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No. 1685

HOC TAP, No. 4, 1975



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EDITOR'S NOTE

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 14

[Text] This year, our entire party and all our people celebrate the 85th anniversary of the birth of President Ho.

President Ho was the great leader of the Vietnamese people and, at the same time, he was an outstanding fighter of the international communist and worker movement.

President Ho is no longer with us. However, he continues to live in the work of our party and our people and live in the hearts of the revolutionaries of the world.

On this occasion, we have presented a short chronological history of the life of President Ho and a number of documents provided by the Party History Research Department of the Central Committee concerning his patriotic activities more than one-half century ago.

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PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH ( 19 MAY 1890 - 3 SEPTEMBER 1969 ) ( AN ABBREVIATED BIOGRAPHY )

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 15-22

[Text] I. 1890-1911: President Ho Becomes Determined at a Young Age To Drive Off the French Colonialists and Liberate His Compatriots

19 May 1890: President Ho Chi Minh (childhood name: Nguyen Sinh Cung; name as student: Nguyen Tat Thanh) was born in his mother's native village, Hoang Tru Village; he grew up in his father's native village, Kim Lien Village; these two adjacent villages are in Nam Lien Township, Nam Dan District, Nghe An Province. His father was a patriotic Confucian scholar from a peasant background; his mother was a peasant; both his older sister and brother participated in the resistance against the French and were imprisoned.

1905: at age 15, he engaged in underground work and served as a messenger for patriotic scholars.

1905-1910: attended Quoc Hoc College in Hue.

1911: went to Phan Thiet to teach and then went south to Saigon in search of a way to travel overseas and find the road of national salvation.

II. 1911-1930: President Ho Finds the Correct Revolutionary Road and Struggles To Found the Party of the Vietnamese Working Class

1911: under the name of Ba, he took a job as kitchen helper on board the S.S. Admiral Latouche Tréville of the French Amalgamated Transport Company in order to go overseas.

1911-1917: went to France and then traveled to many countries in Africa, Europe, and the Americas where he did manual work for a living; joined the Overseas Workers Association in England.

1917-1918: returned from England to France; joined the French Socialist Party and founded the Association of Vietnamese Patriots.

1919: under the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc and on behalf of the Vietnamese patriots in France, he sent the Petition of the Vietnamese concerning democratic rights to the Versailles conference in France, the conference of the victorious imperialist countries.

1920: found the road of national liberation in Lenin's "Thesis on the National and Colonial Question."

Participated in the Congress of Tours in France; delivered a statement condemning the heinous crimes of the French colonialists; voted for the founding of the 3rd International; became one of those who participated in the founding of the French Communist Party.

1921-1923: founded the Intercolonial Union; was elected to the union's standing committee; wrote the union's Manifesto.

Began writing a series of biting articles indicting the colonialist system which were printed in L'HUMANITÉ, LA VIE OUVRIÈRE, LE PARIAS, etc.

Participated in the 1st Congress of the French Communist Party held in Marseilles in December 1921; was elected to the Presidium of the session held on 29 December.

Joined the Department of Colonial Studies (the French section) of the Communist International which was founded at the suggestion of President Ho.

Participated in the 2nd Congress of the French Communist Party (October 1922); was elected to the Presidium of the 23rd session.

Wrote the play "The Bamboo Dragon" castigating the puppet king Khai Dinh.

Became the publisher, editor, and manager of the newspaper LE PARIAS (The Outcast) the French language organ of the Intercolonial Union.

Founded the newspaper VIETNAM HON, written in Vietnamese, to propagandize and enlighten overseas Vietnamese living in France.

Mid 1923: secretly travels from France through Germany to the Soviet Union.

1923-1924: attended the Congress of Peasants' International; was elected to its executive committee.

Less than 1 week after Lenin's death, he wrote the article "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples" which was printed in the newspaper PRAVDA on 27 January 1924.

Worked in the office of the Communist International.

Attended the 5th Congress of the Communist International where he made many statements about the revolt of the colonies.

Participated in the conferences of the Red Labor Union International, the Youth International, and the Women's International.

Late 1924: secretly traveled from the Soviet Union to Canton in China.

1924-1927: under the name of Ly Thuy he worked as a member of the Communist International Orient Bureau in charge of its southern department and worked in the delegation of Borodin, the head of the delegation of Soviet advisors to the Son Yat-sen government.

1925: founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionaries and later changed its name to the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth; published the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN which was sent into the country for propaganda purposes.

Participated in the founding of the Union of Oppressed Asian Peoples.

Organized the sending of cadres from Vietnam to Canton for training after which they returned to conduct activities in Vietnam; lectures collected in a book entitled "The Revolutionary Road" and sent to Vietnam.

Published the indictment of the French colonialist system in French in December 1925 in Paris, France.

April 1927: secretly travels to China following the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek.

1927-1928: traveled to the Soviet Union, Berlin (Germany), and Paris (France); attended the Congress against Imperialist War in Brussels, Belgium, and then traveled to Switzerland, Italy, Thailand, etc.

1928-1929: active in Thailand under the name Thau Chin; published the THAN AI newspaper to propagandize Vietnamese residents in Thailand.

Late 1929: secretly traveled from Thailand to Hong Kong, China, and, as a representative of the Communist International, convened the congress to merge the three communist organizations in Vietnam (the party-founding congress).

3 February 1930: chaired the party-founding congress held in Kowloon (near Hong Kong); the congress passed an Outline Program, Outline Strategy, and the Rules of the Party drafted by President Ho. President Ho issued an appeal on the occasion of the founding of the Vietnamese Communist Party (which later changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party).

III. 1930-1940: President Ho Directs the Revolution in Vietnam from Outside the Country

1930-1931: from China, he closely watched and guided the movement in Vietnam and reported to the executive committee of the Communist International. As a member of the Orient Bureau of the Communist International in charge of the southern department, he participated in the establishment of the revolutionary movement in a number of Southeast Asian countries.

June 1931: illegally arrested by the British imperialists in Hong Kong (he was going by the name Tong Van So at the time).

1931-1933: imprisoned at the British imperialist prison in Hong Kong, China.

Spring, 1933: after escaping from the British imperialist prison, he secretly traveled to Shanghai and then to the Soviet Union.

1933-1938: under the name of Lin he attended Lenin University. Worked at the Communist International's Institute of Research on National and Colonial Problems.

Attended the 7th Congress of the Communist International held in 1935 as an observer and helped the official delegation of our party (led by Le Hong Phong) fulfill its mission at the congress.

Winter, 1938: traveled from the Soviet Union to Sian, China.

1938-1940: Spent 2 weeks in Yen-an and then went to Kweilin where he worked in a unit of the Chinese 8th Route Army; wrote a book about the Special Zone and a number of articles for the purposes of international propaganda.

From China, he closely followed the democratic movement in our country, sent a letter to our Party Central Committee in which he set forth guidelines, and sent a report to the Communist International. Beginning on 12 February 1939, he wrote a number of articles under the penname of "Line" which were printed in the newspaper NOTRE VOIX (Our Voice), the weekly public newspaper of the party which was published in Hanoi.

In late 1940, he arrived at the Vietnam-China border where he conducted activities and established liaison with the Party Central Committee in Vietnam in preparation for his return home.

IV. 1940-1945: President Ho Returns Home and, Together with the Party Central Committee, Prepares for the General Insurrection To Seize Political Power

December 1940: established liaison with the Party Central Committee and decided to return home; opened a training class in a border village based on a collection of lectures called "The Road to Liberation."

8 February 1941: arrived at Pac Bo in Cao Bang Province where he assumed the name Old Thu. Representing the Communist International, he convened the 8th Party Plenum. He directly supervised the establishment of national salvation organizations in Cao Bang for the purpose of gaining experience. He had the VIETNAM DOC LAP newspaper published and translated the history of the communist (B) party of the Soviet Union.

May 1941: presided over the 8th Party Plenum which improved upon the national liberation revolutionary line set forth by the 6th and 7th plenums and decided to found the Vietnam Independence League (or Viet Minh for short) and established political and armed forces in preparation for the insurrection.

Late 1941-1942: personally directed the movement in Cao Bang; compiled the "Methods of Guerrilla Fighting" and "Chinese Guerrilla Experiences" and translated "The Tactics of Ton Tu" and "The Training of Military Cadres (the book written by Confucius and Mencius on the training of generals).

August 1942: assumed the name Ho Chi Minh and traveled to China to make contact with the anti-Japanese-French forces of the Vietnamese living there.

1942-1943: was put under arrest without reason by the Chiang Kai-shek government for over a year and was sent back and forth through the 13 districts and 80 prisons of Kwangsi Province; wrote the collection of poems entitled "Prison Diary."

September 1943: was released by the Chiang Kai-shek government and made contact with the anti-Japanese and anti-French organizations of the Vietnamese in Liuchow; made contact again with the party in order to return home.

July 1944: returned to Pac Bo in Cao Bang Province; decided to postpone the uprising advocated by the Cao-Bac-Lang Interprovincial Party Committee.

22 December 1944: gave instructions for creating the Propaganda Brigade for the liberation of Vietnam (under the command of Vo Nguyen Giap) and set forth the basic elements of the party's military line.

May 1945: traveled from Cao Bang to Tan Trao in Tuyen Quang Province; advocated the establishment of the Liberated Area comprised of the six provinces in Viet Bac and the unification of all armed forces in the Liberation Army; set forth 10 policies for the Liberated Area.

15 August 1945: convened the National Conference of the Party which decided to launch a general uprising.

16 August 1945: presided over the National Congress held in Tan Trao; the congress elected the Vietnam National Committee for Liberation (that is, the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam) which was chaired by Ho Chi Minh. He issued an appeal for a general uprising. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and President Ho, the general uprising to seize political power was successful throughout the country in the space of 2 weeks; 19 August: in Hanoi, 23 August: in Hue, 25 August: in Saigon, etc.

V. 1945-1954: President Ho Leads the Struggle To Maintain the Revolutionary Government and Wage the War of Resistance Against the French Colonialists

28 August 1945: traveled from Tan Trao to Hanoi; presided over the 1st meeting of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee held in Hanoi to decide important matters.

2 September 1945: read the Declaration of Independence at Ba Dinh Square on behalf of the provisional government.

26 September 1945: appealed to the compatriots of South Vietnam to wage a war of resistance against the French who had renewed their aggression.

October 1945: appealed to the cadres of the government and the people to strengthen their unity and fight against famine, illiteracy, and foreign aggression.

6 January 1946: all the people expressed their special confidence in him in the general election of the 1st National Assembly.

2 March 1946: was elected President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; personally guided the committee for the drafting of the Constitution.

6 March 1946: together with the Party Central Committee, advocated the signing of the Preliminary Agreement with the French.

May 1946: founded the Vietnam National Union (Lien Viet) to broaden national unity.

31 May 1946: left on a visit to France as a distinguished guest of the French government.

14 September 1946: signed the Modus Vivendi with the French government (after the official talks between France and our government at Fontainebleau were unsuccessful as a result of the obdurate attitude of the French).

20 December 1946: issued the appeal for national resistance.

22 December 1946: the Party Central Committee issued the directive on Resistance by the Entire People which embodied President Ho's thought on the people's war.

6 February 1947: appealed to compatriots to wage a resistance by committing acts of sabotage.

1 March 1947: wrote a letter to the comrades of Bac Bo and a letter to the comrades of Trung Bo appealing to them to purge themselves of shortcomings and make every effort to lead all the people in waging a victorious resistance.

October 1947: wrote "Let's Improve Our Style of Work" under the penname X.Y.Z. in which he set forth 12 points for building up the party and 5 points dealing with revolutionary morality.

19 December 1947: summarized 1 year of the national resistance.

5 April 1948: wrote the 12 Words of Advice for Cadres and Soldiers designed to insure good relations with the people.

1 May 1948: appealed to workers throughout the country to try to set an example in increasing productivity in every sector.

11 June 1948: issued the Appeal for Patriotic Emulation.

18 January 1949: delivered the closing address at the 6th Cadre Conference of the Party.

14 January 1950: declared our readiness to establish diplomatic relations with all countries and received responses from many countries.

25 July 1950: replies to journalists concerning U.S. intervention in Indochina.

September 1950: left for the front with the high command of the people's army to direct the Cao-Bac-Lang campaign.

February 1951: read the Political Report at the 2nd National Congress of the Party. The congress decided to name the party the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. It adopted the political program of the party and it elected the new Central Committee. Ho Chi Minh was elected chairman of the party.

3 March 1951: presided over the congress to merge the Viet Minh and Lien Viet which reflected President Ho's slogan: "Unity, unity, broad unity! Success, success, great success!"

10 December 1951: wrote a Letter to artists on the occasion of the painting exhibit in 1951 in which he pointed out: "Culture and art are also a front. You are the soldiers on this front."

11 May 1952: delivered speech opening the first ideological remolding course which paved the way for the remolding campaign in the party, the army, and in work among the masses.

1 October 1952: publicly signed the 8-point order issued by the government when our army entered and liberated Tay Bac.

January 1953: delivered concluding speech at the 4th Party Plenum and set forth the five requirements cadres and party members must meet in order to reflect the vanguard nature of the party.

November 1953: responded to a Swedish correspondent concerning the matter of a cessation of hostilities in South Vietnam.

4 December 1953: delivered a report to the National Assembly concerning land reform.

December 1953: presided over the conference of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee which decided to launch the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign and decided upon the plan to wipe out the entrenched base at Dien Bien Phu.

8 May 1954: sent letter of congratulations to the army and people for their glorious victory at Dien Bien Phu.

July 1954: presided over the 6th Party Plenum and defined the three new tasks and 10 new jobs which resulted from the victory of Dien Bien Phu and the prospects for success of the Geneva Convention on Indochina.

VI. 1954-1965: President Ho Leads the Socialist Revolution In North Vietnam and the Struggle to Peacefully Reunify the Country

22 July 1954: issued appeal to everyone in the country to struggle to consolidate the peace, reunify the country, and achieve independence and democracy.

1 January 1955: returned to the capital together with the Party Central Committee and government.

22 June 1955: visited the Soviet Union, China, and Mongolia.

6 July 1956: released letter appealing to everyone in the country to determinedly struggle to fully implement the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

18 August 1956: sent letter to compatriots and cadres on the occasion of the virtual completion of the land reform program.

January 1957: the National Assembly decided to establish a Committee for the Amendment of the Constitution with President Ho as chairman.

6 July 1957: visited a number of fraternal countries in Asia and Europe.

6 November 1957: attended the ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow and then attended the International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties held in Bucharest, Romania.

4 February 1958: visited India and Burma.

1959: wrote the book "Revolutionary Ethics" under the pen name Tran Luc.

January 1960: wrote an article entitled "Thirty Years of Activities by the Party" which summarized the strategy and tactics of the party in the various stages of the revolution; spoke at the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party and stated: "Our party means virtue and civilization, unity and independence, peace and well-being..."

22 April 1960: wrote an article entitled "The Road Which Led Me to Leninism."

5 September 1960: delivered the opening speech at the 3rd National Congress of the Party which re-elected the Party Central Committee; Ho Chi Minh was elected chairman of the Party Central Committee.

November 1960: led a delegation from our party which attended the International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties held in Moscow.

1 July 1961: on the occasion of the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese communist party, wrote an article entitled "The Chinese Revolution and the Vietnamese Revolution."

October 1962: warmly received the first delegation from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to visit North Vietnam.

8 May 1963: at the 6th session of the 2nd National Assembly, the National Assembly suggested awarding the Gold Star Medal to President Ho; President Ho refused the medal and expressed the hope that the Gold Star Medal would be awarded to him by the people of South Vietnam on the day South Vietnam is totally liberated.

27 March 1964: delivered report to the Special Political Conference and appealed to everyone to "work twice as hard in order to repay our brothers in South Vietnam."

VII. 1965-1969: President Ho Leads All the People in Resisting the United States for National Salvation

10 April 1965: delivered speech at the 2nd session of the 3rd National Assembly in which he pointed out "resisting the United States for national salvation is now the most sacred task of each patriotic Vietnamese."

17 July 1966: in an appeal to compatriots and soldiers throughout the country, he confirmed our nation's determination to fight and defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors in keeping with the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

18 January 1967: spoke at the district level leadership cadre training class.

6 September 1967: sent letter to Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho on the occasion of the NLF's public declaration of its political platform and platform for totally defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their traitorous lackeys.

28 October 1967: wrote article entitled "The Great October Revolution Opened the Way for the Liberation of Nations" on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

1 January 1968: sent New Year's greetings to inspire the offensives and uprisings of the 1968 Mau Than Tet: "This spring will outshine all previous ones. These victories have brought joy to the entire country..."

1968: proposed the training and setting examples of "good people, good work."

3 November 1968: issued appeal in which he emphasized: "As long as one aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight and drive him off."

3 February 1969: on the occasion of the commemoration of the 39th anniversary of the founding of the party, wrote an article entitled "Enhancing Revolutionary Virtues, Wiping Out Individualism" which he considered necessary in order to help cadres and party members make progress.

May 1969: personally supervised the drafting of the high level agricultural cooperative statutes; wrote the introduction to these statutes.

May 1969: wrote his Testament which he left behind for our entire party and all of our people.

July 1969: responded to questions by the French journalist Fournier concerning Leninism and the Vietnamese revolution.

20 July 1969: issued an appeal to be determined and step up the war of resistance against the United States until total victory is won.

3 September 1969: died after a period of illness and a serious heart attack.

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DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE EARLY PATRIOTIC ACTIVITIES OF PRESIDENT HO

1919: the List of Demands Sent by the Vietnamese People to the Versailles Conference  
Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 23 and 24

[Text] When World War I ended, the victorious imperialist countries convened a peace conference in Versailles, France on 28 June 1919 to sign the official peace treaty.

At the time, Nguyen Ai Quoc was active in Paris and maintained routine contact with a number of representatives of colonial and vassal countries. On behalf of the patriotic Vietnamese living in France, he sent a list of demands of the Vietnamese to the Versailles Conference demanding that the French government recognize the Vietnamese people's right to freedom, democracy, and equality while awaiting the implementation of their right of self-determination. This famous list of demands was comprised of the following 8 points:

- "1. Amnesty for all Vietnamese political prisoners."
- "2. The reform of the Indochina legal system to guarantee the equality of legal rights between Vietnamese and Europeans and the abolition of the special court, the tool used to terrorize law abiding Vietnamese."
- "3. Freedom of the press and freedom of thought."
- "4. Freedom to hold meetings and form associations."
- "5. Freedom to reside and travel overseas."
- "6. Freedom to study and open technical and vocational schools for the natives of all provinces."
- "7. Government by law instead of government by decree."
- "8. A permanent Vietnamese representative in the French Parliament elected by natives in order to express their aspirations."

The above requests were very moderate in both form and content and only designed to secure immediate reforms and minimum rights of freedom. "Everyone knows that without these minimum rights of freedom to spread the thought and knowledge which modern life demands, no system of serious education can be achieved."(1)

However, the Versailles Conference was merely a place where the victorious gangsters were dividing the booty amongst themselves with all the burden being borne by the peoples of the defeated countries and the oppressed nations. U.S. President Wilson's 14 Points and the imperialists' declarations about freedom and democracy were but honeyed words aimed at deceiving the oppressed peoples. Nguyen Ai Quoc said: "But, having spent some time observing and studying the matter, we have come to realize that 'Wilsonism' is nothing more than a big trick. Only by liberating

the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; these two liberations can only be the work of communism and the world revolution."(2)

The presentation of the list of demands to the Versailles Conference was the first blow struck by Nguyen Ai Quoc against the French imperialists. It was an important political event which "shook the colonial world"(3); at the same time, it was a bolt of lightning which roused the Vietnamese to rise in revolutionary struggle and signalled a new stage in the national liberation movement in our country.

