the 8-hour workday, proclaimed equal rights of all nationalities and between men and women, and freedom of belief.

In very gloomy conditions inherited from the old regime and caused by natural calamities, the state endeavored to solve urgent economic and cultural problems, boosting production and practicing thrift to combat famine, developing education and building a new culture to combat illiteracy in an urgent manner and with practical methods.

Soon after the new revolutionary administration was set up, foreign aggressors massively moved into our country. In North Vietnam, 200,000 troops of Chiang Kai-shek, henchmen of the U.S. imperialists, swarmed in and joined hands with the Vietnam Nationalist Party, posing a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of our country. Meanwhile, British troops entered South Vietnam to help the French colonialists stage a come-back. The latter rekindled hostilities in Saigon, then extended them into Nam Bo and Southern Trung Bo, in a bid to reimpose their rule on our country. Our fatherland freshly liberated was again in danger. Confronted with seemingly unsurmountable perils, under the leadership of President Ho and the Party, the people's administration from the national level down to the local level proved their strength and abilities in waging a revolutionary struggle to oppose and defeat the enemies at home and abroad. At the same time, made overall preparations for the war of resistance against the French colonialists which, in our early forecast, was unavoidable.

During this period, we negotiated with the French several times, but these stubborn colonialists who were bent on reconquering our country, only used negotiations as a delaying tactic, while seeking to gain ground. On 19 December 1946, in face of their brazen acts of aggression, President Ho called on the entire people to stand up to fight the aggressors and save the country.

Twenty-Five Years of Fighting Against the Imperialist Aggressors to Win Back and Defend Independence and Freedom

Comrades and friends, the past 25 years have been 25 years of unremitting struggle of our people against the imperialist aggressors to achieve national liberation, defend the fatherland, maintain and strengthen the people's democratic power and build the new social regime.

During the 9 years from 1945 to 1954, our people conducted a war of resistance against the French colonialists in response to the sacred appeal of President Ho, "We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved... Those who have rifles will use their rifles, those who have swords will use their swords, those who have no swords will use spades, hoes and sticks. Everyone must endeavor to oppose the colonialists and save the country... Even if we have to endure hardships in the resistance war, with the determination to make sacrifices, victory will surely be ours!"

At first with bamboo sticks we fought the enemy while building the armed and political forces of the people, created and applied the strategy and tactics of people's war. Through a long and arduous struggle, we gradually tipped the balance of forces in our favor, dealt heavier and heavier blows at the enemy and won bigger and bigger victories.

The fight in Hanoi capital during the first few months after the outbreak of the national resistance war was marked by glorious feats of arms of our armed forces and people and an initial setback of the enemy's Blitzkrieg tactic.

In the 1947 autumn-winter, our armed forces and people smashed the enemy's attack against the Viet Bac region aimed at destroying our main forces and leading organs.

After that big victory, our armed forces and people stepped up fighting on all battlefields, developed guerrilla warfare in the enemy area and at the same time, endeavored to consolidate our rear bases. In 3 years of resistance, our forces grew rapidly. In 1949, the Chinese Revolution succeeded and the great People's Republic of China came into being, striking a deadly blow at imperialism, considerably tipping the world balance of forces in favor of the revolutionary forces, and strongly encouraging all nations in the world. In the 1950 autumn-winter, our armed forces and people won big victories in areas bordering on China, expanded and consolidated the Viet Bac resistance base, linking Vietnam to the new China and the socialist camp as a whole.

From then on, our army and people launched one campaign after another in North Vietnam midlands and delta, in the Quang Binh-Quang Tri-Thua Thien Province area, in Southern Trung Bo, and in Nam Bo, wiping out much of the enemy seasoned forces and enlarging the liberated zone everywhere. The war advanced rapidly and climaxed at Dien Bien Phu. The enemy mastered

considerable forces at the Dien Bien Phu entrenched camp for a life-and-death show-down. Early in 1954, we tightened our siege on Dien Bien Phu and launched our attack. Weakening, the enemy had to pour into Dien Bien Phu their remaining elite units. The U.S. imperialists set up an airlift to supply the beleaguered French troops and contemplated extremely dangerous military measures in an attempt to ward off failure. But nothing could save them. After 55 days and nights of fighting, our armed forces completely wiped out the enemy at Dien Bien Phu, striking a staggering blow at the French expeditionary army and shattering the U.S. imperialists' scheme to drag out and expand the war in Indochina.

The Dien Bien Phu victory made a decisive contribution to the success of the 1954 Geneva conference on Vietnam, leading to the signing of the Geneva agreements which recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our people, and of the Lao and Cambodian peoples, completely liberating North Vietnam, and providing for the holding of free general elections in 1956 to reunify the country.

The Dien Bien Phu victory was a historic victory of our people and also a victory of far-reaching international significance of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, marked the collapse of old colonialism, strongly impelled the national liberation movement and set a bright example inspiring the oppressed peoples in the world.

Unwilling to give up their aggressive design, immediately after the Geneva conference, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the French colonialists' shoes, quickly switching from masked intervention to direct aggression against our country. Like the French colonialists at the end of the 19th century and after World War Two, the U.S. imperialists jumped into South Vietnam with the intention of extending their occupation to the whole country. Our second war of resistance broke out, this time against the extremely cruel, stubborn and perfidious imperialist ringleader who has enormous economic and military potential and the support of a number of its allies and satellites.

From 1954, the U.S. imperialists used the Ngo Dinh Diem lackey administration as an instrument to turn South Vietnam into a neocolony and military base in preparation for an attack on the socialist north. Our compatriots in South Vietnam immediately stepped up their political struggle backed by armed activities to maintain the revolutionary movement there. When the U.S.-Diem clique switched to fascist policies, ruthlessly massacring the patriots, our countrymen passed to the offensive, launching uprising in the vast rural areas. The "simultaneous uprisings" in late 1959 and early 1960 were a victory of particularly important significance, as they laid the groundwork for an all-out people's war under the banner of unity for national salvation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

From 1961 to 1964, in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists carried out a "special war" by means of the puppet army and administration under the direct command of the United States with the aim of regaining control of the countryside through a system of "strategic hamlets," while undertaking

a "search and destroy" campaign against the fledgling armed forces of the South Vietnamese people. But the South Vietnam army and people foiled the "strategic hamlets" policy of the enemy, wiped out a big part of the puppets' main forces, and rapidly developed the forces of the revolution. The repeated military victories coupled with the mounting political movement of the masses in the countryside and the towns led to the downfall of the despotic, fascist Ngo Dinh Diem administration and many other puppet administrations that succeeded it, and drove the U.S. "special war" to bankruptcy.

Early in 1965, the U.S. imperialists massively sent their expeditionary troops to South Vietnam, switched to "limited warfare," launched a war of destruction by air and sea against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, while feverishly intervening in Laos and constantly threatening Cambodia. On 10 April 1965, President Ho appealed to the people throughout the country: "Our people are living in an extremely glorious period of history. Our country has the great honor of being an outpost of the socialist camp and of the world's peoples who are combatting old and new colonialism. Our people have fought and made sacrifices not only for the sake of their own freedom and independence, but also of the common freedom and independence of the other peoples and of peace in the world... At present, to resist America and save the country is the most sacred task of every Vietnamese patriot. Let all of us single-mindedly unite millions as one man and be determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors! "For the future of our fatherland, for the happiness of our people, let all compatriots and fighters throughout the country march forward valiantly!"

From 1965 to 1967, the U.S. imperialists beefed up their expeditionary army from 200,000 to over 400,000. Together with more than half a million puppet and satellite troops, they launched two dry-season strategic counter-offensives. The main objective was to "search and destroy" the main forces of the National Front for Liberation. However, in both dry seasons, they got hard blows and had to fall back from a strategic offensive position to a posture of passive defense. The heroic South Vietnam army and people developed their offensive and have fought the enemy relentlessly and won big victories on all battlefields.

In North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialist aggressors' war aimed at sabotaging socialist construction, impeding the great rear's support to the great front, and sapping the entire Vietnamese people's determination to oppose the U.S. aggression and save the country, met with tough resistance from the North Vietnam army and people, while the fight in South Vietnam continued developing steadily and powerfully. The criminal steps of escalation taken by the enemy in their war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were shattered one after another.

It was in the general context of our glorious victories and the enemy's evident failure in both parts of the country that the general offensive and widespread uprising in the spring of the Monkey broke out. The strength accumulated in many years of people's war was turned into

thunder blows dealt at the U.S. and its puppets, hitting at one time almost all cities, province capitals, nerve organs, and important military bases and supply areas of the enemy, wiping out or disbanding a major part of their forces. This victory of paramount significance with regard to the overall situation of the war resounded far and wide in the world, and ushered in a new stage in the resistance against America for national salvation. In late March 1968, the U.S. imperialists had to stop the bombing in part of North Vietnam. More than a month later, the U.S. Government had to agree to the holding of talks in Paris with the representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A new front in our people's fight was opened. Throughout 1968, our people, developing their victories and initiative of action, repeatedly hammered at the enemy on the battlefields in both parts of the country and on all the three fronts, winning big victories. In South Vietnam, the enemy was bogged down more and more deeply in their position of passive defense. In North Vietnam, the enemy had to accept complete failure of their war of destruction and to stop unconditionally their bombardments on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. That was a victory of deep significance with regard to the whole war. In December 1968, the U.S. Government agreed to a four-sided conference in Paris with the participation of the representatives of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation who later became representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Due to the obvious defeats suffered by the U.S. in the war of aggression in Vietnam, Johnson stepped down and Nixon took over in the United States under the deceptive slogan of "restoring peace." But President Nixon spoke of peace only to conceal his policy of continuing and intensifying the war of aggression in furtherance of the so-called "Vietnamization of the war." That plan is essentially intended to perpetuate the U.S. occupation of South Vietnam, feverishly build up the puppet army and administration, push "pacification" with extremely brutal methods with a view to realizing the U.S. crazy ambition of turning South Vietnam into a neocolony and military base of the United States and perpetuating the partition of Vietnam.

The "Vietnamization of the war" plan born of the failure of the U.S. has met with successive setbacks on the South Vietnam battlefield ever since early 1969. The U.S. aggressors thought they could get out of their predicament by expanding the war to the whole of Indochina. But their military adventure in Cambodia proved to be a dismal failure. The U.S. "special war" in Laos also suffered repeated blows. The setbacks sustained by the U.S. imperialists in Indochina have driven them into tight straits in the United States and throughout the world. Our protracted and arduous fight is unfolding in very favorable conditions whereas our enemy is facing innumerable difficulties. Our people throughout the country upholding their determination to fight and to win, are persevering in and stepping up the resistance against America for national salvation, with resolve to implement President Ho's testament: "No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will have to pull out. Our fatherland will be reunified. Our countrymen in North and South Vietnam will be reunited under the same roof."

At the same time, the Vietnamese people are wholeheartedly and unreservedly strengthening their militant solidarity with the peoples of our two brotherly neighboring countries in order to completely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackies in the whole of Indochina. Our people's victory will be a victory of an international and historic significance as President Ho has pointed out: "Our country will have the signal honor of being a small nation which, through a heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialisms -- the French and American -- and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement."

### Building Socialism in North Vietnam

Comrades and friends,

After the conclusion of the 1954 Geneva agreements, completely liberated North Vietnam immediately embarked on the period of transition to socialism.

In the 16 years that have elapsed since then, North Vietnam has gone through various periods: the period of economic rehabilitation from late 1954 to the end of 1957 which saw the healing of the wounds of war left by the 9 years of resistance and the completion of land reform; the period of accelerated socialist transformation from 1958 to the end of 1960, which saw a decisive victory in agricultural collectivization, the completion in the main of the socialist transformation of the private capitalist sector of trade and industry, and the building of socialist ownership in the relations of production to lay the groundwork for further advance; the period of the first 5-year plan (1961-1965) which prepared the premises for step by step socialist industrialization -- the central task in the period of transition to socialism; the period of arduous fighting against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction (1965 through 1968) which required bold economic reorientation to meet wartime conditions, to effectively serve the forefront while continuing socialist construction. Since 1969, we have been making efforts to restore the economy, overcome the consequences of 4 years of destructive war, and prepare to step up the building of socialism.

In North Vietnam, the party's line has been blazing the way for us in every one of our steps forward. This line was charted in the resolution of the Party's Third National Congress in 1960, combining the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary realities in our country. Creatively applying the party's line, increasing the managing power of the state in its historic task of proletarian dictatorship, we are carrying out and developing the combined effectiveness of the three revolutions: the revolution of the production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the technical revolution is the cornerstone. In his article written on the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the Party, Comrade Le Duan already made clear the Party's line concerning the first stage of our country's industrialization in these terms: "We must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry

on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, build the economy at the central level while developing regional economy." This is a correct, practical and sound point of view charting the road forward full of fine prospects and meeting the urgent demands of the people's life and war. This point of view must be grasped thoroughly and translated into practical deeds with clear economic effects by all responsible organs in the national economy, by all responsible organs of the party and the state.

In the past 16 years, our people had to go through 4 years of a terrible war of destruction and as of now have had to spend 5 years healing the wounds of two wars, so that the actual time given to peaceful construction was only about 7 years. In this period, the people's democratic power, under the leadership of the Party, has brought into full play the strength of millions of laboring people in the building of a new life, and have recorded achievements our people can be proud of.

Thanks to the achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction from 1954 to 1965 North Vietnam was strong enough to defeat the U.S. war of destruction and fulfill its duty toward South Vietnam. During the 4 years of war, in the midst of 100,000 enemy attacks and over 1 million tons of bombs and shells of various kinds rained on them, the North Vietnam people have achieved a miracle. They have safeguarded and even increased the strength of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in all fields -- political, military, economic and cultural. Carrying out the policy regarding economic reorientation, we have kept communications and transport open at all times, developed agricultural and industrial production in a way suitable for war time, and improved the distribution of goods, thus meeting all requirements of the fight and on the whole stabilizing the people's life.

After only a very short period of construction, the socialist regime has gradually taken shape and grown up right from the age-old small production in our country. The socialist ownership in the production relations have been set up and strengthened continually, constituting the basis for the formation and development of socialism. The economic build-up and the boosting of agricultural and industrial production are gradually giving rise to a new economic structure suitable for the initial steps of our country in the transitional period. The face of our country has changed completely, and the people's material life and more particularly their cultural life is already a far cry from what it was under the old regime.

Everyone knows that under the French colonial rule, North Vietnam was affected by chronic famine. In the years of crop failure, people died in countless numbers. The colonialist scholars at the time concluded that famine was a law and the destiny of North Vietnam. Proceeding from this situation, the imperialists, who have committed aggression against our country over the past 25 years, have hatched very perfidious and dark schemes, and realities of our fight on the military and economic fronts have eloquently testified to their ignominious defeat. Nowadays, everyone in socialist North Vietnam has enough food and clothing, and the people's life in

those rural areas with a good production movement has by far surpassed that in the past. Our achievements in culture and education are really wonderful. Under French domination, North Vietnam had only three level-3 schools established in Hanoi. Today, all the districts and many villages have their own schools or level-3 classes. It is now a long time since our people were freed from illiteracy, and one out of every three inhabitants are going to school. Total university enrollments in North Vietnam this year approximate 76,000 -- 121 times the figure for the whole of Indochina under the old regime. North Vietnam now has hundreds of thousands of technicians and thousands of scientific workers. That is a valuable asset which we must make good use of. The new culture and art with a socialist content and a national character, full of staunch combativeness and vitality, is developing under many diversified forms with the participation of broad masses of the people. Thanks to the achievements of the socialist public health base, our people's health has improved markedly compared with the past, life expectancy has increased quickly, the infant mortality rate has dropped to one of the lowest in the world, and social diseases have been eradicated one after another. The Vietnamese nation today is a very young nation. Those who were born in the regime, that is, below 25 years of age, now account for over 60 percent of the population. Every year, they will form a new contingent of working people with good health, sound knowledge and high technical skill. This is a very encouraging sign of the great vitality of our regime and our nation. We have achieved all that with our bare hands at the start and in the conditions of an unremitting fight against foreign aggressors for several successive decades. For this, our people are forever grateful to Uncle Ho, have seen all the more clearly, the clear-sighted leadership of the party, and are proud of their own determination, energy and creativeness.

In the new situation that has emerged, socialist North Vietnam is assuming an ever more important position in our people's resistance against America for national salvation. North Vietnam must endeavor to continue socialist construction, promote economic rehabilitation and economic and cultural development, in order to be worthy of its role as the ever stronger rear base of the great front. At the same time, it must always remain vigilant, ready to smash all war acts of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On the economic plane, the immediate task of our people in North Vietnam is to mobilize all capacities and existing reserve sources to eliminate in the shortest time possible the sequels of war, effect a vigorous change in the economic life, rehabilitate and develop production, increase social products to meet the needs of consumption and partly the needs of accumulation, build step by step an economic structure conforming to the party's line in the present situation, and, at the same time, prepare the necessary forces for starting large-scale socialist construction whenever conditions permit.

We must boost the production of agricultural and consumer goods, considering this to be the main direction at present. We must step up the

regional economy along with striving to restore and develop the key branches of the national economy.

Agricultural production, the key of which is production of grains and foodstuffs, must in the coming years aim to solve basically the needs of North Vietnam in grains and foodstuffs and also to supply raw materials for the processing industry and increase agricultural goods for export.

Production of consumer goods must be speeded up with a view toward meeting the pressing demands of the people and increasing industrial goods for exchange with the farmers to stimulating agricultural development.

Along with the production of agricultural and consumer goods, we must promote such sectors of heavy industry of first importance as coal, power, cement, timber, fertilizers, the production of medium- and small-sized equipment and various kinds of implements for agriculture and many other sectors of the national economy. The restoration and development of the communications and transport and goods interflow and distribution must be undertaken proportionately with the national economy as a whole. Simultaneously with the rehabilitation and development of production, we must perfect socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and small trade, and constantly consolidate and improve the socialist production relations.

To fulfill the above tasks, the basic and most decisive measure is to mobilize our production and technical forces make a balanced and rational distribution of these forces in various sectors and localities with a view to a full use of the existing material resources (equipment, materials and raw materials), and the abundant natural resources of our country. Everyone of us must clearly realize the tremendous real as well as latent capacities in labor force and material resources and must know how to distribute and make use of them in the most rational way in the whole of our territory, from the national to the lowest level, down to each factory, construction site and cooperative. Only by so doing can we gradually increase social labor productivity and bring into play the economic effect of our investments in conformity with the present economic line of the party. By laying emphasis on this point, we want to make everyone realize his responsibility toward the great interests of the country and the people as well as toward our very favorable conditions and great abilities, hence to encourage him to march forward and enthusiastically and confidently joining the revolutionary struggle on the economic front in socialist North Vietnam. While promoting production we must practice economy in all spheres of construction, production and consumption, and protect and make good use of state and collective property. Everyone of us should bear in mind and act upon President Ho's teaching: "Each ton of coal, each machine, each quintal of food... we obtain from extraproduction and economization will help speed up socialist construction in North Vietnam constitute a support for the valiant struggle of our countrymen in South Vietnam and contribute to the peaceful reunification of the country."

Comrades and friends, the successes that our people have recorded in the past 25 years in their struggle against the imperialist aggressors, to defend national independence and the fruits of the revolution as well as in the building of a new life in all fields, are eloquent and shining demonstrations of the absolute superiority, great vitality, and mighty strength of the new regime.

Born from the victory of the August Revolution, the new regime is the most precious gain of our people. It symbolizes the independence of our nation, the freedom of the people, and the guarantee for the future strength and prosperity of our country. Thanks to the education by President Ho and our Party, our people have deeply understood the essence and value of the new regime, are always ready to make every sacrifice in defense of their regime. The absolute superiority, vitality and strength of our regime stems from its deep roots in and close attachment to people.

War is the biggest trial for a social regime. Is there any trial which is longer, more bitter and more significant than that which has been endured by our new regime over the past quarter century? In the protracted fight against one of the biggest and most powerful imperialists of our time, in these life-and-death confrontations, our new regime has triumphed and matured.

