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Hoc Tap, No. 5, 1972



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CONTENTS

PAGE

DRV Declaration Concerning the Nixon Administration's Insane Escalation of the War by Mining and Blockading the Ports of the DRV.....	1
Let Us Make Every Effort To Implement the Resolution Passed by the 20th Lao Dong Party Plenum and Advance the Struggle Against the U.S. for National Salvation and Socialist Construction To Victory.....	5
Struggling Against Counterrevolution Is an Undertaking Which the Masses Carry Out Under the Leadership of the Party (Tran Quoc Hoan).....	10
The Teachings of President Ho Forever Illuminate the Course of the Development of Our Party (Le Duc Binh).....	19
The Development of Good Varieties of Grain (Truong Quoc Thai).....	36
Progress in Labor Management at the 8 March Textile Mill (Le Thi Nha).....	55
Party Activities: Several Ideas on Raising the Quality of Party Chapters in the Rural Areas.....	69

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Party Chapter Activity in Tan Phu Party Chapter (Bui Van Thu).....	78
Some Opinions on the Two Plays 'Doi Mat' and 'Am Muu and Hau Qua' (Huynh Sang).....	84
The U.S. Imperialists' New Escalation of the War Will Certainly Be Defeated.....	90
Cuban Sea Fishing (Nguyen Ba Mao).....	95
Signs of Decline in the Japanese Economy (Huy Uu).....	102

DRV DECLARATION CONCERNING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S INSANE ESCALATION OF
THE WAR BY MINING AND BLOCKADING THE PORTS OF THE DRV

[Declaration; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 1-4]

On 8 May 1972, U.S. President Nixon announced military measures designed to step up the bombings and shellings against the DRV to the most barbarous degree ever. Right after his announcement, U.S. air and naval forces mined and sealed off the various ports in North Vietnam.

This represents an extremely adventurous and foolish step of war escalation and an extremely brazen act of aggression by the Nixon administration, one which has very grossly violated the sovereignty and territory of the DRV. This is also an arrogant challenge to the socialist countries and the peace and justice-loving nations and to public opinion in the world and the United States as well. This international banditry by the Nixon administration has trampled the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, all elementary principles of international law, and also the right to free navigation and free trade of the nations of the world.

It is general knowledge that, for many years, the U.S. imperialists have waged the cruelest colonial war in history against the Vietnamese people in an attempt to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. neocolony and military base and to permanently partition Vietnam. For the sake of the independence and freedom of the fatherland, the Vietnamese people have, in the unity of one mind, strengthened their solidarity and fought both tenaciously and valiantly, and won more and more important victories. They have repeatedly defeated the wicked political and military schemes of the enemy.

In a defeated position and forced to gradually withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam, the Nixon administration has striven to carry out Vietnamization to continue implementing U.S. neocolonialism in South Vietnam. The Americans have tried to maintain and strengthen the Saigon puppet regime and set up an oppressive and coercive machine, including a nearly 1 million-man army, tens of thousands of posts and camps, and a network of prisons and concentration camps throughout South Vietnam. They have carried out a bloody pacification policy aimed at terrorizing all patriotic elements, all political

and religious forces, and at trampling upon the rights to live and enjoy freedom and democracy of the South Vietnamese people.

While the Nixon administration is waging a genocidal and exterminating war in South Vietnam, the Americans are striving to implement the Nixon doctrine and intensify and expand the war to the whole of the Indochina Peninsula. At the same time, they have used their air force to bomb and strafe populous areas of the DRV. In the past 3 years, since President Nixon came to power, the quantities of U.S. bombs and shells dropped over the two zones of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia equal that dropped during 5 years under the Johnson administration.

Recently, in an attempt to salvage the collapsing Vietnamization policy, the Nixon administration has gathered the largest U.S. air and naval force heretofore and stepped up its destructive bombings and shellings in South Vietnam and used its aircraft, including B-52 bombers, and warships to madly bomb and shell various populous areas of the DRV, including the capital at Hanoi and Haiphong harbor, thus committing more extremely barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people.

In the negotiations, the Nixon administration has stubbornly clung to its aggressive and colonialist stand. At the two recent plenary sessions of the Paris conference and at the private meeting on 2 May 1972, it still plotted to negotiate from a position of strength and clung to its arrogant eight-point peace plan, which the Vietnamese people have resolutely rejected. Unable to achieve its plot of negotiating from a position of strength, the Nixon administration has resorted to all sorts of tricks to sabotage the Paris negotiations.

U.S. President Nixon brazenly fabricated the story that the Vietnamese people demand a U.S. surrender and will impose a communist regime on the 17 million South Vietnamese people, and so forth. The fact is, the Nixon administration has plotted to use the eight-point peace plan of 25 January 1972 to force the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms in surrender, accept the U.S. lackey puppet administration in Saigon, and accept U.S. neocolonialist rule in South Vietnam. While resolutely fighting the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the PRGRSV put forward the seven-point solution, the two key points of which have been elaborated. The main contents of the seven-point solution are: an end to the U.S. war of aggression, an end to the Vietnamization policy; the total repatriation of U.S. troops; the immediate resignation of Nguyen Van Thieu; the liquidation of the machinery of cruel repression and coercion of the Saigon puppet administration; and the formation of a government of broad national concord comprising three components and having the task of organizing truly free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam to elect a constituent assembly to write a constitution and set up an official government in South Vietnam. The fair and reasonable seven-point solution has been wholeheartedly supported by the different strata of the South Vietnamese people, from the liberated zone to the zone under temporary enemy occupation, and enthusiastically welcomed by broad segments of public opinion throughout the world, including U.S. public opinion.

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At a time when the United States is seriously sabotaging the Paris conference on Vietnam, and when it is massively strengthening its air and naval forces to step up the war of aggression against both zones of Vietnam, the extremely adventurous and insane escalation of the war by the Nixon administration in mining and blockading DRV ports has further laid bare its extremely bellicose and obdurate aggressive nature. However, it is only the desperate action of someone at the end of his rope. The more belligerent the U.S. aggressors are, the heavier their crimes will be. The Vietnamese people have full determination and strength to persevere in their just and certainly victorious struggle even if they have to fight for 5, 10 or more years.

The DRV Government vehemently denounces the aforementioned escalation of the war by the Nixon administration and resolutely demands that it immediately cease its mining and blockade of North Vietnamese ports, and immediately cease its bombings, strafings, and all other encroachments on DRV sovereignty and security.

The DRV Government calls on all the army and all the people to, in complete unity, exert efforts to carry out our revered President Ho Chi Minh's will, display revolutionary heroism, and resolutely fight for the liberation of the south and the defense and construction of the socialist north, in order to advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country, and at the same time, stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples to resolutely chase U.S. imperialism from the Indochinese Peninsula.

Let the northern compatriots and fighters endeavor to implement the appeal of the LDP (*) Central Committee and DRV Government: "Every citizen should be a staunch fighter against U.S. aggression. Every factory, building site, state farm, cooperative, public organ, school, and street should be a trench ready to fight to smash all military adventures of the U.S. aggressors." Fighting while producing, North Vietnam is resolved to fulfill the obligation of the great rear toward South Vietnam, and, at the same time, fulfill its internationalist obligation to the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples.

The DRV Government enthusiastically welcomes the extremely glorious feats of arms of the heroic South Vietnamese armed forces and people on all the southern battlefields. In response to the 15 April 1972 appeal of the National Liberation Front and PRGRSV, let the southern compatriots and fighters rush forward on the impetus of their victories, continuously attack and rise up, wipe out many of the forces and many of the means of the enemy, smash the pacification plan, defeat the Vietnamization policy, and appropriately punish all the U.S. imperialists' frantic military adventures, registering still greater victories.

The DRV Government calls on the governments and peoples of fraternal socialist countries, peace- and justice-loving countries, international organizations, the world's people, and the American people to check in good time

* Lao Dong Party

the bloody hands of the U.S. aggressors and resolutely demand that the Nixon administration cease immediately its mining and blockade of North Vietnam ports, cease immediately its bombings, strafings, and all other acts encroaching on the DRV's sovereignty and security, cease its Vietnamization policy, seriously negotiate at the Paris conference, and positively respond to the PRGRSV's seven-point solution, whose two key points have been elaborated on.

The DRV Government is fully confident that, in face of the frantic war escalation and perfidious plots of the Nixon administration, the governments and peoples of fraternal socialist countries and the people the world over will strengthen their support and further assist the just resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, of the Vietnamese people and other peoples in Indochina until total victory is won.

Hanoi, 10 May 1972

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LET US MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE 20TH LAO DONG PARTY PLENUM AND ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S. FOR NATIONAL SALVATION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION TO VICTORY

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 5-10]

Recently, our party Central Committee held its 20th plenum, which adopted important decisions on the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction in North Vietnam.

The plenum reviewed the successes of our armed forces and people in both South and North Vietnam in the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. The plenum said that our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is the greatest resistance in our anti-aggression history. Our armed forces and people, closely coordinating with the Lao and Cambodian liberation armed forces and peoples, have scored continuous, great successes on the battlefields. Together with military successes, our southern compatriots in the countryside and the cities have stepped up the political struggle in many forms. In the north, our armed forces and people, closely adhering to the prime task of opposing the Americans for national salvation, have worked to aid the frontline along with stepping up socialist construction, heightening their vigilance and appropriately punishing the U.S. Air Force that infringes upon the north. Our people have also scored diplomatic successes, enjoying greater and greater sympathy, support and assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and from the world peoples, including U.S. progressives.

Our armed forces' and people's great military, political and diplomatic successes have bankrupted the U.S. policy of "Vietnamizing the war" and "the Nixon doctrine" in Indochina.

Our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is now in an extremely good situation: We are in a winning, active, favorable and ascending posture; the enemy is in a defeated, passive, difficult and descending posture. We now have favorable conditions to vigorously move the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation forward.

The 20th LDP [Lao Dong Party] Plenum pointed out:

"Our entire party's, armed forces' and people's urgent task in the present phase is: with the spirit of persisting in the resistance until complete success, motivate all our potential, make efforts by leaps and bounds, advance valiantly and step up the resistance, unite with and closely coordinate our combat with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian armed forces and people, defeat the U.S. policy of 'Vietnamizing the war' defeat the 'Nixon doctrine' and score greater successes in the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation."

Implementing the tasks set forth by the Party plenum, our armed forces and people are stepping up the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation resistance and have scored great successes. The U.S. imperialists have sustained serious defeats but remain very stubborn and bellicose. Having sustained painful blows in the south, they have escalated the war to raid the north on a large scale. Since 16 April 1972, they have sent many sorties of aircraft, including B-52's, to wantonly bomb and strafe populated areas in Hanoi and Haiphong numerous times. Our armed forces and people, upholding their vigilance, have appropriately punished the U.S. brigands by downing many U.S. aircraft, annihilating many U.S. aggressor pilots, and setting many U.S. warships ablaze.

The Vietnamese people, united as one, are valiantly rushing forward to attack the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen with iron-like determination heightened by the 20th LDP Plenum resolution:

"As long as the U.S. imperialists continue the war of aggression and maintain neocolonialism in any form in the south, our people will continue to fight to gain real independence and freedom at any cost."

Regarding socialist construction in the north, the 20th LDP Plenum resolution noted our people's great achievements in restoring and developing the economy and developing the culture. In 1971, our people worked self-sacrificingly to build the north while mobilizing manpower and material to aid the frontline, thus contributing to great successes scored on the battlefields. We have overcome great difficulties, successfully fought the greatest floods in our history, and steadfastly maintained production and construction. Through the northerners' great efforts, our economy is being restored and developed, we have created additional favorable conditions for stabilizing production and living conditions, have initially improved management in a number of respects, and the economic situation has developed satisfactorily.

The LDP plenum set forth the guidelines and tasks of the 1972 state plan and made preparations for 1973. The 1972 state plan is of extremely important significance. Only by satisfactorily implementing the 1972 state plan can we satisfy the requirements for human and material resources and aid for the frontline in the most timely and adequate manner, strengthen the national defense forces, fight, achieve combat readiness, and smash the enemy's air, naval or ground forces' military adventures against the socialist north.

In order to satisfactorily fulfill the major tasks of the 1972 state plan, which were set forth by the LDP plenum, we must boost agricultural production; strengthen cooperative management; consolidate rural socialist production relationships; concentrate on restoring and developing industry and handicrafts and especially on firmly holding on to the mechanical engineering forces; step up communications and transportation; accelerate capital construction; develop all capabilities regarding labor strength, equipment, material supplies, land and so forth in order to increase production and construction and increase labor productivity and work output; improve circulation and distribution systems; strengthen export activities, and maintain the people's standard of living.

The LDP plenum stressed: It is necessary to draft realistic plans to lead agriculture rapidly and steadfastly toward large-scale socialist production in order to solve the grain and food problem rapidly and steadily, while developing agriculture positively and comprehensively, practicing intensive and one-crop cultivation, stepping up animal husbandry and transforming it into a major production sector, building new economic areas, and producing many agricultural products and goods to meet domestic needs and export requirements.

Advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production has taken the form of a very great, very deep, very difficult and complex revolution in the countryside. Large-scale agricultural production does not mean only a simple aggregation of all small-scale production units. We cannot have large-scale agricultural production if we do not consolidate and strengthen agricultural production cooperatives, if we do not satisfactorily carry out socialist industrialization, if we do not have progressive agricultural technology, if we do not train a great number of technical cadres and agricultural economic management cadres, and if we do not heighten the peasants' cultural level and help them improve their ideology and habits. Therefore, large-scale agricultural production can only be achieved by conducting the three revolutions in the countryside. The class of collective farmers and agriculture can only advance toward large-scale socialist production under the proletarian dictatorship with help from the working class and industry. Therefore, all sectors and levels must concentrate on helping the farmers, thus contributing to leading agriculture toward large-scale socialist production.

To satisfactorily fulfill the economic tasks set forth in the 1972 state plan, it is necessary to strengthen and improve economic management. This is one of the urgent and important tasks of our party and state.

The basic guideline in economic management improvement, as set forth by the LDP plenum, is: to eliminate management patterned after administrative supply systems and to manage supplies in accordance with socialist enterprises procedures. It is necessary to eliminate management methods patterned after management of small-scale production and to establish the organizational methods of large-scale industrial management to accelerate the process of upgrading the national economy from small to large-scale socialist production. It is

necessary to gradually build an economic managerial system in accordance with the specific conditions in our country. The improvement and strengthening of the economic management machinery must be carried out in accordance with the principle of democratic centralization. We must combine management and creativeness and fully develop the capabilities of sectors and localities under the centralized, unified leadership of the central level. Production installations and enterprises constitute the frontline on the economic front. All sectors and levels must concentrate on satisfactorily improving installation and enterprise management.

In economic management it is necessary to strengthen the socialist legal system, respect and uphold the laboring people's ownership of each production unit, and educate the laborers ideologically while rewarding them for their achievements.

At present, the U.S. imperialists are using their air and naval forces to attack North Vietnam on a large scale. Implementing the "Carry out production while fighting" motto, we must heighten our vigilance, implement regimented way of life, properly organize the people's air defense, and insure the implementation of the slogan: "Know when the enemy comes and exterminate him." Production installations must take measures to protect and maintain production, increase labor productivity, economize and efficiently organize the labor force to establish a combat alert self-defense militia force ready to down enemy aircraft and exterminate rangers. It is necessary to maintain the socialist managerial system and combat loose economic management. Everyone must endeavor to properly carry out the state plan and increase the north's economic and military potential, thus making the north a really steadfast prop for our entire people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

To successfully carry out socialist construction in North Vietnam, it is necessary to properly carry out the following tasks:

Strengthen the party's leadership of the economy from the central to the grass-roots level,

Fully uphold the working people's right of collective ownership and

Strengthen the administration and develop its power and managerial role.