From his experiences in the struggle, Nguyen Ai Quoc reached a conclusion of very important practical and theoretical significance: to win true independence and freedom, the oppressed nations must first and foremost rely on their own forces; the Vietnamese must liberate themselves through their own efforts.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Native Affairs," L'HUMANITÉ newspaper, the Central Committee of the French Social Party, 2 August 1919.
2. Ibid.
3. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "This Is the 'Justice of French Colonialism in Indochina.'" Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 97.

#### Nguyen Ai Quoc Letter to U.S. Secretary of State

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 26

[Letter written by Nguyen Ai Quoc]

[Text] Paris, 18 June 1919.

To: His Excellence the Secretary of State of the United States of America,  
delegate to the peace conference

Your Excellence,

We have taken the liberty of presenting to you the enclosed list of demands of the people of Annam on the occasion of the victory of the allies.

Trusting in your noble generosity, we hope to enjoy the honor of your support in presenting this list of demands to the authorities.

Please happily accept our expression of profound respect.

On behalf of the group of Vietnamese patriots,  
Nguyen Ai Quoc  
56 Rue Monsieur Le Prince, 56  
Paris

#### The Demands of the Vietnamese

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 28

[Text] On the day the allies won victory and confident in the irrevocable and solemn pledges made to the world by the imperialist powers in the allied camp to struggle for civilization against cruel tyranny, all the dominated nations fervently hoped that an era of human rights and justice would begin for them.

While waiting for the principle of national sovereignty to be transformed from the realm of theory into the realm of reality by means of true recognition of the sacred right of the self-determination of all nations, the people of old Vietnam, that is, present day French dominated Indochina, hereby submit to the governments of the allied camp, in general, and the French government, in particular, the following moderate demands:

1. Amnesty for all native political prisoners;
2. The reform of the Indochina legal system by publicly establishing the equality of legal rights between natives and Europeans and totally and permanently abolishing the special courts, the tools used to terrorize, oppress, and oppose law abiding Vietnamese;
3. Freedom of the press and speech;
4. Freedom to form associations and hold meetings;
5. Freedom to travel and live overseas;
6. Freedom to open schools and establish technical and vocational schools for natives in all provinces;
7. Government by law instead of government by decree;
8. A permanent delegation elected by the natives to the French Parliament in order to help it keep constantly abreast of the aspirations of the natives.

The Vietnamese people present these demands with confidence in the global system of justice of all imperialist powers and especially in the generosity of the French people in whose hands their fate lies, and because France is a republic and the French people are naturally considered as having undertaken the protection of the Vietnamese.

While requesting protection from the French people, the Vietnamese do so not with a feeling of shame, but with a feeling of pride because the Vietnamese know that France represents freedom and justice and would never abandon its noble ideal of considering everyone a brother. Consequently, on hearing the voice of the oppressed, the French people will fulfill their obligation to France and to mankind.

On behalf of the group of Vietnamese patriots  
Nguyen Ai Quoc

1923: The VIETNAM HON Newspaper

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 30

[Text] In early 1923, 1 year after publishing LE PARIA newspaper (The Outcast) Nguyen Ai Quoc founded the VIETNAM HON newspaper. This paper, which was published in Vietnamese, had as its primary objective the working class and laboring people of our country and the overseas Vietnamese who were studying and living in France at the time.

VIETNAM HON newspaper was published twice a month with 100 copies per edition. Its editorial board was located at Nguyen Ai Quoc's dwelling, N.3, Rue du Marché des Patriarches, Paris 5<sup>e</sup>.

VIETNAM HON newspaper pointed out the responsibility of each Vietnamese to the destiny of the fatherland, awakened the spirit of patriotism in our people, and appealed to compatriots to arise in a struggle to drive off the French imperialists and win independence for the nation and democratic freedoms for the people. "... the first issues of VIETNAM HON smuggled into Nam Bo from France reported the news: 'then, the flag of independence flew over Nam Hai.' Nguyen Ai Quoc had a similar private dream, it was the ambition of his life."(1)

As was LE PARIA (The Outcast), VIETNAM HON newspaper was secretly brought into the country, primarily Saigon in Nam Bo, by Vietnamese seamen. "The workers of Nam Bo anxiously awaited the newspaper's arrival and passed it amongst themselves until the pages and even the words on it were worn away. Because they were very closely watched by the French secret police, the workers organized themselves into groups of 3's and 5's, rented boats, and rowed to the middle of the Saigon, Dong Ngai, and Mekong Rivers to read LE PARIA and VIETNAM HON."(2)

In 1960, Ton Duc Thang, a fighter who symbolized the Nam Bo workers' movement, recounted: "As a result of the influence of 'French Colonialism on Trial,' LE PARIAN newspaper, and the first several editions of VIETNAM HON(3), the workers' movement in Nam Bo progressed from a stage of spontaneity and fragmentation to the point where it began to spread and began to become organized so that, by 1927, the working class was joining the 'Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association' movement on a more widespread basis."(4)

Also in 1960, Pham Hung talked about his reading of VIETNAM HON newspaper as a youth: "Under the influence of 'French Colonialism on Trial,' LE PARIAN, and VIETNAM HON, we youths and students quickly became aware of the national revolution and socialism, consequently, many of the key members of the 'Nam Ky Students Federation' joined the 'Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association' and later joined the 'Communist Youth Brigade' and then went on to become members of the Indochinese Communist Party."(5)

Office of Documents, the Party History Research  
Department

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from THONG NHAT newspaper, Number 154, 13 May 1960.
2. Excerpt from THONG NHAT newspaper, Number 155, 19 May 1960.
3. In mid-1923, Nguyen Ai Quoc was active in the Soviet Union and no longer in charge of VIETNAM HON newspaper; as a result, Nguyen The Truyen wrote many articles for this paper and he did not adhere to Nguyen Ai Quoc's political line. In January 1926, "the Vietnamese Party of Independence"(Parti Annamite de l'indépendance) published a newspaper also called VIETNAM HON (L'ÂME ANNAMITE); it published one issue a month in French, Vietnamese, and Chinese under the heading: "The Free Tribune of Vietnamese Students and Workers"(Tribune Libre des Etudiants et des Travailleurs Annamite). This was not the VIETNAM HON newspaper founded by Nguyen Ai Quoc.
4. Excerpt from THONG NHAT newspaper, Number 155, 19 May 1960.
5. Ibid.

President Ho at the 1st Congress of the French Communist Party (December 1921)

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 31

[Editorial Note]

[Text] While participating in the 1st Congress of the French Communist Party held in Marseilles in late December 1921, President Ho (who was then using the name Nguyen Ai Quoc) was elected to the presidium of the session held on the morning of 29 December.

The 30 December 1921 edition of L'HUMANITÉ newspaper -- the organ of the French Communist Party -- printed a picture of President Ho and a full report of the preceding day's sessions.

Below, we have reprinted pictures of the columns of this newspaper and excerpted and translated a few passages from this edition of the paper.

Translated Excerpts from the 30 December 1921 Edition of L'HUMANITÉ newspaper

The Session Held Yesterday Morning:

The morning session was scheduled to begin at 0800 hours but because there was only a few delegates in the meeting hall it was not until 0900 hours that Jules Blanc, the chairman of the session, was able to open the discussion on the topic national defense.

Nguyen Ai Quoc (Indochina) and Raymond Orlianges (Corrèze)(1) were elected to help Jules Blanc preside over the conference.

Nguyen Ai Quoc thanked the congress for seating non-Caucasians thereby proving its genuine international spirit.

The Afternoon Session:

The afternoon session began at 1500 hours under the chairmanship of Barabant assisted by Michaud (of Savoie) and Hygouing.....

Nguyen Ai Quoc requested that the party research and establish a communist colonial policy. He proposed the establishment of a colonial studies department of the party which would present a report to the next year's congress.

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HEROIC SOUTH VIETNAM CARRIES OUT A STRONG OFFENSIVE AND UPRISING AND WINS  
VERY GREAT VICTORIES

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 34-41

[Text] From heroic South Vietnam, news of repeated victories is spreading throughout the country. Our countrymen and soldiers throughout North and South Vietnam are extremely excited over these great victories.

A scene of valiant fighting is unfolding in many localities of South Vietnam. At a time when the enemy has fallen into an overall weak position but is obstinately continuing to commit crimes, the countrymen in the areas under their control, including many cities, have risen in a decisive struggle to win back their right of control. The mass uprising and timely, competent support and coordination from the People's Liberation Armed Forces have resulted in a very effective uprising and offensive strength.

Tay Nguyen

From 5 to 23 March, in a determined effort to punish the U.S. imperialists and the Nguyen Van Thieu lackey group for continuing the war and sabotaging the Paris Agreement, the army and peoples of the various tribes in Tay Nguyen staged a strong offensive and uprising which inflicted heavy defeats upon the enemy and resulted in a very great victory.

Between 5 and 7 March, the army and people of Tay Nguyen staged an offensive and uprising which destroyed communications security positions, cut roads, destroyed bridges, paralyzed enemy military communications along Routes 14, 19, and 21, and completely isolated their bases in Tay Nguyen.

On 8 and 9 March, the army and people of Tay Nguyen staged an offensive and uprising which destroyed the bases from which enemy operations were staged in the Thuan Man military sector and district seat and the Duc Lao military sector and district seat as well as the Dac Song, Dac Sac, and Nui Lua bases located along Route 14 to the north and south of Ban Me Thuot City. On the morning of 10 March and on the strong momentum of their offensive and uprising, the army and people of Tay Nguyen launched surprise attacks against the military bases of the enemy in Ban Me Thuot City, the capital of Dac Lac Province. On the afternoon of 11 March, after 2 days of brave fighting, the army and people of Tay Nguyen took complete control of Ban Me Thuot City and the Hoa Binh military sector and district seat within this city and, in the process, routed the majority of the enemy's forces and captured more than 2,000 troops, 25 artillery pieces, and 200 military vehicles.

On 12 and 13 March, the army and people of Tay Nguyen attacked, occupied, and took control of the Buon Ho military sector and Buon Ho District seat and the Ban Don military base.

Heavily defeated, the enemy hastily moved puppet division number 23, many ranger brigades, civil guard brigades, and armored regiments supported by aircraft and artillery to the Phuoc An zone on 13 March with the intention of

using the Phuoc An base as a jump-off point for a counter-attack to retake Ban Me Thuot City. The army and people of Tay Nguyen rapidly attacked and occupied the Phuoc An military sector and Phuoc An District seat, destroying the 23rd puppet division, the 8th armored regiment, the 22nd ranger brigade, and the 926th civil guard brigade together with many other civil guard and self-defense battalions, thereby smashing the enemy's plan for a counter-attack.

Charging forward in the midst of victory, the army and people of Tay Nguyen attacked the enemy in the cities of Kontum, Pleiku, and Hau Bon. Terrified, the entire military force and control apparatus of the enemy in these cities and the military sectors and district seats of Kontum, Gia Lai, and Phu Bon Provinces fled in confusion on 17, 18, and 19 March. A large contingent of enemy troops was destroyed and routed and thousands of troops surrendered with their weapons and registered with the revolutionary government. Kontum, Pleiku, and Phu Bon Provinces were completely liberated.

The group of enemy soldiers which fled toward Phu Yen was heavily attacked and stopped by the army and people of Tay Nguyen on the section of Route 7 leading from Hau Bon City to Phu Tuc. After 6 days of continuous fighting (from 17 to 22 March), the People's Liberation Armed Forces of Tay Nguyen killed more than 7,000 enemy troops, destroyed 5 ranger brigades, 2 armored regiments, and 1 infantry battalion and captured 710 military vehicles and nearly 100 artillery pieces.

On 22 and 23 March, the army and people of Tay Nguyen continued their offensive by attacking and occupying the military sector and district seat of Kien Duc in Quang Duc Province, the military sector and district seat of Khanh Duong in Khanh Hoa Province, and the enemy base in the town of An Khe killing or capturing thousands of troops and taking complete control of the military sector and district seat of Kien Duc, the military sector and district seat of Khanh Duong, and the town of An Khe.

Thus, after 19 days and nights of continuous fighting, the army and people of Tay Nguyen destroyed the entire military force and smashed the apparatus of control of the enemy and completely liberated the vast Tay Nguyen area including the four provinces of Kontum, Gia Lai, Dac Lac, and Phu Bon and the district seats of Duc Lao and Kien Duc in Quang Duc Province. More than 600,000 countrymen of the various tribes staged uprisings to win the right of control.

According to incomplete reports, the army and people of Tay Nguyen put 120,000 enemy troops out of combat during the period of time mentioned above, including 40,000 main force troops and 80,000 security troops, civil defense troops, police troops, and "civil guard" troops, destroyed the 23rd infantry division, 5 ranger brigades, 4 tank and armored vehicle regiments, 8 artillery battalions, 6 artillery companies, and 23 artillery platoons, destroyed or routed 3 security brigades, 24 security battalions, and 36 security companies and 485 self-defense platoons, captured 1,240 military vehicles, (including nearly 100 tanks and armored vehicles), 110 artillery pieces, and tens of thousands of tons of weapons, ammunition, and means of war, and shot down and destroyed dozens of enemy aircraft.

In Quang Duc, after carrying out a strong offensive and uprising in which they attacked, occupied, and took control of the military sectors and district seats of Duc Lap, Duc Xuyen, Khiem Duc, and Kien Duc, the army and people of Quang Duc charged forward in the midst of victory on 24 March to attack and destroy the enemy in Gia Nghia City where it destroyed or completely routed the 24th ranger brigade, 2 security battalions and 3 security companies, thousands of self-defense troops, and the entire "civil guard" force.

The people of Gia Nghia City staged an uprising in which they smashed the apparatus of control of the enemy and won the right of control for themselves. Many puppet officers, soldiers, and policemen and government personnel, in response to the appeal made by the revolution, turned over their weapons, files, and documents and joined the people.

Quang Duc province was totally liberated.

At Lam Dong, after staging an offensive and uprising in which they occupied many enemy military bases along Route 20, the Liberation Army charged forward in the midst of victory to attack and occupy the Lam Dong Province military sector and the enemy bases and positions within Bao Loc City, the capital of Lam Dong Province.

The residents of the city staged an uprising to join the Liberation Armed Forces in smashing the enemy's apparatus of control. Many soldiers, officers, and puppet government personnel joined the people with their weapons and documents.

Also on 28 March, the army and people of Lam Dong attacked and drove off the enemy and staged an uprising to take control of the Di Linh military sector and district seat, thereby totally liberating Di Linh District.

All of Lam Dong Province and Bao Loc City were liberated. The nearly 80,000 countrymen within the province won the right of control.

At Tuyen Duc, having panicked in the face of the strong offensive and uprising by the army and people of South Vietnam, the Thieu clique in Tuyen Duc decided to assemble its troops from the various districts within the province in the city of Da Lat in order to withdraw. On 2 April 1975, the army and people of Tuyen Duc promptly staged an offensive and uprising and attacked and occupied the military sectors and district seats of Duc Trong, Don Duong, and Lac Duong and charged forward in the midst of victory to launch an attack on the city of Da Lat.

According to initial reports, by 0500 hours on 4 April, the People's Liberation Armed Forces of Tuyen Duc Province had completely occupied the command posts, military bases, and administrative offices of the enemy within the city. The residents of the city of Da Lat staged an uprising to break the enemy's control and take control themselves. Many puppet soldiers and officers and puppet government personnel joined the revolution with their weapons and documents.

The army and people of Tuyen Duc completely liberated the city of Da Lat and all of Tuyen Duc Province.

#### Tri-Thien-Hue

Beginning on 8 March the People's Liberation Armed Forces of Tri-Thien, standing shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen, continued to punish the Saigon army by staging a series of strong attacks and uprisings which won very great victories.

In Quang Tri, the armed forces together with their countrymen staged mass uprisings and attacked practically all the military sectors and subsectors of the enemy at dawn on the morning of 8 March, totally destroying and taking control of the Mai Linh military sector and 9 military subsectors.

Meanwhile, the armed forces continuously surrounded and attacked the enemy troops in Quang Tri City, Dong Ong Gio, and Cai Muong and on Hills 367, 118, and 90 to the west of Hai Lang District. By 19 March, they had destroyed these enemy positions and taken control of Quang Tri City. Between 8 and 19 March, the army and people of Quang Tri killed or captured nearly 650 enemy troops, wiped out 1 company and 5 platoons, destroyed 7 military vehicles (including 3 tanks) and many of the enemy's means of war, and totally liberated Quang Tri Province.

Tens of thousands of countrymen in Quang Tri determinedly resisted the enemy forces who were pursuing them, staged an uprising, and won the right of control for themselves.

In Thua Thien-Hue, on the morning of 28 March, after smashing the outer perimeter defense line of the enemy in the Mo Tau, La Son, Chuc Mao, Nui Bong, Dong Lam, and Co Bi areas, the artillery of the Liberation Army opened fire on the enemy bases in the area of Tan My, Tu Ha, An Lo, Ap 5, Huong Thuy, Huong Dien, and Mang Ca, the Phu Bai and Tay Loc airfields, and so forth, inflicting heavy damages. Liberation Army infantry troops rapidly surrounded and isolated the enemy troops in the areas mentioned above and cut each escape route. In the face of the strong offensive being waged by the Liberation Armed Forces, the enemy became extremely frightened and many of their units abandoned their vehicles and artillery and fled in confusion toward the seacoast in a vain attempt to find a way to escape. Charging forward in the midst of victory, the army and people of Thua Thien-Hue pursued and attacked the enemy killing another large number of troops in Huong Thuy, Huong Dien, and Phu Vang. The remaining enemy forces, which fled toward the Thuan An and Tu Hien gates, were stopped by heavy Liberation Army artillery fire. On the same day, the countrymen of the entire province staged an uprising in which they closely coordinated with the Liberation Armed Forces to attack the enemy in all military sectors and district seats, rapidly smashed their apparatus

of control, and won the right of control in all 10 districts within Thua Thien-Province. Many puppet army units, in response to the appeal made by the revolution, joined the people with their weapons. On 25 March, developing upon the momentum of victory, the army and people of Thua Thien-Hue stepped up their offensive in many directions, destroyed the enemy forces in the city of Hue, attacked and occupied their military bases, and wiped out all pockets of resistance; at the same time, they attacked and destroyed the group of enemy bases along the seacoast in the area of the Thuan An gate and the Tu Hien gate. By the morning of 26 March, the Liberation Army had taken complete control of the city of Hue. The flag of the PRG now flies within the city.

Altogether, after 4 days of attacks and uprisings, from 23 to 26 March, the army and people of Thua Thien-Hue won a very great victory:

-- They destroyed and routed the 1st puppet main force division, 2 ranger brigades, 2 marine brigades, 2 tank and armored vehicle regiments, 16 security battalions and 21 security companies, and more than 300 civil defense platoons;

-- They captured nearly 10,000 prisoners, including nearly 1,000 officers, hundreds of whom were field grade officers; thousands of puppet officers and soldiers responded to the appeal of the revolution by joining the people with their weapons;

-- They captured all the enemy's weapons, warehouses, and means of war;

-- More than one-half million countrymen arose and seized control for themselves; the city of Hue and Thua Thien Province were completely liberated;

-- Revolutionary governments have been established on all levels from the provincial to the local level, order and security have been maintained within the city and the province, and each activity of the people is rapidly returning to normal; the more than one-half million residents of the city of Hue and Thua Thien Province greeted their sons who had returned to liberate them with great enthusiasm.