The new regime has built and constantly strengthened the people's armed forces and organized a political army comprising millions of the masses united in the fight against the enemy. The new regime makes it possible for the rear base to assist the front line, in material forces as well as providing it with great ideas and sentiments which are the determination of the entire people to fight and to win. The new regime represents the all-out resistance, in the military, political, economic, ideological, and cultural spheres. It brings out the international line of our party, and the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, tightens the friendship between our country and the other fraternal socialist countries, the ties between our people's fight against the imperialist aggressors and all peoples throughout the world who have independence and freedom at heart.

Relying mainly on its own force, and, at the same time, making full use of international support, our new regime has been set up, consolidated, and constantly developed in all fields.

Our people's armed force, composed of three categories of forces, have grown out of practically nothing, from small to big units, from primitive to modern equipment. They have now become a powerful army, guided by a correct military line, provided with high political consciousness, and have mastered step by step the military science and art of people's war in accordance with President Ho's teaching: "Be loyal to the party and people, overcome all difficulties, fulfill all tasks and defeat all enemies."

The political foundation of our regime has proved its steadiness and strength. Under the Party's leadership, the worker-farmer alliance has been

forged and tempered serving as the basis for making national unity broader and closer, uniting the people of various strata, nationalities, and religious beliefs, uniting the people at home with overseas Vietnamese and uniting North and South Vietnam. Young as it is, our people's democratic power has undergone many trials and has grown up through two resistances.

The economic basis of the regime has unceasingly developed in the process of our advance from the national people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The land reform which was carried out right during the resistance against French colonialism was a deep and broad revolution that abolished the land ownership of the imperialist rulers and the feudal land ownership of the landlord class, materializing the age-old dream of "land to the tillers" of the laboring farmers. The land reform liberated the production forces in the countryside, promoted agricultural production, replenished the forces of the people, especially the laboring farmers, and made an important contribution to the Dien Bien Phu victory. Since North Vietnam entered the period of transition to socialism, the successful establishment of socialist production relations has created the basis for applying the laws of socialism, stepping up agricultural and industrial production, increasing the economic forces of the great rear in the resistance against America for national salvation.

The new regime finds a splendid expression in the new Vietnamese. The two resistances of our nation, especially the current resistance against U.S. imperialism, together with the socialist transformation and construction, have clearly shown that man makes the strength of the regime. This is the Vietnamese who is fighting the enemy while building a new life, considering it his sacred task toward the fatherland and his greatest honor, who is developing to the highest degree his patriotism, combined with proletarian internationalism, bringing into play his valor, intelligence, and creativeness, and giving full expression to his good qualities. The high tide of revolutionary heroism in the resistance and construction has brought to the limelight the new man of Vietnam who is the fruit of the whole process of revolution in the past decades under the leadership of our Party and who combines the strength of the working class and the tradition of the thousands of years of the national history. Our armymen are skillfully manning both primitive and modern weapons to wipe out the enemy. Our assault youth are working with boldness and self-devotion on the most dangerous battlegrounds. The "three ready" youths, the "three responsibilities" women, the "three determinations" intellectuals, the white-haired militiamen, the "combatants' mothers", the young pioneers and children are eagerly joining the fight against the aggressors and the production front. All of them are new heroes, products of the new regime, who carry in themselves the strength of the new regime, fighting in the light of the truth that "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", and who understand deeply that to achieve independence and freedom is to build a new regime and a new life.

In the past 25 years, our new regime has grown up incessantly as a result of the interaction of the tasks of fighting and building and of the frontline and rear area. The tougher our war of resistance, the firmer and

stronger the regime must be and the stronger the frontline must stimulate the growth of the rear area. Inversely, the firmer and stronger the regime is and the more powerful the rear area becomes, the more effectively it will help the front to fight victoriously. Our people are now persisting in and stepping up their resistance against America for national salvation, till complete victory. The building of socialism in North Vietnam must be pushed ahead even more powerfully. It must turn in fuller account the great role of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the cause of liberating South Vietnam defending North Vietnam and advancing to the peaceful reunification of the country, with a view to the realization of a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam.

### The Revolutionary Cause of Our People is Linked With That of the World's Peoples

Our people's revolutionary cause which consists of carrying out the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam along with the socialist revolution in North Vietnam is a typical instance of the trend of the present day world. In World War Two, the success of the Soviet Union and the other democratic forces of the world over the most cruel imperialist forces of the time -- the German, Italian and Japanese fascists -- ushered in a period of the most stirring high tide ever seen in the history of the world revolution, the most striking feature of which is the combination of the two revolutionary currents of the area: the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution.

First and foremost, the victory of socialism in a series of countries in Europe and Asia, and then in Latin America that led to the formation of the world socialist system. Over 1,000 million people of the 13 socialist countries are powerfully and steadily marching on the road of building a new society, converting the formerly underdeveloped countries into those having the best political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science and powerful national defense, and setting a shining example and becoming the hope of mankind. In the present era, the socialist camp has unceasingly exerted its influence as the factor deciding the development of human society and the bulwark of the world revolution and world peace.

Together with the victory of socialism was the irresistible rising of hundreds of millions of people of various oppressed nations in a seething national liberation tide, completely changing the face of the globe in a very short period of history. More than 60 countries which had lost their independence and freedom, were freed from colonial bondage and stepped onto the international arena as newly emerging forces full of vitality and energy. The repeated victories of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America have caused the colonial system to disintegrate by big chunks and have dealt decisive blows at the rear areas of imperialism.

In the imperialist and capitalist countries there has emerged an unprecedentedly vigorous movement of the working class and other laboring

people, in coordination with other democratic forces, against the state monopoly capitalists and the oligarchy of U.S. imperialism to win democracy and social progress and defend peace and national sovereignty, dealing strong blows at imperialism right in its lair.

These great revolutionary forces together with the broad peace movement in the world are repeatedly attacking imperialism from many sides, tipping the world balance of forces in favor of the revolution.

In the meantime, international capitalism has been floundering more and more desperately in its protracted general crisis. In view of the law of uneven development of imperialism, during the past 10 years, a few imperialist countries have reared their heads, making the rivalry among the imperialist countries more acute and, at the same time, bringing out more strikingly the weakness of world capitalism as a whole. The most salient feature was the serious failure of U.S. imperialism. After World War One and particularly following World War Two, U.S. imperialism, enriched by the two wars, stepped onto the international arena with its rabid ambition of world hegemony by means of nuclear weapons and dollars. But U.S. imperialism is rearing its head at a time when world capitalism has, on the whole, weakened, when the balance of forces -- between imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism on one side and socialism and all the revolutionary forces on the other -- becomes more and more unfavorable to them, when the world revolution is launching repeated offensives, inflicting on it deadly blows and driving it from one defeat to another.

Since it plunged into the war of aggression against Vietnam, the demise of U.S. imperialism has become even quicker. In the fierce struggle between our people and the enemy, our victory is the victory of the new society, the failure suffered by the U.S. imperialists is the failure of an odious and reactionary social regime. That is the regime of state monopoly capitalists in the United States, characterized by oppression and exploitation of the people at home, coupled with aggression against the people of other countries. It plainly reveals all the brutality and barbarity of U.S. imperialism toward the working people and human beings, in the United States as well as in the world. The U.S. failure in its war of aggression in Vietnam has shaken the whole U.S. structure, aggravated the all-round crisis of the social regime in the United States, in the political, economic, ideological, cultural, as well as social spheres, directly harming the interests and profoundly shocking the conscience of increasing numbers of Americans. Worthy of note is the crisis of confidence of the Americans in the words and deeds of the ruling circles, in the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, and in the realities of American society. More and more Americans have been awakened to the fact that the United States is not building a "great society", instead is becoming a "sick society" and that the role of the U.S. in the world is not one of a "great free power", but an international gendarme, the bulwark of the reactionary forces, hated and opposed by the people in all parts of the globe. Even in the imperialist camp, the United States no longer retains its absolute superiority as in the past, but is meeting with stronger and stronger rivalry. The U.S. position in all parts of the world has weakened.

The war of aggression in Vietnam is an important part in the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. The latter not only wants to occupy our country, but also to make of Vietnam a testing ground for its strategies, tactics and new kinds of weapons to repress the national liberation movement. In our country, the U.S. imperialists have revealed their extremely brutal fascist nature. But also in our country, the myth about the "invincible strength" of the U.S. has exploded, the contradictions and fundamental weaknesses of the U.S. imperialists have become more apparent than ever before, and the unavoidable failure of the United States has become ever more conspicuous to the world's people.

The time when the U.S. imperialists could rule the roost is past and gone, and no frantic counterrevolutionary acts of theirs can save them. The U.S.-led imperialists have sought a thousand and one means to counterattack the world revolutionary movement. They have tried their hardest to revive Japanese militarism and West German fascism, feverishly stepping up the arms race, encircling, threatening and sabotaging socialist countries, and resorting to every way and means to sow discord among the socialist countries. In the independent countries of the "third world", they have increased their interference, engineered coups d'etat to bring the henchmen of imperialism to power, actively carried out neocolonialism under one form or another, including the waging of "special wars" or limited wars. But they have repeatedly sustained heavy defeats. The world revolutionary forces, using the offensive strategy, have repulsed imperialism step by step and overthrown it part by part, accelerating its process of inevitable doom.

The past 25 years have been the continuation and development of the trend of the first half of the 20th century when a new era was opened in human history with the triumph of the great October Revolution and the coming into existence of the Soviet Union. The remaining 30 years of this century will be a period indissolubly linked with the Vietnamese people's historic and internationally significant struggle and success, with the great fight of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and with the visible weakening of U.S.-led imperialism. It will certainly witness the rapid growth and new and still more brilliant victories of the revolutionary cause of the working class and people in the world.

From the outset, our people, educated by President Ho Chi Minh and the Party, have combined patriotism with proletarian internationalism, always conscious that their revolutionary struggle is an inseparable part of the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples. All the successes we have recorded cannot be thought of separately from the international support and assistance given us by our brothers and friends in all continents. The Vietnamese people will for ever bear in mind and be grateful for the tremendous and invaluable support and assistance accorded them by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries during their war of resistance against America for national salvation, and the building of socialism in North Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are sincerely grateful for the sympathy

and support accorded them by the international communist and workers' movement in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people are sincerely grateful for the warm sympathy and very effective support given them by the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries the peace and democracy-loving people in the world, including the progressive people in the United States. As a tribute to this noble international support, the Vietnamese people will always strive their hardest to fulfill their internationalist duty.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the fraternal Lao people's struggle under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong, against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. They firmly support the 5-point solution enunciated on 6 March 1970 by the Lao Patriotic Front aimed at solving the Lao question on the basis of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos and the realities of the present situation in Laos and demands that the U.S. stop its war of aggression against Laos withdraw totally and unconditionally U.S. troops and military personnel, and Thai and South Vietnamese mercenaries from Laos, completely end the bombing of Laos' territory without posing any conditions, in order to create facilities for the Lao parties concerned to meet one another.

Our people firmly support the valiant struggle waged by the fraternal Khmer people rallied in the National United Front of Kampuchea headed by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk who are defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. We firmly support the only legal and authentic government of Cambodia -- the Royal National Union Government of Cambodia headed by Samdech Penn Nouth. We sternly condemn the U.S. imperialists for using their henchmen in South Vietnam and scheming to use their lackeys in Thailand and other satellite countries to carry on their aggressive war in Cambodia.

The Vietnamese people, now as in the past and in the future, will respect the sacred commitments made in the joint declaration of the Indo-chinese Peoples' Summit Conference; respect the independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders; and respect all the national rights of the Khmer and Lao people and any political regimes of their choice. They pledge to unite with the Lao and Khmer peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and cooperate with them on a long term basis for each to build up his own country.

Conscious that the socialist camp is the sacred gain of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and laboring people the world over, the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have always made great efforts to do their share in strengthening the fraternal solidarity and friendship among the brother countries, consolidating and developing the strength of each country and of the socialist camp as a whole. We warmly hail the brilliant achievements of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries in the building of socialism and communism, and contributing to the world people's revolutionary cause and to the safeguarding of world peace. Acting upon President Ho's sacred testament, we

have done all in our power to contribute to the restoration and consolidation of the solidarity of socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a fair and reasonable way.

We firmly support the Chinese people in their struggle for the recovery of Taiwan, inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China; support the Korean people who are struggling against U.S. imperialist aggression for the liberation of the southern part of Korea; support the Cuban people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists who are encroaching upon the security and sovereignty of the Cuban republic for the defense of the fatherland and building of socialism; and support the people of the German Democratic Republic now struggling to demand that the West German Government recognize the German Democratic Republic in terms of international law, recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, and truly respect the inviolability of the frontiers in Europe, including those between the two German states and the Oder-Neisse Line. We firmly support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism for independence and freedom; support the Thai people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the Thanom-Praphas reactionary clique; support the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and against the revival of Japanese militarism to achieve an independent, peaceful, democratic, neutral and prosperous Japan; support the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries now struggling against the Israeli aggressors, henchmen of U.S. imperialism, to win back their fundamental national rights; and support the American people, white and black, in their struggle against aggressive wars and racial discrimination, for peace and their own legitimate interests. We resolutely support the protracted, arduous but certainly victorious struggle waged by the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

### Urgent Tasks

Comrades and friends,

Reviewing our work over the past 25 years since the August 1945 Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, everyone of us can see clearly and rejoice at the wonderful accomplishments we have made in the course of our persistent and dauntless revolutionary struggle, a struggle that has brought out the position and role of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In the present era, in our country and any other countries in the world, the success of the revolution does not mean that the revolutionary cause has been accomplished. On the contrary, the victory of the revolution ushered in a new situation with new revolutionary tasks, demanding new, bigger and more painstaking efforts. Our Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our socialist North Vietnam is now facing such a situation. In other

words it is called upon to shoulder heavier tasks in its capacity as the revolutionary base of the whole country and the big rear area of a battlefield where fierce combats are taking place which are certain to be crowned with glorious victories. Therefore, our Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our socialist North Vietnam must grow up more quickly and increase more urgently its own forces in all fields, political, military, economic, cultural, and social. We are resolved to do this, because we have a regime the superiority, strength and vitality of which have been proved by recent momentous trials. We must realize clearly that this regime has brought us immense possibilities for applying the laws of socialism, for carrying out the three revolutions to develop economy and culture, and build a new life and a new man. At the same time, we must realize that North Vietnam possesses very abundant natural resources with three different regions and advantageous geographical conditions of which we must try our best to make the fullest and most rational use. We are not afraid of starting socialist construction with an underdeveloped and very backward economy. Neither are we afraid of the aftermaths of the recent war of destruction. Proceeding from the present situation of our country, we are fully able to move forward and build socialism, and in a relatively short period of history, build a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and an advanced culture, science and technology, hence bringing a life of plenty to everybody. To this end, everyone of us must be a staunch fighter on the economy front, chiefly we must work with every higher efficiency to achieve ever bigger economic results.

It is essential that at present and in a short period of time to come, we must be determined to build a firm basis for making big strides on the path of building a socialist economy. That basis will consist of an agriculture and a consumers' goods industry in addition to some of the key sectors of heavy industry as mentioned above. At the same time, we must make intensive efforts to increase our capacity in the management of the national economy, with a view toward creating necessary conditions for the full application of the laws of socialism in conformity with the conditions of our country.

The main tool for the management of the national economy is the state longterm and yearly plans. The planning system comprising plans of various sectors, various localities and various basic units, is the main system to manage the national economy in view of the fact that it can distribute in a balanced way and on a national scale as well as in each branch and locality down to each production establishment (cooperative, enterprise, work site...) The labor force, technical forces and material resources (equipment, raw materials...), ensuring a harmonious and rapid development of the national economy in keeping with the Party's line.

To carry out planning through all-sided three-level management (national, regional and basic) is to carry out democratic centralism, creating conditions for the national level to exercise concentrated and unified management of the whole national economy and enabling the exercise of broad democratic rights and tapping every capability of all services, localities and to the basic units where the laboring masses produce material

wealth. The process of working out and implementing plans is a process of consolidating democratic centralism: Strengthening the centralized management by the national organs coupled with the broadening of democracy in the various branches and localities with the aim of developing the talents and creativeness of all branches and levels and of broad masses of the people. A very important measure to mobilize the labor force in such a way as to achieve ever higher productivity and economic efficiency is to know how to make use of the law of distribution according to labor and of economic levers and the various policies on material incentives along with constant and practical ideological and political education directly related to the economic tasks of each locality and at given moments. Besides, it is necessary to enforce strict and rigorous discipline in economy.

The tangible result of economic management can be seen in the enlarged reproduction at the grass-roots level which will permit enlarged reproduction in the whole of the national economy, enlarged reproduction of the productive forces, consolidation of the relations of production, improvement of the material and cultural life of the people, and strengthening of the socialist society as a whole; in a word, unceasing development of the superiority, vitality and strength of the socialist regime.

The strengthening of state management must be linked with the increasing broadening of socialist democracy in various forms through the organizational system of the state as well as all through the line of various sectors of the economic management apparatus. Effective measures must be taken to assure the laboring people's mastership of the country and ensure for each unit and each laborer the conditions to exercise their right as master within their power and responsibilities. Managing the economy in order to develop the socialist economy cannot be the job of a body or a contingent of cadres alone, but it is the work of the masses, of millions of laboring people. In the final analysis, the management by the state is aimed at ensuring the right of the people as collective master in working out and executing state plans, in producing and distributing social products as well as in organizing their material and cultural life.

Attention must be paid to strengthening the socialist law, educating everybody in the sense of respecting and correctly abiding by the laws, regimes and regulations with regard to the rights and duties of the citizen. The socialist society is a highly organized and disciplined society. In the socialist construction in our country at present, every laborer must raise further his sense of organization and discipline and his persistent fighting will, overcome every difficulty to boost production, and strive to practice economy and safeguard public property. Everybody must fulfill his duty toward the state which is also his duty toward the resistance against America for national salvation, and for socialist construction.

The Party is the overall leader of our people's revolutionary cause, the all-round leader of the socialist construction in the north, exercising leadership with regard to line, ideology, policies, and organization. At present in North Vietnam, as the people's democratic state assumes the task

of proletarian dictatorship and manages the national economy, the leadership of the party is actually aimed at unceasingly consolidating the state machine, unceasingly increasing its capacity to run the national economy and other activities of social life, to mobilize the entire party and people to carry out state plan, the second principle of the Party and the state law, and be a manifestation of our people's determination to defeat the enemy. The Party attaches importance to building, consolidating, and strengthening the people's armed forces. Likewise, to develop economy and culture, to build socialism, the Party attaches importance to consolidating and strengthening the state machine, and every party member must set example in this matter. This is of very important and practical significance at the present time.

Comrades and friends, The policy of aggression pursued by the Nixon administration against the whole of Indochina has linked our people's resistance against America for national salvation with the fight for national liberation of our two brothers and neighbors -- the peoples of Cambodia and Laos.

In South Vietnam, our people have been concentrating their strength and spearheading their fight at the U.S. imperialists' policy of "Vietnamization of the war" with a view toward totally defeating it.

Right from the outset, when President Nixon announced his policy of "Vietnamization of the war," we already pointed out that this policy could not extricate the United States. It was born of the losing and weakening position of the U.S. imperialists and is fraught with unsolvable contradictions. That is why the more the United States persists in and steps up this policy the heavier defeats it will incur. Reality has fully substantiated that assertion.

Since early 1969, our army and people in South Vietnam have repeatedly attacked the enemy on all battlefields and won great victories while continuing to increase their own forces. Raising high their spirit of heroism, resourcefulness, and creativeness, the South Vietnamese people's armed forces have developed many flexible tactics to wipe out great numbers of U.S. and puppet troops and war means right at the moment when they had fallen back on the defensive strategy, set up defense rings around the towns and their military bases and along important communication lines.