Party leadership is the most decisive factor in the success or failure of socialist construction. Party organizations must provide good economic leadership, set forth guidelines and measures to carry out this task within the scope of their responsibility, control the implementation of party economic resolutions, and review experiences in each phase. Party cadres and members must uphold their vanguard, exemplary role in carry out economic tasks. The campaign to improve the quality of party members must be connected with the emulation movement to complete the state plan.

Socialist construction is an undertaking of the masses led by the party. It is necessary to uphold the working people's right of collective ownership, implement the socialist democratic system, and motivate people to participate in socialist construction. It is necessary to closely coordinate the ideological, economic and administrative measures in order to launch a seething revolutionary mass movement to complete the state plan.

To implement the party's line and policy and uphold the working people's right of collective ownership, the administrative machinery is responsible for managing the national economy and guiding the implementation of the state plan. It is necessary to perfect and consolidate the administrative machinery at all levels and develop the power of the state in order to insure the implementation of the economic tasks set forth by the party. The working methods of the state machinery must be improved so as to be able to execute all operations and strengthen economic management as well as the socialist legal system.

Under party leadership, state organs must create conditions to insure that the masses' emulation movement develops continually and serves as a stimulus to help accelerate the fulfillment of the state plan.

The 20th LDP Plenum was an important event in the political life of our party and people. The plenum put forth for our party, armed forces and people the guideline for leading our struggle against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction to success.

The plenum's resolution is a great source of encouragement for all our party, armed forces and people to advance enthusiastically. We must struggle to successfully implement the resolution in order to win even greater victories for our revolutionary undertaking.

Under the light of the resolution of the party plenum, let all our party, armed forces, and people struggle to implement President Ho's sacred testament with a determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and to successfully build socialism.

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STRUGGLING AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTION IS AN UNDERTAKING WHICH THE MASSES CARRY OUT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

[Article by Tran Quoc Hoan; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 11-17]

Revolution is a mass undertaking. Protecting the revolution is also a mass undertaking. This is a principle, a guideline and, at the same time, a basic viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against counterrevolution.

Based on this viewpoint, the realities of our struggle and the social characteristics of our society, our party, at an early date, unequivocally pointed out and confirmed the major role of the masses in the struggle against counterrevolution. President Ho said: "Our people's patriotism and unity represent an extremely great, invincible force"⁽¹⁾. "Our compatriots' single-mindedness forms a brass wall around the fatherland. If the enemy, no matter how tyrannical and crafty he may be, strikes his head against this wall he is doomed to defeat"⁽²⁾. Indeed, our people have intense patriotism and profound hatred for the enemy and have been trained in revolutionary vigilance. Therefore, they are able not only to detect counterrevolutionaries, but also to take precautions against them, curb or prevent their activities and struggle to reform them. The more vigorously the masses are motivated, the more resolute the struggle against counterrevolution becomes. The more the masses' vigilance and militant spirit are heightened, the more rapidly the counterrevolutionary ranks disintegrate. As a result, the reform of counterrevolutionaries will achieve more satisfactory results, the social bases that they take advantage of will be restricted and gradually wiped out and the conditions for their surreptitious activities will be eliminated. Facts prove that, even though counterrevolutionaries operate secretly and seek by all means to conceal their true face, they must inevitably live and, as a result, usually

(1) Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 382.

(2) Ibid, p 273.

reveal unavoidable contradictions -- contradictions between their intrinsically reactionary nature and the superficial outward appearance that they put on to adapt themselves to the new society's way of life -- and contradictions between their desire to remain secret and the need to carry out their activities. Therefore, the vigilant masses can detect them. Furthermore, our people are intensely patriotic, deeply cherish independence and freedom, possess traditions of stalwart, courageous and indomitable struggle and stand ready to fight the enemy to protect the fatherland's security. In the struggle against counterrevolution thorough understanding of the mass line is a matter of stand and principle. An important criterion for gauging a cadre's stand and viewpoint is his real confidence in and reliance on the people and his resolute generation of the masses' revolutionary impetus to vigorously struggle against counterrevolution. (Naturally it is not correct to pay attention only to the problem of motivating the masses while disregarding the professional work of specialized agencies). Therefore, our party holds that it is necessary, under party leadership, to rely on the masses, fully use their activeness and revolutionary vigilance, improve and heighten their militant spirit and develop an increasingly widespread people's network capable of taking strict precautions as well as the initiative in attacking the enemy continuously. This is one of the most decisive and fundamental factors in the struggle against counterrevolution.

Like other revolutionary movements, the movement to motivate the masses to struggle against counterrevolution must take different forms and measures, depending on the revolutionary tasks and objectives set forth for each period. An important requirement is to skillfully coordinate propaganda and organizational tasks with struggle. Only by so doing can we bring into full play the role of the masses.

Propagandizing, organizing and leading the masses in struggling against counterrevolution is an art. To achieve success in applying this art, it is necessary to intensify patriotism, counter the aggressor enemy, improve revolutionary enthusiasm, counter the saboteurs of the revolution, demonstrate love for our class, oppose the oppressors and exploiters, build an independent and sovereign ideology and the spirit of being collective owners and masters of society, heighten courage and the spirit of daring to sacrifice everything for the fatherland and the revolution and strengthen unity and singlemindedness among the people. At the same time, it is necessary to closely associate struggling against counterrevolution with serving the masses' vital daily interests and closely associate propaganda with action.

Under the clear-sighted leadership of our party and the beloved and esteemed President Ho, the campaign to motivate the masses to struggle against counterrevolutionaries developed enormously and creatively, especially after our party seized administrative power. Our party conducted a widespread propaganda campaign among the masses to unmask counterrevolutionaries assuming the false name of national political parties; to heighten the entire people's vigilance against the dark schemes of the U.S. -- Chiang Kai-shek clique, the French colonialists and their lackey political parties and other counterrevolutionaries; and to motivate the masses to positively combat sabotage. During

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the resistance against French colonialism our party concentrated on educating the masses in nurturing hatred for the aggressive French colonialists and in acquiring a revolutionary vigilant spirit and determination to severely punish the Vietnamese traitors, the spy lackeys of the aggressive imperialists and other counterrevolutionaries. The "security maintenance," "three no's" and "eliminate traitors and local administrators" campaigns were widely launched in the base areas, free zones and even in guerrilla base and operational areas within the enemy's hinterland. The forms of motivating, educating and organizing the masses to struggle against counterrevolutionaries in the August revolution and the resistance against French colonialists was a basis for the mass movement to develop comprehensively and steadfastly in the future.

After the successful anti-French resistance our people began their resistance against the U.S. for national salvation while building socialism. The propaganda, mass motivation and organization tasks at the time had appropriate contents, forms and measures.

In a number of cities, towns and hamlets newly liberated after several years of enemy control, counterrevolutionaries still controlled a segment of the masses. For this reason implementation of many party and state policies and lines was prevented and sabotaged. In other areas the counterrevolutionaries continued their sabotage. Meanwhile lack of vigilance and carelessness became popular occurrences among the people and cadres. For this reason propaganda and mass motivation were patiently carried out first in hamlets, neighborhood blocks, and subzones through the available mass organizations and later became well organized, widespread and large-scale campaigns in society as well as in the enterprises and organs.

Propaganda and mass motivation have correctly solved the problem of relations among the revolution's interests, the collective interests and the individual interests. They have enabled the masses to differentiate revolutionary feelings from nonrevolutionary love and hate, and have made them bold enough to defend justice and denounce those who have relations with them but who act counter to the revolution and the people. Thus the masses will not protect the counterrevolutionaries and will not fear their reprisals. Of course, while listening to mass opinion we should be cautious in screening erroneous thinking to avoid misjudgment.

If during the French resistance we successfully applied the "Three no's" slogan, under the present new conditions we have timely advanced the "Three precautions," slogan (precaution against dishonest elements, precaution against fire and precaution against accidents). In the socialist construction period, while motivating implementation of the "Three No's" and "Three precautions" slogans we have stepped up the public safety movement by implementing the "Seven appropriate tasks" and stepped up the movement to guard against security leaks and enemy penetration and safely build units in the various organs and enterprises by implementing the "Four practical tasks"(1).

(1) Following are the seven elements of the security protection movement;

(1) Constantly heighten revolutionary vigilance, firmly grasp the political and social security situation and discover the activities of counterrevolutionaries and other culprits in order to take positive precautionary measures and struggle to protect order and security in the villages and hamlets.

(2) Struggle against counterrevolutionaries, take precautionary measures against the counter spies and commandoes, counter psychological warfare activities, counter the reactionaries, prevent counterrevolutionaries from hiding, infiltrating our ranks, and sabotaging revolutionary interests and the people's interests, and reform and help the people who need to be immediately reformed in order to earn an honest living.

(3) Satisfactorily carry out people's air defense activities and satisfactorily maintain order and security during enemy strikes to minimize human and material losses.

(4) Protect organs, enterprises, storage facilities, and state property that are dispersed or moved to villages; protect the armed forces and military activities; protect communications and transport operations; preserve state secrets; assist local authorities in disguising or camouflaging targets that need to be protected; prevent the enemy from taking advantage of our gaps to collect intelligence information; prevent reactionaries from carrying out sabotage; and curb pilferage and theft.

(5) Protect basic party organizations, local administrations, militia forces, security forces, people's organizations, and cooperatives; prevent counterrevolutionary elements from infiltrating and sabotaging these organizations; protect implementation of party lines and policies and state law; uphold the people's democratic rights; prevent the enemy from carrying out sabotage; and see that the people's democratic freedoms are not violated and that corruption does not occur in cooperatives.

(6) Struggle against penal offenses; take precaution against fatal accidents and accidental fires; suppress social vices; maintain public order in villages and hamlets; strive to avoid accidents that may cause losses in lives and property for the people in villages and losses in the state and collectives' property; and strive to eliminate social vices.

(7) Satisfactorily carry out public managerial measures. Every citizen must understand and satisfactorily carry out managerial regulations and turn public administrative managerial measures into measures of the masses. These measures are designed to guard against and oppose counterrevolutionaries and other law offenders and to maintain order and security in villages.

(The following are the four tasks of the movement to guard against security leakage and enemy penetration and to safely build units: Protect the party and state's secrets; protect the state property; protect the internal ranks of organizations; protect social order and security. [end footnote]

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Our party did not stop at that. In the struggle against the war of destruction and in the face of the U.S. imperialists' wicked, cunning and dangerous schemes, the party advocated stepping up the movement to maintain order and security and gradually improving politically stable and strong villages and city wards where order and security was insured. This was a new, comprehensive, far-reaching and steady step in the development of the movement. It aimed at satisfactorily meeting immediate production and combat demands and at creating an offensive position to fight the enemy and maintain order and security on a long-term basis.

Obviously, in the campaign to motivate the masses to struggle against counterrevolution, we know how to base ourselves on the situation to advance the most appropriate slogans in order to achieve the highest success, while gradually improving these slogans. We also know how to cleverly coordinate slogans of action with propaganda slogans, associate the opposition of counterrevolution with protection of the masses' daily legitimate rights. This is a basis for stimulating the mass movement against counterrevolution to advance and to effectively support the two strategic tasks -- the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction.

When a deep and broad mass movement develops there must be appropriate organizations. Ward protection committees in cities and provincial capitals, hamlet and village security committees, agricultural cooperative-protection committees, committees fully or partly charged with protection in organs, enterprises, and mines and militia and guerrilla teams and self-defense teams are core organizations for the people's struggle against counterrevolution. However, we must not be limited to these organizations but must attach great importance to and use existing organizations of various circles and sectors, such as the workers', peasants', youths' and women's organizations. We have correctly implemented President Ho's advice: "It is necessary to depend on the people's organizations to organize and educate the people in guarding against enemy penetration and eliminating traitors"(2).

Educated in the spirit of vigilance and thanks to the appropriate organizational forms and realistic slogans, the masses have developed their multisided role in the struggle. Counterrevolutionaries have been mercilessly punished by the people and the state's dictatorial forces for their sabotage and opposition. Many spy and commando teams have been tracked down and neatly captured. The U.S. puppet plot to send spies and commandoes to sabotage the north since 1961 has failed completely. Activities harmful to society have been promptly detected, condemned and protested by the people. Many persons who have strayed by working for the enemy have been sincerely educated and reformed by the people into law-abiding workers and have taken great interest in production and actively participated in the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation. Many bandits or spies and commandoes, as a result of being educated by their own families [in the north] and the people, have come

(2) President Ho's Letter to the 5th National Security Conference, January, 1950.

to understand the party and government's policies and surrendered to administrations and people. Overcoming all spiritual obligations and placing the interests of the revolution above everything, the religious compatriots have exposed and condemned the ugly nature of reactionaries who have taken advantage of religion and faith to oppose and jeopardize the revolution and oppose the people.

Particularly in the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation and the struggle against the war of destruction, the mass movement has developed its great role in countering all enemy sabotage and maintaining order and security. The masses, organized and motivated, are determined to stop and capture spies and commandoes infiltrating from all directions: from the sky, the border, the demarcation line and the coast. The masses are also a force to carry out communication and transportation tasks, support production and combat and protect transportation operations with the brave, heroic and creative spirit of braving the enemy's fierce bombing and of coping with enemy commandoes' ambushes and killings along the transportation routes. The masses have actively executed the military obligation policy and other military policies in the rear and, at the same time, have actively participated in protecting the armed forces, agencies, storage facilities, national defense bases and military activities. The masses have also actively carried out air defense and evacuation orders and have adapted all production activities to the wartime situation in order to minimize losses caused by enemy bombing and shelling.

The "psywar" maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists can not shake our people's determination. Not only have our people turned a deaf ear to the enemy's deceitful arguments, they have also sought every means to prevent these arguments from spreading. Tens of tons of leaflets and "psywar" gifts dropped in the north by the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen have been gathered by our people and burned in the flames of hatred. Security and order in the north has been firmly maintained under all circumstances, even as the U.S. war of destruction has reached its fiercest level.

In the socialist revolution the masses have been organized, educated and motivated. Their socialist enlightenment has gradually been increased in the process of carrying out the three revolutions.

The peasants have enthusiastically followed the path of collective business activities and actively participated in the movement to maintain security and order, frustrate enemy attempts at sabotage and protect agricultural collectivization. Urbanites have peacefully struggled to reform the bourgeoisie, built many collective production installations, handicraft co-operatives, and state-operated economic installations, and have struggled against smuggling, speculation and other unlawful acts. Peasants, urbanites, and cadres, manual workers, and civil servants in various agencies and enterprises have positively contributed to consolidating and perfecting the new production relations, the socialist production relations.

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In the technical revolution, in the framework of the movement to maintain security and order and build strong villages and city wards in the political field and in the field of security and order and the movement to preserve secrets and build secure agencies and units, the masses have actively participated in protecting storage facilities, technical equipment, means, machinery, scientific research projects and other scientific and technical activities.

In the ideological and cultural revolution the masses' movement has gradually pushed back and eliminated backwardness and traces of the old society and has gradually built a new society and new socialist men.

The sense of collective ownership and the tendency toward socialism prevail in the northern people's thinking, feelings and way of life. This is a fundamental favorable condition for continually advancing socialist construction.

These achievements have shed more light on President Ho's instructions to the people's security branch that: "It is necessary to have tens of millions of hands and tens of millions of eyes and ears. To this end, we must rely on and stay close to the people. We will fail if we do not. If the people give us much help, we will achieve more success. If the people give us little help, we will achieve less success and if they wholeheartedly help us, we will achieve complete success"(3).

From this we can deduce a very significant conclusion: In a socialist system, if the people's ownership must be established on different bases, such as the management of social life, economic management, and so forth, it is also necessary, very necessary, to properly establish the people's ownership in the field of security. It is on the basis of this that we conclude that the mass movement to struggle against counterrevolution and maintain order and security has a strategic effect.