After nearly 30 years of determined fighting against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, the city of Hue and Thua Thien Province were totally liberated.

The great victory won by the army and people of Thua Thien-Hue is of very great strategic and political significance. This victory has made the people of our entire country enthusiastic and it marks another serious defeat for the enemy.

#### The Central Trung Bo Lowlands

Since the start of March, the army and people of Quang Da, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, and Phu Yen Provinces in the central Trung Bo lowlands have continuously staged strong offensives and uprisings.

In Quang Ngai at 1500 hours on 23 March, the army and people of Quang Ngai simultaneously attacked the enemy and staged uprisings throughout the province. After attacking and taking control of the Nghia An Dong intersection to the north of Tu Nghia District and attacking and occupying the Thanh Khiet base, thereby surrounding the enemy to the west of the city, the army and people of Quang Ngai attacked and occupied the Binh Son and Son Tinh District seats in the north and many enemy positions within these two districts.

At 1000 hours on 24 March, the army and people of Quang Ngai took control of Thanh Co and the entire city charged forward in the midst of victory to attack the enemy at Mo Duc, Duc Pho, and Nghia Hanh and completely liberate these three districts. Here, 6 civil defense platoons staged an uprising, deserted the Saigon puppet army, and joined the revolution with their weapons.

The entire military force and apparatus of control of the enemy in Quang Ngai were smashed. Quang Ngai Province was totally liberated.

In this strong offensive and uprising which completely liberated Quang Ngai Province on 24 March, the countrymen and liberation soldiers captured 5,500 enemy troops and very many weapons.

In Binh Son District, the Liberation Armed Forces killed or captured more than 1,200 enemy troops and captured 10 large artillery pieces (including 4 pieces of 155 millimeter artillery) and 42 military vehicles.

In Quang Nam, after taking complete control of Tam Ky City in 3 days, 25, 26, and 27 March, the army and people of Quang Nam continuously attacked and staged uprisings in which they occupied and took control of the important bases and positions of the puppet army in Chu Lai, Tuan Duong, and Ha Lam, smashed the enemy's apparatus of control, and completely liberated the three districts of Thang Binh, Tam Ky, and Ly Tin. During the night of 27th and the morning of the 28th of March, the army and people continued to surround and attack the last artillery base of the enemy on Que Mountain in Phu Huong Township, Que Son District, and took complete control of this base, killing many enemy troops. Thus, after 18 days of attacks and uprisings (from 9 to 27 March), the army and people of Quang Nam destroyed the entire military force which occupied the province and completely liberated Quang Nam Province. On the morning of 25 March, the people's revolutionary committee-military management committee of Tam Ky City presented itself to the people.

In Quang Da, on 29 March, after staging an offensive and uprising to attack and occupy the military sectors and district seats of Duy Xuyen, Dien Ban, Dai Loc, Duc Duc, Hieu Duc, Hieu Nhon, Que Son, and Hoa Vang, our army and people liberated Quang Da Province, took complete control of Hoi An City, killed many enemy troops, and captured many prisoners and weapons. Many soldiers, officers, and personnel of the puppet government joined the people with their weapons, files, and documents.

In Da Nang, on the afternoon of 29 March, the Liberation Armed Forces launched attacks from the Hai Van and Lien Chieu passes in the north, Hieu Duc and Hoa Vang in the west, and Vinh Dien and Hoi An in the south against the enemy bases and positions within the city, such as I Corps headquarters, the artillery position at Phuoc Tuong, the communications center, the Da Nang airport, the Nuoc Man airfield, the Da Nang military port, and many other bases and positions. The people of the city staged a strong uprising, carried the flag of the revolutionary government out to meet the troops coming into the city, and coordinated with the Liberation Army to surround, cut off, and attack the enemy.

The army and people of Da Nang attacked and occupied many bases on the outskirts and in the center of the city, cut all roads leading into the city, and occupied the Trinh Minh The Bridge. The artillery of the Liberation Army launched a fierce attack and took control of all airfields and the port facility at the mouth of the Han River. The communications system of the enemy was completely destroyed. The army and people of Da Nang took control of many important areas within the city.

The enemy panicked and fled toward the seacoast and the Son Tra Peninsula. A number of U.S. military "advisors" in I Corps also fled. U.S. and puppet warships which came to rescue their cohorts were blocked by Liberation Army artillery and had to retreat to the open sea.

Many puppet army units revolted. More than 2,000 puppet soldiers at the Hoa Cam training center turned their guns on their obstinate hoodlum commanders and joined the people with all their weapons. On their way, they counter-attacked the hoodlum commanders of the 3rd puppet division when they tried to stop them. Many other soldiers are searching for and punishing obstinate commanders. Many puppet army units were completely routed.

The control apparatus of the enemy in the city of Da Nang was completely paralyzed. Very many people who were forced to move by the enemy returned to greet the Liberation Army.

In Binh Dinh, after a strong offensive and uprising in which they attacked and occupied the Cu Mong pass, took control of the military sectors and districts seats of Tam Quan, De Duc, Binh Khe, Hoai Nhon, Phu My, Phu Cat, An Nhon, Tuy Phuoc, Van Canh, and Dap Da, the town of Bong Son, and the Binh Dinh Citadel and after attacking and occupying the Phu Cat and Go Quanh airfields and the command post of the 22nd puppet division at An Son, the Liberation Army of Binh Dinh charged forward in the midst of victory on 31 March to launch a strong attack against the enemy in the city of Quy Nhon.

The Liberation Army advanced from Ganh Rang in the south to attack and occupy area 6 and from Tuy Phuoc in the west along Route 1 to attack and occupy Cau Doi, the main entrance into the city, and then moved directly to the Quy Nhon airfield and occupied it. Another wing of the Liberation Army advanced from the north to attack and occupy area 1, area 2, the Quy Nhon port, the communications center, the residence of the province chief, and many other military targets.

The entire population of the city of Quy Nhon staged an uprising and closely coordinated with the Liberation Army to smash the control apparatus of the enemy and take control themselves. Many puppet officers, soldiers, policemen, and government personnel responded to the appeal of the revolutionary government by staging revolts, punishing their obstinate commanders, and joining the revolution with their weapons, files, and documents.

At exactly 0500 hours on 1 April, Binh Dinh Province and the city of Quy Nhon were completely liberated. The army and people of Binh Dinh Province and the city of Quy Nhon destroyed or routed the entire 22nd puppet infantry division, capturing very many prisoners and all of its weapons. Nearly 900,000 countrymen in Binh Dinh Province and the city of Quy Nhon won the right of control.

Thousands of countrymen who were being chased by the enemy determinedly resisted their pursuers, turned around, and, carrying the revolutionary flag and banners and shouting slogans, welcomed the revolutionary army. Revolutionary governments were established on all levels.

In Phu Yen, the army and people of Phu Yen launched a strong attack and uprising on 24 March which destroyed and routed many enemy units by attacking and occupying the military sectors and district seats of Cung Son, Dong Xuan, Tuy An, and Song Cau capturing many prisoners and weapons.

Charging forward in the midst of victory, the army and people of Phu Yen attacked the enemy troops in Tuy Hoa City, the provincial capital of Phu Yen Province, at dawn on the morning of 1 April. The Liberation Army occupied the various bridges leading into the city and a number of important military targets. The residents of the city quickly staged an uprising to coordinate with the troops and take control for themselves. A large number of puppet troops and puppet government personnel joined the people with their weapons and documents in response to the appeal made by the revolutionary government.

Phu Yen Province and Tuy Hoa City were completely liberated.

In Khanh Hoa, after attacking and occupying the military sector and district seat of Khanh Duong, the Khanh Hoa Liberation Army destroyed and routed the 3rd puppet paratroop brigade on Route 21 south of the district seat of Ninh Hoa on 1 April. Then the army and people of Khanh Hoa attacked and staged an uprising to occupy the military sectors and district seats of Duc My, Ninh Hoa, Dinh Khanh, Cam Lam, and Van Ninh.

On 1 April, in the midst of victory, the army and people of Khanh Hoa attacked enemy military targets in Nha Trang City from many directions, attacked and occupied the command post of the 2nd puppet division which had recently withdrawn from Tay Nguyen, took control of the airfield, took control of all sea and land routes, isolated the enemy within the city, and took control of the military sector and district seat of Vinh Xuong. At 1200 hours on 1 April, many puppet soldiers, in a protest against the war, shot down 2 helicopters carrying fleeing puppet commanders.

The residents of Nha Trang City and Vinh Xuong District quickly staged an uprising to coordinate with the Liberation Army in smashing the control apparatus of the enemy. More than 3,000 puppet soldiers at the Dong De training center staged a rebellion, killed their obstinate commanders, occupied the entire center, and joined the revolution. The political prisoners at the Dien An Prison staged an uprising, destroyed the prison, and freed themselves. At exactly 0800 hours on 3 March 1975, the army and people of Khanh Hoa took complete control of Nha Trang City. Many puppet soldiers, officers, policemen, and government personnel and the entire civil guard joined the people with their weapons and documents.

Khanh Hoa Province and Nha Trang City were completely liberated. The army and people of Khanh Hoa destroyed and completely routed the 3rd puppet paratroop brigade and many other enemy units in this area, capturing many of their weapons and means of war.

More than 300,000 countrymen in Khanh Hoa Province and Nha Trang City won the right of control.

Nam Bo

In early March 1975, the army and people of Nam Bo staged a series of strong offensives and uprisings in which they smashed the military forces and control apparatus of the enemy at many places. In eastern Nam Bo, the army and people of Thu Dau Mot in Tay Ninh destroyed the military sector and district seat of Dau Tieng, the military sector and district seat of Ben Cau, and the enemy bases at Cau Khoi and Ben Cui and along the Ong Hung Stream between 11 and 13 March 1975, thereby taking control of a large area northwest of Saigon. In the area of Dau Tieng, the People's Liberation Armed Forces destroyed three security battalions and one armored vehicle detachment and inflicted heavy damages upon another security battalion by destroying 20 tanks and armored vehicles. On 17 March 1975, the army and people of Ba Ria-Long Khanh staged an offensive and uprising in which they destroyed the military sector and district seat of Dinh Quan on Route 20 northeast of Saigon. The units of the 43rd battle group, the 18th puppet division, and the security forces, civil defense forces, and puppet government here were quickly routed and enemy communications along Route 20 were completely paralyzed. On 26 March, our army and people staged an attack and uprising in which they destroyed the Binh Khanh military sector killing many enemy troops and capturing hundreds of weapons. On 2 March, the army and people of Long An destroyed and took control of the military sector and district seat of Duc Hue and the Queo Ba base. On the same day, the army and people of Ba Ria-Long Khanh in Binh Tuy Province attacked and staged an uprising to take control of the military sector and district seat of Gia Ray and the military sector and district seat of Hoai Duc.

On 20 March 1975, the Liberation Armed Forces attacked the enemy in An Loc City, Binh Long Province, north of Saigon. Terrified, the military forces and personnel of the puppet government here fled in confusion. The residents of the city staged an uprising to take control for themselves. The army and people of Binh Long promptly blocked the enemy on the road on which they were withdrawing and inflicted heavy losses upon them. On the afternoon of 2 April, our army and people attacked and destroyed the enemy troops in the military sector and district seat of Chon Thanh capturing many prisoners and weapons. Binh Long Province was totally liberated.

The army and people of the Mekong River delta staged offensives and uprisings everywhere, surrounded and isolated the enemy at many places, seized control in many townships and hamlets, and destroyed the enemy forces at many bases and in many strategic areas and military subsectors in Ben Tre, My Tho, Kien Tuong, Vinh Long, Tra Vinh, and Can Tho Provinces. On 11 March 1975, the army and people of Kien Tuong staged an offensive and uprising in which they destroyed the enemy base at Nga Sau, blocked and attacked the enemy forces which had taken up a position along the Bang Lang canal in Doc Binh Kieu Township, My An District, and inflicted heavy losses upon one puppet main force battalion and one puppet security battalion destroying two ammunition dumps and artillery pieces. In the space of only 4 days (from 10 to 13 March) the army and people of Ba Tri District in Ben Tre Province attacked the enemy troops occupying Tan Xuan and Phuoc Trung Townships, putting more than 1,200 enemy troops from two battalions which were destroyed out of combat and destroyed or forced the withdrawal from 29 police stations and military subsectors.

Meanwhile, the army and people of Vinh Long, Can Tho, Tra Vinh, Rach Gia, Soc Trang, and Ca Mau Provinces staged continuous offensives and uprisings destroying many of the enemy's control systems.

Unable to bear their stifling, miserable life in the "strategic hamlets" and concentration areas of the United States and Thieu, nearly 100,000 Catholics and non-Catholics in central Nam Bo staged an uprising through which they threw off the yoke of control of the Thieu government and took control for themselves.

In Ben Tre, nearly 50,000 Catholic and non-Catholic countrymen in the 17 townships of Mo Cay Bac, Ba Tri, and Cho Lach Districts staged an uprising, surrounded police stations, and pursued the hoodlum spies. They urgently established combat positions along highways isolating more than 100 police stations and, together with the guerrillas and local army, destroyed three military subsectors, inflicted heavy losses on three other military subsectors, and destroyed the enemy's control apparatus in 25 hamlets, thereby bringing the areas extending from Cho Lach to Bac Mo Cay and from Ba Tri to Binh Dai and Giong Trom under their control.



After 1 month of continuous attacks and strong uprisings, the army and people of South Vietnam destroyed or routed a large military force of the enemy comprised of the soldiers, technical equipment, and other means of war throughout their military region 1 and military region 2, put 270,000 enemy troops out of combat, destroyed or totally routed 6 puppet main force divisions (including 5 infantry divisions and 1 marine division), the 3rd puppet paratroop brigade, 21 ranger and security battalions, 10 armored battalions and 19 tank and armored vehicle companies, 35 ground artillery battalions, 9 ground artillery companies, and 70 ground artillery batteries, and 5 AAA battalions; routed the entire civil defense and civil guard organization of the enemy; completely liberated 5 major cities: Hue, Da Nang, Quy Nhon, Nha Trang, and Da Lat; and completely liberated 16 Provinces: Kontum, Gia Lai, Dac Lac, Phu Bon, Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Da, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Quang Duc, Binh Long, Lam Dong, Khanh Hoa, and Tuyen Duc together with many district seats, military sectors, and strategic military areas in eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong Delta. At present, 9,300,000 of our compatriots in South Vietnam from the 17th parallel to Cape Ca Mau have been totally liberated.

The great victory won in the early spring of 1975 by the army and people of South Vietnam is a brilliant victory of the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" and, at the same time, it is a deep expression of the fervent aspiration of our army and people for peace, independence, democracy, national concord, and the reunification of the fatherland.

It is the victory of revolutionary heroism, the spirit of determination to fight and win, the inexhaustible might of the Vietnamese people's war in the new age.

It is a serious defeat for the U.S. imperialists and the fascist, warmongering, lackey Nguyen Van Thieu clique in their plan to continue the neo-colonialist war in South Vietnam, sabotage the Paris Agreement, and permanently divide our country.

Today, the position and power of our army and people are stronger than ever before. The stand of our people is to scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Vietnam; however, we are determined to punish each action by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to continue the neo-colonialist war. The struggle of our people will be fierce, difficult, and long but we will surely win glorious victory.

The neo-colonialist war of the United States has clearly been defeated. The victories won over the past 2 years and the great victory being won now by the army and people of South Vietnam mark a turning point of strategic significance on the battlefield, one which confirms the strong offensive position of our countrymen and soldiers and the declining position of the United States and its lackeys, a position from which they can offer no resistance. This trend is irreversible. There is only one course open to the United States, namely, ending all involvement in South Vietnam, overthrowing the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, establishing in Saigon a government which endorses peace, independence, democracy, and national concord, and scrupulously implementing the Paris Agreement. As the 8 October 1974 declaration of the PRG clearly stated, the PRG is ready to hold talks with such a government in order to rapidly solve the problems in South Vietnam; and, only such a government can truly negotiate with the PRG for the purpose of implementing the articles of the Paris Agreement and satisfying the most pressing aspirations of the people of South Vietnam for peace, independence, democracy, the improvement of their welfare, and national concord. The United States will only court a more serious defeat if it obstinately refuses to follow this course.

Enthusiastically welcoming the brilliant victory won by the countrymen and soldiers of South Vietnam, the countrymen of North Vietnam are determined to step up their feverish emulation movement to work, produce, and practice frugality in socialist construction and record excellent achievements in all fields in order to be worthy of being the strong base of the country's revolution. The countrymen of North Vietnam are determined to fulfill each of their obligations to fraternal South Vietnam as best possible.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE 1975 SPRING OFFENSIVE AND UPRISING OF THE ARMY AND PEOPLE  
OF HEROIC SOUTH VIETNAM

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 p 43

- [Text] 11 March 1975: Ban Me Thuot City was liberated (the provincial seat of Dac Lac Province).
- 16 March 1975: Dac Lac Province was liberated.
- 18 March 1975: Kontum Province was liberated.
- 18 March 1975: Gia Lai Province and Pleiku City were liberated.
- 19 March 1975: Phu Bon Province was liberated.
- 19 March 1975: Quang Tri City and Trieu Phong and Hai Lang Districts in Quang Tri Province were liberated.
- 24 March 1975: Gia Nghia City was liberated; all of Quang Duc Province was liberated.
- 24 March 1975: Quang Ngai City and all of Quang Ngai Province were liberated.
- 26 March 1975: the city of Hue and all of Thua Thien Province were liberated.
- 28 March 1975: Tam Ky City and all of Quang Nam Province were liberated.
- 28 March 1975: Bao Loc City and Lam Dong Province were liberated.
- 29 March 1975: Hoi An City and Quang Da Province were liberated.
- 29 March 1975: the city of Da Nang was liberated.
- 1 April 1975: the city of Quy Nhon and all of Binh Dinh Province were liberated.
- 1 April 1975: Tuy Hoa City and Phu Yen Province were liberated.
- 2 April 1975: Binh Long Province was liberated.
- 3 April 1975: the city of Nha Trang and Khanh Hoa Province were liberated.
- 4 April 1975: the city of Da Lat and Tuyen Duc Province were liberated.
- 16 April 1975: Phan Rang City and Ninh Thuan Province were liberated.
- In addition to the provinces mentioned above, Phuoc Long Province (Phuoc Binh is the provincial seat) was totally liberated in January 1975.

## THE COMMUNIST AND THE TASK OF WINNING INDEPENDENCE AND UNIFYING THE COUNTRY

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 44-48

[Article by Nguyen Khanh Toan]

[Text] Unifying the people and unifying the nation are a historical requirement. This is a law which has developed in the course of the progress of mankind, in general, and the course of development of each nation, in particular, under the influence of the struggle with nature and the social struggle, the class struggle.

In the history of the nation of Vietnam, the struggle to unify has been closely associated with the struggle to protect the nation and win back or achieve independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. It is at the same time both a law and one of the basic requirements of our nation. National feelings are very deep and strong. They grow, develop, and accumulate in the hearts of people who live together generation after generation in the same land -- their "birthplace" -- and who have shed their sweat, tears, and blood developing, building, improving, caring for, protecting, maintaining, and defending this land. They are the feelings of people who "live and die together, share sorrow and joy, and help one another in times of plenty as well as famine."<sup>(1)</sup> They are brothers, children of the same fatherland. In the Vietnamese language, the words "compatriot" and "race" have very great meaning.