One of the key strategic measures of the "Vietnamization of the war" policy is "pacification" which is aimed at winning the "hearts and minds" of the people, expanding the areas under U.S.-puppet control, wiping out the revolutionary forces, and strengthening the political basis and draft possibilities of the puppet administration, especially in the countryside. There is no new element in Nixon's "pacification" program except the countless and extremely barbarous crimes it has piled up in South Vietnam in an attempt to repress and tighten their grip over the people. Public opinion in the world has been deeply shocked by mass slaughters as in Son My as well as by the tortures and murders of political prisoners in the "tiger cages" on Poulo Condor Island and many other

places. Born of cruelty and running completely counter to the people's will and interests, the "pacification" program has achieved so frail results that even the Western press noted that a night of attack by the "Vietcong" could sweep away all the results of the "pacification" program. Even in the places where they are forced by the enemy to live in concentration camps, our people always turn their thought toward the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and have been struggling in all forms to smash the "pacification" tactics of the enemy.

In Saigon, Da Nang, Hue, and many other cities and towns across South Vietnam, a wide and deep movement of the people of all strata is surging -- students and pupils, workers and laboring masses, wounded and invalid puppet army men, women, Buddhists, intellectuals, pressmen and national capitalists. "Vietnamization of the war" means prolonging the war and using Vietnamese to fight the Vietnamese, throwing the burden of the U.S. war of aggression on our people in the areas still controlled by the enemy, drafting people irrespective of age, sex and occupation into the puppet army, increasing repression and terror, and increasing the robbing of the population. Such a policy will inevitably lead to the fasciation of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime, the last resort of the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization of the war" policy. When the people of all strata right in the enemy's area have risen up to wage a bitter struggle against them, this is a sign that the U.S.-puppets, doomsday is not far off. They are now sitting on a volcano.

In their critical situation in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists staged a reactionary coup d'etat in Phnom Penh then massively sent their troops to invade Cambodia along with intensifying their "special war" in Laos. Their aim was twofold: to save the "Vietnamization of the war" policy from failure and enlarge the base for the continuation of that policy, and at the same time, to widen the scope of U.S. neocolonialism in Cambodia and Laos. By this move the United States even contemplated the formation of an alliance of reactionaries, stooges of the United States from Saigon to Phnom Penh and from Vientiane to Bangkok. But only in the space of a few months, it was proved beyond doubt that the U.S. imperialists have failed in both goals. Public opinion in the United States has pointed out that the adventurous aggression against Cambodia was a big military setback and a political "disaster" for the United States. An answer to the U.S. imperialists' aggression was a new development of historical significance of the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three brotherly neighbors in Indochina who are wholeheartedly supporting and assisting one another in defeating the common enemy. Thus our people's fight to defeat the "Vietnamization of the war" policy is unfolding in ever more favorable conditions.

In Cambodia, the patriotic armed forces and broad strata of people have risen up in a staunch struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. They have won very important victories and liberated many vast areas. With the advance of the Cambodian people and with the critical situation of the U.S. lackeys in Phnom Penh, the struggle for

liberation of the Cambodian people will make new, quick, and big strides forward.

In Laos, the patriotic forces have continued their victorious march and unceasingly widened the liberation zone on all battlefields. The failure sustained by the U.S. in intensifying its special war has caused many personalities in Vientiane, who have so far relied on the U.S., to worry about the consequences of the U.S. aggressive policy in Laos. In such a situation, exchange of letters has of late taken place between Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Souvanna Phouma which led to agreement upon the holding of a meeting between their plenipotentiaries in Khang Khay. Our people welcome this event of a positive significance.

The Nixon doctrine has met with initial failure shortly after it was applied in Indochina. This is so evident that even many satellite countries of the U.S. in Southeast Asia, in spite of U.S. pressure, have refused to act at the beck and call of the United States.

In the United States, the movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and Indochina, developing through many broad campaigns in the Autumn of 1969 and the spring of 1970, has spontaneously erupted with unparalleled force, with the participation of millions of people right after President Nixon sent troops to invade Cambodia and ordered the bombing of many places in North Vietnam. The progressive people in the U.S. more and more understand the grave consequences of the policy of "Vietnamization of the war" with regard to their interests and the future of their country.

Contradictions among the U.S. ruling circles have become acute in many domestic problems as well as foreign policies, chiefly in the Vietnam and Indochina problems. Many influential political and economic circles, many well-known figures in both houses of the U.S. Congress have used all in their power to oppose the "Vietnamization" of the war. They strongly protest against the Nixon administration's committing American troops to Cambodia and Laos and widening the war to the whole of Indochina. They demand that the Nixon administration bring all American troops home in a short period of time, that the Saigon puppet administration be toppled, that a coalition government be set up, and that negotiations be stepped up to end the war at an early date.

In the world, stirring drives of struggle have surged up in many countries against the Nixon administration's stubborn pursuance of the "Vietnamization of the war" policy and extension of the aggressive war to the whole of Indochina. The world people's front in support of Vietnam against the United States has been gaining in scope and depth, and, in the United States, has been focused on demanding an end to the aggressive war and withdrawal of all American troops in a short period of time and supporting the formation of a coalition government in South Vietnam. The whole progressive mankind energetically condemns the extremely savage crimes and deceptive peace moves of the U.S. imperialists, strongly supports the fight of the Vietnamese, Lao, and Khmer peoples against U.S. aggression,

for national salvation. The governments and peoples of the socialist countries have constantly strengthened their solidarity with the Vietnamese people and continue to render to our people vigorous political support and great material assistance. In third world countries, more and more people have shown their deep and broad support to the just and surely victorious fight of our people and their sympathy with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. In the capitalist countries, the people's movement in support of Vietnam against U.S. aggression has developed under very varied forms. The ruling circles in these countries have expressed their worry and disapproval of the U.S. "Vietnamization of the war" policy. In face of our people's victories and the U.S. imperialists' defeats, many countries, in spite of U.S. pressure, have refused to share with the U.S. the burden of the policy of prolonging and expanding the war in Indochina.

This situation has proved that the "Vietnamization of the war" policy has met with strong and expected rebuff from all sides. The undaunted and determined-to-win fight of our people constitutes the decisive factor of this development. On the one hand it reveals the irretrievable losing position of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in our country, a position that has been made even more obvious by the "Vietnamization of the war" policy; on the other hand it brings out the unjust, inhuman and extremely atrocious character of the aggressor and the just and noble character of our people's fight.

A new element has emerged in the struggle against the "Vietnamization of the war" policy of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam -- especially in the areas still controlled by the enemy -- and in Saigon, in the United States and other places. That is the new outlook on the war, its origin and the dangers it carries, as well as the new undertakings to end the war and restore peace on the basis of the inalienable national rights of our people in South Vietnam.

The struggle of the broad masses of people in Saigon, Da Nang, Hue and other cities and towns in South Vietnam, the masses' hard, persistent, and, at times fierce, struggle right in the enemy rear has important and profound significance. This struggle is being spearheaded at the source of the war -- U.S. aggression -- and the sanguinary lackeys of the U.S. aggressors, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique. The slogans of action in this struggle actually represent the immediate interests of every section of the people as well as the supreme interests of the nation. They include a slogan with tremendous appeal -- peace. "Stop the war of aggression," "Stop Vietnamization," "Restore Peace"... The slogan "Restore Peace" is linked with series of undertakings which the reality of the struggle has proved most effective and urgent. They are independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. That is the prerequisite for a coalition government, the natural merging of the patriotic movement in the South Vietnamese cities and towns and the resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, of the whole nation. That is a happy meeting between the earnest aspirations of broad masses of the urban dwellers and the great policies of the

Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. That is a new and very significant development of the struggle for National Liberation in South Vietnam which reflects the visible change in the balance of forces in South Vietnam in our favor and to the detriment of the enemy.

The slogan "Restore Peace" chanted by the students, pupils, workers, women, intellectuals, Buddhist believers, and even many personalities in the puppet administration and army, and even American troops is a vigorous response to the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 10-point overall solution of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. We have on many occasions declared that we are fighting to win genuine independence and peace, and so long as these sacred objectives are not reached, we will fight on no matter how long it will take and what sacrifices we have to make. We have also stated that nobody cherishes peace more than our Vietnamese people do, but the peace we want must be a genuine and stable peace, not a "Pax Americana." It must be a peace associated with national independence and democratic freedoms, which ensure the life and interests of the people of all strata.

Such a peace is the goal of our struggle. It has been expounded in the 10-point overall solution. Among those objectives, we should, once again, lay stress on the two following points:

1--The United States must withdraw unconditionally from South Vietnam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

2--A provisional coalition government must be set up in South Vietnam to organize free and democratic elections with a view toward setting up an official coalition government in South Vietnam.

To withdraw U.S. troops and troops of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Vietnam is to really respect the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam. To form a broad provisional coalition government in the spirit of national concord in order to hold truly free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam is a fair, reasonable and necessary measure to ensure the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

Those two key points are closely related to each other. Only when those two points are fully observed can genuine and durable peace be ensured, because any correct settlement of the Vietnam question must be based on the respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. The U.S. refusal to agree to withdraw all American troops, its scheme to maintain a big part of the U.S. forces to occupy South Vietnam permanently, its obdurate maintenance in power of the Thieu puppet administration, its stooge, which is dead set against peace and the right to self-determination of the

South Vietnamese people, constitute the very obstacle to a political settlement in South Vietnam. Ruling circles in the White House and the Thieu clique also talk of peace. But how can one give any credit to their "peace" professions when they are seeking by all means to step up the "Vietnamization of the war," perpetrating the presence of U.S. occupationist troops in South Vietnam? Obviously they can pull the wool over nobody's eyes but only reveal more clearly their aggressive and warlike nature. There also lies the reason why they oppose the coalition government. The National Liberation Front's proposal to set up a coalition government stems from a noble national spirit and humanism. In the present political and social situation in South Vietnam, after years of wars and chaos, the most important thing, the prerequisite for the restoration of the normal life of the society and of each Vietnamese is the realization of the policy of great national union and national harmony without any discrimination as expounded in the political programme of the National Liberation Front. This policy will have a direct effect on the people of all strata, arousing their enthusiasm, their mutual love and confidence which are very necessary for stabilizing the political and social situation in South Vietnam. It will stir up the innate patriotism of every Vietnamese, including those who have at one time or another served the puppet army and administration. Not only does the policy of the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Front of the Republic of South Vietnam never undertake "reprisals", but also is intended to eliminate all enmity among the people of various strata in the interest of the great cause of the nation and of every South Vietnamese. In opposing the establishment of a coalition government, the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are opposing the policy of national concord and great national union. They want to prolong and step up the "Vietnamization of the war" to make Vietnamese fight Vietnamese and realize the odious design of the U.S. aggressors "to change the color of the skin of dead bodies."

The fight of our people against the U.S. aggressors and against the "Vietnamization of the war" policy of the United States is developing in favorable conditions. But we never forget that we are facing an extremely obdurate and cruel enemy who will not stop at barbarous crimes and perfidious tactics to realize his dark design. More than ever before, our people must uphold their determination to fight and to win, to persevere in and step up the fight on the three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, till complete victory.

Dear members of the presidium, comrades and friends,

Dear compatriots and combatants,

At this solemn meeting to celebrate the great anniversaries of the brilliant victory of the August Revolution and of the 25 glorious years of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our hearts are filled with emotion and boundless gratitude to those compatriots and comrades who have struggled and laid down their lives for the recovery and defense of national independence and freedom. They are outstanding sons and daughters of the

nation, staunch fighters of the Party and army. A great many of them have fallen, but every time one of them fell, hundreds and thousands of others rose up to join in the fights. That is the upsurge of the revolutionary masses burning with hatred for the enemy and determined to fight and to defeat the enemy. Today our hearts are turned with deeper love than ever to our countrymen and combatants in South Vietnam who over the past quarter of a century have fought continuously with immense heroism and have won tremendous victories for our nation. We convey to our South Vietnam kith and kin our deepest sentiments, our pride and our confidence, and we pledge to stand shoulder to shoulder with our countrymen and combatants of valiant South Vietnam to fight and defeat the enemy.

The entire Vietnamese nation is shouldering great and glorious revolutionary tasks. Today, we pledge our iron-like determination to honor our independence oath of 2 September 1945, and to implement the sacred testament of President Ho -- to unite and fight in order to liberate South Vietnam, defend and build up socialist North Vietnam, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country, to achieve a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam. At the same time, we will do all we can to tighten our solidarity with the people of the two brotherly neighbor countries, support and assist one another in the fight to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, to liberate completely the three Indochinese countries, thus making our worthiest contributions to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and the World.

Over the past 25 years, our Vietnamese nation has travelled a road full of hardships but radiant with victories. Our fight is going on. On the crest of the victories already recorded, our Vietnamese nation is steadily marching forward with the high spirit of a victor, to bring our revolutionary cause to still greater victories, and, at the same time, to fulfill our noble international obligation toward the world's people.

Under the glorious banner of the party, and following the road charted by President Ho, let our countrymen and combatants march forward! Glorious victories are waiting for us!

CSO: 3909-W



## COMMEMORATION OF 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF VIETNAM PEOPLE'S SECURITY FORCE

[Speech by Tran Quoc Hoan<sup>1</sup>; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 51-61]

Today we enthusiastically celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam People's Security Force in an atmosphere filled with the enthusiasm with which all our people have been participating in an emulation drive to register performances to greet the 25th anniversary of the August Revolution and the DRV founding.

Since the day all our people gloriously arose under our Party leadership and since the day our beloved and respected President Ho read our declaration of independence that marked the birth of the DRV, our Vietnamese people have entered a new era -- the era of independence and freedom. Twenty-five years have elapsed since that day. Twenty-five years are a short period compared to the history of a nation, but in these 25 years, our Vietnamese people have scored wonderful achievements in combat and construction -- performances which have won the affection and confidence of all of progressive mankind and frightened our enemy. Vietnam has emerged from slavery and jail, all aglow in the dawn of our era, the name of our heroic Vietnam has reached to the remotest areas of this world. Our people's struggle has dealt a deadly blow to and caused the disintegration of the old colonial system and is defeating the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists, making positive contributions to the world revolution which is dissipating the sinister shadows of colonialists and aggressors the world over.

As an offshoot of the boisterous political and armed struggle of our revolutionary masses, our People's Security Force -- which came into existence during the glorious days of general uprising of our people -- has been responsible for protecting our Party, our revolutionary administration, our people, and our fatherland's security, since that day, along with the growth of our entire country. Our People's Security Force has grown up gradually and made constant progress in order to fulfill the heavy duties entrusted to us by our Party, government and people.

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<sup>1</sup> Delivered at commemoration meeting held on 19 August 1970.

On this occasion, we of the People's Security Force pledge never to forget the immense services rendered by great President Ho. We pledge to do our best, in collaboration with all our people, to implement his sacred testament.

We of the People's Security Force would like to express our absolute confidence in our Party, national assembly, and government and our deep gratitude to them for their leadership and solicitude.

Our People's Security Force is deeply grateful to our people -- who have written the heroic history of our nation and scored brilliant performances in safeguarding our fatherland's security -- for their affection and protection.

During these 25 years, the shooting has never stopped in our country. Our entire nation -- everyone of us being a combatant -- has engaged in a fierce struggle against the enemy. In the midst of this great revolutionary turbulence engulfing our entire nation, under the direct and comprehensive leadership of our Party, and with our people's support, our People's Security Force has fulfilled its various tasks, thus contributing to the common revolutionary work of our entire nation.

Taking root from the justice commissars of the pre-August Revolution Liberated Zone Committees, from the despot-annihilating teams and reconnaissance teams of the Viet Minh Front, and from the People's Revolutionary Forces in charge of suppressing the oppressive organs of the imperialists and puppets, our People's Security Force took shape during the seething days of general uprising of our people and contributed to crushing the oppressive machinery of the enemy.

During the first days of the People's Democratic State, our People's Security Force, although young, had to undertake an arduous, complex, and fierce struggle. With U.S. aid, hundreds of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek troops entered the north, the Vietnamese Kuomintang clique -- the lackeys of the U.S. Chiang clique -- came back, lurking behind the Chiang troops, and frenziedly sabotaged the revolution in hopes of overthrowing our fledgling administration. It slandered us, demanded seats in the National Assembly and government, and competed with us in trying to win over the masses. It brazenly occupied a number of areas and waged armed struggle against local revolutionary administration.

With British aid, French troops invaded the southern part of our country. The Dai Viet clique, the Trotskyists, and pro-French and pro-Japanese secret agents collaborated with the French imperialists in openly sabotaging the revolution.

Meanwhile, we lacked everything: our finances were in a critical state because of the imperialists and feudalists, famine caused the death of millions of our people; production met with many difficulties; the

aftermath of the flood was very serious and the state machinery was weak. The People's Army had only recently been created; the People's Security Force had just been set up and both were small in size and lacking in experience and technical equipment. Difficulties at that time were truly unimaginable.

But thanks to the clear-sighted and clever leadership of our Party and the great Uncle Ho, thanks to the seething revolutionary spirit of our people, and thanks to the revolutionary enthusiasm, eagerness, and resourcefulness of our security cadres and combatants we won many impressive victories in the struggle against counterrevolution to protect our beloved Party, our leaders and the leading cadres of our Party and government, our young revolutionary administration, and to safeguard our fatherland's security. We nipped in the bud many violent counterrevolutionary plots; in particular, we were prompt in foiling the on Nhu Hau plot. We arrested all the reactionary lackeys of French imperialists who had been plotting to overthrow our revolutionary administration. Besides destroying enemy organizations, we intensified propaganda activities to unmask the fake nationalist face of reactionary lackeys of the imperialists; we bared their hooligan faces, and turned them into "political corpses despised by the masses."

Events that took place during this struggle are still valuable lessons for our Vietnamese People's Security Force. We have drawn many lessons from the destruction of the reactionary enemy's arsenal; we have learned many lessons from the struggle against the counterrevolutionary lackeys of the U.S., Chiang, and French cliques, from the struggle against counterrevolutionaries who joined the coalition government, and from building our force from a have-not to a have status, from a small unit to a large force, and so forth. Thanks to these precious experiences, our force has become increasingly mature, capable of fulfilling the tasks of each succeeding phase.

When the French colonialists expanded their aggression to our entire country our people unanimously arose to participate in the national salvation resistance in response to President Ho's appeal. In this protracted and arduous mass struggle, our People's Security Force, with the support of the people, waged an arduous and fierce struggle against the counterrevolutionaries, even as it was in its formative stage. We had to struggle against the espionage and intelligence activities of the French imperialists and the sabotage activities of the reactionary political parties, the reactionaries who took advantage of their religion, the reactionary elements from the upper classes of various ethnic minorities, and the traitors and collaborators in areas temporarily controlled by the enemy. Many of our security units thoroughly penetrated the enemy's rear bases, and built their own bases for undertaking intelligence tasks; they set up teams who specialized in punishing collaborators and spies, thus making important contributions to undermining the basic puppet administrative

organs and creating favorable conditions for the development of the people's political struggle and armed struggle movements. The Hanoi, Hai Phong, Thua Thien, Saigon-Cholon, and other security services set up their own vanguard security units which were praised and rewarded by President Ho and the government for their exploits in annihilating collaborators and spies. Many security combatants scored outstanding success in assassinating arch traitors such as Truong Dinh Tri, President of the "Tonkinese People's Council," Nguyen Van Sam, Chairman of the "Cochinchinese National Coalition Front," Thai Lap Thanh, "Governor of Cochinchina," and other traitors. In particular, among our espionage activities, we destroyed the ship Amyot D'Inville, frustrating a wicked political scheme by the French colonialists and burying several hundred French aggressors in the sea. Also, we succeeded in setting up a secret security network in the heart of enemy territory. This net was charged with carrying out immediate tasks and to prepare the way for liberation of cities and provincial capitals still under temporary enemy control, as well as for our activities after we achieved victory.

In the rear areas, the bases of the resistance struggle, the People's Security Force contributed to firmly maintaining order and security, to insuring absolute safety for our leaders, to protecting nerve centers and resistance forces, and to insuring secrecy of military campaigns. We also detected many plots and acts of sabotage and punished the perpetrators who were ranger spies, underground spies, and local reactionaries. The anti-French resistance struggle provided us with many experiences in carrying out security tasks in the revolutionary war, experiences in fighting the enemy in different areas, experiences in protecting military campaigns, and experiences in maintaining security in the rear and in protecting the revolutionary base zone.