The development motivating the masses to struggle against counterrevolution in our country arises from awareness of realities, from basing oneself on these realities to heighten awareness and from basing oneself on awareness of each aspect which gives birth to simple organization at early stages which can gradually advance toward the acquisition of correct and comprehensive understandings, the launching of seething, continuous and widespread movements, and the establishment of proper plans and a perfected system of mass organizations to struggle against counterrevolution in order to gradually build villages and wards strong in politics, order, and security and safely build up agencies, enterprises and units. This is an indispensable step of development in accordance with the needs of the struggle against counterrevolution and with revolutionary demands and tasks.

(3) President Ho's speech at the Intermediate School for Security Agents
2nd term, 1951.

Due to the complex characteristics and nature of the struggle against counterrevolutionaries, we must, on the one hand, motivate the masses' revolutionary mettle and, on the other hand, strengthen the professional activities of specialized organs and their assistance to the masses in discovering and struggling against the enemy. If we pay attention only to motivating the masses but attach small importance to the professional activities of the specialized agencies, or vice versa, we will limit the results or even make mistakes. In motivating the masses it is necessary to respect and rely on the socialist legal system and be adept in applying the law in the struggle to heighten the masses' revolutionary mettle and step up the struggle to advance vigorously and steadfastly. The suppression of counterrevolutionaries in the movement to motivate the masses to decrease land rents and carry out land reform contributed to toppling the landowning class, the last walls of the feudal regime in the north, thus knocking out a prop of imperialism. This is a great achievement. However, a number of localities have made serious mistakes in fighting the enemy. One cause of these mistakes is that their blows at the enemy lacked close leadership and coordination between the masses and the specialized agencies and the cadres in charge of motivating the masses did not closely adhere to state laws.

In motivating the masses, a very important task for the guiding echelons is to know how to struggle to overcome "leftist" or rightist deviations that usually occur alternatively or successively. Failure to firmly grasp the enemy situation leads to slackening or lack of vigilance. As a result, when the masses detect and denounce counterrevolutionary activities, the guiding echelons become confused and suspicious of all and, because of their failure to firmly grasp the party's line and policy regarding the suppression of counterrevolution, become impatient and imprudent. This situation leads to widespread arrests and repression and gives rise to "leftist" deviations. However, if the guiding echelons fail to handle the situation skillfully they would be prone to rightist tendencies, would become hesitant and dare not resolutely repress the counterrevolutionaries' sabotage. It is therefore necessary to take every effective measure to prevent or correct in time "leftist" or rightist deviations emerging from the mobilization of the masses to fight the enemy. This is the leadership's responsibility and also an art of leadership. While motivating the masses an important requirement is to educate them in order to deepen their hatred of the enemy, heighten their political vigilance and, at the same time, enable them to clearly realize the enemy's schemes, the various categories of revolutionaries and the characteristics and nature of activities of each category of counterrevolutionaries, and distinguish between the enemy and us. At the same time, plans must be worked out to educate the masses so they can firmly grasp the specifics of the party's policy on the repression and treatment of counterrevolutionaries and can advance correct and tenable reasons in their struggle against counterrevolutionaries and absolutely refrain from resorting to brutal methods, such as cursing, beating or physical punishment.

In leading our people in the struggle against counterrevolution and maintaining order and security, our party has very creatively combined Marxist-Leninist theories with the revolutionary realities in Vietnam. This proves

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that our party is absolutely confident of the masses' strength and has devoted all its minds and hearts to serving the people and that the people are always closely associated with the party, singlemindedly follow the party, and stand ready to rise and crush all of schemes and sabotage of the counter-revolutionaries.

In the days ahead the guidelines for our struggle against counterrevolution require that, along with strengthening and consolidating the tools of violence, we must strenuously enhance the masses' role in protecting order and security. The masses may assume administrative management tasks, such as controlling order and communications, taking precautions against and fighting fires, managing changes in the number of household members, preserving social order, and exerting political control over a number of bad elements. If these tasks are carried out, our struggle against counterrevolution will certainly achieve greater success, the north's order and security will certainly be insured and, at the same time, our party and state will acquire substantial additional abilities to support the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction.

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THE TEACHINGS OF PRESIDENT HO FOREVER ILLUMINATE THE COURSE
OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PARTY

[A number of observations recorded by Le Duc Binh after reading President Ho's "Party Development" which was published by Su That Publishing House in 1970; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 18-29]

President Ho founded and trained our party, the vanguard unit of the Vietnam working class and the leader of our nation's liberation. When he passed away, President Ho left our people with the factors of victory of the revolution which he established through many efforts and nurtured throughout his life. Under the effect of these factors, the most basic of which is the leadership of the vanguard party, our country's revolution has recorded great achievements and our people have been and are continuing to move steadily along the victorious course charted by him.

In his search for a way to liberate the nation, President Ho found Marxism-Leninism and, at an early date, came to the conclusion that "there is no other way to save the country and liberate the nation than by means of the proletarian revolution."*(page 82) On this basis, he made every effort to study and spread Marxism-Leninism in our country's revolutionary movement and, at the same time, actively prepared the necessary organization and trained cadres to create the conditions needed for the establishment of a political party of the

* All excerpts in this article, with the exception of those with separate footnotes, are from Ho Chi Minh's "Party Development," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970.

Vietnam working class. In his work "The Revolutionary Road," President Ho pointed out that the most important thing for insuring the victory of the revolution is the establishment of a revolutionary political party of the working class founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism:

"What is the first thing a revolution must have?

Before everything else, there must be a revolutionary party within the country to mobilize and organize the masses and liaison with oppressed nations and the proletariat everywhere else. Only with a strong party can the revolution achieve success just as a ship can only sail smoothly if it has a strong pilot. For the party to be strong, it must have a philosophy as its nucleus, a philosophy which everyone within the party adheres to and understands. The party which does not have a philosophy is like a man who does not have intelligence or a ship without a compass.

There are many theories and philosophies, however, the most legitimate, the strongest, and the most revolutionary philosophy is Leninism."(page 11)

In early 1930, as a result of the preparations made by President Ho, our party was born. With the birth of the party, the history of Vietnam entered a new chapter and our country's revolution took several great leaps forward. As President Ho said:

"During the several decades preceding the founding of the party, the situation was as black as night.

As soon as it was born, our party raised the flag of the revolution and united and led all of our people in a struggle to liberate the nation and the class. The red flag of the party is as bright as the newly risen sun cutting through the darkness and lighting the way which will lead our people steadily to the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution."(page 102)

The great victories recorded by the Vietnam revolution during more than the past four decades have been closely associated with the clear-sighted leadership of our party under the guidance of President Ho. Maintaining and continuously strengthening the leadership role of the party has been a fundamental and decisive factor in each victory of the revolution. In reviewing the lessons learned from the victories of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho emphasized the leadership role played by the party: "The Vietnam revolution

has progressed from victory to victory which proves that, in the age of imperialism, the people of a small colonial country can, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party with its broad base among the masses, primarily the peasants, by uniting each strata of patriotic people in a united front, and with the sympathy and support of the world revolutionary movement, primarily the powerful socialist camp, definitely win victory."(page 84)

ily In the present age, only the working class, by means of its political party, can lead the working people and nation to total victory in the revolutionary struggle to liberate the nation and build a new life. As soon as our party was born, it established itself as the political party of the Vietnam working class, one loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Fully aware of the trend of development of the age and on the basis of a scientific analysis of the position of the various classes in the society of Vietnam, our party, which confirmed the leadership role played by the working class in our country's revolutionary undertaking, criticized the mistaken tendency to underevaluate the role and revolutionary ability of the working class and, on this basis, deny the working class nature of the party. President Ho said: "To win victory, the revolution must be led by the working class. Because, it is the most progressive, the most aware, the most determined, the most disciplined, and the most tightly organized class."(page 68)

As a result of this historical role played by the working class, the political party of the working class is the most revolutionary political party and one which has the full status of a leader of all the people. Therefore, President Ho emphasized: "Each revolutionary must deeply understand that our party is the most progressive and tightly organized corps of the working class and the leader of the working class and laboring people."(page 71)

Confirming the working class nature of the party is confirming that the party is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the ideological system of the working class, and that its cadres and members always adhere to the stand of the working class and wholehearted struggle for the revolutionary ideals of the working class. President Ho said: "The revolutionary must be fully aware of this and take the stand of the working class as his own so that he can wholeheartedly struggle for socialism and communism, for the working class and all laboring people."(page 71)

President Ho emphasized the working class nature of the party and, at the same time, always pointed out that the party

must be intimately bound up with the nation and be its representative. In the present age, the stand of the working class is the fullest expression of the fundamental interests of all the people. Genuine patriots who have a patriotic stand can accept Marxism-Leninism and the stand of the working class. And, conversely, revolutionary fighters who take the working class stand as their own are most loyal people and those most willing to sacrifice their lives to liberate the working people and the nation. In our country, the workers' movement and the patriotic movement have been closely linked to one another, thereby providing fertile ground for sowing the seeds of Marxism-Leninism as well as providing a material base for the birth of the political party of the working class in Vietnam. President Ho said the following of the law governing the birth of the political party of the working class in our country: "The coordination of Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement as well as the patriotic movement led to the establishment of the Indochinese Communist Party in early 1930." (page 88) Our party is a child of the workers' movement and the patriotic movement in Vietnam, the inheritor and developer of the excellent traditions of the working class and nation of Vietnam.

The interests of the working class are identical to the interests of the nation. Emphasizing the working class nature of the party is no different than acknowledging that the party can, once it is firmly based on the ideology of the working class, struggle for and serve the interests of the people and nation more and better than any other party. From the point of view of ideological systems, the party can only be a party of no other class than the working class. At the same time, from the point of view of the oneness between the interests of the working class and the interests of the people and nation, the party is not only the representative of the interests of the working class, but also the representative of the interests of the working people and the entire nation.

After the party seized political power and entered the period of socialist construction, the party's responsibility to the people and the nation became heavier. In his speech opening the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party, President Ho spoke about this responsibility of the party in extremely simple but deep words: "Today, North Vietnam is completely liberated and the party is uniting and leading our people in emulating in socialist construction and the establishment of a life in which everyone is well fed and well clothed and has good customs and morals. As long as one Vietnamese is exploited and poor, the party will continue to feel grieved, because it will mean that it has not fulfilled

its task. Therefore, the party takes charge of large tasks such as changing our country's backward economy and culture into an advanced economy and culture and, at the same time, is always concerned with small things such as the fish sauce our people need in their everyday lives. Therefore, our party is great because it encompasses the entire nation and because it is close to the heart of each of our compatriots."(pages 103-104)

President Ho built our party into a party of the working class and, at the same time, our party has been acknowledged by the entire nation as its leader, as a party which is of a tight working class nature as well as a broad mass nature. This is the special feature and the great source of strength of our party.

Maintaining and strengthening the leadership role played by our party is not an easy or simple matter. A party can only play a leadership role when it has the stature and ability of a leader. Therefore, the process of strengthening the leadership role played by our party has also been the process of continuously building a strong party. Under the leadership of President Ho, our party has been built into a politically, ideologically, and organizationally strong proletarian party and, as a result, can maintain and continuously expand its leadership role in our people's revolutionary undertaking.

The strength of our party is primarily the result of its correct political line. In his analysis of the causes underlying our party's winning of the right to lead the revolution as soon as it was born, President Ho pointed out: "Deeply imbued with Marxism-Leninism, the party has put forth a correct revolutionary line. In its 1930's civil rights-bourgeois revolutionary platform, the party established the task of resisting imperialism and feudalism, establishing an independent nation, and giving land to the tiller. This platform was very consistent with the fervent aspirations of the majority of our people, that is, the peasants. As a result, the party united large revolutionary forces around its class. The political parties of the other classes were either bankrupt or isolated. Consequently, the leadership right of our party -- the party of the working class -- was continuously strengthened."(page 89)

Our party has always taken the stand and viewpoint of the working class and has been absolutely loyal to the interests of the people and the nation, considering them the origin of each of its lines and policies. Our party has made every

effort to study and correctly apply Marxism-Leninism, is deeply imbued with its thorough revolutionary spirit, and has a firm grasp of the scientific knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Our party has tried to delve into the realities of Vietnam, scientifically analyze the comparison of forces between us and the enemy, analyze the special economic, social, and political characteristics of the different periods, apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism in order to summarize the experiences of our country's revolution, and determine the laws governing the Vietnam revolution. While applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to establish the lines, programs, and policies of our party as well as while studying the experiences recorded by fraternal parties, our party has always displayed a spirit of independence. As a result, since its establishment and after many stages of complex struggle in the democratic national revolution as well as the socialist revolution and in the war of resistance against the French as well as in the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation, our party has always had the correct political line and always put forth accurate guidelines for all of our party members and people. In generalizing the factors underlying the victory of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho said: "Our party is deserving of being the vanguard unit and the command staff of the proletariat, the working people, and the entire nation; our party knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the circumstances of our country in a creative manner in order to put forth correct lines and policies which insure the victories development of the revolution. Our cadres and party members, generally speaking, are genuine communists loyal to the interests of the class and the people, and have the respect and trust of the people." (page 137)

On the basis of its correct political line, our party has strengthened itself ideologically and organizationally. As a result of adopting a correct political line, our party has, during the various periods of the revolution, adopted accurate guidelines for providing cadres and party members with ideological education and struggling to overcome incorrect trends and concepts and guidelines for developing and streamlining the organization of the party in a firmly based manner consistent with the requirements of the revolution in order to strengthen the unity and unanimity within the party. Also as a result of its correct political line, our party has strengthened its intimate relationship with the masses, launched a mass movement, and, on this basis, developed the forces of the revolution and selected and trained many good cadres and party members.

As a militant, revolutionary party, our party must not only have a correct political line, but must also have high

fighting strength and good organizational ability in order to successfully complete each revolutionary task. Party ideological and organizational development must originate in the requirements of the political line and must insure that the party is able to successfully implement its political line.

Our party has been determined to struggle to implement its correct political line and, despite the countless difficulties and hardships, has never lost sight of its goals. In the process of struggling to implement this political line, our party has been rapidly trained and developed and has received the wholehearted trust and respect of the masses. The class nature and the vanguard nature of our party have been deeply reflected in its correct political line as well as in the extremely brave struggle it has waged.

The party requires that each party organization, each cadre, and each party member make every effort to implement its lines and policies. The measure of the spirit, the determination, the qualities, and the abilities of each party member is expressed in his revolutionary actions. Each party member must not only show his loyalty to the party and his excellent revolutionary qualities in his speech, but also in his deeds and the results and quality of his work. Obviously, we cannot say that an individual party member has good qualities or that a certain party organization is strong if their labor productivity is low, if the efficiency of their work is poor, if their production does not increase, and if the standard of living of the masses is not improved or if their professional activities are slow to develop. President Ho taught: "Realistic results which have contributed to production and the leadership of production must be used to measure one's revolutionary determination." (page 116) He also said: "During a war of resistance, each party member and party chapter which fights the enemy well is a good party member and chapter and each one which fights the enemy poorly is weak. Today, when North Vietnam is engaged in socialist construction, each party member and party chapter which produces well and leads production well is a good party member and party chapter. If their production and leadership of production is poor, party members and party chapters are poor." (page 121)

To increase the fighting strength of the party, it is most important that the unity within the party be protected and strengthened. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by President Ho, our party was always strongly united. This is one of our party's extremely valuable traditions,

one in which it can take very much pride and one which has created the party's strong combat ability and helped develop the great effect exerted by our party's leadership. President Ho said: "The reason why our party can lead the working class and all of the people to socialism is because our party has a correct policy and a united leadership. Our party's united leadership is the result of the conformity of thought and action of its members.