Long before the birth of Christ, the Viets had formed a relatively close knit community in terms of territory and their economy, culture, language, lifestyle, feelings, customs, and habits, a community which had abundant vitality; the spirit of nationhood and the concept of the right of national self-determination also developed at an early date. In all the periods of building and defending the country, the desire for unity has always gone hand in hand with the struggle to liberate the country and resist foreign aggression. It is also the foundation of the spirit of national unity which is a superior tradition, a strength, and a unique feature of the patriotism of our people.

In the 1st century A.D., the uprising against the Han army led by the Trung Sisters, which began in Giao Chi, assembled under its banner the peoples of the other districts and prefectures. In the 1,000 years they were under Chinese domination, the Viets and the fraternal tribes continuously rose in resistance against the yoke of domination of the Chinese feudal dynasties.

In the 10th century, after we won back our sovereignty, Dinh Bo Linh quickly settled the revolt by 12 warlords, united the country, and opened the way for the birth of the country of Dai Viet, an independent, united, and sovereign country which defeated all of the most powerful aggressor armies of the age.

At the end of the 18th century, the Tay Son movement overturned the feudal groups which had annexed North and South Vietnam and, destroyed the foreign armies which had invaded South and North Vietnam and restored national unity.

In the last half of the 19th century, the French colonialists invaded our country as a result of the crimes of the Nguyen dynasty which actually welcomed the enemy to our land. The liberation struggle waged by our people against the French

colonialists for nearly 1 century was, in every stage of its history, directed toward one target: driving the invaders from the country and gaining independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity for the fatherland. Although they were tenacious and valiant and although another wave of people would continue the charge when the wave before it fell, the struggles which took place prior to the birth of the party were not successful due to the lack of a correct line consistent with the law of the evolution of history.

Only since it has been under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class has the Vietnamese national liberation revolution won basic victories -- the August Revolution, the war of resistance against the French, and the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation -- thereby creating favorable conditions for fully meeting this target. The historical realities of our country have proven that communists have a fervent spirit of patriotism, a very genuine spirit of national self-respect and pride, and have been the most determined participants in the resistance against the imperialists and feudalists. Only by throwing off the ruling yoke of imperialism and feudalism and putting the people in control is it possible for the country to be prosperous, the people to be strong, for full independence to be achieved, for freedom to be guaranteed, and for peace to be permanent.

Communists unanimously agree that the liberation of a nation is its own responsibility and that independence and freedom must be won by the people themselves. When a nation relies on outsiders to "liberate" it and waits for outsiders to give it independence and freedom, it gives up the right to liberate itself, its right to live in independence and freedom, its right of self-determination. However, to defeat imperialism, whose form of world rule is colonialism, it is necessary to have the combined strength, the coordination, and the mutual support of all forces of independence, democracy, social progress, and peace and necessary to establish a broad anti-imperialist front of the people of the world; therefore, genuine patriotism must be closely linked to proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism is the firmest foundation of genuine patriotism. Genuine patriotism is in absolute harmony and unity with socialism and communism. Socialism and communism do not deny or encroach upon genuine patriotism; to the contrary, they enhance and greatly increase the strength, revolutionary nature, and creative spirit of genuine patriotism. Therefore, it is not surprising that the party of the proletariat can establish a very broad united anti-imperialist front. And, people who have a deep love for the country and are concerned about the future and destiny of the fatherland have been and are cooperating with communists to fight for the interests of the fatherland.

In the past, the aggressors oppressed other people; they were the slave owners, the feudalists who carried out their aggression by means of force and ruled by means of dividing and sowing discord amongst nations. In the age of imperialism, the colonialist policy of dividing oppressed people has reached the ultimate level of cruelty, wickedness, and inhumanity. Because, how else could a small number of large capitalist countries successfully rule a colonial world encompassing the majority of mankind if the colonialists did not divide and disperse the forces of these people and create antagonisms amongst them?

The people of Vietnam have been united for countless generations. The country of Vietnam has been a united country for a long time. "The country of Vietnam is one, the people of Vietnam are one. The rivers might run dry, the mountains might crumble, but this truth will never change." Here, in terms of races, religions, and languages, there was no fertile ground for the imperialists to sow discord. They cut Vietnam into three pieces and made Nam Ky "land of the French."

This was the cruelest and boldest possible affront to the national feelings and national honor of the Vietnamese, one which our people were determined not to tolerate. The people of the entire country, from South to North, from the lowlands to the mountains, arose as one to drive off the imperialists, win back the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the nation, and, at the same time, condemned and overturned the feudalists and the accomplices and lackeys of the country-robbers.

This has been the single target of the liberation struggle which has been taking place in our country for nearly 100 years and has been waged by generation after generation.

Vietnamese communists consider fully meeting this target their sacred historic mission. The successful August Revolution followed by the victorious war of resistance against the French forced the imperialist camp to openly recognize the fundamental national rights of our country -- independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. But the most sacred aspiration of our people has still not been fulfilled because the cruel, insidious, crafty, crooked, and brazen U.S. imperialists sabotaged the Geneva Agreement, divided Vietnam, and occupied South Vietnam in an affront to the sacred national feelings of the Vietnamese and in total disregard for the conscience of mankind, public opinion, and international law. They unleashed the cruelest genocidal war ever in an attempt to destroy the will of a people to secure a life of freedom and happiness.

The army and people of South Vietnam have heroically struggled against the United States and the puppets in order to protect the right of true national independence suppressed by the Americans and puppets. Socialist North Vietnam has fulfilled the task of being the great rear area for the great frontlines and has wholeheartedly reinforced fraternal South Vietnam, the brass fortress of the fatherland.

The "right of self-determination," "independence," "freedom," "Republic of Vietnam," and "fortress of anti-communism" which the U.S. imperialists have been trying for more than 10 years to establish in South Vietnam through many different war strategies -- bold intervention, the special war, the limited war and the widening of the war of destruction to North Vietnam, the "Vietnamization" of the war, and the return to the Americanization of the war -- have been smashed by the people of South Vietnam with the support and reinforcement of socialist North Vietnam and the sympathy and support of progressive mankind. The victory of Vietnam shows that no imperialist power, even U.S. imperialism which is the strongest of the imperialist powers and considers itself "the leader of the free world," can defy the firm historical truth -- the country of Vietnam is one, the people of Vietnam are one.

For our people as well as for all the other people on this earth, there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. The country of Vietnam is one, the people of Vietnam are one. The communists, as well as all our people, cannot allow a situation to exist wherein one-half the country and one-half the people are independent, free, and live under the socialist system while the other half lives in the misery and pain of slavery. The development and existence of such a situation is a major threat to the independence, freedom, peace, and socialism not only of Vietnam, but of many other nations as well. It is the foremost responsibility of communists to struggle tirelessly to eliminate this threat.

Today, in the face of the insane plots of partition, division, and aggression of the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, the freedom of a nation cannot be totally guaranteed when neighboring nations are still enslaved by imperialism. And, the freedom of a nation is threatened even more and is not total freedom if part of the nation falls into the hands of the imperialist aggressors.

For the Vietnamese revolution, struggling to reunify the fatherland is an even more sacred task because the U.S. imperialists divided our country and divided our people at a time when our entire nation had defeated the Japanese fascists, defeated the French imperialists, won back its independence, liberty, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, established the people's democratic system, and proudly became a member of the world socialist system.

In the course of the Vietnamese revolution, North Vietnam's task of advancing to socialism has been organically linked on the basis of national feelings, historical truth, and the logic of development of the age to the task of completing the national democratic revolution in South Vietnam and advancing to the reunification of the fatherland.

Therefore, when South Vietnam was invaded by the U.S. imperialists, the people of our entire country had to take up arms and fight the enemy.

"The army and people of our entire country, 1 million people acting as one displaying a high degree of revolutionary heroism and unafraid of hardship and difficulty are determined to maintain and step up the war of resistance, determined to fight and win, determined to force the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops, completely collapse the puppet army and puppet government, liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country."(2)

This sacred obligation has tightened the unity of the people of South and North Vietnam: South Vietnam has stepped up the people's revolutionary war and the struggle to liberate itself from the yoke of the Americans and puppets and protect socialist North Vietnam, its great rear area; North Vietnam has been carrying out socialist construction and fighting and maintaining its combat readiness in the spirit of "everything for fraternal South Vietnam, everything for the defeat of the U.S. pirate aggressors."

The imperialists are aggressors. They have established a system of cruel oppression and exploitation based on dividing and sowing discord amongst nations and, in the process, committed towering crimes against the millions of people they have made their slaves.

The spirit of national unity is an invincible strength in combating the aggression and yoke of slavery of the imperialists. The history of nations, in general, and the history of Vietnam, in particular, eloquently prove that whenever a nation unites, the aggressors are defeated, no matter how strong they might be.

At present, the U.S. imperialists, the most cruel and insidious of the imperialists, harbor an ambition to enslave the world. Their greatest fear is national unity. Communists are the most patriotic people, they are the people who are most determined to resist imperialism, and they have the ability to assemble and widely unite the patriotic forces of the nation and the anti-imperialist forces of the world; therefore, the U.S. imperialists have directed all the spearheads of their hatred against communists and communism.

Faced with the danger of collapse, the fascist, militaristic, bureaucratic, compradore, capitalist Nguyen Van Thieu clique, the lackey of the U.S. imperialists, is frantically employing cruel and malicious tricks in a vain attempt to crush the growing anti-American-puppet movement of the various strata of people in the zone under their control. Together with the typical fascist tricks of suppressing the press, terrorizing intellectuals, students, and religious sects, and purging people who are not participating in any conspiracy whatsoever, the Americans and puppets are busier than ever trying to sow division and discord within this movement in order to pit the communists and the people against one another and deny the existence of the third element.

Although this trick is both insidious and crafty, it is totally useless. For nearly one-quarter of a century the U.S. imperialists have tried everything they could -- militarily, economically, politically, diplomatically, and technically -- and resorted to very heinous and barbarous methods of an absolutely hopeless nature, such as forcing people to move from areas in which their army had been defeated and fled, in order to divide our country, divide our people, and sow discord between communists and the people and between communism and patriotism but nothing has produced the results desired by them.

The heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam under the banner of the party for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism will surely win total victory.

"Whatever difficulties and hardships might lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will have to withdraw from our country. Our fatherland shall be reunified. Our compatriots in North and South Vietnam shall be reunited under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the unique honor of defeating, through a heroic struggle, two big imperialist powers -- France and the United States -- and making a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement."(3)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. President Ho: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 235.
2. Appeal by President Ho on 20 July 1969.
3. President Ho's Testament.

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DEVELOPING RURAL COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION IN SUPPORT OF AGRICULTURE'S GRADUAL ADVANCE TO LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 49-55

[Article by Duong Bach Lien]

[Text] In the present stage of economic reconstruction and development and the acceleration of socialist construction in North Vietnam, communications and transportation have the task of supporting the industrial and capital construction sectors, reinforcing the liberated areas of South Vietnam, supporting the standard of living of the people, and, in particular, supporting the development of agricultural production. Communications and transportation must meet the requirements of transporting fertilizer, coal, lime, machinery, insecticide, and so forth in order to help agriculture initiate intensive cultivation to increase crop yields in large areas. Communications and transportation must actively help agriculture gradually advance to large-scale socialist production.

Particular attention must first of all be given to the development of rural communications and transportation because they directly support agricultural production. We have the capability needed to develop rural communications and transportation because they do not involve high technical requirements and are not heavily dependent upon imported technical materials; all that is needed for the development of rural communications and transportation to be carried out is a correct understanding of the matter on the part of the various leadership echelons. Improving and developing rural communications and transportation is a very important measure in reorganizing agricultural production, efficiently deploying and utilizing labor in the countryside, raising agricultural labor productivity, and gradually eliminating decentralized production, strenuous transportation, and the waste of labor. It is also of great and practical significance in helping consolidate the socialist production relations within agriculture, build the new countryside, and improve the people's standard of living. The special characteristic of communications and transportation in support of agricultural production is that they must meet the requirements of the agricultural season. Plowing, harrowing, harvesting, and so forth raise very urgent requirements; therefore, communications and transportation must be very timely in order to support agriculture well.

North Vietnam's agriculture has been collectivized and the socialist production relations in the countryside are being consolidated more with each passing day; however, productive forces have developed slowly and labor productivity within agriculture is, generally speaking, low. To insure a rapid increase in agricultural labor productivity, it is necessary, in addition to implementing such measures as water conservancy, fertilizer, cultivating fields with good varieties of crops, planting crops on schedule, and so forth, to eliminate transportation by means of carrying poles and buckets which is strenuous and wastes labor. The development of river routes and highways and the use of improved, semi-mechanized, and mechanized means of transportation comprise a revolution, one designed to liberate the shoulders and liberate our compatriots -- particularly our women -- from the very strenuous labor they have had to perform in the countryside for generations.

The advance of agriculture to large-scale production means eliminating decentralized production, establishing centralized, specialized production and intensive cultivation, and making use of increasingly modern technology. The zoning of areas for large-scale, specialized production of the various types of grain and industrial crops and the large-scale production of livestock is gradually being implemented. The use of more and more machines within agricultural production demands the expansion of roads in order to make widespread and universal use of high capacity means of transportation; only in this way is it possible to meet the requirement of providing transportation to support agriculture because as more and more agricultural products and commodities are produced, the requirements of commodity trade within each area will constantly rise and the subsistence economy of small-scale production will no longer exist.

Developing rural communications and transportation is also a positive way to help bring about the efficient distribution and utilization of labor in the countryside and allocate much labor for direct agricultural production. The use of improved rudimentary vehicles, vehicles with ball-bearing wheels, draft animals, bamboo boats, cement covered bamboo boats, and so forth is 4 to 20 times more productive than is transportation by means of carrying poles. As a result of using vehicles and boats for transportation, many agricultural cooperatives have been able to allocate much labor for the construction of additional schools, medical aid stations, clubs, child care centers, and so forth, thereby changing the appearance of the countryside or for developing many artisan and handicraft trades for the purpose of increasing the income and improving the standard of living of cooperative members. Viet Hung Township in Vinh Phu District, as a result of reducing the amount of transportation done by carrying poles 81 percent thereby saving more than 10,000 mandays, was able to plant 108 additional hectares of cassava and build five yards and warehouses, two cooperative offices, and one club. My Duc District in Ha Tay Province, as a result of developing its rural communications and transportation, saved 350,000 mandays and was able to plant 200 more hectares of cassava and plant mulberry trees for raising silkworms which, in turn, have yielded 220,000 dong in income from raw silk sales. On the other hand, through the use of vehicles and boats we have been able to transfer a number of agricultural laborers to industry, the construction of new economic areas, etc.

In the mountains of our country, the need to develop communications and transportation is a very pressing one as regards the production and lives of the millions of compatriots of the various tribes. The mountain region is a vast region with rich natural resources which occupies an important economic and national defense position; however, its communications and transportation are underdeveloped. Many highland areas have no roads and this makes it impossible to transport agricultural and forestry products to consumer centers and poses obstacles to the transportation of industrial and consumer goods to the people. Therefore, in the mountains, communications must be established first in order to stimulate the development of the mountain economy and incorporate it in the national economy. At certain times and places, the development of communications and transportation in the mountains must take into consideration not only economic requirements, but also political, security, or national defense requirements.

Rural communications and transportation lines are veins joining the major arteries, the main public lines of communication. If rural communications and transportation are not developed, communications and transportation on the main lines will also be adversely affected, the relationship between industry and agriculture as well as the relationship between the cities and the countryside will be obstructed, and the communications-transportation network in general will be crippled and unbalanced.

The development of communications and transportation on a nationwide scale as well as within a locality must be carried out on the basis of a long-range and gradual plan. Communications and transportation activities take place along individual lines and within a common network. Therefore, even the opening of a small road must be consistent with immediate and long-range requirements and consistent with the overall communications network within the locality. The construction of roads and bridges requires much labor, materials, and capital. For this reason, when communications and transportation are developed without guidelines or plans, they are developed in an unsuitable manner which wastes the labor of the people and the money and materials of the state.

In the development of rural communications and transportation to support agricultural production, the communications sector began by making the district the unit on which the establishment of plans would be based. This is totally consistent with the program of the party at this time which considers the district an agricultural and artisan-handicraft planning level. To establish communications and transportation plans, it is necessary to assess the locality's immediate and long-range economic development situation and requirements. It is necessary to assess the special geographical characteristics of the locality and the main public communications lines serving the locality in order to select the appropriate and most economical mode of transportation. On the basis of the situation surrounding agricultural production, artisan and handicraft production, the supply of raw materials and building materials, the distances cargo must be transported, and so forth, it is necessary to calculate how much cargo will have to be transported into the district and how much from the district to other places.

Since 1960, rural communications and transportation have recorded noteworthy results. In the lowlands and mountains, carrying poles are no longer used in 50 percent of the production transportation from villages and hamlets to fields. Some 270,000 kilometers of inter-township roads, main township roads, inter-village roads, and roads from villages and hamlets to fields have been constructed.

In the mountains, a rather large number of roads leading into centralized production areas, areas for the settlement of nomads, and new economic areas have been constructed. To date, only two highland districts, Quynh Nhia District in Son La Province and Muong Te District in Lai Chau Province, are in the process of opening roads and these will be completed in late 1975. The number of townships with automobile roads leading into townships is growing daily. In the lowlands and midlands, 3,445 of 3,905 townships have automobile roads leading into the center of townships and cooperatives and, in the mountains, 1,484 of 1,944 townships have such roads. Due to the expansion of road networks and irrigation ditches, the use of rudimentary-improved means of transportation is constantly growing. Some 2.5 million vehicles and boats of all types are in use in place of carrying poles and this has resulted in the saving of very much labor. At advanced cooperatives, the number of mandays spent providing transportation within agricultural production has been reduced to only 10 percent of the total number of mandays worked.

The facts presented above clearly show that the development of rural communications and transportation is a very important measure in competently supporting agricultural production.

Agricultural production is becoming involved in intensive and specialized cultivation on an increasingly large scale. The number of agricultural production cooperatives achieving yields of 5 tons of paddy per hectare is constantly increasing; some cooperatives are endeavoring to achieve yields of 8 or 10 tons of paddy per hectare. For each hectare which produces 5 tons of paddy, some 40 tons of seedlings, fertilizer, rice, and rice straw have to be transported. It is obvious that if agriculture advances to large-scale production with high productivity and high outputs, people using carrying poles cannot perform the large amount of transportation work needed to support production. To provide the transportation from villages and townships to fields needed to support production, it is necessary to develop many more improved means of transportation; in the lowlands, places which have conveniently located rivers, streams, canals, and ditches must fully utilize and strongly develop the use of appropriate means of water transportation, particularly the various types of boats. Boats are a means of transportation which have a rather large capacity. Our people have long had experience in building and using bamboo and wooden boats. At present, wood is a scarce material; however, many localities have successfully developed cement covered bamboo boats which are used in agricultural production and even in transportation over long water routes.

As regards highways, the improved vehicle is the universal means of transportation and eventually each family will have one of these vehicles and consider it the same as a tool used in agricultural production. In the various areas specializing in the cultivation of industrial crops, we have been using improved vehicles and developing the use of animal drawn vehicles in order to transport larger volumes of cargo over longer distances. In the mountains, the compatriots of the various tribes have the habit of using spring vehicles and carts drawn by buffalo and cattle.