After the Dien Bien Phu victory, peace was restored, North Vietnam was completely liberated and switched to the socialist revolutionary stage, and our People's Democratic State performed its historic task of proletarian dictatorship. Closely led by the Party, the People's Security Force developed its fine nature and tradition and endeavored to build itself into a firm, strong force in order to cope with the new situation and tasks. Its sense of responsibility and its political, ideological, and professional standards were improved markedly. The theory on the Vietnam people's security task was gradually perfected, thus demonstrating its strong effect in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries and in the tasks of maintaining social order and security and of building the security force. As a result, the great, wicked, and cunning plots of sabotage against the northern part of our country by the imperialists' spies and the reactionaries in the country failed tragically. Their activities were very audacious, frenzied, and reckless. They strove to seduce or coerce the northern compatriots to go south immediately after the Geneva Agreement was signed. They established an espionage network in the cities turned over to us, secretly filtered many spies to the north either through the demarcation

line or by mingling with overseas Vietnamese repatriated to North Vietnam; they sent several hundred ranger spies to jeopardize our communication and transportation activities, to destroy our storage facilities, and to set up what the enemy called "guerrilla zones" in the heart of North Vietnam. Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Party and President Ho, with the very correct and comprehensive line for counterrevolutionary struggle, and with the deep and broad mass campaigns to actively participate in the counterrevolutionary struggle, the People's Security Force conducted a tense, complex, difficult, and resolute struggle. It basically defeated all plots and acts of sabotage by counterrevolutionaries and other delinquents, firmly maintained order and security in the north, effectively served the frontline, and greatly contributed to the victories in the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation and for the liberation of South Vietnam. In the unprecedentedly fierce war of destruction against the northern part of our country, besides their other wicked and cunning schemes, the U.S. aggressors plotted to upset the rear base of our entire country. But they failed completely. The status of security and order in North Vietnam remained very firm and steady in the face of every ordeal and even during the period when the war was the most fierce. We still satisfactorily insured the supply of human and material resources to the great frontline. All fields of activity of social life were stabilized. Many of our friends from all over the world, who visited North Vietnam during the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and even during the fiercest fighting phase, had great admiration for our firm maintenance of social order and security in the north.

In the south, under the glorious banner of the NFLSV, our people are conducting an heroic resistance struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. The U.S. aggressors have resorted to every ruthless maneuver to thwart our people's aspirations for independence, freedom, and national unification. However, with their superb heroism and courage, with their intelligent and creative fighting methods, and with their "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" spirit, the southern compatriots and fighters have defeated the special war and are defeating the limited war of the U.S. imperialists. The revolutionary administration that has been set up at all levels is implementing democratic policies in the liberated areas. The southern compatriots and fighters are persevering in and accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle. They are determined to advance toward winning complete victory. As part of the heroic army of the heroic south, the Liberation Security Force, supported by the people, is defeating the enemy's espionage and psywar activities. It has annihilated local puppet administrative personnel and diehards and has smashed bondage in the areas still under temporary enemy control, thus positively contributing to the great achievements of the southern revolution and to protecting the socialist revolution in the north.

On the occasion of the 25th founding anniversary of our branch, we heartily greet the heroic South Vietnam Liberation Security Fighters, the loyal sons of the fatherland who have fought very heroically, resourcefully,

and creatively, have overcome countless difficulties and hardships in order to protect the results of the revolution, and have sacrificed for their noblest and most beautiful ideal.

We heartily commend the People's Security Force in the north -- ranging from security units stationed along the frontier and on remote islands, to security units throughout the north -- and heartily commend village security units and security units in charge of defending city wards, agencies, and industrial enterprises. That, under close Party leadership and enjoying the positive assistance of the people, have upheld revolutionary heroism, have, together with the people, fought and defeated the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, have relentlessly attacked counter-revolutionaries and other delinquents, have satisfactorily safeguarded the socialist revolution, have firmly and steadily insured security for the fatherland, and have served the struggle to liberate the south and unify the country.

We are grateful to the people for their very great support which is the source of invincible strength for the Vietnam People's Security Forces in insuring security for the fatherland.

We heartily thank various branches and circles which, with the spirit of socialist cooperation, have been united with and have wholeheartedly coordinated actions with and helped the People's Security Force in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries and in maintaining order and security.

The achievements in insuring order and security for the fatherland during the past 25 years have been primarily due to the correct line of the Party headed by the beloved and venerated President Ho. Our Party has correctly coordinated the Marxist-Leninist principles on the class struggle, on revolutionary violence, and on the proletarian dictatorial state with the lively realities of Vietnam and have, on this basis, set forth creative lines, guidelines, policies, and measures for the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other delinquents and for the maintenance of social order and security. In each revolutionary stage, our Party has outlined the tasks for the struggle and the objectives and ways to cope with them in the struggle. The Party has pointed out to us the basic problems in the art of struggling against counterrevolutionaries. These problems involve being thoroughly imbued with the line on the all-peoples struggle against counterrevolutionaries, with the concept of voluntarily taking precautionary measures, and with the principle of positively protecting oneself and of actively annihilating the enemy; developing the spirit of relentless offensive on counterrevolutionaries; showing firmness in coordination with liveliness and skilfulness in carrying out policies; holding firmly to the basic spirit of the following policy; repression in coordination with leniency and punishment in coordination with re-education;

heightening vigilance and trying not to allow a single enemy to go undetected; abstaining from unjustifiably punishing an innocent person; and knowing how to satisfactorily use the tools of the revolutionary state, the invincible strength of the people's forces, revolutionary law, and the professional ability of the security force.

Our party has paid constant attention to building our People's Security Force into a powerful revolutionary force. A reliable and sharp tool of dictatorship having both a body of highly and politically enlightened and experienced cadres and a vast protective network which is efficacious enough to satisfy the various requirements of revolutionary tasks. It is obvious that our Party is the leader and organizer of all the victories of our struggle against counterrevolution and of all victories of the security safeguarding task.

In commemorating this glorious anniversary, we assert once more that the glory of safeguarding our fatherland's security belongs first of all to our beloved Party and boundlessly beloved and respected President Ho.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of our People's Security Force, let all of us cadres and combatants remember our great Uncle Ho with boundless gratitude and deep respect. His services to our nation, our fatherland, and our People's Security Force were immense. Each step toward maturity and each victory by the People's Security Force in the last 25 years were linked to his solicitude and advice.

As a genius at strategy and a talented and realistic organizer, he -- in collaboration with the Party Central Committee -- laid down a correct line for the Vietnamese revolution and laid down the line, mottoes, principles, and policies for the struggle to safeguard our revolutionary work and for the tasks of our People's Security Force.

His advice to all cadres and combatants of the People's Security Force are profound and simple. It reflects in the most concentrated manner his fundamental views concerning combat, tasks, and construction. They are the brilliant beacon that illuminates the path which we must follow. No one can forget his constant advice that we must have firm confidence in the people. He said: "To have genuine democracy, we must be really dictatorial; otherwise, bad elements will harm our people. To be really dictatorial, we must be actually democratic toward the people. The security force can exercise dictatorship toward the enemy in order to advance toward socialism only if the people love and trust it." "How many security men are there? The security force -- whether it is composed of 3,000 or 50,000 men -- is small compared to the masses of people. These 50,000 men have only 50,000 pairs of eyes and 50,000 pairs of hands. In order to have millions of pairs of eyes and ears we must rely on the people, and must not detach ourselves from the people." He added: "The enemy is not clever at all, he can sabotage our work if we have shortcomings. But the enemy can do nothing if security men know how to keep secrets, rely on the people, and help the people keep secrets."

Abiding by his advice, the People's Security Force pledges to wholeheartedly serve the people, firmly rely on the people's large forces, and have full confidence in the people while fulfilling its task of safeguarding our fatherland's security.

President Ho has set forth an admirable example of revolutionary quality and ethics. This example has shed marvelous rays of light on the souls of all of us cadres and combatants of the People's Security Force. These rays are: loyalty to the Party and people; determination to overcome difficulties and ordeals in order to fulfill tasks; industriousness, thriftiness, honesty, integrity, and impartiality; and the spirit of heroically making sacrifices, staunchness, unmissiveness, and wholeheartedly and unconditionally serving the fatherland, the people, and the class. These are very important points.

Many people's security men thought of Uncle Ho and the Party when they encountered difficulties or dangers in combat or while they fulfilled their tasks or when they fell into the enemy's hands. This thought gave them more power enabling them to cope with complex, difficult, or dangerous situations and to outstandingly fulfill their revolutionary tasks.

How great, wholesome, and simple our Uncle was! His image is deeply engraved in our minds as a beloved, kind, and simple father who solicitously cared for his children and wholeheartedly educated and trained them so that they would, when grown up, fulfill their duty to the people and the country. He said: "To build socialism, there must be socialist men, socialist men must advance toward completely ridding themselves of individualism, in everyone's mind, there is a struggle between 'right' and 'wrong,' or, according to a new way of speaking, a struggle between Communist ideology and individualist ideology. Communist ideology and individualist ideology are likened to paddy and weeds. Paddy can grow copiously when it is adequately fertilized, while weeds overgrow without being cared for. Communist ideology can develop only after a long period of hard training, while individualist ideology, like weeds, develops very easily."

He repeatedly urged men and women security fighters to "strive to fulfill their duty."

His advice, which has constantly pointed the way for our People's Security Force, is our banner of victory. All our people's security cadres and fighters are deeply grateful to him and promise to study and be determined to carry out, at all costs, his advice.

Reviewing our struggle over the past 25 years to fight counter-revolutionaries and insure security for the fatherland, we are very proud of our heroic Vietnamese people. With deep hatred for the enemy, with warm patriotism, with the high spirit of defending the country, and with the tradition of heroism, bravery, and resourcefulness, and constantly improved by the Party and President Ho, our people have developed their

invincible strength in the struggle against all acts of sabotage by the enemy and have firmly and steadily defended our Party, the new regime, and our beloved fatherland.

From the broad "three nothings" (know nothing, hear nothing, see nothing) during the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and the mass campaign to insure order and security and to advance toward building politically strong and steady villages and city wards where order and security were assured to the campaign to guard against security leaks and enemy infiltration and to insure safety for government agencies and army units, our people have upheld their right to be masters of the community in maintaining order and security for the fatherland. They have set up a large, broad, and firm security network that has encircled all enemies.

It can be said that there have been no trials of underground spies, ranger spies, or reactionaries which have not been due to disclosures by and contributions from the people.

Our people are a strong force who have destroyed all psywar arguments of the enemy.

Our people have played a decisive role in the struggle to re-educate the elements who formerly worked for the enemy.

Our people have made great contributions to changing the bad habits and vestiges of the old regime. They are building a new order and a new way of life, the socialist way of life.

We heartily praise the ethnic minority people in the Viet Bac base area who, through the "three nothings" campaign succeeded in frustrating all espionage and intelligence schemes by the enemy and insured safety for our nerve organs during the resistance war.

We are very proud of the security units who were the leading banners in the mass campaign to maintain order and security. They were the Yen Phong Unit in Ninh Binh Province, the Hung Khanh Unit in Yen Bai Province, and the Bloc No. 30 Unit in Dong Da Ward, Hanoi. We are also very proud of many localities which have outstandingly carried out the mass campaign to insure order and security in the present anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. These localities are Vinh Giang and Vinh Lam villages in the Vinh Linh area; Dai Trach Village, Quang Binh Province; Cam Binh Village, Ha Tinh Province; Guynh Long Village, Nghe An Province; Sin Thau Village, Lai Chau Province; and others.

We are very proud of the mass campaigns to protect state property, communication and transportation operations, and people's air defense in localities during the resistance to the U.S. imperialists' fierce war of destruction. With such significant and stimulating slogans as "do not take

anything given by others, do not ask for anything when we see it, protect public property, and return lost things to their owners," "we must not hesitate to dismantle our houses in order to use materials to repair a damaged or destroyed portion of a roadway," and "houses are used to cover from sun and rain, while shelters protect our flesh and bones." The people in these localities have participated in the security-insuring campaign with a high sense of being masters.

All these lively facts have confirmed a shining truth: as the revolutionary undertaking belongs to the people, they must have the duty to protect it themselves. On this glorious anniversary, we once again assert that our heroic Vietnamese people will make a success of the struggle to insure security for the fatherland.

Reviewing the achievements of the Vietnam People's Security Force in fighting the enemy, carrying out tasks, and developing their ranks over the past 25 years, we are proud of the beloved Party, of the great Uncle Ho, and of our heroic people. We also take pride in the work of our branch. How happy we are to serve as the bodyguards of the Party; during the past 25 years, in our branch there have been many comrades who have been worthy of that glorious title. There have been comrades who have operated in enemy-controlled areas under very hard and dangerous conditions, but who have scored many brilliant exploits. There have been comrades who, though aware of their very dangerous tasks, have heroically carried them out and have calmly gone to their glorious deaths. There have been comrades who have been unfortunately captured by the enemy and barbarously tortured or seduced and bribed by him, but who have upheld their pride as Vietnamese security fighters, have refused to submit to the enemy, and have preferred to die rather than surrender and confess to their activities. There have been comrades who have stalwartly, bravely, heroically, and resolutely fought back against the enemy to their last breath in order to protect their comrades in arms and not to let themselves and the secrets of the Party and the state be captured by the enemy. The exploits of these security fighters have embellished our branch's fine tradition. They are truly worthy of being the loyal sons of the Party, the devoted servants of the people, and the distinguished fighters of the Vietnam People's Security Force. Our Party, our people, and our People's Security Branch mourn and are eternally grateful to these loyal and heroic sons.

In our ranks, there are many comrades who are engaging in secret activities, their tasks are at times complex, difficult, and violent and must be kept completely secret. On many occasions, they have had to operate far from their families, from their beloved comrades in arms, and sometimes from the fatherland. Yet, they are burning with revolutionary enthusiasm. They passionately love the noble, beautiful ideal they are serving; the ideal of protecting the party, the fatherland, the people, and the building of socialism. This ideal is a source of strength to stimulate these comrades to dare to sacrifice for the Party's undertaking and to overcome all hardships and sacrifices in order to satisfactorily fulfill their tasks.

It is because of these ideals that many of our comrades serving in border areas or on isolated offshore islands have "considered their post as their home, the border areas as their native village, and the serving of nationality compatriots as a source of happiness."

It is because of these ideals that many of our comrades have scored outstanding achievements during the performance of their difficult, complicated tasks.

It is because of these ideals that many of our comrades, due to their mission, have to make daily contact with bad elements, with social dregs, yet they still manage to preserve their pure quality, like lotus flowers that do not smell of mud in spite of their growing in mud.

It is because of these ideals that many units, cadres, and combatants of our branch, in the performance of their combat, work, and building tasks throughout 25 years, have scored outstanding achievements of which the most typical were performed by such heroic units and comrade heroes cited by the national assembly and the government at the 3d nationwide hero congress as the 111th, 235th, and 93d Armed Public Security posts, the Ha Long and Hoa Lu fire squads, and comrade heroes Tran Van Tho, Truong Chi Cuong, Pham Ba Hat, Nguyen Dinh Thu, Tran Van Nho, Tran Dinh Lu, and Nguyen Tri Phuong.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the success of the August revolution and the founding of the DRV as well as the 25th anniversary of our branch, a piece of news that fills us with happiness is the decision of the National Assembly and government to award the title of "hero of the People's Armed Forces" to 14 units and 12 cadres and combatants of the People's Security Force for their outstanding performances during the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. These units are: the Hien Luong People's Security Station in the Vinh Linh area, the Dong Loc Traffic Police Unit in Ha Tinh Province, the People's Armed Security Post No 132 in Quang Binh Province, the People's Armed Security Post No 120 in Quang Binh, the People's Armed Security Station No 75 in Nghe An Province, the People's Armed Security Station No 96 in Nghe An, the Thuong Ly Police Unit in Hai Phong, Truck Unit No 3 of the Rear Services Department of the People's Armed Security Force; and the Security Committees of Vinh Giang and Vinh Lam villages in the Vinh Linh area, Dai Trach village in Quang Binh Province, Cam Binh village in Ha Tinh Province, Quynh Long village in Nghe An Province, and Sin Thau village in Lai Chau Province.

The 12 comrades are: Truong Thanh Nam, senior sergeant of the Vinh Linh People's Armed Security Unit; Ho Phom, senior lieutenant at the People's Armed Security Post No 235 in Quang Binh Province; Vo Tuyen Hong of the Ha Tinh People's Armed Security Unit; Quang Van Lien, senior sergeant of the People's Armed Security Post No 17 in Lai Chau Province; Le Duy Can, People's Armed Security senior sergeant and driver squad leader of the Rear Services Department; Ho Ba Tho, People's Police Captain in

Quang Binh Province; Nguyen Tien Tuan, people's police senior sergeant in Ha Tinh Province; Nguyen Vinh Ba, people's policeman in Ninh Binh Province; Le Van Hien, security man in Quang Phuc village, Quang Binh Province; Nguyen Van Tuong, security man in Ha Trach village, Quang Binh Province; Nguyen Thi Minh Chau, leader of the Quynh Hong Village Security Unit, Nghe An Province; and Nguyen Van Tao, leader of the Dien Yen Village Security Unit, Nghe An Province.

We warmly acclaim and pledge to learn from the good example set by these heroic units and comrades.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has achieved great and comprehensive victories. The Americans are obviously defeated. But they are very stubborn. They are plotting to "Vietnamize" the war in order to prolong their war of aggression by "using the Vietnamese to fight the Vietnamese." The southern compatriots and liberation troops are dealing heavy blows at them, frustrating their pacification scheme step by step, and seriously defeating their plot to "Vietnamize" the war. They have recklessly expanded the war to the whole of Indochina with a view to improving their critical situation and that of their lackeys. They have run against a strong resistance from 50 million Indochinese peoples. He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind: their defeat is certain and inevitable. However, we must clearly realize that the U.S. imperialists are warlike and stubborn and that their military and economic potentialities are great. They have not given up their aggressive design against our country. They are focusing their efforts on implementing this design. They will surely intensify their espionage activities in the north -- carrying out new sabotage plots, plans, and formulas -- in order both to serve their war of aggression in the south and set forth a trend for their long-range activities. Our struggle against the enemy will be more complex, more arduous, fiercer, and longer. Therefore, the present duty of all our Party members and people is to constantly raise our vigilance, strengthen our unity, and perseveringly step up our anti-U.S. national salvation struggle in order to completely defeat the U.S. imperialists' Vietnamization-of-the-war scheme and any other plots and to achieve total victory for our people.

Our north has to continue to assist the frontline, insuring supplies of men and materials to combat and to victories on the battlefield, along with gradually overcoming the consequences of the war, reorganizing economic activities in accord with the present situation, stepping up the labor productivity movement, striving to restore and develop the economy, advancing the socialist revolutionary undertaking by a new step, and preparing to be ready to defeat every adventurous military action of the U.S. imperialists.

Considering the situation and the common revolutionary task of the entire country, the duty of our People's Security Forces are very heavy.

We must defeat every espionage maneuver and activity of the imperialists, first of all U.S. spies, as well as every maneuver and activity of other antirevolutionaries.

We must endeavor to protect the Party, insuring the absolute safety of our leaders and defending the Party's lines, policies, and cadres and organs at all echelons.

We must satisfactorily protect our economy, culture, education, armed forces, the carrying out of state plans, and the building of socialism.

We must make all-out efforts to maintain social order more satisfactorily.

Our immediate tasks are very urgent. Our long-term tasks are very difficult, our struggle is continual.

To fulfill these tasks, to reach our beautiful ideals which are to defend the party, the revolutionary administration, the people, the socialist revolution, and the security of the fatherland, our People's Security Forces must constantly build a very steadfast strength, must become an absolutely loyal, authoritarian tool of the Party, and must possess a firm class stand, a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, a thorough understanding of the masses, beautiful revolutionary qualities, a high organizational and disciplinary consciousness, and excellent professional, cultural, scientific, and technological levels.