If party members do not think and act the same, the results are like a sandstorm, like 'an orchestra in which each musician plays a different tune.' Thus, it becomes impossible to lead the masses and carry out the revolution."(page 74)

The strong unity within the party is, first of all, based on the correct political line of the party. A thorough understanding of the political line and common efforts to successfully implement the political line of the party is the process of building and strengthening the party's internal unity. At the same time, ideological unity must be linked to and strengthened by organizational unity. Correctly implementing the system of democratic centralism and strengthening the discipline of the party in conjunction with expanding its democratic internal activities are very necessary in order to thoroughly insure ideological unity and the unity of actions within the party and put a stop to each phenomenon which tends to divide or split the party. Harsh criticism and self-criticism is of great significance in making party members feel closer to one another and bringing them together to help each other make progress. The development and strengthening of the spirit of comradeship and love which exists among communists is very important in strengthening the internal unity of the party and overcoming the discord and division caused by individualism.

In his will, President Ho advises that we must, above everything else, maintain the unity within the party:

"Unity is one of the extremely valuable traditions of our party and people. All comrades, from the Party Central Committee to the various party chapters, must maintain unity and unanimity within the party just as they keep a person in their sight when speaking with him.

Broad democracy and regular and harsh self-criticism and criticism within the party are the best ways to strengthen and develop the unity and unanimity of the party. There must be a spirit of comradeship and love."(page 176)

Democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle of the party. It is necessary to fully comply with this principle in order to successfully establish the various organizational relationships within the party: the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the minority and the majority, between the upper echelon and the lower echelon, and between the central and local levels.

On the one hand, the system of democratic centralism within the party requires that each cadre and party member heighten his sense of organization and discipline and unconditionally obey and comply with the various directives and resolutions of the party. The party member's high sense of organization and discipline is expressed in his full compliance with the resolutions of the party not only when favorable conditions exist for their implementation, but also when difficulties and obstacles are encountered and not only when these resolutions are suited to his interests, but also when they are contrary to his individual viewpoint and interests. Naturally, each party member has the right to and must express his ideas and thoughts to the party; however, he and the lower echelon must, whenever the upper echelon has put forth a directive or the party chapter or party committee have reached a certain decision, fully comply with it. Ideas can be different, however, actions must be one and the organization and discipline of the party must be uniform. President Ho emphasized: "The invincible strength of the party lies in the spirit of self-conscious discipline and the sense of strict organization of its cadres and members." (page 115) He also said: "Regardless of how many people our party has, it must, when fighting, fight as one person. This is because of the party's discipline, our discipline is an iron discipline, that is, it is both strict and self-conscious. Our comrades must make every effort to maintain the iron discipline of the party." (page 39)

On the other hand, the system of democratic centralism requires that the various collective, democratic activities conducted within the party be expanded. Collective leadership is the highest principle of leadership of the party. Only by expanding the democracy within the party is it possible to make use of the intelligence of the collective and reach the most correct decisions and adopt the most correct policies possible. Only by expanding the democracy within the party is it possible to unite and encourage all cadres and party members to actively and fully comply with the lines and policies of the party. Discipline based on self-consciousness is the strictest form of discipline. Centralism based on democracy is the highest form of centralism. President Ho harshly criticized each expression of bossism, arbitrariness,

and the placing of personal interests above the organization and the collective. He taught us: "We must have full respect for the collective and heighten the democracy existent within the party; we absolutely must not be arbitrary, place our own personal interests above the organization, or permit ourselves to be above discipline. The more merits one has to his credit, the more respectful he must be. Because, it only takes a few merits to become jealous and dogmatic."(page 115)

The development and growth of our party as well as that of each party member is the result of regular self-criticism and criticism which make it possible to continuously develop upon strongpoints and achievements and overcome shortcomings and mistakes. By developing self-criticism and criticism, the various activities conducted within the party are always rich and feverish, there is always democracy, unity, and vitality within the party organization, and each person makes continuous progress.

We must forthrightly and lovingly criticize our comrades and, at the same time, engage in strict self-criticism and attentively listen to the criticism of our comrades and the masses. "We cannot be afraid to make mistakes, only afraid that we lack the determination to correct our mistakes. To successfully correct our mistakes, we must stand ready to listen to the criticism of the masses and engage in serious self-criticism. By failing to listen to criticism and engage in self-criticism, we will surely be backward and regressive."(page 77)

We must avoid engaging in abstract and petty criticism. Self-criticism and criticism must be based on the implementation of the political task of the party and must be designed to stimulate the implementation of the political task as well as to carry out the tasks of the party member as stipulated within the party's statutes. President Ho said: "We must review our activities each day in order to try to carry out the ten tasks of the party member. Everyone must wash his face each day. The party member must review himself each day just as he washes his face each day. Each day, every party member must review himself. He must conduct this personal review on the basis of the ten tasks of the party member."(page 154)

In party development activities, it is not only necessary to know how to correctly establish the various relationships existing within the party, but also necessary to know how to correctly establish the relationship existing between the party and the masses. The intimate relationships the party has with the masses is the source of the party's strength

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and an indispensable condition for maintaining and developing the excellent revolutionary nature of the party. Only by being close to the realities of production and the struggle of the masses, only by studying and reviewing the rich experiences recorded by the masses, and only by thoroughly understanding the needs and aspirations of the masses can the party apply Marxism-Leninism to put forth correct lines and policies. Once it has adopted a correct line, the party must delve deeply into propagandizing and persuading the masses, transforming the slogans of the party into the slogans of the masses, and encouraging the masses to self-consciously and wholeheartedly try to implement the line and policies of the party. This is the only way in which they can be implemented. In an analysis of the great lessons of the Vietnam revolution, President Ho emphasized: "The revolution is the undertaking of the masses and the victory of the revolution is the result of the sacrifice and creative intelligence of hundreds of people, particularly the workers, the peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals." (page 137)

Of foremost importance in strengthening the intimate relationship with the masses that a party in political power has is respecting and upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses. Doing this will improve the revolutionary initiative and the creative ability of the masses who are an important source of stimulation for the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction. President Ho harshly criticized each expression of bureaucracy, bossism, corruption, waste, and remoteness from the masses as well as violations of the right of ownership of the people. He taught: "To become a party chapter of 'the four goods' it is first of all necessary that party members set an example, fully comply with policies, truly respect the right of ownership of the people, and listen to the opinions of the masses as this is the only way they can be trusted, supported, and loved by the people. Thus, even the most difficult of jobs must be done." (page 158)

The party can only develop when it is closely related to the masses and based upon a broad revolutionary mass movement. The more the masses support the leadership of the party and the more enthusiastically they help, criticize, and inspect cadres and party members, the stronger the party becomes. On the other hand, using the revolutionary movements of the masses to select, challenge, and train cadres and party members is a very important measure as regards the development of the party.

President Ho often said: "we must welcome and encourage the masses to honestly criticize cadres and party members." (page 173)

He also pointed out that it is necessary to use the various mass campaigns, such as the "report achievements" campaign to build the party. He said: "By means of reporting achievements, everyone knows who does good work and who does not. This is true democracy and a very good method of criticism and self-criticism. In this way, the masses educate one another and even educate cadres. Because, among our cadres there are good comrades who do as they tell others to do, however, there are also a number of comrades who do not work but 'only tell people what must be done.' Reporting achievements is also a very good way to select good people for propaganda and education, admittance to the party, and training to become cadres. Thus, there is never a shortage of cadres. It is a very good way to develop the party."(pages 160-161)

In the process of developing our party, President Ho focused very much attention upon the development of the corps of cadres and the corps of party members and very much attention upon party chapter activities.

Cadres are the key force of the party and state and the people who are responsible for organizing the implementation of each line and policy of the party. President Ho emphasized: "...the unit cadre is the base of each job"... The success of failure of a task is determined by the quality of the cadre."(page 161)

The correct selection of cadres is a very systematic job. It can be generally said that the examination and selection of cadres must be based on two areas: morals and talent. These two areas are closely interrelated. President Ho taught: "If a person is talented, he must have high morals. If he is talented but does not have high morals, he harms the nation. If he has high morals, but does not have talent, he is like a Buddha in a temple, that is, of benefit to no one."(1) In his will, President Ho advised our party to be concerned with training "people who are both 'red' and 'expert' to carry on socialist construction."(page 176)

It must be known how to apply these general standards in each specific case. In each field of activity, the work requirements as regards the quality and ability of the cadre are different in certain respects. A cadre in one job can develop upon his strongpoints, improve his ability, and complete his task but, if he is transferred to a different job, it may not be suited to him. The art of the leader is knowing

1. "President Ho on Education"; Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 138.

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how to skillfully use a cadre, how to give him the correct job, how to insure the best possible completion of his revolutionary task, and how to help him develop and progress. President Ho pointed out very clearly: "We must remember that everyone has his good points and his bad points. We must utilize the good points of a person and help him rectify his bad points. We must use people as we use lumber. The skillful carpenter can make full use of all types of lumber be they large, small, straight, or curved." (page 15) Whether the cadre does his job well or not is partially dependent upon his ability, however, it is also dependent upon his responsibility as a leader. As President Ho said: "With skillful leadership, little talent can be developed into great talent. Without skillful leadership, great talent can degenerate into little talent." (page 32)

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In the corps of cadres of the party there are both old and young cadres. Each type of cadre has his own strongpoints and shortcomings. By knowing how to successfully coordinate these two types of cadres, it is possible to develop upon their strongpoints and rectify their shortcomings so that they can, together, successfully complete the party's task. President Ho criticized the narrow attitude of those who are contemptuous of youth and, at the same time, reminded young cadres to respect older cadres. He taught: "Our party must skillfully coordinate old and young cadres. It should not look down on its young cadres. A small number of old cadres, who act like privileged officials, say that they have made contributions or that they adopt a 'fatherly' attitude toward young cadres and party members and brush aside whatever they say because they feel that the 'eggs are lecturing the hen.' Our age is a very glorious one. Society and the world have developed very rapidly. Yet, it is still wrong for older cadres to look down on young cadres. But, young cadres cannot be arrogant, rather, they must respect and learn from older, experienced cadres."

President Ho also provided very many rich and detailed instructions to guide leadership agencies in their search for cadres, the distribution of work and the utilization of cadres, and the care and support of cadres. He pointed out that the attitude of leadership agencies toward cadres and their work must be: "The party must take care of its cadres just as the nurseryman takes care of his valuable trees. The party must attach importance to talent, its cadres, and each person who has contributed to our common work." (page 24)

President Ho was very concerned with party chapter activities because "the party chapter is the foundation of the party and good party chapters mean that each will be carried

out well."(page 158) He constantly reminded the various party committee echelons to conduct good party chapter activities in order to build strong party chapters.

Party chapter activities are closely associated with the work of the party member. The party chapter allocates and inspects the work of the party member and is the best school for educating and training him. Only with strong party chapters is it possible to select and train many good party members. On the other hand, the party chapter is comprised of party members; the party chapter can only be strong if it has good members. President Ho said: "To lead the revolution the party must be strong. A strong party is the result of good party chapters. Good party chapters are the result of good party members."(page 149)

The party must have a specific number of members in order to be able to maintain its close relationship with the masses and uphold its leadership role in all sectors, all fields of social activity, and all production, combat, and work units. While not giving light attention to the significance of the number of members it has, our party has focused its attention, first of all, upon the quality of its members. If its members are of high quality, that is, if they have high political and ideological qualities, the revolutionary-offensive spirit, the exemplary vanguard spirit, and deep knowledge and ability, the party can, by means of them, unite, organize, and lead the masses in successfully implementing each of its lines and policies. For this reason, President Ho said: "The party needs more than many people, even though many is good, it needs high quality party members."(page 167) As regards party development activities, he advised: "...we must thoroughly adhere to the guideline for the development of the party, that is, the guideline that quality is better than quantity."(page 131)

Since the party is a party in political power, it must guard against the situation wherein it mistakenly accepts into its ranks opportunists, people seeking to join the party with the motive of satisfying personal interests, and people hoping vainly to use the title of the party member to acquire special rights and privileges. Therefore, in party development activities, it is necessary to carefully examine the political enlightenment, the quality, and the ideological motive of those seeking to join the party. President Ho seriously pointed out: "One joins the party to serve the people, serve the class, and serve the revolution... The party forces no one to join it. When one joins the party, he accepts the task and responsibilities of the party member; if he is afraid that he cannot serve the people or the revolution, he should

either not join the party or join at a later date."(pages 166-167)

The title party member is a very noble one which carries important responsibilities and heavy obligations with it. The party member is the vanguard revolutionary fighter of the working class and everyone in the party is aware of the goals and ideals of the party, is loyal to the end to the revolutionary undertaking of the class and the nation, and will make sacrifices and fight throughout his life for the glorious ideals of the party. The party member, as President Ho taught, must "be the leader and the loyal servant of the people." The party member is the leader of the masses, however, he is not remote from or above the masses and does not have special rights over them, rather, he must wholeheartedly support the masses and be closely associated with them. On the other hand, the party member is the servant of the people; however, he is not a member of the masses, rather, he must be worthy of being a vanguard fighter and a progressive political representative of the working class, must assume the responsibility of leading the masses, and must have the ability to educate, persuade, and direct the revolutionary actions of the masses. Leader of the masses and servant of the masses, these two aspects of the role of the party member are never in opposition to one another, rather, they are always closely linked to one another. Only by wholeheartedly serving the masses can the party member have the status of a leader and, conversely, only by fully carrying out his responsibility as a leader of the masses, can he serve the masses in the best possible manner.

As regards the education of cadres and party members, President Ho was constantly concerned with improving revolutionary virtues and combating individualism. In very many addresses and articles, he constantly reminded the entire party about this matter and his extremely pure and noble life is a brilliant example of revolutionary ethics, an example which continuously educates and stimulates us. President Ho taught: "Carrying out a revolution to change the old society into the new is a very glorious undertaking; however, it is also a very weighty task and a very complex, long, and difficult struggle. Only by being strong can we carry a heavy burden a long distance. The revolutionary must have revolutionary ethics as his foundation in order to complete his glorious revolutionary task."(pages 68-69)

Cadres and party members must display the virtues of diligence, frugality, honesty, and devotion, must express absolute loyalty to the party and the people, must be determined to struggle throughout his life for the liberation

of the nation and the ideals of communism, must always place the interests of the revolution above everything else, must be closely associated with the masses, must respect the right of ownership of the masses, must continuously improve his collective ideology, his spirit of unity, his spirit of organization and discipline, etc. Because our party is a party in political power, the maintenance and improvement of revolutionary ethics must be given even more attention. In his will, President Ho advises: "The party is a party in political power. Each party member and cadre must be truly impregnated with revolutionary ethics, that is, he must be truly diligent, frugal, honest, and devoted. We must keep our party pure and deserving of its position as the leader and truly loyal servant of the people."(page 176)

Each cadre and party member must vigilantly and constantly struggle against individualism because "the most decadent and most dangerous scar of the old society is individualism."(page 69)

Individualism is the source of many shortcomings and mistakes and can even cause cadres and party members to lose their qualities and change. Due to the fact that our party is in political power and in the face of the present difficult and decisive revolutionary struggle, it is even more necessary to direct our attention toward struggling to overcome each manifestation of individualism. President Ho taught us: "To maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism, it is first of all necessary that we ourselves be pure. To defeat the enemy, imperialism, and to successfully build socialism, it is first of all necessary to defeat the enemy within each of us, that is, individualism."(page 138)

As vigilant revolutionary fighters, cadres and party members must not only have deep revolutionary fervor, but must also have deep revolutionary intelligence, a thorough understanding of their jobs, and the ability to organize and lead the masses in carrying out their revolutionary tasks.