At present, localities are experiencing a very severe shortage of vehicles and boats for use in agricultural production. The difficulty being encountered in the development of means of transportation is a shortage of materials. Under their function

of managing a specialized sector, provincial and district communications and transportation agencies must help cooperatives calculate the quantity and types of means of transportation they need and estimate the quantity of a number of primary materials, such as iron, steel, lumber, cement, and so forth, they need in order to construct the necessary number of units. However, localities must display self-reliance, make use of each local capability in terms of raw materials and building materials, and oppose the thinking of relying upon the state for the supply of materials in order to develop their means of transportation. Thai Binh is a lowland province; however, determined to overcome its difficulties, the province used bamboo, a locally available material, to make ocean-going cement covered bamboo boats. Some of these boats have gone to Quang Ninh and Haiphong to bring back stone to be spread on road surfaces.

To make good use of means of transportation, it is necessary to build and develop roads and bridges in the countryside. In the lowlands and midlands it is primarily necessary to improve existing roads. It is necessary to closely coordinate with the improvement of the farmland water conservancy system, make full use of area and field banks, and make full use of the dirt excavated in the construction of canals and ditches in order to complete the field road system and have enough main roads, area roads, and field roads to enable the use of vehicles and boats in support of production. Full attention must be given to improving road surfaces by every possible technique and all available local materials and to constructing an ample number of bridges to connect roadways, primarily along main roads over which much cargo is transported. In the mountains, it is necessary to coordinate well with the opening of forestry roads, state farm roads, and security and national defense roads and open roads leading from national highways and the main roads of provinces and districts into villages and the market cooperative stores of areas or townships. The opening of roads into the new economic areas is a matter of very pressing importance; however, roads must be opened in a manner consistent with production guidelines and the scale of production as well as immediate and long range transportation requirements and, once started, these roads must be finished in their entirety. The mountain region has many deep streams and high mountains. To provide transportation in support of the production, everyday life, and travel of the compatriots of the various tribes, particularly during the rainy, flood season, the mountain provinces have constructed many iron cable suspension bridges without requiring much in the form of materials and technology; with some specialized help from provincial or district communications-transportation agencies, cooperatives can construct these type bridges themselves.

To develop the road network and means of transportation, attention must also be given to conducting necessary repair work and routine maintenance work in order to keep roads, vehicles, and boats in good condition so that they can be used to support production. At present, more than a few places are very enthusiastic when they first open a road or begin using vehicles and boats; however, as time progresses, they do not give their attention to repairing them when necessary or providing routine maintenance. Roads have collapsed in sections and are muddy and vehicles and boats are in need of repair, as a result of which they have a limited effect in supporting production; this situation has caused the people to lose their enthusiasm because they see that much of the large amount of labor they expended is being wasted.

In the campaign to reorganize production and improve agricultural management in keeping with the guidelines for the advance to large-scale socialist production, a new and important problem is that of organizing production and management within the scope of a district. Le Duan has defined the position of the district level: "The district is not only the place which produces products and distributes labor, but it is also the place which supports the life of the people and carries out the construction of the new countryside with the assistance and under the unified management of the state on the central and provincial levels and on the basis of utilizing raw materials and labor in accordance with the best possible economic-technical plan." This policy has faced the communications and transportation sector with the task of bringing about a strong change in order to meet the requirements of the total development of the district level. It is first of all necessary to re-examine the communications and transportation network, determine the modes of transportation of each district, strengthen the material-technical base, and improve the organization and supervision of communications and transportation by the district level. The district must determine the volume of cargo transported by the district and determine what types of cargo and how much cargo the transportation forces of the central and provincial level can transport to the district and to which townships. To make full use of

mechanized transportation forces, districts served by railroad lines must work with the railroad stations to build warehouses and storage yards for such types of cargo as coal, fertilizer, cement, and so forth brought into the district by train. Districts served by major river routes must construct simple river wharves with warehouses and storage yards equipped with small cranes so that the riverine transportation sector of the central and provincial levels can bring cargo into the district. Trucks can be used to deliver a number of types of cargo directly to townships in order to eliminate the intermediate stage of cargo handling. The district must have riverine and highway transportation cooperatives to serve as its main forces. During the busy times of the agricultural season when transportation requirements are high, the province can dispatch a number of truck units to provide service within districts over a given period of time.

On the basis of the task assigning it responsibility for main district roads, inter-provincial roads, and inter-district roads, each district must establish a district main project force. This force performs the key task and must be equipped with the various types of common machines used to construct roads and bridges within the district, such as steam rollers, small pile driving machines, and so forth. Each district must have a small machine center which can perform many jobs including the construction and repair of rudimentary animal drawn carts and boats with a capacity of less than 30 tons and the production and repair of hand tools and other implements needed for the repair and construction of roads and bridges. These machine centers must be supplied with a number of types of equipment so that they can maintain outboard motors and mechanized boats up to 25 horsepower.

The development of rural communications and transportation over the past several years has complied with the following guideline: the people perform the majority of the work, primarily universal techniques are employed, and primarily local raw materials and building materials are utilized. This guideline has been proven to be both correct and appropriate by the realities of the movement over the past 10 years and more. The development of rural communications and transportation in the lowlands and mountains is a large-scale and long range project which can only be carried out on the basis of the labor of the people. It is necessary to rely upon and mobilize the people to develop rural communications and transportation but they must be provided with scientific and technical supervision. Everything from the planning of the communications and transportation network to the construction of one road, one bridge, one boat, one vehicle, and so forth involves certain scientific and technical requirements.

The communications and transportation agencies on the various echelons must fulfill their command staff function and help the various party committee echelons and local governments in the area of technical professions and provide cooperatives with instructions in the specialized techniques employed in the development of rural communications and transportation.

The construction of roads and bridges and the development of means of transportation require large volumes of many types of materials. Even such domestic materials as stone, sand, gravel, lime, bricks, lumber, cement, and so forth pose difficulties as regards their excavation, production, and transportation and they are not available everywhere. Therefore, in the development of rural communications and transportation, we must implement the guideline of using primarily local raw materials and building materials. We must put an end to the thinking that large scale is good and an end to the practice of relying upon the upper echelon and the state to supply such materials as iron, steel, and cement; we must display initiative, creativity, and self-reliance and make every effort to overcome our difficulties and utilize local raw materials and building materials to develop roads and means of transportation. In the lowlands, there is a very severe shortage of such materials as stone, sand, and gravel for spreading on road surfaces. Many localities have employed such techniques as carefully pounding road surfaces and using sand to elevate them and collecting broken bricks and tiles to be spread on road surfaces. At present, we do not have much iron, steel, and cement; therefore, many localities have constructed small bridges along rural roads by arranging dried stones, building arched brick bridges, building living bamboo bridges in the lowlands, and building suspended iron cable bridges in the mountains. Due to the shortage of lumber and steel for use in the construction of vehicles and boats, many localities have developed steel reinforced concrete boats and bamboo boats covered with cement and constructed improved vehicles of various types of bamboo and lumber. These are expressions of the spirit of creative labor and the self-reliance of our people in the development of communications and transportation to support agricultural production.

In the campaign to reorganize production and improve agricultural management in keeping with the guideline of advancing to large-scale socialist production and in order to insure that communications and transportation are developed strongly so that they can competently support agricultural production, it is of decisive significance that the various party committee echelons and local governments truly concern themselves with providing leadership in the areas of communications and transportation. Recently, the leadership echelons in many localities have become more and more aware of the important effect communications and transportation have upon the life of the people. At places which do not have a proper understanding of the significance of communications and transportation, the movement has not developed strongly. On the other hand, there are those who maintain that communications and transportation require much labor and capital and that expenditures on communications and transportation prohibit expenditures on other jobs. However, the realities of localities which have good communications and transportation movements show that the development of communications and transportation strongly stimulates production and all other activities rather than obstructing them provided that the leadership echelon knows how to skillfully coordinate all activities, comply with requirements, and avoid the thinking that large scale is good or the thinking of form for form's sake.

The present leadership and supervision of communications and transportation must be comprehensive, that is, they must encompass roads, bridges, land and river routes, the development of means of transportation, the construction of warehouses, storage yards, and wharves, cargo handling, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to establish and strengthen the organization, corps of technical cadres, and so forth of the communications and transportation agencies on the various levels, particularly the district level, so that they can fulfill their function of a command staff helping the party committee echelon and local government supervise and manage local communications and transportation. The problem facing the district level is that of clearly defining the function and task of the district communications and transportation bureau in order to, on this basis, establish a suitable organization and staff and deploy capable specialized cadres who are able to perform their task.

On the district level, it is necessary to stabilize the corps of specialized cadres in charge of communications and transportation activities, enact appropriate regulations, policies, and benefits, etc. Township and cooperative cadres must also receive specialized training from the province in short term classes.

The supervision of communications and transportation must be skillfully coordinated with other major activities. To begin with, there must be coordination between communications and water conservancy because they are very closely related within a locality. They must be coordinated well on the basis of the principle of benefiting agricultural production. They must reflect consideration for the common interest on the basis of the principle of equality and the interest of agricultural production. Each sector must actively coordinate them from top to bottom and from the time the plans are drawn up until they are implemented and during the entire process of utilizing projects. In the mountains, attention must be given to coordinating communications and transportation with forestry operations and security-national defense activities and, in particular, coordinate them in the opening of forestry roads in order to develop communications and transportation.

Even within the communications and transportation sector, attention must be given to properly coordinating central communications and transportation with local communications and transportation as well as public communications and transportation with rural communications and transportation.

In the present restoration and development of the economy and the acceleration of socialist construction in North Vietnam, the campaign to reorganize agricultural production and improve agricultural management in keeping with the guideline of advancing to large-scale socialist production is facing communications and transportation with several new requirements. With the experience gained in leading and supervising the development of rural communications and transportation, localities will surely advance the rural communications and transportation movement, win many new victories, and provide agricultural production with better support.

A NUMBER OF MATTERS CONCERNING PARTY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE PROCESS OF REORGANIZING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND IMPROVING AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 56-64

[Article by Vu Dung]

[Text] Agricultural production is an important front related to the activities of all of society. Therefore, "we should not think that the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management is only the work of agriculture or only related to matters within the agricultural sector, rather, we must realize that this is the common work of our entire state, of all sectors and echelons from agriculture to industry, from planning to commerce, finances, and banking, from the various economic sectors to the cultural, public health, and domestic political sectors."(1)

As the representatives of the stand of the working class and the organizations which directly implement and lead the masses in implementing the programs and policies of the party, the basic party organizations in townships and cooperatives have a major responsibility in the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management, and the struggle to implement the agricultural development line of the party, build the civilized, progressive socialist countryside, and bring prosperity and happiness to collective farmers. In the immediate future, they must step up the three revolutions, build strong cooperatives, develop production, constantly strengthen the collective economy, improve the standard of living of cooperative members, and contribute more and more to the common revolutionary cause. The task of the basic party organizations in townships and cooperatives also involves leading the full implementation of the overall production guidelines for the entire area and the entire district and fully carrying out the tasks and meeting the norms and plans assigned by the upper echelon; at the same time and in the spirit of socialist cooperation, they must lead their units in coordinating with other cooperatives and townships in building material-technical bases and public welfare projects within the area and district, establishing the distribution of labor for the production of a certain product, forming joint businesses to develop a sector or trade on a relatively large scale, working together to build new economic areas, or working together to develop the three strongpoints of the mountains, etc. Today, in the face of the requirement of advancing to large-scale socialist production, no one cooperative can develop its production in an independent manner. If a cooperative only knows what it is doing, it will ultimately be unable to escape from the orb of small-scale, subsistence production.

The district level is the level which directly supervises townships and cooperatives and directly organizes and manages agriculture on the basic level. Therefore, in the process of reorganizing agricultural production, improving agricultural management, and advancing agricultural production toward large-scale socialist production, the district level plays a very important role. The district level is an agricultural planning level and, together with cooperatives, it forms a production organization. The district is the unit which is suited to developing agriculture in keeping with the guideline of advancing to large-scale socialist production. The district level is an economic management level, a production management level, a business management level, and the center which provides cooperatives with technical equipment. The district is the place which can

organize production and the distribution of labor in an efficient manner, the place which can maintain the material and spiritual life of the people and carry out the construction of the new socialist countryside. The district level is not only an organization which directly supervises agricultural production, but it has also become a center for carrying out the three revolutions in the countryside, a center for coordinating agriculture with industry, production with circulation, national ownership with collective ownership, and state investments with the self-reliance of the people. The district level is also the level which directly supervises party development activities and mass activities on the basic level. The resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum stated: "It is necessary to strengthen the district level so that it becomes an organization which is skilled in directly supervising agricultural production, handicraft production, cooperative development, basic party development, and local governmental development and skilled in organizing and leading the masses in accelerating the three revolutions and socialist rural construction. The district level must directly control and closely supervise the agricultural production cooperatives, market cooperatives, credit cooperatives, agencies which purchase agricultural products, supply materials, and so forth within the district."

The district and installations can only fulfill their responsibilities with the positive and effective supervision and support of the provincial level and the various sectors on the central level. In reality, there are many very important jobs which must be decided upon by the provincial level and the various sectors on the central level, jobs which the district and installation cannot carry out. These involve planning and building the material-technical base and zoning economic areas over a wide scope, providing technical equipment and supplying materials and new seeds for agriculture, training economic management cadres and scientific-technical cadres, researching advanced economic and technical measures, and so forth in order to steadily advance agriculture toward intensive and specialized cultivation. They include establishing and revising regulations and policies concerning management, purchasing, processing, circulation, distribution, etc. They include establishing and consolidating agencies on the district level to enable the district to fulfill its tasks. The jobs mentioned above are the responsibility of the provincial level and the various sectors of the central level. Performing these jobs well creates favorable conditions for the district and installations to develop production, accelerate each aspect of their work, and successfully carry out the reorganization of production and the improvement of agricultural management on the basic level.

The party organizations on the various levels and in the various sectors have the responsibility of clearly understanding and giving cadres and party members a clearer understanding of the programs and policies of the party concerning agricultural production, they must struggle against improper phenomena, they must heighten their sense of responsibility, organization, and discipline, and they must be determined to complete the task of their unit, sector, and level as best possible and make the most positive contribution possible to the successful completion of the campaign to reorganize agricultural production and improve agricultural management.

Reorganizing agricultural production, improving agricultural management, and developing agricultural production is an important political task; at the same time, it is a vast organizational job. The process of carrying out this task requires that the various levels and sectors have a full understanding of the lines and policies of the party, fully and deeply analyze the economic and technical problems of each locality, unit, and sector, and examine the overall situation (land, water, climate, weather, crops, livestock, labor, and so forth) of each area, district, and cooperative in detail. On this basis, they must establish production plans, plans for the construction of the material-technical base, economic plans, farming systems, technical regulations, management regulations, economic quotas, labor quotas, distribution regulations, etc. It is important to establish and consolidate appropriate organizations, clearly define their task and function, establish clear regulations governing their responsibility, division of labor, cooperation, etc. This is not easy to do because it involves a very painstaking, detailed, scientific, and accurate process of organization.

The resolution passed by the 22nd Party Plenum clearly stated: "Lines, programs, and policies must be fully understood throughout the party and successfully implemented by means of organization. One of the major drawbacks of all levels of our party and state in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale

socialist production is that the organization is still of the decentralized, partial nature of small-scale production. Very much attention must be given to controlling the organization, building its forces, and constantly heightening its ability and skills so that it can meet the requirements of socialist industrialization."

Thus, in the process of reorganizing agricultural production and improving agricultural management, we absolutely must give our attention to organizational activities. On the one hand, we must insure that guidelines and plans, economic-technical regulations and policies, and so forth are very accurate. On the other hand, we must make every effort to streamline the organizations of the party and government, mass organizations, and specialized and professional organizations on all levels and in all sectors, particularly those organizations which are related to the supervision of agricultural production. Particular attention must be given to consolidating organizations on the basic level and making the district level strong enough to fulfill its responsibility as the force which does the fighting on the agricultural front.

A pressing problem is that of consolidating agricultural production cooperatives in conjunction with streamlining cooperative management committees so that they become centralized and effective management agencies. It is not only necessary to have management committees which are skilled in supervision, management, and technology, but also necessary to have truly capable support units and strong, highly skilled production units.

Only when the governmental organizations on the township level are streamlined will they be able to fully understand and successfully fulfill the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fully implement the law, inspect the implementation of the state plan, protect production, protect socialist property, protect the right of collective ownership of the people, and look after the people's standard of living.

It is necessary to actively consolidate mass organizations and, on this basis, teach the masses politics, ideology, and the concept of collective ownership. It is necessary to hold good cooperative member congresses, mobilize the mass of cooperative members to enthusiastically participate in the establishment of production guidelines and the new method of operation, and encourage the masses to emulate in productive labor, overcome each difficulty, and successfully complete the state plan.

Particular attention must be given to making the organization of the party and the Ho Chi Minh Lao Dong Youth Group strong in every respect.

The district level must be developed in a manner which is consistent with its new position in socialist construction and the process of advancing agriculture toward large-scale socialist production.

Only by streamlining the district party committee, the leader and supervisor of each activity, can it have the ability needed to truly carry out the political and organizational tasks of the district together with primary targets and measures in a manner consistent with the situation and special characteristics of the district, and lead townships, cooperatives, production and business installations, organizations, and sectors in successfully carrying out the campaign.

Every effort must be made to improve the leadership and supervision provided by the district level and shift from the administrative style of management which is characterized by dominant individuals and general political and ideological mobilization to the mode of leadership and supervision which provides business management on the basis of scientific planning and economic returns, involves maintaining regular and close contact with installations, and develops the potential of each township and cooperative while heightening the role played by the government and the various organizations and sectors within the district.

In conjunction with further streamlining the district administrative committee, it is necessary to develop the agricultural committee (and the agricultural-forestry committees in mountain districts) into agencies which are capable of truly helping the district party committee and district administrative committee resolve the management and technical problems of the district and supervise cooperatives in the good implementation of production plans. At the same time, we must construct the stations, farms, and production-business installations

needed to form a technical network within the district and material bases which can meet the majority of the requirements of the production, processing, and circulation within the district and help cooperatives promptly resolve specific problems they are encountering in their production, business, establishment of the material-technical base, etc.

It is the responsibility of the province and the various sectors on the central level to be truly concerned with developing a strong district level and, at the same time, promptly and effectively supporting agriculture and helping the district carry out its task in order to create the conditions for the district to gradually meet the majority of its own requirements. The province and the various sectors on the central level must effectively help the district and installations with jobs they cannot carry out themselves. The sectors on the central level and the province must have a plan for strengthening their organization and improving their operations on the district level and encouraging the various sectors within the district to display greater initiative and creativity in their work and the task of reorganizing agricultural production and improving agricultural management on the district and installation levels.

Building and streamlining the organization of the various sectors and levels in order to meet the requirements of agriculture are based on the specific task of reorganizing agricultural production and improving agricultural management in a practical, orderly, and qualitative manner and on avoiding developing cumbersome organizations for form's sake only and increasing the staffs of organizations far above necessary levels while giving attention to clarifying the function and task and improving the work methods and work efficiency of organizations.

To streamline organizations, it is necessary to have cadres. In cadre activities, attention must be given to deploying and utilizing cadres in a manner consistent with the requirements of the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management. In the immediate future, attention must be given to properly deploying the primary leadership cadres of each level and sector, particularly the district and installation levels. The proper deployment of primary leadership cadres creates the conditions for heightening the ability of the entire corps of cadres. Within the district, attention must be given to assigning cadres to recently established organizations supporting agricultural production, such as the agricultural committee, stations, farms, production and business installations, etc. At these installations, particular attention must be given to assigning good key cadres, such as the party committee secretary, party chapter secretaries, the chairman of the administrative committee, cooperative heads, chief accountants, and production unit chiefs.