To celebrate the 25th anniversaries of the success of the August Revolution, of the founding of the DRV, and of the founding of the Vietnamese People's Security Forces is also to commemorate our Party's and People's 25 years of success in their struggle against antirevolutionary forces for defending the security of the fatherland. Through this hard, fierce, protracted, difficult, and complex struggle, we have written pages of glorious history and have built the brilliant tradition of the Vietnamese People's Security Forces.

Celebrating the 25th anniversary of our branch, let all cadres and combatants of our People's Security Forces, in all aspects of their struggle, strive to develop this beautiful tradition, to embellish this glorious history, and to be worthy of the confidence of the beloved and respected Party, of great Uncle Ho, of the heroic people, and of the heroic history of our Vietnamese People's Security Forces.

Together with the entire people and armed forces, let all cadres and combatants of our People's Security Forces advance enthusiastically and resolve to satisfactorily fulfill their glorious tasks.

-- Everything for defeating the U.S. aggressors and for successfully building socialism!

-- Long live the DRV!

-- Long live a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam!

-- Long live the Vietnam Workers Party!

-- May great, beloved, and venerated President Ho Chi Minh live forever in our undertaking!

CSO: 3909-W

## A FEW LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE GAINED DURING 25 YEARS OF BUILDING THE VIETNAMESE EDUCATIONAL BASE

[Article by Vo Thuan Nho; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 62-72]

Being an element of the revolution, the Vietnamese educational base has, throughout these last 25 years, continuously expanded along with the overall Vietnamese revolution, and has contributed to advancing the country into an era of independence, freedom, and socialism.

The fervent dream which had been long studied by the working people of our country, and the slogan "achieve universal education" which our party had espoused for the first time 40 years ago, became realities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam when the country was just 25 years old.

The most striking and the most basic achievement of the Vietnamese educational base is its tremendous contribution to the task of creating and training the new Vietnamese people under the leadership of the party and President Ho. These new people have and still are being steadily formed in all aspects more beautifully, and have contributed decisively to the consolidation of the people's democratic government, to the victory over the French colonial aggressors, to the building of socialism, and they are presently defeating the American aggressors throughout the country.

In our socialist North Vietnam today, all of the levels of new people, from youngsters up to middle aged people of 40 years old, presently comprise a very large force, one which is most powerful on the political, military, economic, scientific and technological, and the social and cultural fronts. All of these people have been educated and trained in the schools of the new system.

This is a source of tremendous pride for our party and our people as they presently look back over the road covered during the last 25 years by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in general, and by the educational base of our people, in particular.

These 25 years of building and expanding the people's education have been the same 25 years during which the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has undergone changes and taken tremendous revolutionary leaps forward, leaps which not only had an effect within the country but also within the world. Expanding during such historical conditions, naturally the Vietnamese educational base has accumulated many valuable lessons of experience in many areas. But as far as we are concerned, those most worth of note are the following four most basic lessons of experience:

I- Absolutely Obey the Political Policies of the Party; Actively Serve the Policies and the Revolutionary Obligations of the Party During Each Period

The Vietnamese revolution during the last 25 years has constantly expanded along the general lines of the party which called for a complete people's democratic national revolution advancing toward socialist revolution.

Education is a tool of the revolution, and these days is a tool of the proletarian dictatorship. So it must naturally continually adhere closely to the political policies of the party, absolutely obey those political policies, and actively serve the political obligations assigned by the party in each revolutionary period. In this way education can then have correct direction, and scientific and practical contents; and then can have methods which are suited to the realities of our country so that it can expand and contribute to the goals of liberating the nation and liberating the people.

During the last 25 years the Vietnamese revolution has gone through many periods: the initial building of the revolutionary state and the anti-French resistance; economic rehabilitation, social reform, the initial building of socialism and the struggle for peace and the unification of the country; and the simultaneous building of socialism in North Vietnam while waging the anti-American resistance for national salvation. Throughout each period we have always had reforms and policies which were essential and timely for the altering of the course of education with the aim of serving the political obligations brought on by the needs of the revolution.

One day after the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Ho appealed to "eliminate ignorance" at the same time as "eliminating foreign aggression" and "eliminating famine." A week later he signed the law establishing the organ responsible for eliminating illiteracy. Illiteracy, a heritage of the feudalist colonial regime, was a great obstacle in the way of creating revolutionary awareness for the masses. It was necessary to have literate masses in order to increase their spirit and their capability to be the masters of the country, and in order to protect their revolutionary government. This was the greatest political obligation and was actually also the most shining success of the education branch at that time.

As for the universal education base, right from the day when the schools first opened in the first school year following independence, in a letter which he sent to the students, President Ho stipulated that the nature of the new education was one of "a completely Vietnamese educational base," one of "the educational base of an independent country," and one which had the objective of creating "good Vietnamese citizens." (From "Letter sent to students on the occasion of the opening of school -- September 1945," President Ho Discusses Education, Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, page 23.)

When we stepped into the country wide resistance, the education sector also entered the resistance, built schools in the freed regions and in the guerrilla regions, and contributed to the mobilizing of the teachers, students, and the people to carry on all-out people's resistance. According to the directive of President Ho, the branch of universal education implemented the system of a school day which consisted of a half day of studies and a half day of the students participating in production at home. The branch of popular educational courses for the masses then began to shift its concern to the expansion of after-hours cultural improvement classes for adults after they had become literate, in order to directly serve the needs of the fighting and of production.

Faced with the successful momentum of the resistance and of the pressing needs of the revolutionary obligations, during the school year 1950-1951 the education branch implemented the first large reforms which were aimed at specifying the things which President Ho had mentioned in the letter which he sent to the students when school first opened in September 1945: The nature of education is independent democracy; the objective of education is the creation of a generation of youngsters for the revolution; the goal of education is schools which are closely

tied to society. These reforms provided timely assistance in overcoming the concept of education being political or neutral; and they disturbed many of the teachers who had been originally created on the old schools and who did not yet clearly understand the character of the schools under our system. As for the contents of education, in addition to the essential cultural knowledges, the resistance schools educated the students to raise their national pride and their self determination to be unyielding in their decision to fight on to defeat the French aggressors. As for organization, the nine year system of universal education, which was most favorable for the conditions of the resistance, was established to replace the system which was used under the French with three levels: primary school, advanced primary school, and secondary technical schools.

Following the successful resistance against the French and the complete liberation of North Vietnam, faced with the new needs of the revolution, in 1956 the education sector promoted the second large reforms, which on the one hand were aimed at abolishing the remnants of cultural and educational slavery in the regions which were newly liberated, and on the other hand were aimed at bringing the expansion of education to a new step forward in preparation of the activation for the reforming of society, and especially for the later building of socialism. The first system of 10 year universal schools were established, to replace the system of nine year schools used during the resistance. At the same time we also abolished the system of colonial schools, including the private schools, in those regions which had formerly been temporarily occupied. The program of study at the various levels was reformed, and at the same time the textbooks were also reedited. It was also at this time that Marxism -- Leninism was officially and openly confirmed as the only ideology for the overall guidance of our education.

In parallel with the expansion of universal education, we promoted the fulfilling of the plan to eradicate illiteracy during two years (1956 -- 1958) and strongly expanded the after-hours cultural studies throughout the countryside and in all of the enterprises, with the objective of quickly bringing science and technology to the working people. Besides the system of after-hours schools which were set up for the workers and peasants, the labor universal schools were also established with the aim of urgently providing additional cultural and scientific knowledge for the cadres who were workers and peasants to help them to raise their work standards, and to simultaneously create a very valuable supply source for the building of scientific and technological cadres and cadres to manage the economy.

In 1960 the resolution of the third party congress was issued to the education branch, which was responsible for the training of new workers, to expand all aspects of the work to meet the needs of education on a larger scale. From then until now, the education sector has unceasingly reformed the contents, the programs, and the methods of education, while simultaneously striving to expand education in order to quickly meet the training needs of the people and the requirements for training cadres. In addition to the reforming of the contents of education relating to basic science in order to adhere closely to the realities of Vietnam and to move into modern times, the various classes of technical labor and the ethical classes were brought into the educational program. Along with their studies in the schools, the students were organized and managed so that they would participate in production labor along with the workers. From practice the concepts and principles of education were affirmed, summarized, and expanded in greater detail with the aim of making the education branch be of even better service to the revolutionary obligations.

Especially from 1965, when all of our country stepped into the resistance against the Americans for national salvation, in order to respond to the new situation and obligations, education quickly altered the course of its activities. Disregarding the conditions of intense war, the teachers and students actively built and expanded the educational base, and in this way our educational base not only held its own but even expanded further than before, capably serving the implementing of the military strategy determination of the entire party and of our entire people, which was to defeat the American aggressors, continue to build socialism and to promote the expansion of the local economy, and to make intensive preparations for the need to build up our country on a grand scale following the victory of the resistance.

In summary, the realities of the past 25 years have fully testified to the fact that the expansion and the success of education could not be separated from the expansion and the success of the revolution in general during every period. Education's obedience of the political policies of the party and its active service to the carrying out of the revolutionary obligations assigned by the party during each period are the basic conditions which have brought about the expansion of education in the right direction, its unceasing growth, and its achievement of its tremendous and glorious accomplishments for the party and for our heroic people.

In order to thoroughly understand the political policies of the party and to accurately and profoundly recognize the

obligations of each revolutionary period, the cadres of education as well as all of the teachers and students must be even more concerned about their political studies, their studies of the basic principles of Marxism -- Leninism, and especially their studies of the party policies and guidelines. They must carefully research the directives and the resolutions of the party regarding the new situation and the new obligations before each revolutionary progression, must consolidate their position and their concept of the working class, increase their revolutionary fervor and thoughts, and must research and generate the methods and plans which are aimed at making the education branch, regardless of the circumstances, able to contribute to the utmost of its capacity to the fulfillment of the common revolutionary obligations.

## II- Rely Upon the People, Coordinate the Forces of the State and the Forces of the People

In the past 25 years our country has placed great stress upon the expansion of education in order that there would be a steady increase in the cultural level of the people. But our country is poor and the capacity of the state is limited, and, moreover, it is also necessary to concentrate our strength in order to consolidate and to strengthen our national defense with the aim of defeating the imperialist aggressors. So we have not only learned to rely upon the state but we have learned to rely upon the people as well. We have joined the forces of the state with the forces of the people in order to strongly expand education.

Our people have always had a tradition of being tireless learners. In every generation and under every regime our people have thirsted for an understanding of and have had respect for principles. We have eagerly sought and prized the spiritual values throughout our history. At the same time we have had abundant revolutionary spirit, and have been quick to seek anything new and progressive. It is for these reasons that our educational base has progressive and democratic contents, and that our people have warmly welcomed and actively supported it even though they have had to endure great sacrifices.

Right from the beginning when we joined hands to build the national, democratic educational base, we have learned to rely upon the people in order to overcome the obstacles which might at first have seemed impossible to overcome. Just how were we able to eradicate illiteracy for millions of persons when our country had just gained its independence, our economy was extremely backward, and we were forced to "both resist and

to engage in national reconstruction"? Enthusiastically supporting the appeal of President Ho, our people went all out to contribute their labor and their property to organize the popular educational courses, and they brought all of their strength to bear upon the task of eradicating illiteracy. Young, old, men, and women who were literate fervently took part in the popular educational classes; this was especially true of the youth. Thanks to the method of "If the wife is not literate, then the husband teaches her; if the children are not literate, then the mother teaches them; if one's parents are not literate, then the children teach them..." which President Ho expressed in his appeal, the popular educational movement spread rapidly. The movement to eradicate illiteracy which was carried on by the people, continued to vigorously expand during the years of the resistance against the French. When the countryside embarked upon the road of collectivism, the agricultural cooperatives served as the firm bases for promoting the movement for after-hours cultural studies so that the movement advanced quickly, strongly, and firmly while simultaneously eradicating illiteracy.

Our people also did not begrudge the labor and the goods used in the building of the general schools, and they concerned themselves with providing the classes with the essential supplies. The societies of students' parents were established in all of the localities, and they helped the schools, above all from the standpoint of setting up the courses. When it was required that the studies of the people move ahead and the revolution also demanded the rapid expansion of education, then everywhere there appeared civilian operated schools which worked in harmony with the extremely great efforts of the state to expand the national schools. The number of universal students went from one and a half million in the 1959 -- 1960 school year up to over two and a half million in the 1964 -- 1965 school year during a time when our state economy and budget was still in distress, showing clearly that if it were not for the people along with the collectivized economic base of the cooperatives, and the assistance of the state in building the schools and supplying part of the teachers over a broad area of the countryside, then it is a certainty that the educational base would not have been able to expand as rapidly as it did.

Of even more significance is that during the years of fighting the extremely vicious air war of destruction which was waged by the Americans over North Vietnam, each year the general schools absorbed over a half million students. If it had not been for the people's extreme support for the training of their children on the basis of profound political consciousness, and upon the basis of a collectivized economy, then it is

certain that during this period our educational base would have found it hard to just hold its own without even thinking of continuing to expand with such great success. The schools with strong anti-air raid trenches, the hats of green rice stalks on the heads of the students on their way to school, the plans to secure the safety of the students so that they could all study normally, etc., all of these things came about through the combined efforts and ideas of the people under the leadership of the party. These things were done with the determination to defeat the Americans on the education front.

Throughout the past 25 years our people have not only planned and participated in the setting up of schools, the opening of classes, and the nourishing of the teachers, but they have also carried out an even more important obligation, that is they contributed to the process of educating a generation of youngsters and provided additional help to the perfecting of the educational process of the schools. "Because education in the schools is only one part, there must also be education by outside society and in the family in order to help the education in the schools to improve. No matter how good the education in the schools is, if there is a lack of education by the family and by outside society, then the results will be less than satisfactory." (Speech at the Party Cadres Conference in the Education Branch from 3-8 June 1957, "President Ho Discusses Education, Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, page 168.) Our people gave their ideas to the teachers to make the teachers' work better and they helped the teachers to struggle to develop into model teachers; these things had a tremendous effect upon our children's learning. No matter how little room they had in their homes, the parents of the students, following the guidance of the schools, still tried to reserve a cheery and well lit corner for the students to study in. The people also helped to set up the rules of the schools and the classrooms. We could not even begin to relate all of the things which were done by our people which contributed so much to the education of a generation of youngsters in the schools. This participation and these contributions of our people have developed into a base of profound nourishment in every hamlet and ward, and have been adopted by the students' parents, associations, the masses' groups, and the cooperatives.

The example of Cam Binh, in Ha Tinh, one of the progressive townships with regard to education, made it clear that when the people promoted their role as masters of their education, then education was strongly expanded and made a tremendous effect upon society and man. Here the people not only were responsible for the building of the material base for education, but they also went further to understand the educational policies and principles of the party, and to regularly discuss

the contents of education with the teachers and help to support the teachers in every respect. Here the essential organizations were formed, assuring that the people would be the masters in education. Cam Binh is a model of "education must rely upon the people." Experience showed Cam Binh that, in these days, with a political ideology, a spirit of socialist awareness, and a high cultural level, our people could participate in making education ever stronger and more profound, and could progress to becoming the true masters of education. These are very basic conditions by which it is possible to help education to enjoy continuing expansion in the specific circumstances of our country, and by which it is possible to develop on a wide scale one's aspirations to serve the proletarian dictatorship.

### III- Firmly Understand the Principle "Education Coordinated With Labor Production"; Insist Upon Implementing the Formula "Both Studies and Production Labor"

According to the concept of our party, revolutionary education must attain the objective of training people of many background, people who have revolutionary virtues, who have cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge, and who have labor habits and skills. Thus, revolutionary education cannot be restricted to the four walls of the classroom. It cannot be just book learning; it cannot withdraw from life. Revolutionary education must be close to life, close to the revolutionary realities, and close to production labor. In particular, after our people struggled and gained power, then productive labor was the main front upon which every laboring person of the new regime was responsible for the long-term participation, throughout his entire life, in order to contribute to the building of a new society, a socialist society and a communist society, a society more perfect than the old society in every respect, and above all with respect to labor output. With its great effect, and with the resolutions of productive labor being what they were, our party took the coordination of education with production labor and made this one of its basic precepts regarding education.

On the other hand, we also began with the situation of a poor country. This required that we mobilize all of our strength in order to defeat the vicious aggression of the imperialists. In this situation, what could we do to assure that the primary objectives of our education, which included assurances that the laboring people would have training opportunities even though they were busy with production, fighting and other activities, would be met? What could be done to provide training for the children of the laboring people in order to build this young generation into the future backbone of the country, while the

standard of living of the people was still low and the capacity of the state was limited? To accomplish this we took the "both studies and productive labor" formula, or "both productive labor and studies" and made this a basic educational formula.

In summary, during the specific situation of our country during the past 25 years, if we had not firmly understood the principle of "education coordinated with productive labor" and if we had not insisted upon the formula of "both studies and productive labor" or "both productive labor and studies," then it is certain that our educational base would not have achieved the brilliant accomplishments we have today.

Right after we had just put power in the hands of the people, we stimulated the popular educational courses movement, with noon and night time classes, to eradicate illiteracy for adults involved in productive labor, fighting, or other activities.

Following that, during the resistance against the French we both continued to promote the movement to eradicate illiteracy, and to initiate the after-hours cultural studies for those who had escaped the scourge of illiteracy. Moving on in this direction, the cultural after-hours studies gradually expanded into a branch of studies with a system of schools found everywhere in two kinds of locales, in the agricultural regions close to the cooperatives, and in the industrial and administrative sectors close to the enterprises, workcamps, organs, vanguard youth units, etc. With this formula of labor, work and studies, there were years when the number of persons engaged in after-hours cultural studies reached 1,200,000 persons. Further, there were also many forms of on-the-job studies such as self-study, self-study with guidance, correspondence studies, etc. which had the objective of helping the workers, the peasants, and the cadres who were engaged in productive labor and work have the conditions for steadily raising their cultural and professional standards.

As for the youth, in order to respond to the need to create cadres and to provide supplemental training for the present cadres, we unceasingly expanded the "both study and work" schools. These included the industrial general schools in the cities, the agricultural general schools in the countryside, the socialist labor youth schools in the mountain regions, and the short-term concentrated cultural self-studies in both the plains and the mountain areas. The organization, contents and methods of the teaching and the studying of these various types of schools are being constantly reformed to make them truly suited to the local economic environment and to the

conditions of labor, daily routines, and age brackets of each instance.

As for general students, we have resolutely applied, from the time of the anti-French resistance until the present, the system of half-day study sessions in order to allow the students to participate in productive labor in the family, in the agricultural cooperatives, and in the handicrafts cooperatives, or to participate in labor in the schools and in public projects. Thanks to the half-day studies and the half-day for labor many universal students, especially the children of the laboring people, were able to earn part of their study expenses and to reduce the costs for their families and for the state, and thanks to their work they were able to continue their studies to a higher level.

During the process of achieving the formula of "both studies and productive labor," we learned early to employ the spirit of technological education to integrate and to bring into the study program technological labor applicable to agriculture and industry, and to bring into the cultural self-studies program production technology courses. At the same time we learned of the need for organization and management of the students when they were participating in productive labor in order to raise the effectiveness of their education and to make their labor be of real economic benefit. Mainly because of the implementation of the formula of "both studies and productive labor," our children, although in the course of their studies they encountered many difficulties and had many shortcomings, received and expanded upon the beautiful traditions of our nation and the noble qualities of our people, and thanks to this they were able to carry on the work of their parents. In hundreds of successful models, the most striking being the experience of "education closely tied to productive labor" of the Bac Ly level II school and its youth in the countryside activities, and the experience of "both studies and work" of the Hoa Binh socialist labor youth school with its youth activities.