We must make every effort to study Marxist-Leninist theory because "only by studying Marxist-Leninist theory is it possible to strengthen our revolutionary ethics, maintain our stand, deepen our knowledge, heighten our political enlightenment, and successfully carry out the tasks assigned by the party."(page 79) We must make every effort to study the lines and policies of the party in order to gain a thorough understanding of them and be able to fully comply with them so that we can strengthen the unity and unanimity within the party. At the same time, we must make extensive efforts to heighten our cultural, scientific, and technical standards in

order to be able to carry out the task of managing the economy and building a new life. President Ho said: "Today, the party requires that its cadres and members not only be skilled in politics, but also in their profession, otherwise they cannot lead the masses." (page 117)

The important requirement of deepening one's knowledge in every respect requires that cadres and party members actively and resolutely study, study on their jobs, study the masses, study in schools, study with the aid of books, etc. Studying is an obligation of the party member and the measure of his revolutionary fervor and fighting determination. President Ho advised us: "I frequently hear comrades only 40 years of age say that they are too old to study. This thinking is incorrect, 40 years of age is not old at all. I am 76 years old and still try to learn more. We must study and engage in revolutionary activities throughout our lives. As long as we are alive, we must study and engage in revolutionary activities." (page 149) President Ho's great example of serving the revolution and studying throughout his life is an example to be followed by each of our cadres and party members.

The requirements of our party and President Ho have placed upon the party member are truly high ones. However, these requirements are indispensable and cannot be compromised because they are the requirements for building and strengthening the vanguard party which is leading the greatest and most difficult revolution in the history of our nation. To meet these requirements, each party member must engage in steadfast personal training and must make a very great effort, this is what makes the title party member more noble and beautiful.

In his life of revolutionary activity, President Ho was most concerned with developing our party and, until the day he departed from us, his words of advice were reserved "primarily for the party." By creatively applying the principles of party development of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, President Ho illuminated and successfully solved the various problems which arise in the process of our party's development. His speeches and articles on party development are extremely valuable inheritances for our party and our country's revolution. His very rich and deep teachings will forever illuminate the course of development of our party and continuously stimulate our entire party to carry out its glorious historical mission.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD VARIETIES OF GRAIN

[Article by Truong Quoc Thai; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 30-41.]

Of the various intensive cultivation measures in use within agriculture good seeds are an important measure for achieving high economic returns because "good seeds produce good seedlings and good seedlings produce good rice." With good seeds, it is possible to raise crop yield 25 to 30 percent or more. Together with the advances made in the improvement of management and technology, the changes in the varieties of grain during the past several years in North Vietnam have opened excellent prospects for agricultural production, created the conditions needed to rapidly increase annual grain yield and output, and brought about a gradual revolutionary change in the allocation of crops and livestock.

At present, as a result of good varieties, the production of grain in many countries of the world has taken great leaps forward and, in some countries, is now nearly twice as high as the total output of grain in previous years. The latest achievements of science in hybridization have had a very great effect upon breeders and seeds, in general, and the varieties of crops, in particular.

Now, it is evident that man will, by means of his work in hybridization, achieve brilliant results which will be important contributions to improving nature to serve the interests of man. Because, hybridization, in general, and the varieties of grain in particular, have become a contemporary problem which must be clearly understood and given the importance befitting it.

Recent Work in the Hybridization of Grain

Our work in plant hybridization has achieved a number of initial results. The specialized seed system has played a role in the guidance of plant hybridization work. The various specialized seed institutes and farms on the central and provincial levels have had good success in developing and improving seeds. In many provinces and districts, 50 to 60 percent of the cooperatives have seed units providing practical support to production. The material and technical base for seeds has gradually been strengthened and improved. As a result of focusing attention upon and conducting widespread tests and selections of good varieties, we have quickly established and rapidly disseminated a number of good, high yield varieties. The introduction of the new, short term varieties to the allocation of rice varieties has led to the result that many places have achieved yields of 50 to 80 quintals of paddy per hectare per year and a number of other localities have averaged roughly 100 quintals of paddy per hectare per year whereas, with the old varieties, yields of only 35 to 40 quintals of paddy per hectare per year have been achieved. By means of seed selection, localities have eliminated many degenerated, low yield varieties and planted good, high yield varieties on a widespread basis.

In addition to the new, high yield varieties, there is also a number of varieties of rice which have been hybridized and improved during the past several years, such as varieties 314 and 127, which have a good effect on certain fields, are relatively high in yield, are rather highly resistant to disease, are suited to the level of our material base, and can withstand an average amount of intensive cultivation. The allocation of rice varieties, which has gradually been improved and supplemented, has been and is helping make efficient and profitable use of the various types of soil. The introduction of the new, short term varieties of rice to the spring season has had the effect of transforming the low yield 5th month season into a high yield spring season and made it possible to cultivate three crops a year (a spring crop, a 10th month crop, and a winter crop) in order to solve the grain and food products problem in the next several years, provide feed for livestock, create the conditions needed to expand the area under the cultivation of the various plants of the bean family, duckweed, and so forth in order to improve and enrich the soil. The training of cadres, workers, and farmers who specialize in seeds has also begun receiving attention.

In addition to the advances mentioned above, the development of grain varieties has also encountered many

problems which must be promptly solved.

As regards the management and use of seeds, there is still, to this date, a widespread practice of mixing seeds in many localities. The management of seeds has not been put on a regular basis and a clear division of responsibilities has not been established for agencies which function as coordinating agencies nor between research and supervisory agencies. A number of agencies which do not have comrades whose function it is to work with seeds have been distributing and disseminating new varieties to production installations which have not been approved by the state or responsible agencies. The free importation of seeds continues. In our work with seeds, the most important jobs, that is, the selection, germination, multiplication, storage, and testing of seeds, have not been given the proper attention and there is not the coordination needed to supervise the various localities and production installations in the performance of these jobs.

The unplanned, unorganized, and undisciplined manner of working with seeds has had an adverse affect upon production.

On the other hand, due to the tendency to place heavy emphasis upon the development of new varieties, many scarce seeds, special product seeds, seeds with high resistance to disease, and so forth have gradually been lost in many localities (meanwhile, a number of our old varieties of rice are still being researched by some foreign agencies for the purpose of hybridizing them because of their high resistance to disease). If the research agency and seed stations of the state do not rapidly correct this situation it will be very difficult for us to redevelop these seeds when they are needed.

Scarce and special product seeds of high use and export value have also been mixed with other seeds and are gradually degenerating. During the past several years, the various central seed stations have made an effort to gather and collect a number of varieties of rice such as fragrant rice, glutinous rice, and so forth. However, these varieties must be selected and improved within a given period of time in order to regain their quality. A number of the new, high yield varieties which have been introduced into production have, during the first years and seasons, displayed many excellent characteristics, however, recently, they too have begun to degenerate. Diseases (particularly leaf-damaging diseases, have appeared in many places and seasons on the new varieties of rice. Therefore, the selection of seeds and the prevention and control of diseases and insects must be considered very necessary and pressing. Otherwise, it will be difficult to avoid

regrettable losses. A number of places have, instead of fully preparing the necessary conditions, quickly introduced new varieties into main crop production and this situation has adversely affected grain yield and output, the standard of living of the mass of cooperative members, and the fulfillment of state obligations.

The production and maintenance of seeds: the production of ample, good seeds for use in the production of crops has generally been given little attention. The specialized seed units at production installations have not been strengthened and their activities have not been directed. Many cooperatives have seed units, however, they do not have specialized fields for selecting and multiplying seeds. The use of raw paddy as seeds still continues at many places. Seed production plans have not been established with concrete annual quotas and are not drawn up a season ahead of time. A number of provincial seed stations do not effectively select, germinate, and multiply seeds to provide an ample supply of base seeds and selected seeds for seed units at production installations in order to implement the regulation of replacing bad seeds with good ones. The systems of warehouses and the network which defines, tests, and maintains seeds also have not been strengthened and their activities are not being directed.

In addition to mixed and degenerated seeds, there is also the important problem of many places allowing their seeds to become mildewed, eaten by insects, and lose their vitality. Recent data shows that the sprouting percentage of the seeds at many warehouses is only about 80 percent and even as low as 50 percent. This amounts to a substantial waste which must be corrected.

As regards regulations and policies, regulations governing the management of seeds have been established, however, compliance with them has not been full. Compliance with the various regulations governing the maintenance and inspection of seeds has also been less than full. Specific policies providing incentive for the production of seeds have not been promptly established. The seed pricing policy is vague and fails to stimulate the development of seed production.

The reasons underlying the above situation are the failure to realize the full importance of seed production and, in particular, the failure to establish the organization and regulations needed to insure good work with seeds.

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Jobs Which Must Be Done in Order To Have an Ample Supply of
Good Seeds

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The pressing task at hand is that of finding a solution to the problem of how to produce an ample supply of good seeds. The resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum points out that it is necessary "to develop good seeds and breeders and establish regulations governing the production of seeds and breeders." At the same time, it states that one of the present tasks of state production installations is "to supply good seeds and breeders to cooperatives in order to help rapidly develop high quality, high yield seeds and breeders." To have good seeds, we must, in the immediate future as well as over the long range, regularly select, import, and purify good varieties being grown in other locations. At the same time, it is necessary to continue to actively and regularly hybridize new, high yield, highly disease resistant varieties from any of a number of localities; on the other hand it is necessary to regularly select, germinate, and maintain the good seeds we have in our country. The new varieties which we have hybridized have readily taken to our natural conditions and are suited to our material and technical base, therefore, there is much potential for stabilizing their production. Many countries have, by working in this manner, created many very valuable varieties of plants and species of livestock.

Seeds are a special agricultural product which are produced solely for the purpose of production and expanded reproduction. Even with underdeveloped production, it is impossible to use ordinary agricultural products for seeds. Therefore, there must be necessary standards for seeds such as a high degree of purification, a high percentage of germination, and free of diseases and insects. Good seeds must produce high yields, be resistant to disease, be of a stable nature, produce high quality products, meet the requirements of our increasingly advanced production, and be consistent with the production plans of each locality as well as for each field and season. Good seeds are formed under specific historical conditions and as a result of a specific level of production. Seeds which are good in one regions may not be good in another. The good seeds of today may not be the good seeds of tomorrow if we fail to regularly select and improve them and if we fail to meet the increasingly higher requirements of production. At present, it is necessary to avoid two trends: heavy emphasis upon the use of new varieties but light emphasis upon management and the creation of the material and technical conditions needed for new varieties

and simply using new varieties in a "hand to mouth" manner while giving light consideration to the selection and improvement of existing good varieties including the new varieties we have hybridized and our other good varieties. A number of the new, high yield varieties recently put into production have begun to degenerate, particularly at places where they have not been transplanted on schedule, where they have not been suited to fields, where they have not been fertilized correctly or at the right time, where seeds have been allowed to become mixed, where raw paddy has been used, or where substandard paddy has been used as seed.

One of the important and pressing jobs in obtaining good seeds is preventing seeds from becoming mixed and degenerated. In order to have good seeds, very much attention must be focused upon the quality of seeds and seed quality must be considered a production discipline. It is now necessary to stipulate specific standards for the quality of each type of seed and necessary to adopt regulations for checking compliance with these standards. When importing or exporting seeds, it is necessary to test and inspect seeds for disease in order to take prompt corrective measures and avoid future damage.

To have good seeds, attention should also be given to regularly selecting and improving seeds. This is a basic job of a long range nature which must be performed throughout the process of production. The new varieties which have been hybridized must also be selected and improved over several or many generations in many different climatic and soil regions before these varieties can be established as good varieties. The percentage of varieties recognized as good is generally very small in comparison to the total number of varieties hybridized. New varieties easily change and degenerate if they are not regularly selected and improved on a seasonal and annual basis.

In addition, it is also necessary to select, improve, and maintain scarce, social product, and good local seeds which have been suited to our natural conditions for many years.

Good seeds and an ample supply of seeds are two very closely related problems. If there is an ample supply of seeds, but the seeds themselves are of poor quality, they will not have the effect they are supposed to have. If there are good seeds, but the quantity of them is insufficient, it will be impossible to meet the requirements of production. To have an ample supply of seeds, it is necessary to draw up plans for the production of ample seeds of all types on the

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basis of the amount of area to be planted with each type. It is also necessary, on the basis of the ability to produce seeds and the conditions needed to insure the development of the production of these seeds, to determine the amount of area to be planted with each type of seed in order to draw up effective production plans. An ample supply of seeds means a full variety of seeds suited to each specific condition. An ample supply of seeds also means having a quantity of seeds in reserve which can be planted late in order to guard against unforeseen circumstances. Our fields are comprised of many different types: high fields, low fields, "van" fields, and muddy fields; there is sandy soil, red clay soil, regions of depleted soil, and regions of alkaline and saline soil. The climate and weather varies from region to region. If each locality and production installation fails to prepare an ample supply of good seeds comprised of many different types which are suited to local conditions they cannot make full use of their soil to expand their crops in an effective manner which produces high economic returns.

Regularly selecting, importing, and purifying seeds, regularly hybridizing, selecting, improving, and multiplying seeds, strengthening the management of seeds, and so forth are designed to resolve the two primary and pressing problems of obtaining good seeds and providing an ample supply of seeds. These are also problems of a fundamental nature not only with regard to grain seeds, but also with regard to the production of seeds, in general.

The establishment and supervision of a network to select and multiply seeds:

To have an ample supply of good seeds, it is necessary to establish and organize a supervisory system and a seed network from top to bottom.

The present seed production network is comprised of state seed farms (central level farms, state farms, and provincial farms), specialized seed production regions of the collective sector or the state, and seed units at production installations.

The seed farm is the place where base seeds are selected, improved, and purified.

The central level seed farm only supplies base seeds which are planted on a widespread basis and new, imported hybridized seeds with good prospects to local seed farms so

that the various provinces can select and compare seeds to determine which ones are best suited to their locality and multiply these good seeds in order to try to rapidly put them into production once they have been verified as good. The central level seed farm only provides an ample supply of seeds to seed production regions under the management of the central level, but, it is also tasked with gathering, selecting, and improving scarce and special product domestic seeds of high use and export value for supply to the various farms and regions producing agricultural products for exportation.

The provincial seed stations have the task of multiplying base seeds and improved seeds for supply to the seed units of cooperatives so that they can multiply them for their own use and to specialized seed production regions under local management. The provincial seed stations also take care of base seeds of a local nature, regularly test them in order to quickly establish new varieties suited to local conditions, and collect and maintain seeds with good special characteristics and high quality which are very necessary for the selection, improvement, and hybridization of seeds.

The specialized seed production regions are tasked with rapidly multiplying many good and improved seeds supplied them by state seed farms in order to provide a large supply of seeds for storage, to periodically replace the seeds used in the large production regions, to expand the amount of area under cultivation in accordance with the plan, and to provide a supply to centralized regions producing goods for export.

The specialized seed units have the task of selecting and producing seeds (including reserve seeds) in accordance with the allocation of crops and established standards, multiplying the base seeds provided by state farms, maintaining the various types of seeds, and fully implementing intensive cultivation measures in order to produce an ample supply of good seeds. At cooperatives with good management, the seed unit is in charge of processing and soaking seeds as well as distributing seeds for planting to the various production units. The seed unit is also tasked with helping establish a seed plan for each season and a long range seed plan for the cooperative, cultivating test fields, helping the cooperative determine which seeds are the best and most suited to its fields, and, at the same time, selecting and multiplying the particular or special product seeds of the cooperative. By means of closely examining and selecting good plants with outstanding characteristics in their fields for many years, our people as well as the people of many of the countries in the world have created many good varieties which are still of great value in production.

Properly stockpiling and maintaining seeds:

Stockpiling an ample quantity of seeds and maintaining seeds well are two jobs which must be done in order to have enough seeds to use in production. Each province must have a plan for stockpiling various types of seeds, including seeds for use in case of natural disasters, seeds for use in the expansion of the amount of area under cultivation, and rare and special product seeds for the production of agricultural goods for exportation.

At present, the norms governing the quantity of seeds used per hectare are, generally speaking, extremely high. We must try to reduce these norms by properly selecting, maintaining, and inspecting seeds and improving the techniques of cultivating seedlings.