A pressing requirement of district and installations now is that of building a well balanced and large corps of economic management cadres and scientific-technical cadres to serve as the command staff for the party committee echelon and local government and help cooperatives resolve their specific economic and technical problems well. To meet this requirement, the province and the various sectors on the central level have the responsibility of "sending many management and technical cadres on the various levels of the state administration to directly help cooperatives, primarily technical cadres and accountants...(\*)"; at the same time, "they must send a rather large number of cadres to the district, particularly technical cadres and management cadres."(\*\*)

The district and cooperatives must respect the management cadres, technical cadres, and specialized and professional cadres sent in by the upper level or trained by the locality. The problem lies in knowing how to closely supervise and wholeheartedly help them so that they can use their ability to support the overall task well; at the same time, attention must be paid to preventing and overcoming the phenomenon of utilizing cadres on the basis of preferences and personal feelings or on the basis of partialism and localism. The important task now is to quickly select and train for cooperatives and districts a corps of cadres on the basis of complying with the cadre standards and policies of the party and through the mass movement to carry out the political task, a corps which is capable of reorganizing agricultural production and improving agricultural management.

In addition, the advanced training of cadres is also a pressing task. Our cadres in the countryside, generally speaking, are devoted to their work and have some experience in leading the collectivization movement and the development of production; however, they do not have a systematic knowledge of economic management or

agricultural science and technology, they do not have experience in organizing production and managing the economy in keeping with the new requirements, and their viewpoints, concepts, and methods of operating are still heavily influenced by the small-scale, decentralized mode of production. As a result, we face the problem of actively and determinedly providing rural cadres with advanced training not only in the line and guidelines of agricultural development and the program for the reorganization of production and the improvement of management, but also in each measure involved in the organization of production, management, the techniques of intensive and specialized cultivation, etc. Party committees, party chapter committees, and party members must also receive advanced training in ideological and organizational activities as well as activities involving the mobilization of the masses. Providing cadres with good advanced training is one of the prerequisites to successfully carrying out the political task.

To overcome the stagnated and patchwork nature of cadre activities, it is necessary to establish a cadre plan which meets the requirements of the immediate task and prepares for future stages of development. A problem of no less importance is that of being highly determined and taking specific, practical, and effective measures to provide cadres with elementary and advanced training based on this plan.

In conjunction with carrying out the above mentioned cadre activities well, it is necessary to enact a system of appropriate remuneration for cadres at cooperatives in order to provide them with incentive to study, train, improve their qualifications, and become deeply involved in their special field. The experience of a number of advanced cooperatives shows that this system of remuneration should be based upon the responsibility assigned cadres, their special and professional qualifications, and their job seniority. In addition, it is necessary to establish regulations requiring cadres to spend a reasonable amount of time in productive labor. Management cadres and production unit cadres should primarily perform management work and only spend a limited amount of time in productive labor. It is also necessary to research and adopt suitable policies concerning state cadres on long term assignments at installations, in the mountains, or in areas in which they encounter many difficulties and hardships.

Intensifying and closely managing the corps of cadres, particularly the primary leadership cadres of townships and cooperatives; clearly understanding the situation surrounding the work, the strongpoints and shortcomings, and the qualifications and abilities of each individual in order to properly utilize and train him and adopt a policy of appropriate compensation; encouraging, praising and promoting cadres who display good qualities and have the ability to complete their assigned task well while taking determined action against cadres who violate the code of discipline of the party or the laws of the state and promptly detecting and struggling to eliminate such negative phenomena among cadres as corruption, taking advantage of one's position, bureaucracy, arrogance, and so forth also comprise an important part of cadre activities.

Today, the requirements of building and developing the economy demand that cadres have an increasingly deep understanding of economic management, science and technology, their special field, and their profession. Consequently, together with training and education, it is very necessary to specialize cadres in order to insure that they, particularly those cadres who are engaged in technical management, have a stable occupation and permanent job and can accumulate experience. The practices of using different types of cadres for the same job and replacing cadres when it is not truly necessary must be fully avoided. Cadres who do not meet the requirements of their present task must be given other, more suitable jobs and, at the same time, determined steps must be taken to rectify those cases in which cadres have been given jobs which are not within the sectors or trades for which they were trained.

Within the system of basic party organizations in the countryside, the party organization at the cooperative occupies a particularly important position. Therefore, consolidating and increasing the fighting strength of the party organizations at cooperatives is a requirement of a pressing, fundamental, and long range nature.

The leadership ability of the party organization at a cooperative is primarily reflected in the ability of the party committee. Therefore, making the party committee strong is the most important requirement in increasing the fighting strength of the party organization at the cooperative. For a party committee to

represent the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party organization it must be comprised of members who have a clear understanding of the agricultural development line and the program for the reorganization of production and the improvement of management, have a high revolutionary-offensive spirit, boldly adopt the new method of operation, are interested in the new, enthusiastically accept advanced science and technology, have a knowledge of management and technology, are experienced in party development and mass activities, and, at the same time, have good qualities, are devoted, show concern for the interests of the masses, and respect the masses' role of collective ownership.

In the process of initiating intensive and specialized cultivation and gradually advancing to large-scale socialist production, cooperatives will strengthen their production and business sectors, consolidate their basic production units, and establish specialized labor units; therefore, it is absolutely necessary to assign suitable party member forces to the various production and business sectors, basic production units, and specialized labor units and, on this basis, build strong party chapters and party organizations. Doing this will guarantee that cooperatives can successfully complete their production plans. At the same time, it is also a very basic way to create the conditions for the party organization to become deeply involved in the job of providing leadership and examining the specific economic and technical problems as well as the routine operations of the cooperative. As a result of the reorganization of production, the operations of the various production units will undergo a change, for example, production units will fully implement farming regulations, technical regulations, regulations governing their responsibilities, division of labor, cooperation with other units, and so forth; as a result, the leadership and inspections of the party organization within production units must also be changed to insure that units struggle to successfully implement the new mode of operation and do away with the old haphazard, decentralized mode.

Improving the quality of party chapter activities is of key significance in improving the leadership of the party chapter, training and educating party members, and developing the collective strength of the party organization. The various party committee echelons and party chapters have the task of routinely improving and heightening the quality of their activities to insure that party activities truly provide leadership and are truly instructive and militant in nature.

Party activities are primarily designed to give cadres and party members a full understanding of the agricultural development line of the party, give them a thorough understanding of the program and specific contents of the campaign to reorganize production and improve cooperative management, and, on this basis, set forth correct production guidelines with positive, advanced targets and concrete, practical policies and measures in order to change the method of operation and improve cooperative management. This is an important requirement of decisive significance in the success of the campaign, and it is also the major element of the activities of the party organization.

Party chapter activities are designed to teach the spirit of responsibility, the sense of organization, the sense of discipline, and determination to fully implement the economic guidelines, production plan, production regulations, technical regulations, management regulations, and so forth which have been established; at the same time, they are also designed to wage a determined struggle against the attitude of convenience, liberalism, partialism, localism, and selfishness and help overcome other negative phenomena which are posing obstacles to the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management. Party chapter activities also have the task of promptly gaining experience for use in helping improve the leadership and supervision of the party committee echelon and party chapter and inspecting the work of party members in order to constantly improve the quality of the party organization's leadership and heighten the vanguard, exemplary role of the party member.

Routinely improving the leadership and the organization of implementation provided by the party committee echelon and party organization is also a matter which cannot be given light attention.

Improving leadership activities is designed to strengthen the role and improve the leadership ability of the party committee echelon and party organization while strongly developing the initiative and creativity of the local government, cooperatives, and mass organizations as well as the collective ownership role of the masses.

In the campaign to reorganize agricultural production and improve agricultural management, the party organization has the task of providing close, specific leadership with a high level of determination in order to insure that a sound victory is won. On the basis of analyzing the situation, characteristics, and capabilities of the locality, the party organization sets forth specific, appropriate guidelines, tasks, targets, and measures and, at the same time, leads and closely inspects cooperatives as they gradually carry out the campaign in everything from soil tests, the classification of fields, the establishment of the allocation of crops, and the establishment of farming regulations, technical regulations, and management regulations to the distribution of its labor force, the establishment of basic units and specialized labor units, and the establishment of reasonable labor quotas, economic quotas, and contract systems. The party organization also has the responsibility of deeply analyzing economic and technical problems and leading the cooperative in applying advanced techniques and appropriate management measures and building the material and technical base of the cooperative.

The cooperative is the frontline combat force in this campaign; consequently, it is absolutely necessary to streamline the cooperative management committee so that it has the ability and the strong support units and production units needed to take the initiative in carrying out those jobs for which it is responsible. Through the operation of the management committee and various production units and through regulations, rules, and policies, the party organization leads the implementation of the party's program for the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management. On the other hand, through the various organizations of the party in the production units and through the activities of party members, it inspects and supervises the work of the cooperative and insures that it complies with the programs and policies of the party and the resolutions of the party organization.

The party organization avoids taking over the work of the management committee and, in particular, does not intervene in the daily production management of the management committee and production units. Cadres and party members must respect the operational procedures of the management committee and production unit cadres; they must set good examples in carrying out and mobilizing the masses to carry out the work of the cooperative and production units and, while this work is being performed, they must inspect it to insure that it is being carried out in a manner which complies with the programs and resolutions of the party.

Reorganizing agricultural production, improving agricultural management, and advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production involve profound changes in many areas and demand the launching of a widespread, feverish, and continuous mass movement and highly developing the role of collective ownership of the masses. Of importance is mobilizing all cooperative members to contribute their suggestions and rich experience to the reorganization of the method of operation and then voluntarily work to implement the guidelines and measures set forth; the conditions must be created whereby the masses can participate in discussing and deciding upon each job performed by the cooperative in the process of reorganizing its production and improving its management from the establishment of guidelines, tasks, targets, farming systems, technical regulations, management regulations, and so forth to the establishment of work grades, labor quotas, and workpoint standards and from obligations to the state to the organization of the distribution of primary and subsidiary products within the cooperative.

The fighting strength of the party organization is also reflected in the leadership effectiveness and the exemplary-vanguard role of party members. If all the members of a party chapter constantly take the lead in each job, set good examples in working to implement the resolutions of the party chapter, and always maintain close contact with, propagandize, mobilize, and organize the masses to implement the party chapter's resolutions, the party chapter will have the strength needed to complete each task well. Therefore, party chapters absolutely must give their attention to party member activities, constantly improve the quality of the corps of party members, and, on the basis of upholding the practice of criticism and self-criticism, take determined action to expel from the party those people who do not meet party member qualifications. It is first of all necessary to insure that each party member has a clear understanding of the agricultural development line of the party and a deep understanding of the important and pressing significance of the program to reorganize agricultural production and improve agricultural management.

The task of each party member is to be fully concerned with building the collective economy and consolidating his cooperative, wholeheartedly serving the common good, setting a good example by participating in collective labor, enthusiastically implementing the state plan, fulfilling each obligation, and determinedly overcoming the thinking of only being concerned with the interests of one's family which leads to such things as corruption, taking advantage of one's position, and illegally occupying the land and misusing the property of the cooperative. Party organizations have the responsibility of making every effort to teach party members to display a higher revolutionary-offensive spirit, boldly change their method of operation, be determined to participate in the reorganization of the cooperative's production and the improvement of its management, and, at the same time, struggle to overcome the phenomena of conservatism and the fear of difficulties and hardships. In addition, they must teach party members to display a high spirit of responsibility and a high sense of organization and discipline, fully implement plans, regulations, and rules, and display a high spirit of socialist cooperation, unity, and mutual help among production units and among cooperatives in order to work together on common jobs and combat the habit of doing as one pleases and the thinking of localism and partialism.

Reorganizing production and improving management require specific knowledge of the agricultural economy and agricultural technology. As a result, one of the pressing requirements of the party member is to make every effort to study, research, think, and gain a thorough understanding of the lines and programs of the party, improve his managerial and technical ability, constantly improve his ability to organize and implement, and fight the habits of being too lazy to study, being too lazy to think, and being satisfied with one's accomplishments. The party member must become thoroughly familiar with and deeply understand whatever job the party requires him to perform, he must become skilled in this job, he must have a good spirit of collective ownership, and he must have high labor productivity and high work efficiency. Only in this way can the party member heighten his exemplary-vanguard role, increase the effectiveness of his leadership, and guide the masses in enthusiastically participating in the campaign to reorganize the cooperative's production and improve its management.

Reorganizing agricultural production and improving agricultural management are a pressing requirement of North Vietnam's agriculture. Consequently, they demand that the various levels and sectors be highly determined and effectively coordinate their activities in order to step up the campaign to gradually upgrade agriculture to large-scale socialist production, constantly consolidate and improve the socialist production relations in the countryside, and help successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of the new stage of our country's revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Making Every Effort to Build the System of Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture," HOC TAP, No 10, 1974, p 36.
- \* The directive of the Party Central Committee concerning the reorganization of agricultural production and the improvement of agricultural management on the installation level in keeping with the guideline of advancing to large-scale socialist production.
- \*\* Ibid.

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AVAILABLE PRODUCTIVE POWER TO BE PROPERLY USED TO SAVE CAPITAL AND TO BOOST EFFECTS OF INVESTMENT

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 65-73

[Article by Le Nhu Bach]

[Text] The socialist industrialization requires that we create initial accumulation source and invest more and more in capital construction while gradually improving the people's standard of living, for "without initial accumulation we cannot create new quality of economic development, nor can we have heavy industry and modern large-scale production which serve as basis for a prosperous economy and for a life of plenty."\*

To invest an ever increasing amount of capital in capital construction is absolutely necessary, for this investment in capital construction is the premise for quick increase of social labor productivity and gradual construction of a rational economic structure, as well as a distribution of labor consistent with our country's various characteristics, and promotes the highest exploitation of its potential resources and working power; through investment in capital construction, we can strongly act upon the process of social reproduction and step up a full and uniform development of economic sectors and localities.

We must not only reserve enough capital for economic development but also be strictly thrift-minded and know how to use appropriately our accumulated capital to get the greatest effects with the least expenses.

In the first years of the socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union, as Stalin discussed the question of using accumulated capital, he said: "But the question is not, and cannot be, solely about accumulation, for we must know how to spend in a rational and thrifty manner what we have accumulated,

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\* Le Duan: "Under the Proud Banner of the Party, Let Us for Independence, Freedom and Socialism Move Forward To Score New Victories." HOC TAP No 2, Feb 70 p 82.

not waste even a single penny of the people's properties and make sure that accumulation is mainly used to satisfy the most urgent needs of our country's industrialization. To know how to use capital in a rational and thrifty manner is an extremely important art which cannot be mastered overnight."\*

Within the framework of distributing and using accumulated capital in a rational and thrifty manner, the rational and thrifty distribution and use of investment in capital construction for the purpose of boosting its effects is of top importance because, on the one hand, invested capital accounts for a larger part of accumulated capital and continues to grow larger and, on the other, effectiveness of investment is a major factor that determines development of productive force, increase of labor productivity, fast progress of science and technology, reduction of production expenses and costs and fast increase of accumulation from within the national economy. With the same or less capital, if we know how to distribute and to use it in a rational and thrifty manner, the results obtained will be greater, but on the contrary, if we think only of increasing the amount of invested capital without carefully considering the effectiveness of investment, results will be poor and, in addition, more tension will be created in the relationship between accumulation and consumption.

The question of boosting the effects of investment in capital construction is even more of a current nature in the situation of North Vietnam having both to fulfill its obligations to the revolution throughout the country and its international obligations and to carry on the socialist industrialization while at the same time gradually improving the people's standard of living under the conditions of our country having undergone a protracted and bitter war, production remaining poor, labor productivity being very low and the gross national product and national income, both in absolute volumes and per capita, remaining low.

Since our country must still step up the pace of socialist construction and has limited capital-raising capacity, it is obvious that raising economic effectiveness of capital invested in capital construction is a matter of strategic significance.

Investment in capital construction must be closely linked with the use and management of all fixed assets and with the most effective use of the productive power of enterprises, sectors and the national economy; otherwise, effectiveness will be sharply reduced and waste will result. As to existing enterprises, before we think of new construction, we must take every measure to raise the output of existing machinery and to fully use our present productive power; if after we have fully used the present productive power we still find it insufficient, we must consider reforms and expansion of existing enterprises before raising the question of building new ones. The guideline for investing to rationalize production and to improve techniques as a means to raise machinery output, to exploit and to fully use our present productive power, to modernize and to increase our equipment and machinery or to reform and to expand the existing production installations is investing

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\* Stalin: "About Socialist Industrialization," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p 79.

intensively. This is different from investing extensively, i.e., building new factories and new production installations.

In the past, although we invested very large amounts of capital in capital construction, and although definite achievements were made to strengthen the material and technical base of the national economy, the results obtained from this investment were still poor; a very important reason was that we had not closely linked investment in capital construction with the overall use and management of fixed assets in the national economy in general and in every sector, locality and production installation as well.

The most obvious sign of this shortcoming was the fact that the productive power of many sectors and localities was far from fully exploited and many enterprises, state farms, cooperatives, etc. had been using only about one-half of the planned output of their fixed assets.

We still remember the words uttered by President Ho in 1961 at the Second National Congress of Trade Unions: "At the present time, we have had 172 state enterprises (and about 600 local industrial installations). But in the state enterprises, we use only less than 50 percent of the output of our machines. This is comparable to only 86 enterprises being productive and the other 86 left idle. Consequently, there is an extremely serious waste of machinery, time, manpower and resources."\*

As an aftermath of the war and because of shortcomings in our management, the phenomenon of failing to get full use of machinery output is still quite common. The use of our fixed assets, according to an inventory at 0000 hours on 1 October 1973 and the survey of productive power which has just started, still shows the following shortcomings and weaknesses:

1. Almost all sectors and enterprises fail to use all of the productive power available; in general, we use only about 40-50 percent, and even lower in some sectors and enterprises, of the output of our equipment and machines.
2. The situation of equipment being pieced together and unsynchronized is common in all sectors and enterprises; as the assembly line lacks balance, with too many or too few machines of a certain type, the output of our machinery is not fully used.
3. Poor maintenance of equipment and machinery boosts the number of breakdowns and inadequate servicing capacity fails to satisfy all needs. In some sectors, 20-30 percent of all existing machines need repairs.

That is the situation in industry. A similar situation exists in agriculture.

From 1959 to 1973, the state invested nearly 1 billion dong in aquacultural

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\* Ho Chi Minh: "The Vietnamese Worker Class and Trade Unions," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 26.

projects and completed over 1,000 intermediate and major aquacultural projects, but the actual watering and draining capacity reached only 42 percent of the planned level. It is obvious that if this figure is raised to 70-80 percent, we can double or increase by 50 percent the area watered and drained. In agricultural cooperatives, the situation of investment in capital construction being not very effective, new equipment being unsynchronized and mostly management of fixed assets being loose and spontaneous, with their use remaining irrational and damages and losses being easily incurred, is still quite common and in some localities very serious.

The conclusion drawn from the above-mentioned situation is as follows: if we want to boost the effects of investment in capital construction, if we want to distribute and to use accumulated capital in a rational and thrifty manner, we must closely link investment in capital construction with overall management of fixed assets in the national economy as a whole, and in every sector, locality, enterprise and cooperative as well.