During the long period of implementing the formula "both studies and productive labor," we also saw that the process of completely and correctly recognizing this formula in the education branch and in society was not simple. The tendency, in general, was one of not yet fully seeing the tremendous revolutionary significance of this formula, so that sometimes there was too much hesitancy in applying it with the result it was not strongly implemented. Also for this reason there were deviations which had to be corrected, such as failing to stress good preparations for the student labor, contracting for student

labor as though it were a private concern, and a lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the schools. There were also occasions and places where the schools mobilized the students to engage with great enthusiasm in labor, but without simultaneously stressing the raising of the standard of cultural and technological science standards; of they failed to organize the labor in detail so that it did not bring practical economic results and this in turn resulted in the efforts not bringing practical educational results.

The above-mentioned experiences demanded that the education branch had to be persistent and had to absorb with greater profundity the concept of "education coordinated with productive labor," had to reform its program of studies in accordance with the spirit of integrated technological education, had to reform the teaching methods and the training methods of the students so that educational knowledge achieved highest results, and had to aim at preparing the students to participate in labor. On the other hand, it was also necessary to reform the organizing and the managing of productive labor for the students to be able to both reach their educational objectives and to achieve real economic results.

The educational sector has to quickly draw upon its experiences, and fully promote the lessons learned during these past 25 years in order to be able to build the kind of schools which reflect the concept of "both studies and productive labor" suited to each circumstance and to each locale of our country, in order to better educate our students and to make much better contributions to the building of our economy. The educational branch has to make the entire branch and all of the teachers deeply absorb the teachings of President Ho, who said when he visited Chuo Van An school on 31 December: "A socialist school is a school which:

- Studies along with labor.
- Has theory along with practice.
- Toils diligently and is frugal."

#### IV- Constantly Stress the Building of the Ranks of Teachers

The ranks of teachers are those who bear the responsibility of directly implementing the educational policies and principles of the party. The teachers have made many contributions to the wonderful achievements of education during the past 25 years. The majority of the teachers increasingly demonstrate that they are worthy of being the righteous children of the heroic Vietnamese nation, are worthy of the trust placed in them by the party

and the government, and are worthy of the people's love. They have strived to repay the merits of glorious Ho Chi Minh who set the example for them from their first faltering steps until they reached their present maturity.

The beautiful qualities of Vietnamese teachers under our system have been sharply honed by the party and Uncle Ho through the various periods of the revolution. Teachers today are no longer "knockers of children's heads" just seeking to earn a living as was the case under the feudalism, colonial system. Today's teachers are fighters serving the people on the cultural and ideological front with a very glorious mission and also one which is very complex, that is the creating of a new class of people to build socialism and communism in the future. Our teachers have taken it upon themselves to embody the revolutionary slogan "Everything for the beloved student." With this slogan they are determined to resist the enemy of the nation, and to never be afraid or to hesitate in the face of the American bombs and rockets. With this slogan the teachers are steadily developing into intimate friends of the students they teach every day. The friendship between the teachers and the students carries a revolutionary significance and has a rich and progressive scientific content. The teachers respect the students, and the students respect the teachers so that they can help each other to properly attain the training and teaching objectives. In addition to the time in the classroom and in the school, our teachers today take on works closely tied to the people to carry out some of their daily works so that they can activate the people to join with them in teaching the children. Our teachers work diligently and live simply, constantly strive to cultivate themselves, study well, seek ideas for the best teaching methods to get the best results, in the hope of arming their students with the most beautiful revolutionary qualities and the most modern scientific and cultural knowledge so that the students will have the capability to build their country into a strong and rich one, and will make socialism successful. Teachers today are also the cadres of the party who actively contribute to the struggle to implement the guidelines and the policies of the party, and activate the masses to properly achieve the short term and the long term political obligations of the revolution.

Such teachers as Nguyen Van Hue, Nguyen Dinh Thiep, To Thi Rin, Bui Thi Thanh Xuan, the teachers of the Bac Ly level II school, the teachers of the "Hoa Binh socialist labor youth school," etc. are symbolic of teachers of the Ho Chi Minh era.

"Without teachers there is no education," is a logical truth expressed by President Ho. This teaching reminds us that we must constantly stress the building of the teacher ranks during the process of expanding education.

If we want to assure that our teachers are indeed "engineers of the soul" and simultaneously the cadres of the party on the ideological, cultural, and educational front, then above all, we must stress the providing of regular supplementary training for the teachers on the setting up of proletarian schools, communist ideals, revolutionary virtues, and the guidelines and policies of the party. Today, the reason why we have a powerful and reliable rank of teachers is that we stressed the creating of teachers and the providing of additional training for teachers from the time they were seated at their desks in the normal school as well as throughout the process of their preparing to go into their work. In Vietnam's circumstances, a place where revolution has progressed with extreme fervor and glory, but at the same time with extreme difficulties, our educational base has also gone from not having to having, and from a low level to a high level. Therefore the providing of supplementary training and the stimulating of the spirit of self-sacrifice among the teachers is to help the teachers to have the full strength of spirit to surpass every difficulty in order to proceed on to the fulfilling of their outstanding obligations and contributions to the common revolutionary tasks.

These days it is obvious that our schools, under the leadership of the party, are the tools of the proletarian dictatorship, and the majority of the teachers have promoted their role which is to the main one of the school. But alongside these basically good aspects, our rank of teachers also still has some weak aspects and shortcomings. There are even a few teachers who still commit errors in ethics and in the quality of their work. Therefore, with regard to the teachers in every school, the struggle to affirm and to elevate their ideology and their theories is of special importance. It "must be carried out resolutely, patiently, regularly, and sharply with the aggressive spirit of Marxism. Our communist people definitely cannot abandon the ideological and theoretical front, not even for an instant." (By Truong Chinh; "Eternally Grateful to Karl Marx and Following the Road Pointed Out by Karl Marx"; Hoc Tap magazine number 10, 1968.) This is a political and ideological work of great importance to helping the teachers to correctly see their errors in time to assure that they take firm steps to be eternal cadres of the party in the area of education.

At the same time capable teachers are not only persons of revolutionary ethics with firm ideological viewpoints, but they are also persons of steadily improving professional, scientific, and cultural capabilities. Therefore we have stressed that with each step teachers must develop into

"professionals" as well as "red roses"; these two qualities must be combined in teachers. The obligations to fight the Americans for national salvation, build socialism, liberate South Vietnam, and to unite the fatherland place increasingly heavy responsibilities upon the educational branch. The 25 years of experience in building the educational branch have reaffirmed that if we want to carry out the responsibilities of the branch, we must constantly stress the building of a rank of teachers which is stable politically, strong ideologically, and adept professionally. With such a rank of teachers, it is certain that the education branch will forever be "a fresh flower in the socialist garden" of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Five months naturally cannot do for Vietnamese education what the past 25 years have done. There must be the leadership of the party. From the time when the party was still operating covertly, the party struggled against colonialism and feudalism and demanded the right for our people to study. Today the party issues for us guidelines, principles, and concepts for an education which is complete, correct, and scientific. Our state had to be borne before the Vietnamese educational base could be set up, and from then on we have been constantly concerned with building it. There had to be President Ho, our beloved and venerable leader, to guide our education along its steps to stability. There had to be a nation with a tradition of self-sufficiency and learning to foster our education. And within the branch there had to be a rank of teachers who firmly grasped the revolutionary guidelines of the party, and who were imbued with revolutionary heroism. With these conditions, Vietnamese education was then able to pass over the road of the last 25 years and to build a career such as exists today. All of the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam take pride in our education.

In the past 25 years we have learned some lessons from experience which have made it quite clear that the road of Vietnamese education is suited to the revolutionary realities of Vietnam, and is suited to the character and the traditions of the Vietnamese nation.

These successful lessons of experience have tremendous significance for us, for with these methods, we have created a great step forward for our country's education by going from empty hands to build an educational base which is progressive, balanced, and scientific, and which stands firmly upon the Marx -- Leninist ideology, and is worthy of being a competent tool of the proletarian dictatorship.

We have sought out a unique road for expanding education

in the circumstances of a country which was formerly a colony; its agriculture was backward and passed directly to socialism without going through the phase of capitalistic expansion; over a long period it has had to cope with two aggressive wars waged against it by two large imperialist nations. We are striving to build an educational science imbued with the essence of the legends of the Vietnamese nation combined with the modern science Marx -- Leninist science.

The successes of our education have, and still are, affecting the entire Vietnamese revolution because education has contributed political and ideological education and revolutionary ethics to our people, especially to the young generation, and has brought culture, science, and technology into production and into everyday living. It has contributed to making our laboring people have standards sufficient for being masters of the country, for successfully resisting outside aggression, for building socialism successfully, and for raising the prestige of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam among all countries of the world.

In order to repay the merits of President Ho and our party, our state has given birth to Vietnamese education, has organized to guide the education branch to move from one success to the next, for all of our educational branch to strive to move ahead and to create many more new and valuable experiences with the objective of bringing our education forward with steady expansion so that it steadily becomes even more worthy of being an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution, and is no small part of the overall Vietnamese revolution.

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## VICTORY OF 'THREE OBJECTIVES' AND THREE REVOLUTIONS AT YEN TRUONG COOPERATIVE

[Article by Vo Nguyen Luong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 73-82, 89]

Yen Truong is the first "typhoon" cooperative of Thanh Hoa. In 1961 Yen Truong was honored to welcome the beloved Uncle Ho when he came to visit the cooperative. He clearly pointed out the path that the cooperative had to take and reminded the cooperative of the need "to emulate to raise production, achieve economy, and to properly carry out every duty assigned by the party and the government. It is necessary that the cooperative become a model for the entire province." Through nine years of striving actively, the cadres, party members and cooperative members of Yen Truong cooperative did well in achieving the resolutions of the fifth and the eighth conferences of the party central committee, and the resolutions relating to agricultural expansion issued by the provincial party branch, and it was determined to follow the words of Uncle Ho. Thus, it won many victories in the aspects of production expansion, the raising of the standard of living, and the building of the cooperative. Up to 1969 the cooperative had effectively implemented the "three objectives" in agriculture.

These victories marked an important step in the expansion of agricultural production of Yen Truong cooperative. In conditions of starting from a backward agricultural base, and then of having to resist the air war of destruction waged by the Americans, the victory of attaining the "three objectives" was of tremendous significance for Yen Truong cooperative. It served to express in a very practical way the correctness of the party policies, the superiority of the new social system, and the brave and ingenious labor strength of the Yen Truong collective peasant class.

From these victories, we see that there are a number of new factors and a number of good experiences which helped us to elevate one step our knowledge of the policies of the party and of our leadership responsibilities so that we could rapidly bring agricultural production forward to attain the "three objectives," and to create thereby a stage for new expansion in the agricultural base of Thanh Hoa.

### Results of Implementing the Three Objectives and Victory of Agricultural Expansion Policies of the Party

Since 1961 Yen Truong cooperative has increased its scale of operations; it encompasses 240 hectares of land and has 801 workers. Although it is a cooperative belonging to the plains region and is situated along the Ma River, its position is contiguous to the mountainous region, therefore its land is not level and it commonly suffers from severe droughts. Every year a large part of the land was only planted with one crop, and yields were very low. All of the people here were formerly peasants who were accustomed to hiring themselves out to the landlords and the rich peasants, and their work habits were backward. A few of them were small merchants in the towns who had changed over to farming. With the setting up of the new production relationships, and the steadily increasing consolidation and scale of operations, the cooperative had conditions which were favorable for building a material and technological base, and for arranging its production in accordance with the new directions.

Going through a process of groping to overcome its habits of dispersing its production, of planting a little of many types of crops, the tendency to abandon the planting of cotton in favor of grain crops in order to be self-sufficient, and its overly conservative work methods, it received the detailed instructions of Nguyen Chi Thanh, who visited the cooperative in 1963, and launched two phases of cooperative management reform, circle I and circle II, which started it on its way to building a production direction which was appropriate and detailed.

Beginning with its specific conditions, including the fact that its soil was light and sandy and suited to the planting of rice, industrial crops and grains, and the fact that it was a place accustomed to planting cotton and raising hogs, and using the requirements of the state plan as a base, Yen Truong cooperative set down the direction it would take in production as follows: promote the production of grains, mainly rice, continue to expand the planting of cotton, promote the raising of hogs,

aim at self-sufficiency in grain foods in a forthright manner, and to create a basis for quickly increasing farm products and commodities, including rice, cotton and hogs.

Persistently striving to implement these production guidelines, from 1965 until the present the cooperative surpassed its goal of two hogs per hectare of planted ground. Since 1967 it has surpassed its goals of five tons of paddy per hectare and two rice crops per year. And as of 1969 the production of the cooperative has made a large step forward: rice yields per hectare, with two crops per year, have reached 5.23 tons; cotton yields have exceeded 12 quintals per hectare; one planted hectare supports 2.85 hogs; one laborer cares for .994 hectare of crops.

These results have created for the cooperative a gross output worth 425,035 dong. The value of total output for 1969 was 54 percent above 1965, and 120 percent above 1961. The output of paddy in 1969 reached 712 tons, an increase of 13 percent over 1965, and an increase of 41 percent over 1961. The output of cotton for 1969 reached 56 tons, an increase of 67 percent over 1965. The collective swine herd of the cooperative and the cooperative family members reached 1,494 animals in 1969, an increase of 65 percent over 1965, and an increase of 104 percent over 1961. The average weight of each hog leaving the pens was 46 kilograms.

Labor efficiency in the cultivation branch increased rapidly. The average labor yield in terms of the value and quantity of yearly production was as follows:

	1961	1965	1969
Value of products produced from cultivation per laborer during the year	235 dong	368 dong	710 dong
Principal cultivated products cultivated by one laborer:			
Paddy	672 kg	970 kg	1,555 kg
Cotton	45 kg	51 kg	122 kg
Value of cultivated products produced per laborer for sale to the state	53 dong	107 dong	321 dong

Thus the value of cultivated products per laborer in 1969 increased to nearly double that for 1965 and triple that for 1961. The value of products per laborer produced for sale to the state in 1969 increased to triple that of 1965 and to six times that for 1961.

Relying upon this basis of labor efficiency, the redistribution of labor for agriculture underwent a profound change, which changed the productive labor situation to the advantage of the cooperative. The ratio of labor engaged in cultivation, compared to the total labor of the cooperative, was 93 percent in 1961; in 1965 it was reduced to 88 percent; and in 1969 it went down to 60 percent. In particular, the amount of labor engaged in the production of grains compared to the total labor of the cooperative dropped from 82 percent in 1961, to 64 percent in 1965, to 47 percent in 1967. Thus the amount of labor used in production of grains was cut nearly in half, leaving over half of the labor of the cooperative to be used in expanding the planting of cotton, the raising of animals, and the various handicrafts branches. This redistribution of labor has contributed to the raising of overall labor efficiency of the cooperative to a high level and has created a new balance in agricultural production. From a position of being handicapped and barely self-supporting, now the agricultural production has developed into a position of high output of cotton, paddy, and pork. In 1969 the cooperative sold to the state 55 tons of cotton, 160 tons of paddy, and 25 tons of pork worth a total of 190,000 dong, an increase of triple the figure of 1965, and representing 47.8 percent of the total output of the cooperative.

Along with its redistribution of labor within the cooperative, Yen Truong also liberated a rather large part of its labor strength from agriculture in order to serve the needs of building national defenses and expanding the general economy. From 1965 to 1969 an average of 12 percent of its agricultural labor was withdrawn from the cooperative and transferred to other work. These results, relying upon the increasing efficiency of agricultural labor, permitted the further expanding of socialist labor distribution, the expanding of industry and the expanding of the local economy.

On the other hand, the collective economy of the cooperative gained strength. The capital accumulation of the cooperative steadily increased, until now where it has reached 400,000 dong, and the conditions have been created for implementing an expanding production cycle. The average real income per laborer in the cooperative in 1969 was 300 dong, which is twice the figure for 1965. Thus the standard of living of the peasant cooperative members has steadily risen. And likewise the purchasing power of the cooperative and of the peasants has risen, and the consumption of industrial goods, including production materials and consumer goods, has also expanded.

With the achievement of the above results, the agricultural production of Yen Truong has taken the initial effective steps in contributing to the building of an expanding industrial base.

The results of the implementing of the three objectives at Yen Truong illustrated the correct employing, and the effectiveness, of the policy of "expanding overall agriculture, with grain production as the pivot" to the specific conditions of the locality. The cooperative did a good job of resolving the problem of using grains to serve as the base to promote the planting of cotton and the raising of hogs, and has done well in all three of these branches. The experiences of Yen Truong have shown that if the problems of grains are not properly resolved, then it is not possible to expand agricultural production. On the other hand, if there is not a simultaneous development of the other branches of production, such as industrial crops, animal husbandry, etc., then it is not possible to create a new balance in agriculture, and it is also not possible to have the conditions for the proper resolution of the problem of grains. In particular, with regard to the grains region having conditions for the expanding of industrial crops on a small scale, if it is desired to develop industrial crops, then it is necessary to rely upon the basis of the self resolution of the problem of grains.

In order to implement the above guidelines, and to create a new balance in agriculture, Yen Truong cooperative has strived to both increase efficiency and agriculture output by promoting intensive cultivation and increasing the number of crops, and by raising labor efficiency so that the number of persons engaged in the production of grains could be reduced, and a redistribution of labor could be made in agriculture, and steps could be taken to transfer agricultural labor into industrial labor. The main objectives of "five tons of paddy, two hogs, one laborer," along with the policies and guidelines of the party regarding agricultural expansion were implemented effectively in the cooperative of Yen Truong.

#### Simultaneously Carrying Out the Three Revolutions, Using the Technical Revolution as the Pivot, Aiming at Implementing the Three Objectives in Agriculture

In the process of bringing the peasants into the cooperative, Yen Truong cooperative has well implemented the policies and precepts of agricultural cooperativization, and thanks to this, the cooperativization movement has expanded quickly and is steadily becoming stronger. After it was established, Yen Truong cooperative stressed the consolidation of the system ownership of production materials, increased the cooperative members consciousness of being masters with regard to the operation and the property of the cooperative, and took timely steps to develop systematized production. Thanks to this, there was created a

close relationship between the cooperative and the members of the cooperative. Mainly by relying upon this relationship, the cooperative brought the peasants fully into the path of socialism, and developed the strength of the masses of cooperative members in order to strengthen the collective economy of the cooperative.

The strengthening of the collective economy of the cooperative and the serving as masters of a cooperative with a large scale operation required the raising of the managerial standards of the cooperative. Yen Truong cooperative went early into the work of cooperative management and gradually implemented the socialist enterprise management concepts relating to the various aspects of production, technological, labor and skills management.

In the managing of the cooperative the problem which has as much decisive importance for the consolidation and the strengthening of the cooperative is the management of labor. Right from the beginning, Yen Truong cooperative gave special attention to the organizing and correct use of the labor forces in the cooperative, with the aim of increasing labor efficiency and promoting the superiority of collective labor.

In order to assure the implementation of the new production guidelines, Yen Truong cooperative redistributed its labor forces in a logical way in accordance with the specialization directions. First, the cooperative logically deployed and stabilized its cultivation units. From 19 small units it reorganized into nine units, including one seedling unit and one unit for planting feed for the animals. Each unit had from 50 to 60 laborers and 21 to 25 hectares of land. In addition to the cultivation units, the cooperative organized an animal husbandry unit and a professional branch unit to serve agriculture. Among the production units, the cooperative organized specialist teams to be responsible for each kind of work or for each segment of work. In the cultivation units, the cooperative organized groups to care for the seedlings, prepare the ground, produce green fertilizer, etc. The animal husbandry unit was divided into groups to handle the fertilizer, feed the animals, process the feed, care for the fish, etc. The professional unit was divided into teams or groups to make bricks, make lime, serve as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and to plant trees. The group which was to work with the service professions included barbers, tailors, and bicycle repairmen. Each group had from five to seven persons suited to the needs of each task; this made it convenient for managing, using and coordinating labor.

Labor specialization created favorable conditions for Yen Truong cooperative to go deeply into the techniques of cultivation by changing tools and improving technology, and providing

additional training for those laborers who had skill and experience in productive labor.