The maintenance of seeds in our country encounters numerous difficulties because the weather is generally warm and humid. We do not have much experience in maintaining a large and centralized quantity of seeds. It is necessary to quickly conduct research and gain experience for rapidly performing this job well. It is immediately necessary that we have drying yards and warehouses of the correct specifications and specialists in the maintenance of seeds.

Rapidly completing the construction of the material-technical base for seeds:

The material-technical base for seeds is comprised of seed stations with all the equipment and materials needed in the production, selection, drying, winnowing, inspection, and maintenance of seeds. Seed farms and specialized seed units must have the necessary conditions, that is, they must have ample land, ample labor, and the necessary material-technical base. The seed fields of the specialized units at cooperatives should have good, deep, fertile soil, be linked to one another, be flat and in the middle of fields but not too close to the village, must have much sunlight, must not be located in an area of diseases and insects, and must have good drainage and irrigation. It is essential that the seed field produce high quality seeds, therefore, it is necessary to select soil and fields suited to each type of seed; at the same time, it is necessary to deeply plow and thoroughly harrow these fields and fertilize and weed them in accordance with technical standards.

The seed warehouse is a place where seeds, the most important material used in agricultural production, can be kept for a long period of time and a place containing live

organisms; it is different from a material warehouse. Therefore, when constructing a system of seed warehouses for the seed selection and production network, attention must be focused upon meeting all standards and building these warehouses in safe locations. Where possible, state seed installations can equip with the machinery and specialized pieces of equipment to dry, winnow, and maintain rare and difficult to maintain seeds and to inspect and test seeds.

Necessary regulations and policies as regards seed production:

The dissemination of new varieties and the introduction of new varieties into main crop production must be based on tests in order to reach accurate conclusions concerning the techniques for and management of each locality, each field, and each type of field after they have been disseminated by responsible agencies and proven by the state. It is necessary to stop the practice of freely importing seeds and immediately putting them into wide production. The practice of freely importing seeds to the cooperative in order to conduct tests and "research" must also be limited and eventually stopped. We must adopt concrete pricing policies for base and improved seeds. Qualitative standards for each type of seed must be stipulated and regulations must be adopted providing for regular inspections of seeds.

Cooperatives or other production units must assign contracts with appended bonuses and penalties to their seed unit. There must be qualitative contracts based on the standards and quality of seeds; there must also be quantitative contracts for production fields, but not for selection and testing fields. The contract production quotas for seed units should, at first, be equal to the quotas of units engaged in production on the same type fields and, afterwards, they should be raised when their seeds have been improved and more experience has been gained in the production of seeds. Seed units must have more money for paddy and be awarded more workpoints than production units. For test fields and fields being used to test various varieties, expenditures should be based on the actual requirements of production. In addition to common tools, the seed unit must also have a full complement of special implements. The seed unit must truly specialize in the production of seeds and should not engage in any other type of production. Only in this way is it possible for other cooperatives or production installations to have the conditions needed to strengthen their supervision and training of their seed units in management and technology; only in this way is it possible to step up the construction of the material-technical base for the production of seeds; and, only in this way

Therefore, is it possible for the seed unit to focus all of its energies upon the production of seeds and avoid the inefficient use of labor and materials in the production of seeds and the production of agricultural products for consumption. On the other hand, it is necessary to provide good distribution within the cooperative in order to fully uphold the legitimate rights of the person specializing in the production of seeds.

In addition, those specializing in the production of seeds must be imbued with a high sense of responsibility, must always heighten their scientific and technological qualifications, and must make every effort to carry out their task. Deserving of attention is the fact that it is immediately necessary to strengthen the specialized seed production network from top to bottom and, at the same time, rapidly train a corps of cadres, workers, and farmers skilled in the production of seeds in order to continuously move the production of seeds steadily forward.

The Production of Seeds Must Be Closely Linked to the Improvement of the Allocation of Crops

Establishing the allocation of crops:

The system of large-scale socialist agricultural production is a system of agriculture with centralized, specialized, and intensive cultivation based on the zoning of economic and production regions in which each region has an efficient allocation of crops designed to make full use of all natural, economic, and social conditions and promptly meet the need to improve the economic development plan. The resolution passed by the 19th Party Plenum emphasizes: it is necessary to bring about "a revolutionary change in the allocation of crops and livestock, beginning with the allocation of crops in the various regions," considering this the primary measure for "gradually advancing our agriculture to large-scale socialist production." The allocation of crops must be concretely expressed in production guidelines and all other fundamental measures included in which is the problem of seeds which must actively and effectively implement these production guidelines. Only by establishing an allocation of crops is it possible to adopt correct guidelines for the production of ample quantities of necessary and suitable seeds.

The majority of our farmland is alluvial soil in the lowlands under the cultivation of rice. Because of this, to bring about a revolutionary change in the allocation of crops in North Vietnam, it is first of all necessary to bring about a change in the allocation of crops in the rice region. This

refers only to the allocation of grain and primarily to the allocation of rice varieties.

The success of the 1970-1971 winter-spring season was primarily the result of the introduction of the new, high yield, short term varieties of rice to main crop production. Comprising nearly 60 percent of the area under cultivation during the season, spring rice, for the first time, became a main production crop; and, as a result of the new, short term varieties of rice, many places brought about a significant change in the yield and output of rice.

However, in addition to the localities which achieve high yields, there are still more than a few cooperatives achieving low yields of only 10 to 15 quintals or 7 to 9 quintals per hectare per season. The reasons for these low rice fields are the use of varieties in the wrong locations and a low level of intensive cultivation inconsistent with the special characteristics of certain varieties of rice.

In the introduction of the new varieties of rice to the varieties of rice used in main crop 5th month and spring production, there has been a certain hesitancy, fear of difficulties, and a lack of positiveness in creating the conditions needed to introduce new varieties into wide production and a tendency toward simple subjectivism by quickly and carelessly introducing new varieties, the cultivation of which is beyond the capabilities of localities, due to the failure to fully calculate the economic and technical conditions required by these new varieties. Both of the above trends are harmful and in contrast to the guideline put forth by the party and state which states that the expansion of the area under the cultivation of spring rice must be both active and steady.

All varieties of crops require that certain conditions be present. High yield varieties require high nutrition and intensive cultivation. If these requirements are not met, the new varieties cannot display their good characteristics and, in some cases, harvests will be less than those from normal varieties. The percentage of new varieties in the allocation of crops is dependent upon the actual circumstances at each location and the efforts of man. It is necessary to determine the use of the various varieties on the basis of the soil and climatic conditions in each region, the special characteristics and requirements of each variety, and a careful consideration of capabilities in order to achieve high output and high economic returns. It is only possible to achieve high output and high economic returns when the yield of the various varieties on all of the area under their

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cultivation is high. If only one variety of rice produces a high yield, but all others produce low yields, the overall output will decrease. The introduction of new, high yield varieties to the allocation of crops will achieve good results if the following conditions are present: the necessary material base, the support of the masses, and full compliance with established techniques by the masses. In all cases, it is necessary to follow the mass line and use actual results to heighten the realization and mobilize the masses and insure that the mass of cooperative members, by means of democratic discussion, determine the allocation of crops and an appropriate ratio for the various varieties of crops in the spirit of moving rapidly forward. Ordering and pressuring the masses in the establishment of the allocation of crops is both wrong and harmful.

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The allocation of crops is not fixed, rather, it changes according to circumstances, technological and scientific advances, the level of management, production guidelines, and the construction of the material-technical base. An efficient allocation of crops over a wide area must be comprised of a number of varieties with different special characteristics and resistances. In addition to main force seeds, it is necessary to have reserve seeds; in addition to having high yield seeds, it is necessary to have seeds which provide high value trade goods; and, in addition to new varieties, it is necessary to have a necessary variety of old varieties. In each production unit, it is necessary to use several suitable varieties on the basis of specific conditions in order to make efficient use of soil, labor, etc.

In the present allocation of rice varieties, it is necessary to have the "moc tuyen" variety and several varieties which can be transplanted early and which resist heat, salinity, alkalinity, drought, and so forth and special product and scarce varieties such as fragrant rice, glutinous rice, etc. In the allocation of winter varieties, it is impossible, in addition to varieties we traditionally cultivate such as corn, sweet potatoes, vegetables, beans, and so forth, not to focus our attention upon a number of varieties of wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, and so forth which we can cultivate in North Vietnam. The allocation of 5th month rice varieties should include variety 314 which shows prospects for replacing a number of low yield 5th month varieties. The allocation of spring rice varieties must include a suitable percentage of the "tran chau lun" variety and a number of short term varieties with the same special characteristics.

The allocation of varieties should be limited to a necessary number of varieties. If too many varieties are planted, they easily become mixed and it becomes inconvenient to build the material base and supervise the application of techniques. The establishment of the allocation of varieties must be specific, establish appropriate ratios for each season and year, and be carried out a season ahead of time in order to effectively select and multiply seeds and prepare the material conditions needed for the following season. We must boldly expand the amount of area under the cultivation of new varieties and focus the proper amount of attention upon the selection, improvement, and multiplication of existing good varieties. New varieties are national property and valuable assets which must be maintained.

In the establishment of the allocation of the varieties of crops, it is necessary to focus attention upon grain, food products, and industrial crops suited to the zoning of economic regions. By taking advantage of the special characteristics of North Vietnam's climate, we can give our attention to short term, tropical crops and suitable, short term, temperate crops in order to reallocate crops, change the local economy from one of a one crop nature to one of a multi-crop nature, and change the 5th month and 10th month seasons into three seasons: the winter, the spring, and the 10th month seasons at places where the necessary conditions exist or can be created.

Reallocating crops:

To efficiently reallocate crops, it is not only necessary to rely on production guidelines and the state plan, but also to have a thorough understanding of the following specific conditions:

a) A thorough understanding of the special characteristics of each variety:

Varieties of crops are formed under specific historical conditions and over a specific period of time. Each variety requires specific conditions and a specific level of development of farm technology. Even varieties of the same family have different characteristics. There are many different varieties of rice: "tien" rice, "canh" rice, high stemmed varieties, low stemmed varieties, non-glutenous varieties, and glutinous varieties. There are both long term and short term varieties. There are some varieties which require much fertilizer and some which cannot be fertilized much and there are varieties which resist the cold well and others which resist heat. There are varieties which resist salt in the coastal

ent region, varieties which resist flooding in the low region,
and varieties which resist drought in upland fields. There
are varieties which resist disease well, varieties which are
easily destroyed by insects and diseases, varieties which
react to short periods of sunlight, and varieties which are
sensitive to the temperature. Without knowing the special
characteristics of the various varieties it is impossible to
make good use of each variety. Experience has shown that
many cooperatives have, with the same alluvial soil and the
same weather and climatic conditions, achieved very low
yields because of their failure to thoroughly understand
the special features of each variety in order to establish
an efficient allocation of crops and use appropriate
techniques. Generally speaking, our old varieties of rice
were transplanted under the conditions of a poor material
base, therefore, we were used to "hard times" and shortages.
However, the old varieties of rice have many excellent
characteristics, for example, they are easy to plant, are
suited to many types of soil, are resistant to disease,
produce stable yields, and are suited to a normal development
of production; however, they also have the major drawback
of low yield and, in addition, they fail to meet the requirements
of large-scale production. The new varieties are suited to
conditions of full nutrition, ample water, much organic
fertilizer, and ample nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium;
they also have a strict growing season, require deep, fertile
soil which is neither too alkaline nor saline, and require
intensive cultivation and a relatively high level of management.

Knowing the special characteristics of varieties in
order to use them at the right time and in the right place
and, at the same time, actively creating each condition
needed to fully satisfy the requirements of these varieties
in order to fully develop their potential are indispensable
conditions as regards cadres and party members in installations
engaged in direct production and the supervision of production.

When using a variety, it is necessary to know its
history and the environment and the techniques required to
plant it; in addition, this variety must be approved by the
state which disseminates suitable measures for use in its
cultivation.

b) Having a thorough knowledge of environmental
conditions in order to develop upon the good characteristics
of a variety.

The allocation of crops is not simply based upon the
biological characteristics of a variety, but also upon

environmental conditions because how well a particular variety displays its good characteristics is a result of the coordination of external factors of the environment and the internal factors of each variety. Environmental conditions are comprised of such factors as soil, water, fertilizer, climate, weather, etc.

Our land is of many types: "van" fields, low fields, red clay fields, sandy fields, saline and alkaline regions, and depleted regions. Good soil, poor soil, sour soil, and non-sour soil greatly influence the growth of crops. However, the nature of the soil is not permanent. It changes in accordance with the effect of the labor, efforts, and level of management and technology of man. By means of man, poor soil can be changed into good soil and sour or salty soil can be changed into sweet soil. If we only plant our crops in readily available good soil, agricultural production will not make strides forward. The most revolutionary guideline we can adopt is that of mobilizing the masses to improve and build up the soil so that we can, in the shortest possible period of time, have the material conditions needed to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of the various new, high yield varieties. However, when the conditions needed to improve the soil such as water, organic fertilizer, duckweed, lime, phosphorus, and so forth do not meet requirements, we must establish a suitable allocation of varieties by which we can increase yield and achieve high economic returns.

Generally speaking, all varieties of rice require water, however, the best and most necessary water for the new varieties of rice is ample, shallow water. The more irrigated land we have, the more we will be able to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of the new varieties.

Although the new varieties can withstand much fertilizer, the application of more chemical nitrogenous fertilizer to these new varieties than they can withstand will not result in increased yield, is uneconomical, and will cause these varieties to easily contract diseases. The higher the yield of a variety, the more fertilizer it requires. In general, nitrogenous fertilizer is the most important factor in increasing yield and output; however, livestock manure and the various types of new organic manures are the most basic, most nutritious, and safest fertilizers for crops, in general, and the new varieties, in particular.

In addition to nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium are also very necessary. The new varieties can withstand a high amount of nitrogen and require a large quantity of

phosphorus and potassium. According to investigative data compiled by the Institute for the Agriculturalization of Soil, fields bearing yields of 30 quintals per hectare or more have a relatively high phosphorus content. Many tests have shown that the application of potassium to the new varieties yields marked economic returns and when much phosphorus is used it is necessary, at the same time, to apply additional magnesium in order to increase yield. Thus, when the use of nitrogen is increased, it is not only necessary to increase the quantities of phosphorus and potassium applied, but also necessary to apply more of a number of other elements. This explains why fields fertilized with much livestock manure, duckweed, and the other types of organic manure produce much higher yields than fields fertilized with much chemical fertilizer. Therefore, in order to establish the percentage of the new varieties to be introduced to the allocation of crops, it is necessary to focus attention upon the above fertilizer requirements instead of only determining the percentage of a new variety to be planted on the basis of the quantity of chemical nitrogenous fertilizer required.

North Vietnam's climate is a tropical climate with temperate zone features, it is divided into a distinct warm and cold season, and each of the various regions, the Northeast, the lowlands, the Viet Bac region, the Tay Bac region, and Interzone 4, are different; therefore, a suitable allocation of crops must be established on the basis of these special characteristics. The allocation of grain varieties must be more specifically expressed in the scheduling of the production season. If the climate, in general, has an important effect upon perennial and long term crops, the agricultural season has an even more important effect upon annual and short term crops. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct extremely detailed research into the factors of rain, wind, heat, and cold during each season and for each specific crop. Some crops take 5 or 6 months to mature while others take only about 100 days. If some crops are planted only a few days early or late, problems are encountered. A change in temperature for only 1 or 2 days greatly affects yield. The agricultural season is comprised of the planting season, the transplanting season, the blooming season, and so forth, of which the pollination and blooming seasons are of particular important to oil bearing crops because "3 months of cultivating is not equal to 1 day of cultivating fruit"; each crop requires a certain temperature, humidity, and amount of light for its growth and development. Each variety has its own individual requirements. It is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with the climate and weather in order to deploy crops so that when the rice is

planted it does not die from cold and that when it is transplanted the weather is warm so that it grows quickly and develops healthy branches; when it blossoms, it is neither too warm nor too cold and only slightly damaged by insects and diseases in order to insure that all varieties of rice develop under the best possible climatic and weather conditions and become ripe at the safest time.