The fundamental measures for improvement of the use of fixed assets can be divided into two categories:

1. The measures for improvement of the use of fixed assets in terms of time consist of:

- Raising the ratio of machinery in operation to the total of machinery available and avoiding the situation in which too many machines are put in reserve or left broken without being repaired;
- Increasing the time of useful operation of machinery by reducing the time needed for repairs and improving the quality of upkeep, maintenance and repairs of machinery;
- Assuring smooth operation of equipment and machinery during work shifts and reducing the time of interruption of production because of power failure, lack of raw materials and materials, absence of synchronization of various parts of production, etc.

Determine in a rational way the number of shifts in an enterprise and do everything possible to increase the number of shifts that are served by machinery by making raw materials always available and ready and recruiting more workers. Because the effects of raising the shift coefficient are very great (increase of volume of production, increase of profit, transfer of more manpower to production, etc.), we must make sure that our fixed assets, particularly those assets that have high productivity and great value, serve all three shifts before we make additional investment.

2. To fully use the output of equipment and machinery by raising our cadres' and workers' professional capacity and skills and organizing good activities to serve production.

- Improve the quality of equipment and machinery by, for instance, increasing the revolution-per-minute speed and using automation.

- Apply advanced industrial methods and step up the industrial process by applying the high-speed metal-cutting method, using the oxygen-blowing method to speed up steel-making, using catalysts, raising temperature and pressure to step up chemical reactions, etc.

To increase the use-of-productive-capacity coefficient for a sector or enterprise, in addition to organizing management, improving techniques and rationalizing production for the purpose of raising the use-of-machinery norm, we must also take the necessary measures to promote specialization and organization of cooperatives, to restore balance to production lines and to overcome weak spots in the production process.

To carry on the above-mentioned measures, we must in many cases invest more in capital construction, which is part of intensive investment.

After we have taken all necessary measures to fully use the productive power of the sector or enterprise and still cannot satisfy all of the needs of the national economy, we must consider looking for the most effective plan to reproduce the fixed assets.

We can have the following plans:

- Reconstruction for restoration of the fixed assets destroyed by natural calamities and enemy action (in reconstruction we can combine reform and expansion rather than restore them to their exact original conditions, if we find that to do so is necessary and brings about more economic results).

- Technical reform and re-equipment, modernization and perfection of existing fixed assets to raise the effectiveness of using such assets and raising of productive power of the enterprises now in operation.

- Reform and expansion of the enterprises now in operation.

- Construction of new projects and enterprises.

The three above plans are also within the framework of intensive investment, while construction of new factories is extensive investment.

Our selection of an investment plan must be based on careful calculation of results and comparison with other plans in terms of raising social labor productivity, increasing national income, lowering production costs and raising quality of product, boosting income, lowering investment rate (investment expenses per unit of productive capacity) and shortening time of construction (quickly putting new productive capacities into operation and use).

While making calculations and comparison and selecting, we must have overall

views, i.e., we must consider the interests not only of the enterprise or economic sector concerned, but also of the national economy as a whole. We should include in our calculations the prospects of economic development as it is related to the sector or territory and linked with guidelines for development of science and technology.

Why does intensive investment bring about quick results and save capital? In the case of intensive investment by restoring balance to assembly lines and promoting production rationalization and technical improvement, we need very little capital and small quantity of machinery and materials but we will be able to raise productive power and productivity of equipment and machinery from the low levels of the past to the output levels planned, or close to such levels, and thus to raise volume of production and labor productivity while avoiding waste and reducing costs. To get additional machinery (provided that the assembly line is rationally organized) allows us to take advantage of the existing productive installation areas, secondary shops and service projects; to spend money on replacing machinery and modernizing older and old-fashioned machines allows us to raise the volume of production while lowering expenses, for in the production process we can fully use the remaining assembly lines and our workers' experience and skills.

Reform and expansion of older enterprises is generally useful because less invested capital is needed than construction of new enterprises and the time needed to move from start to production, as well as the time needed to master the output as planned, is shorter, and this does not include some savings in connection with expenses for geological and hydrological survey and study and for the machinery that handles invested capital management.

In the investment plans of each sector, it is determined that basic invested capital must be used first to raise the productive power of the enterprises currently in operation by providing technical equipment, modernizing old-fashioned machinery and replacing worn-out machinery, raising the levels of mechanization and automation of production processes, perfecting industrial production plans and promoting reform and expansion of enterprises based on sound economic and technical considerations. This basic investment is thus in-depth investment that allows raising of outputs in a shorter time and with better economic norms than investment in new construction.

If we want to propose construction of new enterprises, we must prove that we have fully used the available productive power without being able to fulfill the major economic and political tasks assigned by the party and state for each period, nor to achieve the necessary rate of increase of the volume of industrial and agricultural production and development of transportation to assure a balanced pace and proportion as set forth in the national economic plan.

We can invest in the construction of new installations only in the following cases:

- The existing fixed assets, particularly machinery and equipment of high

productivity, have been used in many shifts and to the maximum of their outputs.

- The economic line and the structure and balanced development of the national economy as set forth in the state plan absolutely require an expansion of our fixed assets.

- Financial, technical and material capabilities have already existed.

To assert the effort to mobilize new productive power according to need, the ministries and sectors must draw charts to show a balanced use of productive power in every sector. In these charts, we must first determine the permissible rate of increase of volume of production having to do with related products by fully mastering the outputs that have been mobilized earlier and taking organizational and technical measures to develop production intensively, such as mechanizing and promoting automation in the production processes; perfecting the industrial processes presently in force and applying new industrial programs; applying higher speed, voltage, pressure and temperature, and other higher parameters as well; modernizing old-fashioned machinery and replacing worn-out machinery and tools with newer machinery and tools of higher productivity; assembling and installing additional machinery on the same existing areas; improving the quality or composition of raw materials, fuels and materials and using new kinds of raw materials and materials to replace the ones projected during planning and calculation of output of an enterprise; raising the level of specialization in production and organizing more cooperatives; increasing the number of shifts; and changing the line of products and improving their quality.

After determining the level of machinery output needed to be mobilized on the basis of the above-mentioned charts, we must choose the permissible level first by means of expansion or reform of the enterprises currently in operation. Here we have to select the more effective output-boosting plan in terms of construction value and time required to mobilize output and to recover basic invested capital as compared with construction of new enterprises.

Since our present source of capital accumulation mainly comes from the existing manpower, resources and material and technical base, we must actively step up intensive investment in order to further develop the effects of production installations and their potentialities and to create domestic capital sources to help carry out the key extensive investment projects. As Le Duan has said, "For economic construction in a poor country like ours, with very low labor productivity and limited available capital, we must pay even more attention to the effectiveness of our undertakings to make sure that they both satisfy our immediate needs and achieve expanded reproduction."\*

It has been proved by reality that the correct application of the intensive

\* Le Duan: "Under the Glorious Banner of the Party, for Independence, Freedom and Socialism, Let Us Move Forward To Score New Victories," HOC TAP, No 2, Feb 70, p 81.

investment principle will surely bring about good results. For instance, Cu Doanh Textile Enterprise succeeded in boosting its volume of production by 50 percent and money accumulation by 51 percent, with value of fixed assets being increased by only 37 percent, by only investing to restore balance to its assembly line, building additional ovens for bleaching and dyeing and buying more sewing machines. Tien Phong Plastics Enterprise (Haiphong) succeeded in boosting its volume of production by 32 percent and accumulation from 2.7 to 3.6 million dong within only a year by investing not quite 1 million dong to provide itself with granule-making and mold-making machine tools.

Those were the results of rationalization of production and restoring of balance to assembly lines on the basis of existing fixed assets. As to reform and expansion of enterprise, we also scored encouraging initial successes. Van Dien Battery Factory, with a plan calling for additional investment of about 6 million dong for a construction project to last only 2 years, doubled the factory output and regularly boosted its profit after increasing investment, which would allow total recovery of capital within about 3 months. Sao Vang Rubber Plant, taking advantage of the old workshops, extended the area under simple cover to install 60 additional vulcanizing machines, with a capital of 1 million dong, to anticipate within 1 year an increase of production of bicycle tires and automobile tires and tubes by 1.5 times.

All of the above-mentioned facts prove that intensive investment brings about very great results and this is an urgent matter to be posed right now as we are completing the task of restoring and developing the postwar economy and are about to enter the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the task of which will be to move the socialist industrialization one step higher. Not to pay attention to nor to be interested in intensive investment at the time when the needs for construction and development are very great and our domestic capital and capabilities are limited is to fail to fully understand the party's guidelines and views, as well as the spirit of self-reliance and practice of thrift for socialist construction, nor to be closely aware of our country's reality and characteristics. Not to pay attention to intensive investment sometimes is due to a fear of difficulties and the desire to simply request the state to provide capital for construction of a new factory (as our management is still heavily administrative in character, this seems to be the least difficult way) rather than to think hard and to make calculations so as to find a way of making intensive investment and fully using the outputs of our present machinery.

In our first step that brings North Vietnam from small-scale production to socialist large-scale production, many of our key heavy industrial sectors remain weak or do not even exist, and agriculture is far from developed. Consequently, in addition to active intensive investment aimed at fully using the present productive powers and boosting capital accumulation, we must make extensive investment so as to develop as first priority the key heavy industrial sectors and to step up agricultural production and the food and light industries (including handicrafts), strengthen the construction industry, communications and transportation, build a number of light industrial enterprises,

and at the same time strengthen the material and technical base for agriculture in order to achieve intensive cultivation, to grow additional crops in available agricultural land along with enlarging its area and building new economic centers; on this basis, we will for the first time carry out distribution of the productive force (in accordance with sectors and land areas) and achieve a new division of work among workers throughout North Vietnam.

We also need to concentrate investment on a number of economic sectors having high export profit, such as the mining industry and a number of light industrial sectors, and to build agricultural areas specialized in producing items for export in order to step up export, to quickly increase monetary accumulation, to strengthen our self-supporting capacity, to promote international cooperation and thus to create favorable conditions for importing more machinery and materials necessary for our socialist industrialization.

What is absolutely necessary for the present stage, therefore, is active intensive investment coupled with extensive investment in key areas; we must fully understand the party's line and policy and guidelines on economic development for each and every period in order to turn them into "positive steps, projects and plans" and to apply correctly the principle of investment in capital construction to every production installation, sector and locality.

The application of the principle of active intensive investment coupled with extensive investment in key areas in conformity with the guidelines on economic development for each period requires that we carefully consider, calculate and weigh each and every plan to make it the most profitable, particularly when it is necessary to choose between reform and expansion of old enterprises and construction of new ones. Although people usually use such norms as time to recover capital, rate of profit of basic investment, effectiveness of capital, rate of increase of labor productivity and reduction of costs and ability to make systematic reductions (currently responsible agencies are studying a way of making positive calculations to reflect our country's actual characteristics -- we shall come back to this subject at a convenient time), this is only the case of serious consideration of plans either for reform or expansion of old enterprises or for construction of new ones.

We must strive to build new enterprises for the sake of industrialization and for the interests of extensive investment; we emphasize intensive investment as effective support for extensive investment and as something needed to create favorable conditions to step up the socialist industrialization.

As we pointed out earlier, we are carrying on the socialist industrialization while we must rely on our own efforts as the main driving force, in spite of the continued aid of the fraternal socialist countries, and while our materials, raw materials, machinery, technical labor and capital are limited and we are not yet capable of totally concentrating on economic construction. As intensive investment in general requires less materials, manpower and capital than new construction, it will therefore help us to have resources reserved for extensive investment and construction of new enterprises. In our opinion,

the reason why in the past we were constantly under pressure and encountered difficulties in drafting and implementing capital construction plans was that many sectors, localities and production installations had failed to think about and to consider intensive investment, nor had they developed to the highest level the available productive power and paid attention to exploiting the great potentialities of our economy.

While we have a limited capacity to satisfy the needs for capital, construction materials and technical labor, if all production installations, sectors and localities insist on new construction, the gap between needs and the ability to fulfill these needs will get worse, which no planning or financial agency can restore to a state of balance or totally solve. A lack of balance will certainly result from this right in the planning stage, and when implementation is organized, there will be conflicts and fighting for construction materials and technical labor leading to failure to concentrate on construction projects, longer construction time, failure to guarantee quality and to quickly put these projects into production or to use and tremendous wastes of manpower, materials and capital. The lack of attention to be paid to intensive investment is not the sole reason behind such a situation, of course, but in our opinion, if we are more careful when we consider our undertakings, if every production installation and every sector seeks at any cost to further develop and to fully use the existing capabilities, we will still be able to fulfill the task of production development while saving capital, creating favorable conditions for planning capital construction in a balanced, positive and steady manner, and at the same time guaranteeing good implementation of this capital construction plan in terms of quantity and quality norms and within a sector, locality and production installation, and the country as well. For each of us, to do so means to contribute his share through self-understanding to solving the present difficulties of the country as a whole.

On the other hand, intensive investment has the advantage of bringing about quick results, quickly making products available, quickly recovering capital and promoting quick accumulation. These are conditions under which we can quickly develop our self-sustaining capacity, quickly increase accumulation from within the national economy, create initial accumulation in order to step up industrialization in general and extensive investment in particular and boost our ability to build additional projects to serve public interests, to build more houses, etc. so as to improve the living standard of cadres, workers, civil servants and working people.

Moreover, to apply the principle of intensive investment will create favorable conditions for cadres in charge, and managerial and professional cadres as well, to closely watch production needs, to fully know the capabilities of production installations, to gather experience in combined management of fixed assets, to see the weak links in the material and technical base of their sectors and localities, to familiarize themselves with the scientific way of doing things and cost accounting and to pay attention to economic results. On that basis they will have good considerations and preparations of all kinds so as to exploit better new projects, new machinery and to quickly

raise the outputs of such projects and machinery to the levels of those we include in our plans, and at the same time will take appropriate measures to assure good maintenance of new projects, machinery and equipment and to improve the use of the fixed assets that have just been turned productive.

It is obvious that the more we step up active intensive investment, the more we are capable of stepping up extensive investment and are under favorable conditions to raise the effects of investment in capital construction and of accumulated capital, to make money in order to increase the pace of the expanded socialist reproduction, to step up the socialist industrialization and to properly satisfy the needs for gradual improvement of the people's material and moral living conditions.

To properly carry out the above-mentioned guidelines for investment in capital construction, we must have unified centralized leadership at the central level over ideology, views, planning and organization of investment in capital construction. At the same time, all sectors, localities, production installations, cadres in charge and managerial, professional and planning cadres, and the majority of workers, civil servants and cooperative members must fully understand the following requirement as set forth by the 22d Plenum of the VWP Central Committee: "We must take all appropriate measures to exploit the productive power currently available and to fully use machinery and equipment outputs and existing sources of materials and raw materials so as to guarantee and to step up production."

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ORGANIZATION OF WEDDING, FUNERALS, DEATH ANNIVERSARIES, FESTIVALS BASED ON  
NEW WAY OF LIFE

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 232, Apr 75 pp 74-78

[Text] Right after the August Revolution, our people built "the new life" in accordance with President Ho's appeal. The campaign for building the new way of life has been going on ever since and bringing about positive results which have contributed to totally changing the face of our society.

In the rural areas of North Vietnam today, agriculture is being reorganized in the direction of the socialist large-scale production; the material and cultural life of farmers is being gradually improved, with the general look of villages and the behavior of collective farmers in their work, daily activities and all social relations showing many past and present changes and progresses. The old-fashioned and old customs and habits are being annihilated and repelled; new fine manners and customs are appearing along with the new social system and new men. Although we must still continue to maintain and to step up the struggle for elimination of all of the negative aspects of the old way of life, which is the age-old product of the feudal and colonial system and the backward small-scale production, our rural areas are evidently moving forward to become a new socialist countryside.

In cities, towns and industrial centers, there have been many civilized neighborhood blocks and streets, many "5 Goods" families and many agencies, factories and collective areas having adopted the new way of life. There the maintaining of order and security, public sanitation and beauty, the fight against superstition, the promoting of new labor behavior and joyful healthy activities, the elimination of weird clothes, queer behavior, etc. have helped create a new, clean and pleasant look for society.

However, next to these strong points and achievements, the campaign for building the new way of life is still plagued by many shortcomings and weaknesses. In the last few years, because of the serious aftermaths of the protracted war, because social management had been slackened, the negative phenomena

in social life that had been either annihilated or repelled were making their appearance again. The bad habits in weddings, funerals, festivals, death anniversaries, superstitions, etc. were being revived. Unhealthy and uncultural ways of life, weird clothes, tasteless manners, etc. tended to spread among a number of backward and spoiled youths and teenagers. Violations of state laws, harmful to order and security of society, were on the rise in a number of localities. This situation once again indicated that the campaign for building the new way of life was a long-term, difficult and complicated job which consisted of very many things within the realm of management of many sectors, none of which could be neglected even in a short time and all of which would require a tight and smooth coordination among the sectors concerned. Faced with this situation, the VWP Central Committee Secretariat issued Directive No 214-CT/TU on 15 January 1975 "about achieving the new way of life in weddings and funerals and for death anniversaries and festivals." The reason, as the directive admits, was that "recently superstitions and bad habits in weddings, funerals, death anniversaries, etc. have been restored in many localities, both in rural areas and cities. Very many cadres, party members and youth group members have set bad examples for the people by organizing weddings, funerals and death anniversaries in accordance with the old customs." While we emulate one another in productive labor and practice thrift for the sake of socialist construction -- with the immediate job in the countryside being to reorganize agricultural production and to take one step toward reforming agricultural management in the direction of the socialist large-scale production -- the practice of superstitions and bad practices in weddings, funerals, death anniversaries, festivals, etc. causes tremendous wastes of manpower and wealth. As we are putting economic and social management into order, these bad habits do hamper the organization and management of labor and management of market and create difficulties for maintenance of order and security, communications and transportation and preventive hygiene. While we are building the new man to be the collective owner of the new society, these bad habits make propaganda for determinism and feudal rites, weaken the determination and revolutionary spirit of the masses and create gaps for bad elements and the enemy to take advantage of. Since we are devoted to guaranteeing citizens' interests and taking care of the people's happiness, these bad habits only make young men and women, newlyweds and families that mourn miserable and trample on love, integrity and human dignity. In short, the bad habits in weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals have been causing harm in all economic, political, ideological and social aspects. Weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals are things that commonly affect every individual and family. To achieve the new way of life in these activities means to show realistic interest in the masses' material, sentimental and moral life and to help speed up fulfillment of political tasks. The directive, therefore, reminds us that "Party organizations and mass organizations must actively fight bad habits and superstitions; provide guidance for weddings, funerals and death anniversaries and festivals to be organized in accordance with the new way of life; and consider them a part of the cultural and ideological revolution."

To fight bad habits must go hand in hand with building our new customs.

Directive 214-CT/TU of the secretariat dated 15 January 1975 outlines the common guidelines and basic principle applicable to organizing weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals in accordance with the new way of life and clearly points out what should become rules and principles for the people to observe and what has become or must become state regulations and laws.