Wanting to promote the advantages of cooperativized and specialized labor, Yen Truong cooperative set down labor norms, classified its works, established work standards, and implemented the "three contracts" with awards and punishments. All of the work in the cooperative was arranged into five steps. Step 5 stipulated 14 points comprising four categories of work. Step 4 stipulated 12 points comprising 10 categories of work. Step 3 stipulated 10 points comprising 13 categories of work. Step 2 stipulated nine points comprising three categories of work. Step 1 stipulated eight points comprising four categories of work. The steps of the branch and of the profession units had two more points than the cultivation units. These norms had the effect of greatly stimulating heavy labor and technical labor, and stimulated the bringing of science and technology into production. These categories of work were arranged from step 3 to step 5. The use of labor norms, the arranging of the work in steps, and the work standards of the cooperative, although they were not yet completed, served as a very important base for carrying out labor management, and implementing the "three contracts" in the cooperative. The cooperative had "three contracts" with the units. The units all carried out small group contracts according to the "four points." On the basis of the "three contracts," any unit which surpassed the contracted output would be awarded 80 percent of the amount produced above the contract, 75 percent awarded to labor and 5 percent awarded to advanced cooperative members. Further, the unit also got 5 percent of the remaining 20 percent of the output for awarding the unit cadres. Units not attaining the plan, with just reason, would not be punished by the cooperative more than 30 percent of their shortage. If the entire cooperative surpassed the plan, a small part was given as an award for the administrative committee, etc.

Yen Truong's work methods were effective in stimulating and encouraging the sense of active productive labor on the part of each person, and was able to mobilize many work hours during the day and many work days during the month on the part of the cooperative members participating in labor for the cooperative. During the crop season, the average of each laborer in Yen Truong was over 10 hours per day and over 26 days per month. In ordinary times each laborer averaged six to seven hours per day and over 20 days per month. Supplementary labor, especially youth, also participated in production with good results, and performed approximately one-third of the work of the cooperative during the year. Thanks to this, Yen Truong cooperative had enough essential labor strength to invest in the intensive cultivation during the planting, to expand animal husbandry, and to

work at secondary industries. In 1965, Yen Truong had 736 laborers but could only mobilize 156,618 merits for planting, 3,028 merits for animal husbandry, and 14,728 merits for secondary industries. In 1969, it only had 666 laborers but was able to mobilize 170,275 merits for planting, 17,430 merits for animal husbandry, and 15,729 merits for secondary industries.

Mobilizing every cooperative member to actively participate in labor and to contribute many production work days to the collective is the most important factor for Yen Truong. On the other hand the cooperative placed great emphasis upon advanced equipment and tools and machinery with the aim of creating conditions for the cooperative members to attain high labor efficiency. Yen Truong cooperative was able to purchase four tractors, three rice huskers, one internal combustion engine, one water pump, two rice threshers, over 100 insecticide sprayers (including 15 which ran by combustion engines), one crusher for preparing animal feed, hundreds of advanced tools such as the 64A grass rakes, trimming sickles, vehicles with ball bearings, boats, etc. The cooperative was also able to build one low voltage power line to bring in electricity to serve production. Up to 1969, the average for each laborer at Yen Truong was over 200 dong each for tools; in 1965 this figure was only 74 dong. This has been instrumental in raising labor yields, assuring that the plowing of the cooperative got done on time, that good quality was maintained in the work, and that efficiency and output were high. Labor efficiency increased quickly, especially in the planting of the rice and the cotton, thus assuring that Yen Truong would attain its norm of one laborer working one planted hectare with high output. On this basis the cooperative had conditions for redistributing its labor in a rational way with the objective of expanding agriculture at a comparative pace in all aspects.

The systems of production management, technological management, and especially the management of skilled labor were all properly implemented by the cooperative and maintained throughout the process of consolidating and expanding the cooperative. Thanks to this, the various production plans for each season and for each year were implemented with good results. The technical methods, used in planting and animal husbandry, were all applied and brought effective results. The capital and the property of the cooperative were protected and used with good effect. It avoided a situation of corruption, or loss of public goods, and brought about a trust and an increased spirit of responsibility and awareness of working as collective masters on the part of the cooperative members participating in production and building the cooperative.

Along with the job of striving to unceasingly raise the level of cooperative management, Yen Truong also did its utmost to stress the search for ways to create improved production conditions, especially with regard to the land, in order to increase crop yields and to expand production. Starting from the first overall plan for the cooperative in 1961, Yen Truong cooperative had conditions favorable to the concentrating of land and manpower to build a material and technical base with the aim of overcoming natural calamities and strongly expanding production.

In the specific conditions of Yen Truong, the most essential and direct factor causing the land to have low yields, or to not even be plantable, was that the land was arid. Yen Truong cooperative concentrated its collective manpower in the work of irrigation, and quickly created water sources for the crops. The cooperative built ditches over the hills in order to bring river water into the fields, and built terraced ditches to bring the water from low to high elevations. There were sections of ditches which had to be cut through the hills, and it was necessary to block the river. Once the pumping station was built by the state on the south Ma River, the cooperative quickly built a system of ditches and conduits to bring this water source to all of its fields. Through four difficult years of building its irrigation system, from 1963 through 1966, the cooperative prepared embankments for three level I ditches with a length of 4,300 meters, 11 level II ditches with a length of 10,700 meters, and 20 level III ditches with a length of 8,500 meters. The entire system of ditches and canals added up to a length of over 23 kilometers. The volume of earth built into embankments was over 300,000 cubic meters. The average per laborer was over 80 cubic meters per year. Along with the digging of the network of ditches, the cooperative built seven large dams and 2,000 small dams, built regional and tract embankments, and rebuilt the fields in accordance with the new plan.

The irrigation work, in turn, brought new and extremely tremendous changes in production and in the living standards of Yen Truong cooperative. Now that there was water, all of the winter and spring crop area could be planted, and one crop fields became two crop fields. This increased the planted area of the cooperative to nearly double what it was before. With the construction of the system of ditches, the cooperative guaranteed fresh water for 85 percent of its area, and it took the initiative in watering and draining over 60 percent of its area assuring that the crops would develop well and provide high yields. Now that there was water, the conditions were created for building up the fertility of the land, for blocking

the damage from water, and for carrying out effective intensive cultivation. With its land put to use and built up the cooperative had conditions for rearranging its fields, converting its productive region, implementing its planting organization in accordance with the new directions, overcoming the previous scattered state of production, bringing production gradually into specialization, and in this way being able to properly apply the various technical methods. Along with the digging of the irrigation ditches, a network of communications and transportation routes took shape within the cooperative. Thanks to the irrigation and the communications routes, there was a saving in manpower, and heavy labor was reduced for the laborers. Along the communications routes which ran along the ditches and canals, the cooperative and its members planted over 250,000 trees, which brought a large source of wood and served to block the wind and retain the humidity of the crops.

The great results of the above irrigation work contributed decisively to the increasing of crop yields. Not only was there enough grain, there was even some left over for sale to the state. There was much more cotton, and animal husbandry expanded. Yen Truong cooperative properly implemented the concept of cooperativization coordinated with irrigation. The irrigation work was carried out in accordance with a plan which was suited to the natural conditions and the production directions for the locality. It concentrated upon extracting points and coordinating the large program of the state with the small irrigation program and the building of the cooperative. It was learned how to create sources of water as well as how to use the water for cultivation. The cooperative did well in developing its collective labor manpower and the revolutionary spirit of the masses with the aim of overcoming every difficulty in order to build the irrigation system. The tremendous results which the irrigation work brought made the cooperative members feel all the closer to their cooperative, and served to consolidate and to develop the perfection of the new production relationships.

The irrigation work created many favorable conditions for the expansion of production, and the improvement of technology within the cooperative. From 1966 until the present, the cooperative continued to complete the irrigation system, while actively implementing the technical methods and building the various other technical and material bases of the cooperative. Animal husbandry was expanded, and along with the spreading of green manure over 100 percent of the winter -- spring rice area, a large fertilizer source was created in order to implement intensive cultivation of the crops and to improve soil fertility. The cooperative produced lime to fertilize the fields and to balance the other sources of fertilizer, such as cattle manure,

green manure, and silt for fertilizing the fields. All of the rice, cotton, and grains area was fertilized with the essential quantity of fertilizer suitable for the various crops. On the average, each hectare of rice received 10 tons of fertilizer, and each hectare of cotton received 12 tons of fertilizer of good quality.

Along with the irrigation work and the fertilizing, and on the basis of building up and supplementing the soil, the cooperative step by step introduced new seed into the fields. Through a process of groping and experimenting, the cooperative used new breeds with high yields, such as moc tuyen [Vietnamese phonetics] and dwarf pearl, quay vit [Vietnamese phonetics] cotton, etc. In particular, the short day rice breed, which was just newly introduced in the 1970 spring season, has attained an average yield of 3.2 tons of paddy per season, and there are now prospects for newer and larger increases in rice yields.

Along with the above methods, the cooperative has initiated a movement of the masses to improve the work methods and to improve the tools. New work methods have been applied widely in the various branches of farming and animal husbandry at the cooperative. The old backward methods of working have been overcome. Today, the new systems and methods of working have developed into habits with the masses. The bringing of new science and technology into production has been rapidly accepted by the masses and have been built into technical standards. With sufficient advanced equipment, and with the knowledge of how to use this equipment, the work of improving technology and work methods is having more results, especially in such heavy work as moving earth and transportation, and in such tense work as disinfecting, harvesting, etc.

The achievements mentioned above of Yen Truong cooperative prove that if we wish to bring agricultural production ahead to win the "three objectives," then it is necessary to properly carry out the technological revolution. To do this it is necessary to develop to a high degree the strength of the masses, and to develop conditions favorable for the creation of the new production relationships. And only when we have created the material and technological bases which are specific and relatively synchronized, created the base of land which has the capacity of attaining high and stable yields, while simultaneously improving technology and providing close guidance of the technical methods, assuring the correct implementation of technology and the crop seasons to the various kinds of crops and animals, only then will it be possible to achieve high yields in crops and in animal husbandry.

Looking ahead to a large production base, the steadily increasing use of many new tools, and the promotion of intensification, Yen Truong cooperative saw that it was necessary to rapidly increase its cultural, ideological, and managerial standards, as well as its technology for its cadres and cooperative members.

The cooperative organized various cultural classes for its members at night, convened "three household" classes for the women and weekly technological science classes for administrative cadres, unit leaders, and assistant production unit leaders, and for a number of progressive cooperative members. The cooperative also stressed the sending of persons to study technical classes and at present it has 15 middle level technical cadres and 11 junior level technical cadres in the fields of cultivation, animal husbandry, marine products, irrigation, machinery, management, accounting, etc. Each production unit has two or more middle level of junior level technical cadres. Cadres from the administrative committees to the production unit leaders have all undergone training in management schools run by the province. Prior to applying a new work technique, Yen Truong cooperative organized training for its administrative cadres, unit leaders, and assistant unit leaders responsible for technology, and thanks to this the cadres have been guided and checked closely and good results have come about in the application of the work techniques in the fields. The cooperative members have received on the spot guidance from the cadres, so that everyone has learned the correct work techniques. This year runs into others, and this season runs into others. Yen Truong cooperative has drawn upon its experience, and it never ceases to give additional training in scientific and technical knowledge and training in the professional skills to its members. This has stimulated the laborers here to have an elementary knowledge of technology. Today the members of Yen Truong cooperative are not only adept at producing cotton, but they also know the technology of rice planting and animal husbandry. By correctly working, the technical standards have steadily developed into the self-consciousness of every Yen Truong cooperative member.

Along with the raising of the skills of the laboring people, Yen Truong cooperative also regularly educated them in socialist awareness, to elevate the labor attitude and the new labor discipline among the masses of cooperative members. On the other hand, the cooperative stresses its concern for the standard of living of its members, implements a good balance in its policies of distribution in the cooperative, and assists and guides the secondary family economy in the right direction. All of these things have made the laborers of Yen Truong have a high labor enthusiasm, a sense of belonging with the cooperative, and

a consideration for the work of the cooperative that they would have for work of their home. They also have laboring capability, and because of this they have attained high efficiency in productive labor in the cooperative.

These realities of the Yen Truong cooperative prove that the victory of the "three objectives" is the result of the implementation simultaneously of the three revolutions. In the process of going from a backward agricultural production, which relied upon handicrafts, to large scale agricultural production, there would have been no other way but to carry out the broad technological revolution, and this had to be closely coordinated with the revolution in production relationships and the ideological and cultural revolution. And only by building and consolidating the firm socialist production relationships, and building socialist people could it be possible to promote the technological revolution. The formulas and the steps of the three revolutions are manifested in the large movement such as coordinating cooperativization with irrigation, which is considered as the first milestone which has to be passed in order to open the road for the technological revolution, and following this is the coordination of cooperativization with technological improvement, and the coordination of cooperativization with the organizing and redistribution of labor. The objectives of these movements, and of the three revolutions, is first to quickly attain the three objectives of "five tons of paddy, two hogs, one laborer," and from there to advance to bringing our agriculture out of a situation of unfertile soil and marginal subsistence to a broadly based agriculture with many goods and products, to serve as a firm base for industrial expansion.

### The Main Factors for Success

If we wish to successfully carry out the three revolutions with the foremost objective being to attain the "three objectives" in agriculture, the key factor is the necessity for strengthening the leadership and the fighting strength of the various basis organizations of the party. This demands that the basic party chapters must first have the correct awareness and the knowledge of how to apply the policies of the party in a way which is in keeping with the given circumstances.

Meanwhile, the Yen Truong cooperative and party chapter leadership decided that their political obligation was to strengthen the collective economy in order to serve socialist industrialization. This was a manifestation of the working class viewpoint in the creating and the expanding of agriculture. Starting from here, the Yen Truong party chapter accepted and

correctly employed the policies of the party in order to determine the direction its production would take. Also emanating from the viewpoint of concern for the strengthening of the collective economy in order to serve socialist industrialization, they carried out the management of the cooperative in accordance with socialist concepts. The process of building the new production directions and of implementing the principles of socialist management was the process of the struggle of the Yen Truong party chapter to overcome the ideologies of small producers which were manifested in all of the area of production activity and in the building of the cooperative, such as the tendencies to want to divide the cooperative into small parts, to want to reduce the area allocated to the planting of cotton and turn this area over to the planting of grains, to want to plant every kind of food crop in order to be self-sufficient, the ideology of selfish self-interest, the attitude of working at one's convenience and with no organization, etc.

Working from the concept of correctly serving industrialization, the Yen Truong party chapter educated its cadres and party members to have high revolutionary resolution, and the persistence to overcome all of the difficulties in the work of building the irrigation system, overcoming backward work habits, to have a consciousness of highly disciplined organization in the carrying out of the positions and policies of the party and the state, to elevate the spirit of sacrifice and self-sufficiency so as to not be dependent upon the state, to be diligent and thrifty in building the cooperative, to increase the capital of the cooperative, to resolve to stay close to the land and close to the fields in order to resist the air war of destruction, and to unceasingly bring the production of the cooperative strongly forward. The party members at Yen Truong demonstrated that they were the key leadership cadres by expressing a model vanguard role in productive labor, in the respecting and the protecting of public property, and in their resolution to struggle to overcome quickly occurrences of violations against the collective property, and violations against the labor regulations. The cadres and the party members stayed close to the masses and close to production, and received the confidence and the following of the cooperative members.

The strength of the Yen Truong party chapter in the leadership of the cooperative also derived from their concern for the consolidation and expansion of the party organization in keeping with the new social and economic organization, and their assignment of party members to serve as the key elements in every activity of the cooperative. The various production units, cultivation, animal husbandry and the professional branch, all had leadership chapters. The party chapters of Yen Truong cooperative gave their concern to the creating and the providing

of supplementary training for the rank of key leadership in the cooperative. Those personnel who were placed in the leadership apparatus of the cooperative are persons of good character who have the trust of the masses and who have worked long days for the cooperative so that they have a wealth of experience in cooperative production and management. Along with the providing of supplementary training and the increasing of the rank of cadres, and party chapter personnel, there is also determination to create a class of new cadres for economic and technological management in order to quickly raise the level of cooperative management in time to meet the needs for production to constantly increase.

The Yen Truong party organ has consolidated the relationships with the masses, primarily because it has regularly organized the masses of cooperative members to participate by giving their opinions in the building of the party, by respecting the rights as collective masters of the masses in each social, political, and economic area, by avoiding the disease of relying upon commands to get things done, or of dealing arrogantly with the masses. The party organ has concerned itself with the problem of providing additional training and of giving promotions to women and to youth as important forces in production activity and in the building of the cooperative.

A strong party organ, which has a good relationship with the masses, and which has a rank of key personnel who have both character and the capacity for technological and economic management and who know how to regularly draw upon their experience in their leadership and guidance, this is the key factor in deciding the success of gaining the "three objectives" in the agriculture of Yen Truong cooperative.

Passing through a process of persistently struggling to build the cooperative and to expand production, properly accepting the leadership and the education of the party, the assistance of the state, and the influence of industry, as of 1969 Yen Truong cooperative had effectively implemented the "three objectives" in agriculture, and as a result, it had many additional farm products and goods to supply to the state, to rapidly increase the wealth of the cooperative, and to improve the standard of living of the cooperative members. Also on this occasion, the end of 1969, Yen Truong cooperative was again honored to welcome Prime Minister Pham Van Dong for a visit to praise and to tell the cooperative of its obligations in the phase of present expansion of our country's agricultural base. Enthusiastic, trusting, and acknowledging their responsibilities, the cadres, party members and the cooperative members of Yen Truong cooperative promised the Prime Minister that they would

do their utmost to overcome their shortcomings, resolve to surpass the "three objectives" in agriculture, contribute themselves to the strong and firm overall expansion of agriculture, and serve as a basic element for socialist industrialization.

Yen Truong cooperative will continue to strive to strengthen even further the unity between the party and the cooperative, considering this as the essential factor for promoting every productive activity and for strongly and firmly promoting the building of the cooperative. In the production directions, the cooperative must still stress the meeting of the quotas for grains, and contribute to the rapid increase of the total output of food grains for the cooperative to use as a basis for the strong expansion of industrial plants and animal husbandry. On the basis of the proper intensive cultivation of rice, the cooperative must have methods for actively and strongly expanding its area allocated to cotton even further. Along with the strong expansion of collective animal husbandry the cooperative must also stress the importance of stimulating and assisting the cooperative members to expand family animal husbandry. In the managing of the cooperative, the cooperative must delve deeply into the close management for the various labor quotas and must economize on labor, properly manage the labor of the professional branch, and properly use the tools and machinery in order to attain high labor efficiency. In intensive cultivation, the cooperative must also continue to build its fields in order to assure that there is water for them, and take the initiative in not just providing water to the rice, but to the cotton as well. The cooperative also recognizes that the work of looking after the cultural and social standard of living of the cooperative members is not yet good; it is necessary to stress the overcoming of this so that Yen Truong will not only be outstanding in production, but will have a civilized standard of living as well.

The shortcomings mentioned above illustrate those aspects which are still unsatisfactory with regard to the management level of the cooperative cadres in general, especially with regard to the aspect of a thorough understanding of the socialist management principles in an agriculture cooperative. Those shortcomings which still exist in the agricultural and industrial sectors, etc., are primarily due to the fact that the various branches in the province and the district do not yet guide and assist the cooperative in the correct way, and do not yet satisfactorily carry out their responsibilities to the agricultural cooperatives. This fact demands that the cooperative make stronger steps forward, and it simultaneously demands that the various echelons and branches must strengthen their guidance and assistance to the cooperative. If this is done, not only Yen Truong, but many other cooperatives in the province will be able

to attain and to surpass the "three objectives" issued by the party for agriculture, take a giant leap forward, and bring the agricultural base of Thanh Hoa from small production up to large scale socialist production.

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## SOME EXPERIENCES OF HAI HAU FARM PRODUCTS PURCHASING SHOP

[Article by Chu Ung; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 9, September 1970, pp 83-89]

A few years ago, the planting of rushes, the weaving of mats, the planting of mulberries, and the raising of silkworms in the various localities of North Vietnam fell off gradually in terms of area allocated and yields. But in Hai Hau District, the area allocated and the yields of both rushes and mulberries maintained a good trend toward expansion. Agricultural products sold to the state greatly increased. The ratio of mobilized labor in any given year was also high.