In addition to each agricultural production region created by the different climatic conditions and crops, there are also different groups of insects and diseases.

On the other hand, the allocation of crops for one season must not adversely affect the allocation of crops for the following season.

c) A full assessment of labor, the material-technical base, the level of intensive cultivation, and the level of leadership and economic management:

Each crop requires a certain investment of labor and technical materials in order to achieve high yield. The new varieties require an appropriate investment of both living and past labor per unit of area in order to be able to produce many trade goods in a short period of time. Intensive cultivation means careful plowing, much fertilizer, ample water, good prevention and control of diseases and insects, transplanting correctly and on schedule, and cultivating at the right time and in the correct way. All of these jobs require labor and technical materials.

Intensive cultivation does not mean cultivating crops regardless of the costs involved and without calculating economic returns. The introduction of new varieties to production must result in high yield and lower production costs or at least higher yield without extremely high production costs. Therefore, it is necessary to efficiently deploy labor, accurately calculate pulling power and expenditures, fully prepare the necessary materials, and so forth in order to schedule field work in a truly detailed and scientific manner in order to avoid having one job negate another or placing heavy emphasis upon one area but light emphasis upon another.

Another matter of importance is that it is necessary, when establishing the new allocation of crops and introducing new varieties to production, to focus attention upon the farming habits of the farmer. Therefore, when introducing new varieties to the allocation of crops, it is necessary to conduct truly good ideological activities in coordination with experiments and visits to other locations in order to show

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r the masses the benefits to be derived from the use of new varieties and, at the same time, imbue them with high determination to establish advanced farming habits in order to significantly increase the yield of main crops.

To efficiently allocate crops and gradually bring about a revolutionary change in the allocation of crops, it is necessary, in addition to the above jobs, to take into consideration the leadership, supervisory, and managerial capabilities of cadres.

It is important that the party chapter and local party organization be a true leadership corps with the ability to unite those within the party and lead the masses in successfully applying technical measures. The party member must set an example in production and the supervision of production, wholeheartedly serve the collective, and fully comply with and lead the masses in fully complying with each technical norm. The introduction on many new varieties to the allocation of rice crops is intimately related to the income of the cooperative and the standard of living of the mass of cooperative members. Therefore, it is impossible to pressure or force the masses, rather, it is necessary to gain everyone's understanding and support by means of education, persuasion, and an explanation of the possibilities, advantages, and difficulties involved. Cadres leading and supervising agricultural production must not only have a thorough understanding of the party's agricultural development policy and be specific as well as close to the masses, but also must have a knowledge of technology and economic management and successfully supervise the intensive cultivation of the new varieties. A clear and concise division of responsibilities among the party's leadership cadres on the primary level and on management committees as well as among production unit cadres is indispensable to the implementation of an efficient and advanced allocation of crops.

Large-scale socialist production requires an all-inclusive point of view and a high level of leadership, supervision, and management in order to move production forward. Large-scale socialist production requires that we not only have high fervor, but also a deeper and more thorough knowledge and understanding of society and nature as well as of politics, economics, and technology.

If we do not have a firm grasp of technology and management methods, we cannot provide good supervision. Therefore, at the same time as we introduce the new varieties to the allocation of crops, in general, and the allocation of rice crops, in particular, we must continuously heighten the managerial and technical level of cadres, party members, and the masses.

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PROGRESS IN LABOR MANAGEMENT AT THE 8 MARCH TEXTILE MILL

[Article by Le Thi Nha: Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 42-51]

For several years, labor management at the 8 March Textile Mill was a weak link and there were many difficulties. The labor force was always unstable, the percentage of workers on leave was high, the work days and work hours were always low, and there were many instances when the machinery had to be shut down because of personnel shortages. This situation has a bad effect on production and potential to complete the factory's plan. Since 1970, labor management in the mill has taken a change for the better: scores of workers now have a spirit of sticking close to their machines, are enthusiastic about their work, and actively increase their skill. Because of this, labor efficiency is increasing daily and the standard of living has also been improved.

The progress in labor management has contributed greatly toward assuring that the 8 March Textile Mill completed its plan for 1970 and 1971. In 1970, the mill exceeded the plan by 1,371,000 meters of material and was awarded the lead flag of the light industry sector. In 1971, the mill exceeded the plan goal by 4,000,000 meters of material and the goals of labor efficiency, price, accumulation, and product quality were exceeded by 2.5 to 3.77 percent. The mill again was awarded the lead banner for the light industry sector and received many awards by the higher echelons. The plan was completed and the workers and the cadres of the mill were encouraged and the 8 March Textile Mill productive labor movement has a new spirit.

Below, we wish to present specific advancements in labor management by the mill.

Rational Use of the Labor Force, Caring for the Everyday Lives of the Workers

Previously, the mill's use of the labor force was not rational: the percentage of workers absent from work rose from 10 percent in 1965 to 18 percent in 1968; the actual number of work days and work hours were low compared to the scheduled work days and work hours; the deployment of the work force and the setting of work norms for some of the work areas were not done carefully causing the number of service workers to rise; and there were many hardships in terms of eating, dwellings, child care, and so on. These adversely influenced labor discipline within the mill.

Recently, the mill has stressed the education of all the workers in labor discipline, making every person mindful of maintaining labor discipline. First of all, assuring the scheduled work day and work hour, carrying out political awareness, and organizing and bringing about a spirit of collective ownership, the factory organized for crowds of workers to study party directives and resolutions on labor discipline and to discuss regulations and labor discipline within the mill. This was closely attached to a drive to raise the quality of party members and admit Ho Chi Minh class party members with working methods, working at one's convenience, and disregarding production regulations and procedures. On the other hand, the mill carried out a close inspection of the work day and work hour through regular inspections of the work stoppage boards of the production teams, standing outside the mill gates to note late arrivals, and keep track of arrivals and departures. The mill was especially mindful of solidifying production teams along the lines of monthly adjusting the assignment of specific planned norms to each production team. The norms are not only comprised of norms in terms of production and product quality, norms in terms of protecting equipment and machinery, and norms in terms of material and fuel economization, but also in terms of the work day. For example, the mill used the specific conditions of each labor category to set up emulation norms in terms of work days; each month, a male worker must achieve 24 work units; female workers who have no children must achieve 23 work units; female workers with children over 36 months old must achieve 22 work units; female workers who have children under 36 months of age must achieve 21 work units; and so on. After assigning the norms, the mill arranged to follow through on them and closely inspected to see if their norms were being achieved by means of setting monthly periods for analyzing and appraising the level of completeness of each norm with regard to each norm. On the basis of the analysis and appraisal, the mill categorized the teams into three types: good, average, and inadequate. For example, any team

that achieves or surpasses the norm for average planned work days and guarantees the percentage of absentees or a smaller percentage than allowed in the plan, will be judged good in terms of the work day norm. This method of monthly typing the teams for awards has encouraged each worker to both successfully carry out his assignment and be concerned about completing the team's assignment. It has also had the effect of causing the team chiefs to be more concerned about the team's work and more closely manage the labor force of his team. Solidifying the production teams along the aforementioned lines has been responded to by crowds of laborers; the number of teams that have been judged to be good has risen from 40 up to 202 and the number of inadequate teams has declined from 71 to 11. As a result, the workers' spirit of volunteering and self-consciousness for carrying out labor discipline has grown greater each day and the bad habit of working at one's own convenience has declined. Comparing the end of 1970 with the last part of 1969, we can see that the percentage of workers taking leave for no reason declined from 0.75 to 0.06 percent and the percentage of workers taking leave to take care of personal matters declined from 0.80 to 0.28 percent, and recently it has been only 0.11 percent. The practice of arriving late and leaving early and doing personal matters during production hours has ended. Because of this, the scheduled work day and work hour has been assured.

The setting of labor goals has a great influence on labor management. Compared to previous years, especially during the period of evacuation, because of unstable working conditions, working to suit one's own convenience and giving little regard to labor discipline, and because the cadres were unconcerned and were not truly mindful of economic auditing and economy, the establishment of work norms was weak. There were norms that had been set up but not reached. In an effort to restore and get labor management on the right track, the mill reassigned all the workers in accord with already established norms. Not only taking into account the workers who man the weaving and spinning machines -- workers for whom norms can fairly easily be established -- but also taking into account service workers such as the workers who tie and untangle the thread, load the spindles, take off the shuttles, maintain the machinery, and including the transportation and sanitation workers, and so on, all have been assigned according to the norms. Based on already established norms, the mill set up planned norms that were relatively accurate for each workshop, engine room, and team for each quarter. Thanks to that, the mill has overcome the practice of irrationally transferring workers. Thanks to the assignment of workers according to the norms, the mill arranged the workers depending on the level of their skills and health. In this way, the mill was able to develop the ability of its workers. The reassignment of the labor force according to the norms allowed the mill to

take advantage of the skills of its fairly large reserve force, especially the service workers. In this way, it was able to overcome the practice of dependent working and the lack of urgency in production.

In an effort to rationally use the labor force, the mill reestablished a specific system and function for each bureau, section, cadre, and worker in determination to reentrench the management apparatus. Thanks to that, the mill reduced the number of management cadres and workers by one-third. And during the past 2 years, the mill pulled over 600 laborers from the production line and from management to deploy them in additional work.

The factory not only was mindful of rationally using the workers on the production but was also concerned about rationally using the surplus labor force. Those workers who were healthy were transferred to capital construction detachments; those who were fairly skilled were transferred to new thread workshops; and some of the workers who were weak were absorbed into secondary production workshops.

The setting up of secondary production workshops to give work to the weaker workers had great significance: for one thing, it assured that hundreds of the weaker workers would have steady work and could be assigned specific tasks and norms. As a result, they could be more satisfied with their work, maintain labor discipline, and raise labor efficiency. Moreover, because the work was light, it showed that the mill was concerned about the health of the workers. Some of the workers rapidly recovered their health and could be returned to primary production workshops. The second thing is: it makes full use of the by-products of the mill that had previously not received much attention such as remnants, tangled thread, and so on which could be made into dye bags, link belts, and so on in an effort to both produce various goods to serve production in the mill such as work brooms of various types, link belts made of thread and to serve the everyday lives of the people such as coat linings, blankets, and economical blanket linings and pillowcases, nursery goods, items for the collective dining halls, and so on.

In summary, thanks to the rise of labor discipline, being mindful of labor norms, and good assignment of the labor force, the mill not only was able to raise the number of work days and work units but was also able to go deep into the economic and technical contents of labor management and assure the more rational and economical use of the work force.

Eighty percent of the workers of the 8 March Textile Mill

are women. It has organized three shifts and the work has become urgent. The aforementioned labor and production conditions have a very great effect on the health of the workers, especially during the years of evacuation. The percentage of work days lost because of sickness rose from 3 percent in 1965 to 8 percent in 1969. Therefore, in an effort to rationally use the labor force, the mill has shown concern for the everyday lives of the workers such as their travelling back and forth, dwellings, nurseries, dispensaries, and so on.

Thanks to the construction of additional dwellings and the rational arrangements for collective housing areas, the factory was able to assure that a majority of the workers who were returning from the evacuated installations would have places to live. Because of this, crowds of workers have rapidly returned to normal production. With regard to the majority of workers who had to remain at distant locations, on one hand, the mill sent busses daily to bring them back (specifically, some of the workers were scattered in various areas, so the mill appropriated welfare money to buy bus tickets for them). On the other hand, the mill made arrangements so they would have beds, mats, blankets and nettings when they were working the third shift. As a result, many of the difficulties with regard to travel were reduced and additional rest time was available.

The 8 March Textile Mill has a large number of female workers who are of childbearing age. On the average, 800 children are born each year. Care of the young children is a big subject which has a direct influence on production. As a result, the mill is very concerned with building nurseries. At the present time, the mill's nurseries not only keep children during the third shift but keep some of the children throughout the entire week. The children who are in poorer health are divided into small groups so they can receive better care. In a recent inspection, the 8 March Textile Mill nurseries were recognized as some of the best nurseries in Hanoi. The children are in good health, well behaved, and allow their mothers to work contented. This allows the mothers additional rest time and aids their health. This has a great influence on raising the work days and work hours in the mill.

The mill is concerned with the daily fare of the workers and cadres. In addition to actively engaging in animal husbandry in an effort to improve its own food supply and guarantee a monthly average supply of 1.500 kilograms of meat and fish per person, the mill is also mindful of improving the cooking methods so the food would be more palatable and improve the method of serving the food so the workers would not have to stand in long queues and have to travel great distances. With regard to the workers who work the third shift, the workers who must come into contact with toxic

chemicals, and the workers who have high efficiency rates, the mill has arranged to provide food on the spot, such as soup, loaf bread, tea, oranges, and so on. With specific regard to the meal served to the third shift, in addition to the amount of money approved, the mill has given additional welfare funds to assure that every person working the night shift has a 0.50 dong standard meal. The night shift workers at the end of the month or when they work additional hours, the standard meal is 0.70 dong. In this way, the health of the workers is better assured.

The mill's public health sector has been assigned additional doctors and examinations and treatment for diseases involving the ear, nose, and throat are possible. The mill also has areas where the ill person can lie down and receive treatment on the spot. It has a maternity ward and separate treatment facility. The increased medical facilities not only guarantee that the workers and cadres of the mill can be examined and treated more rapidly so they will not have to lose time waiting for examinations in the hospitals in the city as they did previously. As a result, they now have more time for production, study, and rest. In addition to the above, the mill's athletic movement is currently strong and on the right track.

There are many aspects of the daily lives of the workers and cadres that need additional efforts. Nevertheless, the aforementioned work has had a very positive effect on improving the health of the workers and cadres. The percentage of days missed because of illness has been reduced from 8 percent for 1969 to 1 percent in 1970 and 1971, ending the practice where some workers use the pretext of hardships to get days off from work. As a result, the number of work days and work hours have risen. Moreover, concern for the daily life of the workers and cadres has had a stabilizing effect on the labor situation and crowds of workers are content in production and creating favorable conditions which encourage increased labor efficiency.

Expanding the Paying of Piecework Wages, and Actively Carrying Out the Monetary Award System

The 8 March Textile Mill has been paying piecework wages since 1966. In previous years, because of evacuations and unstable production conditions and, moreover, because the payment of piecework wages was not being carried out very well, the payment of piecework wages was restricted and had not developed a good effect. Since June 1970, the payment of piecework wages at the mill has taken a turn for the better; the number of persons receiving piecework wages is increasing every day; the practice has been expanded from the skilled tasks to include the service workers; and has been expanded from the thread and weaving work-

shops to include the power, printing, and dye workshops. As of the present time, the mill has 2,586 people earning piecework wages, an increase of 6 percent compared to the first months of 1970. For the next few years, the mill's policy will be to make the payment of piecework wages primary throughout the mill. Currently, with the payment of piecework wages, nearly all the workers are actively engaged in production and concerned about labor efficiency and wasting time and violations of labor discipline have nearly disappeared.

The reasons for the changes is that the mill has paid proper attention to the paying of piecework wages and made it a general practice for the entire mill in an effort to concentrate guidance and stress the resolutions of the party committee. The director supervises directly, regularly conducts inspections, and keeps close track of the payment of piecework wages. On the basis of increased leadership and guidance, the mill was able to set up a rational price list for paying piecework wages and methods to audit quality, guaranteeing the correct payment of wages for the quantity and quality.

Before setting up the list for paying proper piecework wages, the mill had to be concerned with setting up rational and advanced labor norms.