As to weddings, the directive emphasizes that we seriously obey the marriage and family codes, which among other things guarantee free marriage, monogamy and equality of sex and prohibit early marriage, polygamy and demand of dowries. Free marriage does not mean indiscriminate love, of course, nor random marriage, but is based on serious desire to get to understand each other and to seek constructive opinion from one's family, mass organization and agency. Under our system marriage must be based on authentic love totally free from such motivations as position and money or any illegitimate reasons or coercion. The family, mass organization and agency are responsible for helping, advising a young couple to ensure its happiness, but should never interfere in a rude manner, nor prevent it from using the freedom of marriage determined by law. The official procedures for marriage consist of registering for marriage and the local authorities issuing a marriage certificate in accordance with the law. These are the only procedures -- and also ceremonies -- required. A marriage without these procedures is unlawful. After these procedures are completed, nobody has the right to force a couple to go through any other ceremonies. Such habits as consulting a fortune teller, selecting a good day or hour, avoiding a bad day or hour, bowing to parents, etc. are all eliminated. Local administrations must organize marriage registration and issue marriage certificates in accordance with the required procedures and in a solemn and convenient manner and do their best not to consider this as any other administrative jobs and to avoid too simple, careless and rude ways of doing it. A marriage certificate printed on good paper, presented in a solemn style and handed out by an official representative of the people's administration in a solemn and courteous atmosphere will bear great significance, not only legal but also psychological and moral.

Any gathering of relatives and friends on the happy occasion of registration for marriage will be the decision of the newlyweds and never a compulsory thing to do. If such a gathering is organized, they must make it an economical and healthy affair without show, waste and lavish long-drawn feasting. Drop the habit of inviting people to a wedding banquet in order to collect gift money, which is like money from a dinner sale; the habit of giving gifts as a debt payment; and the poor practice of announcing gifts and names of gift givers, which actually is aimed at boasting and encouraging other people to do the same, for what counts here is the enthusiasm of the guests who show up and not the gifts themselves.

About funerals, the directive clearly indicates that the regulations set by the Ministry of Public Health must be correctly observed. The dead must be buried within 48 hours in accordance with the rules and specifications for embalming and burial as detailed in articles 22, 23 and 24, Part VIII, of the "Regulations About Hygiene and Health Protection," issued in compliance with Decree No 194-CP of 31 December 1964 of the Council of Ministers.

As funerals mainly reflect expression of feelings of the living toward the dead, honestly express sorrows and offer realistic consolation and assistance to the family of the dead. All superstitious practices and bad habits in connection with the event of death, such as wearing straw hats and belts made of banana tree fibers, using canes, rolling on the ground while crying, burning paper offerings, serving big meals, receiving money and such offerings as alcohol and meats, etc., must be eliminated. The forms of mourning can be wearing a black arm band, a piece of black cloth on one's chest or a white turban on one's head. The form and time of mourning is the decision of individuals and families, which no regulations force them to observe. To be in mourning is not an obstacle to getting married and fulfilling one's military and other civic obligations.

Every township, town and city must have a cemetery; every hamlet and cooperative a hearse of distinguished and light design. In cities, burial of the dead is assigned to a state agency organization to do in accordance with the current law; in the countryside, cooperatives, villagers and local mass organizations take care of it and assist the families in mourning.

Among the ethnic minorities, while the common principles and regulations mentioned above apply in the case of weddings and funerals, depending on the situation of different ethnic groups and localities plans are needed to provide guidelines for close observation, but we cannot under the pretext of ethnic or local "characteristics" fail to fight superstitions and bad habits, nor tolerate overkilling of cattle, hogs and horses for long-drawn feasting.

Celebration of birthdays and death anniversaries is neither compulsory nor prohibited and is the decision of individuals and families. If they decide to celebrate, it must be simple and economical, with the habit of offering big meals to show off and to repay previous "debts" to be dropped.

For festivals there must be strict leadership over their contents so as to create good effects, such as to reinforce love for our country and native land; to mobilize people for emulation in productive labor, socialist construction by practice of thrift and hard working, and fulfillment of civic obligations; and to step up cultural and artistic activities, physical education and sports, which will help teach the tradition of progress and wholesome recreation. The directive emphasizes that we must eliminate superstitious customs in festivals, the organization of which must not create obstacle to production.

Within the spirit of the directive, we must study a classification of festivals in every locality in order to have appropriate plans and leadership measures. The rural festivals that have been eliminated should not be revived. We must eliminate any festivals that have little significance and yet are of superstitious character. As to the festivals that are both religious celebrations and sightseeing opportunities, such as the Huong and Thay Pagoda

festivals, we must have plans for gradual switch to organizing sightseeing tours to take place throughout the year at regular intervals, with respect for our people's freedom of religion being incorporated into such plans, but resolute efforts are to be made to fight bad superstitious habits. The festivals that are closely linked with the nation's historical anniversaries, such as the Hung Temple, Giong, Kiep Bac festivals, etc., must be improved and further heightened so as to teach about the nation's fine traditions. We encourage new forms of festivals, such as achievement celebration festival, talent contest festival, advice-giving festival, good-health festival, etc., which are taking place in many localities, particularly in industrial and agricultural areas. These new festivals are joyful, wholesome, interesting and attractive events that reflect our people's struggling spirit and enthusiasm for productive labor and satisfy the masses' needs for cultural activities and must constantly be improved in terms of educational content, artistic quality, scientific organization and mass character.

We must fully understand the spirit of absolutely fighting all kinds of superstitions whether they are in connection with festivals, death anniversaries, weddings and funerals or they are found in the people's everyday life as a whole. The directive of the Central Committee Secretariat emphasizes that we must make a distinction between superstitions and freedom of religion. The law of the state guarantees freedom of religion but strictly prohibits fortune telling, cards and face reading, seances, acting as a medium, tablet fortune-telling, drawing of amulets, worshiping of demons, belief in power of incense stick holders, purchase and sale of paper offerings, sorcery used in deceitful treatment of diseases, etc. Religious believers must obey state regulations as do any other citizens, in the case of weddings and funerals, and whether religious rites are observed or not depends on the choice of the people concerned.

The directive of the Central Committee Secretariat "about achieving the new way of life in weddings, funerals and for death anniversaries and festivals" is very necessary as it comes at this opportune time. It guides us in a very practical and realistic way.

To implement it properly, we must recognize the importance and urgency of the matter. We should not consider weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals as something that belongs to the "private life" of each individual, but rather events that are part of the campaign for building the new way of life, the three revolutions -- the revolution in production relationships, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution -- and the construction of the new system, economy and man.

As to the measures to be taken for its implementation, we must closely combine constructive and destructive actions and education and coercion while on the one hand stressing the law of the state and on the other using the force of social opinion. In regard to customs and habits, the old no matter how backward sometimes does not disappear easily and the new and progressive

requires tremendous effort to build and sometimes takes generations to take shape and to become new habits and customs popular among the masses. In the struggle between the new and the old, in spite of the proletarian dictatorship, the old still persists and is even stronger than the new in the beginning. Therefore, we must take initiative and struggle resolutely, continuously and steadily to annihilate the old and backward; as to the new and progressive, we must encourage and strongly support it by every possible way. We have conducted the campaign for building the new way of life for the last 30 years. Of the old and backward many have been condemned by public opinion and prohibited by law. The old and backward is no longer as strong as it used to be. But the new and progressive has not yet become all habits and common psychology among the masses. According to the spirit and content of the directive of the Central Committee Secretariat about achieving the new way of life in weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals, let us carry on even more effectively propaganda and explanations to create a social opinion that seriously criticizes and condemns the bad habits and praises the new way of life, at the same time study ways to draft and to improve actual rules, regulations and decisions about these matters and further develop effectiveness of the law of the state applicable to these matters. Recently the Vietnam Fatherland Front has discussed implementation of this directive from the Central Committee Secretariat and decided that every mass organization would draft a leadership plan for its own hierarchy and use its own publications to make the directive known down to the primary level and thoroughly implemented. The information, press, cultural and artistic agencies have also become more active as they have been campaigning for the new way of life in accordance with the directive of the Central Committee Secretariat. The Council of Ministers and Ministry of Culture have also issued practical guides to organization of weddings, funerals, death anniversary and festival celebrations, etc. In the face of the political task in the new stage, with the realistic experience gathered so far and positive leadership and guidance, we are determined to make the new way of life in connection with weddings, funerals, death anniversaries and festivals popular among the masses. The key factor in this is still first of all cadres, party members and labor youth group members setting examples, seriously implementing this important directive and actively campaigning to urge the people to implement it.

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## VIETNAM'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM BYPASSING THE STAGE OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

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[ Reading Books column by Hong Chuong ]

[ Text ] In the article, "Strive Hard To Build the Socialist Large-Scale Agriculture,"\*Le Duan, first secretary of the VWP Central Committee, deals with our country's road to the socialist large-scale production. He mentions the rule for our country to move toward socialism. We bring you hereunder a number of points we have gathered as we studied this important work of his.

All nations will arrive at socialism and communism. This is a necessity as determined by the rule of development of mankind. However, because of different levels of economic and social development, the nations leave different points of departure to move toward socialism and communism.

The Russians have moved from czarist Russia to socialism. Although the economy of czarist Russia was inferior to that of Western Europe and America, capitalism had developed quite considerably there. Prior to the revolution, Russia had been an imperialist country having many large-scale industries.

The Chinese, starting as a politically independent country, underwent a bourgeois democratic revolution (the Revolution of the Year of the Pig, 1911) while moving toward socialism. Before the revolution, although China still was partially dependent on foreign countries in regard to its economy, it was an independent sovereign country having a pretty well developed light industry; in some coastal areas, particularly the northeastern part, heavy industry already existed; capitalism had developed to a definite degree in China.

Russia and China both are very big countries, with very vast land and very many people.

In Eastern and Central Europe, people move toward socialism from being in

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\* This article is in the book, "About Reorganization of Production and Improvement of Agricultural Management Along the Line of the Socialist Large-Scale Production," published by Su That Publishing House.

independent, capitalist countries. Especially in the German Democratic Republic, they move from highly developed capitalism to socialism. Before the revolution, the Eastern and Central European countries had already achieved capitalist industrialization.

In Vietnam, we move straight to socialism from the semi-feudal colonial system, without undergoing the stage of capitalist development. That is the difference between our country and other socialist countries. That is our country's greatest characteristic. President Ho said: "Our greatest characteristic in the transitional period was our moving straight to socialism from being in a backward agricultural country and without going through the stage of imperialist development."\*

Normally, before moving toward socialism nations must all pass through capitalism. The common rule of mankind is moving from feudalism through capitalism to socialism. Our Vietnamese nation does not follow this common rule. We do not undergo capitalism. We move straight from feudalism to socialism.

Why can the Vietnamese nation move straight to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development?

It is because in the present era, when capitalism becomes more rotten everyday and disintegrates, when socialism has been built in many countries and the world socialist system has become the key factor that determines the development of mankind, the question of transition to socialism is raised as an historic necessity not only for developed capitalist countries, but also for the less economically developed countries that have regained national independence.

It is because in our country, our party, the vanguard of the worker class, is the only and absolute revolution-leading force. Our party has led our people in defeating imperialism and feudalism, regaining independence and democracy and setting up the people's democratic government. The victory of the democratic national revolution led by the worker class creates favorable conditions for the socialist revolution to be carried on and for socialist construction. In the new stage of the revolution, the people's democratic government fulfills the historic task of proletarian dictatorship and gradually moves our country toward socialism.

The northern part of our country has entered socialism. We have had a progressive social system, but our economy still remains very poor and inferior. In terms of productive force, we can say that our country today is comparable with France in the period of the bourgeois revolution (in 1789), i.e., nearly 2 centuries ago, but from the standpoint of the social system, socialist North Vietnam is far ahead -- about a full era -- of the capitalist France of today.

As everybody knows, the development of man's society depends on development of the productive force. Under the feudal system, since production depended on

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\* Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 772.

manual labor, economic capabilities were very low. As metal tools had been improved everyday, the continuously developing productive force in the feudal society broke the tight limits of the feudal production relationships. The bourgeois revolution destroyed the feudal system and created the capitalist rule.

With the birth of the machine industry, an industrial revolution took place under capitalism and drastically changed the economic life of society. The industrial revolution opened the way for capitalist industrialization, i.e., it created the great machine industry. As this industry was being built, the productive force developed and production socialized, capitalism created the material premise for socialism and at the same time gave birth to the worker class, which would be the grave digger for its own burial. Under capitalism, particularly in the era of imperialism, the conflict between the productive force that has grown up and the bourgeois production relationships reaches an unprecedentedly bitter level. The rule about the production relationships being suitable for the nature of the productive force requires that the capitalist production relationships be abolished and the socialist production relationships be built. Socialist revolution is an objective necessity to move mankind toward socialism and communism.

In spite of the same basic features, socialist revolution in each country has its own form and methods, depending on this country's historical, national, economic, political and cultural conditions. In the present era, as we have had the world socialist system, the economically less developed countries can take the non-capitalist development road to move toward socialism. The reality of the socialist revolution and construction in North Vietnam in nearly 20 years is a lively evidence of the ability to move straight to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development.

By a common rule, in any countries there can be socialism only after there has been its material premise, the great machine industry. Normally, they must go through the stage of capitalist development before having this industry. In the northern part of our country, we have had the socialist system, but we do not have this great machine industry. The socialist relationships, which normally are created by the great machine industry, have been created by our country's victorious democratic national revolution and socialist reforms. Why was it possible for our country to do so? It was because we live in the present era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide basis, which was started by the great Russian October Revolution. It was because the Vietnamese revolution has been led by our party, which follows Marxism-Leninism.

We have had socialism. But our socialism is not strong because it lacks its material base. What is the material base of socialism? As Lenin said, "The material base of socialism can only be the great machine industry, capable of even reforming agriculture."\* To have true socialism, we must build the

\* Lenin: "Selected Works," Vol. 2, Part 2, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, p 532.

material base for it, i.e., the great machine industry, and achieve socialist industrialization. Our party has thus affirmed that the central task in the entire transitional period in North Vietnam would be to achieve socialist industrialization.

In North Vietnam we have had the people's democratic government doing the task of the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., carrying on the socialist revolution and construction. Normally in other countries, the proletarian dictatorship is the product of the great machine industry. In Vietnam, we use the proletarian dictatorship to create the great machine industry. In Vietnam, the great machine industry will be the product of the proletarian dictatorship. Consequently, our party advocates: "Maintain the proletarian dictatorship, strongly develop the working people's right of collective ownership and carry on simultaneously three revolutions: revolution in the production relationships, technical revolution and ideological and cultural revolution, with the technical revolution being the key."\*

Although we do not have the great machine industry, we cannot wait until we have it before building the socialist relationships, but instead we must start right now to build such relationships. The socialist relationships that we are building are still at a very low level and far from steady. They have assured only the abolition of the man-exploiting-man phenomenon and prevented development along the capitalist line, which means misery, injustice, oppression, exploitation and pauperization of working people. To have true socialism, we have no other way than to build the material and technical base of socialism.

The productive force and production relationships are closely related to one another. Only by having a strong productive force based on the great machine industry can we have true socialist relationships. Only by building the socialist productive medium consisting of the socialist productive force and production relationships can we be sure to satisfy to a maximum degree the ever increasing material and cultural needs of society as a whole, while we ceaselessly boost and perfect the socialist production on the basis of high technology.

In the actual situation of our country, our party advocates using agriculture as the base for industrial development. Further developing the leading role of the worker class and the key role of industry, we reorganize farmers and bring them into collective work to gradually reform agriculture and to develop agricultural production. In other socialist countries, the process of organizing agricultural cooperatives is closely linked with that of agricultural mechanization, for these countries have had considerably developed industries and have the ability to provide agriculture with equipment and machinery. In our country, industry, particularly modern industry, still has little to boast about. If we wanted to wait until we have built an industry capable of supplying agriculture with machinery before proceeding with organizing agricultural cooperatives, we would have to wait for a few decades. If we waited

\* Resolution of the 22d Plenum of the VWP Central Committee.

for such a long time, we could not avoid in the countryside the situation of class division -- there would be rich and poor people; a few farmers would become rich farmers and landowners while the majority of farmers would become poor and tenant farmers -- and our countryside would develop along the capitalist line. We could not wait that way. Right after the land reforms, our party decided to organize farmers and bring them into collective work, although we did not have plowing machines yet. In our country, the process of organizing agricultural cooperatives has come before agricultural mechanization. It does not mean that we have underestimated the latter. We know that only by mechanizing agriculture can we quickly boost labor productivity in agriculture and basically reform it. However, since we do not have the great machine industry, we cannot achieve agricultural mechanization within a relatively short time. We began organizing agriculture collectively over 15 years ago and yet we have been able to achieve a very low level of agricultural mechanization. In 1973, the area of crop growing by machinery accounted for only 6.8 percent of the total area of crop growing. In Vietnam, the process of organizing agricultural cooperatives has been ahead of that of mechanizing agriculture by decades. That is a characteristic of the socialist construction in our country.

While we still lack the great machine industry, can we have some ways by which we bring our country's agriculture one step closer on the road to the socialist large-scale production? Yes. Le Duan points out:

"With the system of socialist collective ownership, with the reorganization of labor on a large scale for doing water conservancy work, improving the soil and building the necessary material and technical bases and with the application of 'the green revolution' achievements and the still limited aid from industry, we are totally capable of making our country's agriculture move one step on the road to the socialist large-scale production at the time when industry is in its process of forming; moreover, we can use agriculture as a basis for industrial development. Or in other words, after the initial move from the individualistic system to the collective system, we must -- immediately -- reorganize agricultural production and labor along the line of centralization, specialization and organization of cooperatives on a larger scale everyday and create 'socialist manual work sites'; on this basis, we must fully use the capabilities of industry to serve agriculture, step up the technical revolution to make it move ahead step by step for development of the productive force, consolidate the new production relationships and do our best to build the new countryside and new farmers -- that is the road gradually leading to the socialist large-scale agriculture and the guidelines for our struggle to score victories for socialism in our countryside."

The progressive cooperatives, by their lively reality, have proved Le Duan's argument as expressed above correct. Recently I visited Binh Da II Cooperative, a progressive cooperative in Ha Tay Province. By successfully setting up the system of collective ownership, doing water conservancy work, reorganizing manpower, using for the first time manpower along the line of centralization, specialization and organization of cooperatives, applying the new

achievements of "the green revolution," particularly about crop varieties and animals used as breeders, and using improved tools and small machines, this cooperative has made fine achievements; high productivity, great volume of production, abundant contributions to the state, improvement of its members' standard of living and development of the superiority of the "cooperative system."

With more than 500 families, 2,600 individuals, 700 working people and 200 hectares of land, Binh Da II Cooperative had an annual volume of production of 1.5 million dong. For every hectare of cultivated land it produced in 1974 12 tons of paddy, 24 tons of potato, 15 hogs (weighing 80 kilograms each) and 32 chickens and ducks. This did not include other products. Each working man each year worked 1.25 hectares of cultivated land. For every hectare of cultivated land the cooperative each year provided the state with 35 quintals of paddy, 3 quintals of pork and 1,000 eggs. The actual monthly income of each working man was 70 dong. In 1975 it plans to boost rice productivity to 15 tons/hectare and to sell to the state 1,000 tons of paddy and 100 tons of pork, i.e., 5 tons of paddy and .5 tons of pork per hectare. The cooperative has nothing very special in terms of land and other aspects. If all cooperatives were able to do as well as Binh Da II, each year North Vietnam would have tens of millions of tons of paddy and tens of millions of hogs. Changes would be much better in every respect.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction have basic rules common to all countries. At the same time in each country there are peculiar rules for such undertakings. All nations will arrive at socialism -- this is something inevitable. But not all nations will arrive there by means of totally identical measures. For a country that just begins to carry on the socialist revolution and construction, the more backward its economy is, the more difficult the switch from the old relationships to the socialist relationships will be.

Vietnam moves toward socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development. Many new problems lie ahead. We must steadfastly stand on the land of Vietnam to think and to creatively apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to our country to solve these problems. If we properly solved them, we would have our contribution to the theory and practice of the socialist revolution and socialist construction as undertaken by the worker class and working people throughout the world.

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