The Hai Hau farm products purchasing shop made worthy contributions toward expanding the planting of rushes, the weaving of mats, the planting of mulberries, and the raising of silkworms in the locality. Thanks to the expansion of production, every year the shop also well achieved its plan for purchasing farm products. This is the striking record of this shop.

Following, please let me introduce to readers some experiences of the Hai Hau farm products purchasing shop.

### Delve Deeply into Production, Firmly Understand the Needs of Production, Properly Carry Out the Obligation of the Rear Lines to Production

The Hai Hau farm products purchasing shop was established in 1956. In the first years, the shop only stressed its obligations to purchase. At the beginning of 1965, the resolutions of the tenth congress of the party central executive committee

created a great change in the direction of the awareness of those working in commerce. They saw clearly that in conditions where the agricultural economy was still backward, and the production of farm products and goods was not yet expanded, the commercial branch had the obligation to serve and to promote the overall and strong expansion of the production of agricultural products, and, on this basis, to strengthen the sources of goods, and to create good conditions for the distribution of goods. The cadres and staff of the shop early recognized these functions and obligations. Their foremost problem was what to do to properly serve production, and on this basis, to purchase many farm products and goods for the state. After many enthusiastic discussions about the functions and obligations of the shop, everyone was unanimous in their feelings that "if it is desired to purchase many agricultural products for the state, it is necessary to serve production well; if we desire to do the latter, the shop must delve deeply into production, and firmly grasp the needs of production, carry out the obligations of the rear services for production, and well serve the position of expansion of industrial crops espoused by the district committee and the district administrative committee." After they were in unanimous agreement regarding the above directions, the shop coordinated closely with the district agricultural office, and also assigned cadres to go down to the townships which previously had planted industrial crops, so that they could study their production situation.

Hai Hau is an important rice growing district, with the highest yields of Nam Ha province. It is a place with a large area allocated to the planting of rushes, has rattan handicrafts, and weaves long lasting mats. Hai Hau is also a place which has long planted mulberries, raised silkworms, and woven silk.

From the time when peace was reestablished until 1964, the planting of mulberries and the raising of silkworms in Hai Hau scarcely expanded. Many fields along the seacoast were abandoned in the hundreds of hectares. There were fresh-water fields in which only one crop of rice per season was planted; some years there was a harvest, some years there was none. As of 1963, the entire district only planted 116 hectares of rushes in five townships. There was still no irrigation system just for the rushes, the rushes seed was steadily degenerating, and the average yield of the rushes was only around four tons per hectare. The mat weaving handicrafts were carried on in only one township, Hai An, with 224 privately run wire healds. The mulberry planting handicrafts had only 45 hectare lying scattered in 13 townships, most of them belonging to the families who raised silkworms, and all of the mulberry trees were either duoi [Vietnamese phonetics] or duck's foot mulberry, which had small leaves and low yields.

After they had grasped the situation, the special characteristics, and the capacity for expansion of the industrial crops in the district, especially the rushes and mulberry crops, the cadres of the shop saw clearly that Hai Hau District had much capacity for expanding these two crops. But the reason that Hai Hau had previously planted much silkworm mulberries and had then gradually lost ground, and had many fresh-water fields which were abandoned and not planted in rushes was that there was no one to provide guidance and assistance. Mulberry trees and rushes were the two main sources of profit for the people in the district; so the expansion of the growing of these two crops was the most urgent requirement of Hai Hau in the implementing of the party's overall agricultural expansion program. If it had the guidance and the willing leadership of the various specialist branches at the district level, then the agricultural cooperatives would have the conditions for strongly expanding their planting of rushes and mulberry trees for raising silkworms. Starting with this realization, the shop decided to set out to serve the plan to expand the planting of rushes and mulberry trees in the district.

Under the leadership of the district committee and the district administrative committee, a guidance committee for mulberry trees and rushes was established. The agricultural products shop was a standing member of this committee.

In order to persuade the townships to plant rushes, the district committee appointed cadres of the shop to go down to Hong Son cooperative to activate and to guide the cooperative members in the trial planting of six hectares of rushes. The shop purchased rushes seed, fertilizer, and tools for cutting and splitting and disbursed them to all parts of the cooperative. The result was that this six hectares of rushes developed rather well. After coming to visit this trial site, the various cooperatives saw clearly that if this land had a high harvest of rice one year, their income would still only be one-fifth of what it would be for a harvest of rushes. These facts persuaded the townships in the district.

After that, the district committee and the district administrative committee advocated the planting of rushes in large fields, such as the Trung fields, with 67.22 hectares, the Hai Chau fields, with 16.2 hectares, etc. The farm products shop had to concern itself with buying rushes shoots to serve the rushes planting campaign. With a high spirit of serving production, the shop well fulfilled this obligation. The total number of rushes shoots purchased by the shop were gotten by

crossing the oceans and evading the 710 tons of bombs and rockets dropped by the enemy, thus assuring a sufficient supply on time to meet the needs of the regions planting rushes.

While they were concerned with the planting of rushes, they had to also be concerned with the planting of mulberry trees. In 1965 the district committee and the district administrative committee proposed bringing the area planted in mulberry trees from 62 hectares up to 170 hectares. The shop realized that it would not be possible to plant an additional hundred hectares of mulberry trees with the old seed. Therefore, the shop appointed persons to go to Hanoi and Thai Binh to buy mulberry sprouts. When they were brought back, the ground for planting them had to be ready immediately. The district committee initiated the campaign "plow the ground, plant mulberry trees." The farm products shop mobilized two-thirds of the cadres and personnel of the shop to serve in this campaign. Six hundred tons of mulberry sprouts, all the large leaved, easy to pick, high yielding variety, were purchased by the shop and contributed to the proper implementation of the district's mulberry planting plan. With mulberry trees, it is necessary to have silkworms. In the first year of raising silkworms, the shop had to set up a station to hatch silkworm eggs. That year the shop supplied the members of the various cooperatives, which were raising silkworms, with 9,000 silkworm cocoons.

The cadres of the shop recognized that to expand the area of mulberry trees and rushes was difficult, but that if the same area were maintained while trying to increase the yields of the mulberry trees and the rushes, then even more difficulties would be encountered. If only they could bring the yields of both up, the peasants would then believe them, and would be enthusiastic to plant industrial crops. But if they wished to increase the yields of the rushes and the mulberry trees, especially the rushes, they had to rebuild the fields. Rushes and mulberry trees require a special system of irrigation, not the one used for the rice.

The shop suggested to the district committee and the district administrative committee that they should build a special irrigation system for the rushes, and transfer from the planting of orchard mulberries to the planting of spring mulberries. These ideas were warmly received by the district committee and the district administrative committee, and the provincial administrative committee gave its support and provided funds for the irrigation work.

Five workcamps for building irrigation works were opened

in five townships where there were many rushes grown. But who was to be the one to assure that there were sufficient materials for these five workcamps to work with? At the moment the construction materials branch did not have the conditions for undertaking the task, so the shop accepted this task. There were only two boats for transport. For three consecutive years the shop cadres did a good job of transporting materials to the five irrigation workcamps under conditions of vicious enemy attacks. Sometimes the boats were hit by bombs. Many times the boats had to pass by delayed action bombs and mines dropped by the enemy under the river. The shop went to purchase and transport back 315 cubic meters of large rocks, 550,000 bricks, 160 tons of lime and cement, 26,000 pieces of fence bamboo, etc. Thanks to these efforts five large fields of rushes surrounded the irrigated region in the district. There were 13 large irrigation canals and 315 smaller irrigation channels constructed. The area of fields planted in rushes in 1968 rose to 235 hectares, including 80 hectares of fields which planted two crops of rushes per year. The average yield for rushes for the entire district increased from 4.2 tons to 8 tons per hectare. In the past many of these fields grew only water caltrop, inferior rushes, or clusters of thin summer rice which struggled to grow in the sweet water. Of all the varieties of rushes, the best ones available were "bup dong [Vietnamese phonetics], khoang co [Vietnamese phonetics], and bong lau [Vietnamese phonetics]."

The state needed many mats. Mats were also an important goods of the shop. Hai Hau had one township which was engaged in the weaving of mats, but was this enough of a base to expand the mat weaving handicraft to many townships? The shop cadres recognized that the expansion of this handicraft was an important requirement related to the planting of rushes, and to the distribution of new labor in agriculture. It was related both to the actual capacity of the locality and to the requirement to accelerate the business of a shop which both purchased farm supplies and purchased the processed farm products.

Starting with this recognitions, the shop strongly suggested to the district committee and to the district administrative committee that the basis for expanding the mat weaving handicrafts in a number of townships was to have much manpower. With the agreement of the district, the shop appointed persons to go down to the various townships and, along with the township cadres, to calculate and to balance the manpower. Fourteen townships had sufficient manpower and had the capacity for weaving mats. The expansion of the mat weaving handicrafts became a reality. But the cooperatives still did not have enough wire healds, and did not yet have the management know-how. These were two large problems. A number of cooperatives

took the initiative in testing their own wire healds for weaving but the cost was exceedingly high. The shop had to go and buy bamboo and other wood, and then suggest that the various townships select carpenters to come to the shop to build healds. In a short time the shop had built 860 weaving healds and supplied them to the cooperatives at a cheaper price than the ones built by the cooperatives themselves. As for management, the shop helped the cooperatives with mat weaving healds to properly manage their mat weaving handicrafts by bringing them under the management of the agricultural cooperatives, and it helped these cooperatives to set up accounts differentiating between those persons engaged in mat weaving and those engaged in planting grain. The early organizing to bring the mat weaving handicrafts under the management of the agricultural cooperatives was a great success in the expansion of many branches and handicrafts in the cooperatives of Hai Hau District.

Jute fiber is a raw material which cannot be lacking in the mat weaving handicrafts. Hai Hau did not have a jute spinning handicraft. To serve as the rear services for production requires the supplying of raw materials in a balanced fashion and in sufficient quantities for production. What could be done to overcome the shortage of jute fiber? The shop appointed persons to go to Nghia Hung, Xuan Truong, Ninh Binh, and Thai Binh to study ways to spin jute and to buy six jute spinning tools, by whatever means possible, and bring them back. After two improvements of these tools, a new model of jute spinning tool, bearing the name "Hai Hau," was born; this tool was twice as efficient as the old ones. The shop supplied 474 jute spinning tools to the cooperatives, and helped the cooperatives to train people to provide guidance in the use of these tools. Hai Hau then had a new secondary handicraft, "jute spinning."

The silkworm handicraft requires many winnowing baskets and bamboo shades. All of the cocoons produced by the cooperatives were sold to the state, thus the shop had to concern itself with supplying enough tools for those engaged in raising silkworms. Up to the present, the shop has supplied the cooperatives with nearly 12,000 baskets. The bamboo shades bought in Nam Ninh, a district of Nam Ha Province, were expensive and not suitable to the doors of the silkworm buildings. The shop set up a team to weave bamboo shades in order to supply the cooperatives raising silkworms. The self-made bamboo shades were both cheap and suited to the specifications of the silkworm buildings.

Thanks to the detailed guidance of the district committee and the district administrative committee, thanks to the contributions of the various branches and circles in the district,

including the efforts of the farm products shop, and thanks to the active participation of the agricultural cooperatives and the peasants in the district, the program for expanding the planting of rushes and the planting of mulberry trees for the raising of silkworms in the district were a success. The chart below clearly shows the strong expansion of rushes, mulberry trees, and the mat weaving and the silkworm raising handicrafts in Hai Hau District from 1964 to 1969, as well as quantity of industrial crops and products which the state was able to buy during those years.

	Provincial Unit	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
<b>1. Rushes</b>							
-Plan allotted area	ha	144	170	205	208	235	216
-Average yield	tons/ha	5.15	7.30	7.90	7.92	7.94	8.00
-Quantity bought by state	tons	1005	1200	1580	1605	1821	1731
-Ratio mobilized	percent	97.6	97.5	97.0	97.2	97.0	98.5
<b>2. Mats</b>							
	pieces	214000	208000	305000	312000	285000	384000
<b>3. Silkworm cocoons</b>							
-Area allotted for mulberry trees	ha	62	170	261	254	328	312
-Average yield per cocoon	kg/ha mulberry trees	274	300	452	299	304	304
-Quantity of cocoons bought by state	tons	16.4	48.5	117	75	99.4	94.5

At present Hai Hau has developed into a district with an agricultural base which is balanced in all aspects; it has rice, grains, industrial crops, mat weaving handicrafts, silkworms raising, etc. The quantity of industrial crops and farm products processed from these crops in Hai Hau represents a large percentage of the total of industrial crops and products for the entire province of Nam Ha as follows: rushes- 46 percent, mulberry trees- 63 percent, mats- 33 percent, silkworm cocoons- 60 percent.

By thoroughly understanding the concept of serving

production and by firmly grasping the importance of the role of industrial crops, the Hai Hau farm products shop brought all of its strength to bear in the campaign, to plant rushes, weave mats, and plant mulberry trees for raising silkworms, which was initiated by the district committee and the district administrative committee. There were many other tasks which were not its responsibility but which were very essential for production, so the shop was also ready to take on these added responsibilities and to serve anywhere. The shop contributed an important part to the successful fulfillment of the plan for planting rushes, planting mulberry trees for raising silkworms, and expanding the district's mat weaving handicrafts. It brought many real benefits to the agricultural cooperatives and to the peasants and cooperative members in the district. By supplying healds for mat weaving, tools for just spinning, baskets, etc. the Hai Hau farm products shop brought profits of 8,000 dong to the cooperatives. Thanks to the expansion of the planting of rushes, mat weaving, jute spinning, and the planting of mulberry trees for raising silkworms, the income of the Hai Hau peasants in these various areas increased significantly; in 1964 it was 333,000 dong and in 1969 it reached 820,600 dong. Thanks to this the agricultural cooperatives had more money to buy mechanical pumps, chemical fertilizer, and improved tools. Thanks to the expansion of the planning of industrial crops and the secondary handicrafts, the cooperatives had capital for implementing intensive farming methods and for employing idle labor. This had a large effect upon the achieving of the three objectives in agriculture. The output of rice in Hai Hau in 1969 was much greater than the output of rice in 1964, by 23.3 percent. The monetary income of the peasant cooperative members improved. Today the families of cooperative members of the various agricultural cooperatives in Hai Hau have seen clearly the advantages of planting industrial crops: "If a full stomach is desired, it is necessary to have grains; if wealth is desired, it is necessary to have industrial crops."

### Striving to Improve Business Enterprise

By staying close to production in order to better serve it, the shop firmly grasped the needs of production and gained a thorough knowledge of production technology. Thanks to this, the shop improved its business enterprise, and gave close and timely service to the needs of production, helped the agricultural cooperatives to expand their production, improved the technology of planting rushes and mulberry trees to increase yields and outputs, and increased the income of the cooperatives and of the peasant cooperative members.

Also, by staying close to production, the shop came up

with many initiatives, such as the initiatives to "watch the mulberry trees and nourish the silkworms," and to keep books of the supply of silkworm moth eggs to serve the business enterprise efforts of raising silkworms. Before 1966 good records of the supply of moth eggs to the places raising silkworms were not kept, so that some places had a shortage of mulberry trees and other places had a shortage of silkworms. The shop set down the method of "watching the mulberry trees and nourishing the silkworms." The purchasing cadres went down to each of the agricultural cooperatives to find out the amount of land planted in mulberry trees, the amount of mulberry leaves picked on each sao of land, and the amount of mulberry leaves needed for one kilogram of cocoons. The moth eggs were then distributed on this basis. This method helped to overcome the situation of imbalance between mulberry trees and silkworms.

Previously, the shop issued moth eggs to the places raising silkworms once a month. Thus, when the cocoons were harvested, because there were too many cocoons available at one time, the cocoons could not be unwound in time or smoked in time. The moths would then destroy many of the cocoons as they ate their way out. In order to overcome this situation, from 1967 to the present, the shop improved its way of issuing the moth eggs by the "head pillow" method four times per month. The purchasing teams all had records so that they could closely follow the issuance of the moth eggs. These records included the date issued, the quantity issued, the date the silkworms hatched, the predicted number of cocoons, and the date of purchase. Thus, the purchasing of the cocoons was scattered throughout the month, preparations were made ahead of time, and the shop had enough time to unravel the quantity of cocoons they had purchased at any given time.

Previously, the cooperative members had to transport their products up to the shop for sale. For several years now the shop has arranged various locations for purchasing so that no matter where they are, the peasant cooperative members would not have to transport the goods they were selling to the shop over one kilometer.

In order to guarantee the interests of the producers and of the state, the shop had sample classifications of all of the various categories of goods at the purchasing points. At the same time, in each township, the shop set up a "council to classify the quality of goods." This council consisted of representatives of the township committee, the shop, and the leaders of the specialist units of the cooperatives. From the time these councils were established, the shop ended cases of purchasing goods by "suppressing the level, suppressing the price," or of "raising the level, raising the price."

Further, during the rushes harvests, between the times of the savage enemy attacks, the agricultural products purchasing cadres stayed up nights to assist the cooperative members in cutting the rushes. By day they planned the supplying of tools and raw materials to the cooperatives, and assured that the harvesting of the rushes would be done quickly and on time. There were some things which were not the shop's responsibility, but when the shop saw that the cooperatives were encountering difficulties, the shop took it upon themselves to help the cooperatives resolve their problems. For example, when the cooperatives were short of cord for tying the seedlings, the shop used low quality jute cord for this purpose, and supplied it to each of the cooperatives. When the cooperatives had to protect its buffaloes from the cold, the shop used rushes to weave covers for the animals and supplied these to the cooperatives. In these matters the purchasing cadres worked hand-in-hand with the production personnel and shared all of their problems. On this basis all efforts were made to improve the shop's business enterprise in order to serve production.

Through its business enterprise, including the supplying of materials and tools to the widely scattered cooperatives, at the right time, and its on-the-spot purchasing of farm products, using the right specifications of quality and price, and through all of its specific assistance projects, and its intimacy with the cooperatives, the shop did many things to benefit the cooperatives and the peasants. These were significant improvements in the business enterprise work, and made this work serve the interests of production, and did not interfere with production. Thus, the relationship between the shop and the agricultural cooperatives is a relationship of socialist cooperation between the production unit and the business enterprise and relies upon the principle of the alliance of workers and peasants. Therefore, when the shop is very busy, the townships and the cooperatives very willingly give assistance to the shop. During the purchasing season, many townships appointed cadres to assist the shop in purchasing, loaned storage space to the shop, and took great care in protecting the goods. It is mainly for these reasons that every year the Hai Hau farm products shop fulfills its plan quotas for the purchase of farm products. Each year its purchases show steady increases. In 1969 its purchases were four times what they were in 1964. A few figures will point this out: in 1964 the shop only purchased 1,005 tons of rushes whereas in 1969 it purchased 1,731 tons; in 1964 it only purchased 214,000 mats whereas in 1969 it purchased 384,000 mats; in 1964 it only purchased 16.4 tons of cocoons whereas in 1969 it purchased 94.5 tons of cocoons.

In the business enterprise the Hai Hau farm products shop places great stress upon promoting the leadership of the district committee and the district administrative committee. When it receives any policy of the higher echelon specialist organs, the shop reports to the district committee and the district administrative committee to get their opinions before carrying it out. When it receives a task from the district, the shop also reports this to the higher echelon specialist organs. Stressing the promotion of the leadership of the district committee, but not being dependent upon the district committee, constantly expressing the spirit of initiative in its work, boldly bringing up problems with the district committee, daring to accept difficult assignments; this is the modus operandi of the Hai Hau farm products shop. Thanks to this way of working, the shop has well fulfilled all of the tasks assigned it by the district committee, and has gained the trust of the district. The district committee has boldly assigned many tasks to the shop, and has created every condition favorable to the operation of the shop. The district committee has transferred cadres it had in excess to the shop. This is one of the factors which have determined the success of the shop during the past period.

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