Last year, the mill rechecked the labor norms for the entire production line. On that basis, the mill identified norms that were not appropriate and readjusted them. For example, the mill discovered that the norm for operating a thread machine was the same as the norm set in 1965 and was still appropriate but for some time there have been parts that have been lax. This made a very important contribution toward raising the average efficiency norm for operating the thread machine 8 percent, and, in some instances, 13 percent. Previously, in the supply, combing, linking, and coarse thread areas -- areas which were slow in accommodating the weaving area -- the operating of the looms was not uniform. The primary cause for this state of affairs was that these areas had not carried out the paying of piecework wages. There was a shortage of personnel and the norms were too advanced. As a result, labor efficiency was low. Recently, in an effort to expand the paying of piecework wages, in addition to successfully preparing technical conditions for production, the mill paid particular attention to overcoming worry and conservative thinking on the part of the workers and cadres and to boldly apply progressive norms. Thanks to this, labor efficiency rose and timely service to the weaving area was made possible and the production line was balanced. Accompanying the aforementioned adjustments, the mill also adjusted the norm for the loom operators. Previously, in the weaving area there were several different ways to assign operators to the looms such as one operator to 8, 12, or

16 looms. However, experience has shown that it was not in keeping with present conditions to assign one operator to 12 or 16 looms. Those conditions being: the skill level and health of many of the workers, the maintenance capability of the production team chief, and so on. If one operator operates 12 or 16 looms, not only must additional shuttle removers and other service workers be added to the work force but the shuttle removers do not coordinate closely with the operators which means that there are times when the looms have to be shut down and wait for the shuttle remover. Moreover, operating 12 or 16 looms is exhausting to the operator and he cannot coordinate all the looms. As a result, not many of the looms operate well or continuously. This not only results in low output, but quality is also adversely affected. Recently, the mill decided on a norm for operating 8 looms with the operator loading and unloading the shuttle and tying and untangling the thread. The shuttle loaders could now be made operators. The mill was also mindful of improving the working methods of the operators. For example, it improved the shift changes so that when the new operators arrive they would not be confused and the mill improved the threading of the looms so the errors and damage could more easily be seen on the looms. The mill also rationally deployed the workers each day in order to both make the work appealing and raise efficiency. In addition, the mill improved handling so it could be done more rapidly and reduced the time the looms are shut down. Although more study must be done to determine the best number of looms per operator, for present conditions, eight looms per operator gives the best results. At this ratio, the looms run uniformly and continuously, the operator's health is better, and personnel shortages have been overcome while the total number of workers on the production line has not been increased. This has contributed to an increase in labor efficiency: the average efficiency for each loom per shift during 1969 was 22.93 meters of material; in 1971, it was 25.18 meters; and in 1971, 28.31 meters. Thanks to the increase in the average efficiency rate, the rate used to calculate the price list for the weavers during 1971 was 4 percent higher than it was in 1971; in some instances it was 11 percent higher.

The above situation shows us that setting up rational norms creates a good foundation for calculating the price list for paying piecework wages and for assuring the principle of distribution according to the work in product wages. This has encouraged the workers to raise labor efficiency and develop production. At the present time, in order to decide on labor norms that are more and more rational and in keeping with the daily increasing spirit of ownership of the workers and in order that production techniques can be further improved, at the end of every year, the mill rechecks the norms so they can be readjusted on a timely basis and serve as a basis for setting up appropriate price lists for paying piecework wages.

In an effort to calculate an appropriate price list for paying piecework wages and in addition to having rational and progressive norms, the mill must rationally rate the work. That is, it must correctly rate the work in terms of complexity. For some time now within the factory, the workers who perform the service tasks such as transportation, pouring the thread, and so on, that is the less complicated tasks, have had a rating that was higher than the rating for the loom operators. This has not created jealousy among the workers. Recently, the mill rated the work depending on the complexity of the work in terms of organization and technology. For example, the operation of a loom was rated at a higher level than service tasks and the operation of an automatic loom was rated higher than the operation of a regular loom, and so on. The proper rating of the task creates a firm base for calculating the price list for paying piecework wages. Moreover, it encourages the operators of the highly rated looms and automatic looms. Currently, over 95 percent of the looms are maintained automatically. This is the highest percentage in several years. Along with rating the work, the mill accurately determined the degree of encouragement in the price list. This motivated the workers to switch from set wages to a piecework wages system.

In order to assure that the piecework wages system was fair and rational, the mill carried out a number of related decisions, such as calculating wages depending on product quality, paying wages at the proper time, and so on.

Concerning the calculation of wages depending on product quality, the mill decided that: material that was of the quality of category I would be paid at 120 percent of the price list; category II material would be paid at 100 percent, category III material would be paid at 90 percent, and category IV material would be paid at only 70 percent of the price list. Putting into practice the material award and penalty system with regard to product quality had the effect of dampening the tendency to do sloppy work and try for simple quantity and encouraged the workers to accept difficult studies to raise their skill. The mill paid special attention to methods to organize, educate, and supplement the skills of the workers such as setting up a system of clear responsibility, assigning specific tasks, supervising and conducted detailed technical investigations, and setting up detailed technical standards. At the same time, the mill emphasized the education of the workers in the ideology that producing good material is virtuous and honorable and the way of life of the mill. The mill was especially concerned about further increasing the skill of the workers and initiated the "train skilled hands to produce a skilled worker" movement; motivated the good workers to help the less skilled workers; edited documents dealing with technical rating standards so the workers can have materials available to study and investigate the craft. As a result, the skill levels of many of

the mill workers was rapidly raised and many of the workers have achieved good and skilled levels. At the present time, the quality of the mill's products must be improved such as in terms of the fine texture of the material, the shininess, and color in order to meet the demands of the consumers. The exercising of the material award and penalty system mentioned above has had an important effect on assuring that the mill exceeded the norms for product quality during 1970 and 1971. Type A material during 1970 increased 1.1 percent compared to the plan; during 1971, the increase was 2.8 percent. Type B material was reduced 3.5 percent in 1970 and in 1971, it was reduced more than 17 percent below the permissible level. This is a very commendable accomplishment in terms of product quality. In addition to exercising an award and penalty system for product quality, the mill conducted an award and penalty system for work quality. For example, the mill meted out awards and penalties for equipment management. As a result, the sense of responsibility of the production team chiefs was raised and the ideology of blaming difficulties on broken down looms, long periods needed for repair, and so on has been overcome.

With regard to paying the workers their wages on time, thanks to improving the accounting and statistical tasks and to improving original copying system, the mill is able to pay wages on time. Previously, it was the middle of the next month before the accounting for the previous month was completed. Now, it is finished shortly after the end of the month and, moreover, wages are paid promptly to the workers. As a result, the workers are enthusiastic about production. While expanding the practice of paying piecework wages to include the service workers, the mill also used appropriate forms for dividing up the earnings such as using a grading system. In this way, the mill both guaranteed the principle of dividing up the earnings according to work and maintained worker solidarity.

In summary, thanks to setting up rational labor norms, rating the work, and offering appropriate incentive, the mill was able to form an accurate price list for paying piecework wages and assure the principle that as the pace of production rises, the pace of wage increases also rises. At the same time, thanks to the tight maintenance of regulation, the mill has ceased the incorrect thinking such as sloppy work and lack of solidarity among the workers. These are basic conditions for expanding the practice of paying piecework wages. At the present time the practice of paying piecework wages needs to be continued and strengthened. There are several aspects that need additional efforts such as further raising product quality, reducing the number of cases where the worker is not properly matched to the job, and so on. Nevertheless, past efforts to expand the practice of paying piecework wages has had a very pronounced effect on developing production, increasing labor discipline, and improving both man-

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agement and the daily lives of the workers. Nearly all the workers who receive piecework wages actively engage in production and raise labor efficiency and the production plans are always fulfilled or exceeded. Various aspects of management and services for the laborers in production such as material supplies, spare parts, accounting, and so on have been further improved. On this basis, the lives of the workers has been improved; the workers who are receiving piecework wages account for 90 percent of the workers who have increase incomes; and average increase in wages has been from 10 to 11 dong a month.

Along with expanding the practice of paying piecework wages, the mill energetically put into effect monetary award systems with regard to units that do not have favorable conditions for carrying out the practice of paying piecework wages by awarding increases in efficiency, increases in product quality, exercising the conservation of fuel and materials, and so on with a view toward encouraging the workers to step up production. With regard to substance, the funds for the awards are supplementary wages that further fulfill the principle of distribution according to labor. The aforementioned monetary awards system has had a positive effect in motivating the workers and cadres to enthusiastically increase labor efficiency, raise product quality, and seek out more and more methods to save fuel and materials.

In addition to the aforementioned monetary awards system, the mill has implemented a monetary awards system for completing assignments in conjunction with guaranteeing a high number of work days and working a sufficient number of the night shifts. This is an awards method of coordinating the completion of the production plan with guaranteeing sufficient work days and the working of a sufficient number of night shifts during the month. This system is being used in the primary production sections that have had difficulties for a long time such as the thread, weaving, and power shops. In an effort to assure that this awards system both encourages the workers to work a sufficient number of night shifts and gain economic results for the mill, the mill has set up rational award norms. For example, the award money has been divided into two types: A and B. Type A money is reserved for the workers who complete the production plan and work a sufficient number of work days and night shifts during the month (8 nights). Type B money is set aside for workers who complete the production plan and who worked a sufficient number of work days but are short 1 night shift. Depending on technical requirements and the degree of wasted manpower, each workshop has created three different award indexes: 1 dong, 0.80 dong, and 0.50 dong for working a night shift.

In an effort to link up the individual task with the collective task, the mill has stipulated that even though an individu-

al task with the collective task, the mill has stipulated that even though an individual has fulfilled the standards for type A money and his production team only completed 90 percent of the plan, that individual is only eligible for type B money, and only machine operators are eligible for awards; service workers are not eligible.

Along with the practice of paying piecework wages, the awards system has a great effect on production. If we compare September 1970, the first month that the system was in effect, with August 1970, a month that the system was not in effect, the number of workers working the night shift rose 44.5 percent. At the present time, the number of workers on the night shift is no less than the number on the day shift and the worker "shortage" has ended. Although the awards system has caused expenses to rise, it has brought in more money. For example, for the fourth quarter, expenses rose 37,597 dong but the total value of production for that quarter was 3,053,110 dong above the plan.

Increasing Leadership and Guidance With Regard to Labor Management

The aforementioned advances in labor management has not diminished the close leadership and guidance of the party committee and the director. The party committee and the director recognize the important position of labor management and see the relationship between labor management and other management aspects, especially production management and technical management. Because of this, the party committee and the director are greatly concerned about leading and supervising labor management, seeing it as one of the best methods to develop production. However, the party committee and the director did not recognize this right from the first. Recognition was a gradual process and gained through actually guiding production, through studying party and state documents, directives, resolutions on labor management, through struggling to overcome conservative thinking, and so on.

The party committee and the mill director were especially concerned about educating management cadres, especially the supervisors, department heads, and production team chiefs, so they clearly understand the labor management task and know that they must be concerned about all three aspects -- utilization, deployment, and training -- and must be able to coordinate many methods education, organization, economics, and administration.

In leadership and guidance, the mill has set up a way to work democratically. Each major method for increasing labor management such as strengthening worker discipline, expanding the practice of paying piecework wages, instituting an awards system, and so on is carefully discussed between the director and the party committee and widely distributed among the cadres and workers. When the major policies and methods have been unani-

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mously decided on and become resolutions of the party committee, the director directly issues orders, gives commands, and daily monitors progress. All the workers and employees of the mill must obey the orders of the director in the work process.

In an effort to create favorable conditions for increasing guidance in labor management, the mill considers that additional political, ideological, management, and similar training is very important for management cadres, especially the department heads and production team chiefs, with a view toward creating an army of management cadres who have good ethics and professional skills.

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The mill is concerned about educating the cadres in setting good examples, primarily in the spirit of strictly carrying out orders from the higher echelons and putting an end to the situation where the lower echelon does not listen to the higher echelon, the department head does not control the team chiefs, and the team chiefs do not control the workers. The mill is very strict about awarding and penalizing the management cadres. For example, it is prompt to deal with the people who do poor work and, at the same time, prompt to award the good cadres. This practice has a good influence on the workers. The cadres who have quality and ability are promoted. Many technical and professional cadres have been transferred to tasks that are more suited to their abilities.

Recently, the mill reorganized the management apparatus along the lines of reducing administrative tasks and increasing economic and technical management. This has had a very important effect on supervising labor management. For example, the statistics and accounting bureaus have been combined, not only raising the quality of economic information; supplying more timely, accurate, and complete data; and contributing greatly to the expansion of the practice of paying piecework wages and the awards system, but also to transferring more people into direct production tasks. The collective dining room, the production quality section, and the units have been strengthened and this has had a great influence in raising the quality and the quantity of the workers. Along with reentrenching the bureaus and sections, the mill is emphasizing socialist cooperation between the bureaus and sections. For example, the mill has increased the degree of coordination between the bureaus and sections -- the labor and wages bureau, the statistics and accounting bureau, the technical and production bureau, the production quality section, and the norm setting section. As a result, the mill increased the various aspects of keeping track of the progress, supervision, auditing the data, determining labor norms, and so on. This has had a very great effect on labor management.

The progress in labor management made by the 8 March Textile Mill during the past 2 years has been very great and encouraging. Although this is only the first step and, moreover, the progress has not been uniform in the workshops, there are some aspects that need more effort. Planned parenthood must be practiced, culture and education should be stepped up, and so on. As a result, the cadres and workers are not subjective and satisfied with the progress that has been achieved and are now striving to overcome difficulties and shortcomings, looking for every method that can be used successfully to make the most use of existing manpower and equipment, and are determined to more rapidly increase labor efficiency.

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PARTY ACTIVITIES; SEVERAL IDEAS ON RAISING THE QUALITY OF PARTY CHAPTERS IN THE RURAL AREAS.

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 52-58]

The party chapter is of special importance in the organizational structure of the party because the party chapter "is the grassroots organization of the party, the connection between the party and the masses, the place of organization to carry out every policy of the party, and also the place for forging party members and training party cadres." The party is strong only when the party chapter is strong. At the present time, our party holds political power. This allows the party to make wide use of the various organizations, the ways and means, and methods that have effect with regard to the state from the higher echelons to the lower echelons, and coordinate with the other methods to victoriously carry out the policies, programs, and resolutions of the party. This makes it easy for some party members to look lightly on the role of the party chapter. Looking lightly on the work of the party chapter is to underestimate the leadership of the party. This is because when the party chapter has not been strengthened it is not possible to develop the vanguard intelligence and concepts and the exemplary conduct of the party members. If this is not done, it is not possible to take advantage of the revolutionary potential of the masses.

Currently, in the building of socialism, one of the especially important tasks of the party is to bring agriculture from small scale production to large scale socialist production with high efficiency, mechanization, and specialized crop raising. In an effort to carry out this difficult and complicated task, the subject of raising the quality of party chapters in the rural areas becomes a very pressing one. This is due to the party chapter's being the party's direct leadership and combat unit in the cooperatives, a place for educating, forging, and admitting party members, and a place to directly carry out and lead the masses in carrying out every policy and program of the party

in the rural area. Only when the party chapter is a good party chapter will the cooperatives be stable, production and combat be good, the lives of the people improve, the collective ownership role of the masses develop, and the policies and programs of the party and state be successfully carried out. Because of the results of carrying out the party's policy of collectivizing agriculture, the Vietnamese farmer has reached a turning point in history. From an individual making a separate living on a small plot of land he has become a collective and is the master of the fields and ruler of the countryside. Now more than ever before, the farmers have the conditions for fully developing to the fullest their revolutionary potential. The collective farmer class has been and will be a great and inexhaustible source of manpower and material for the resistance against America for national salvation and for the building of socialism. This is so because of the talented leadership of our party and the grassroots organization of the party but also especially because the party chapters that have been established throughout North Vietnam are daily and hourly motivating, organizing, and educating the masses. Nevertheless, reviewing the situation of the party chapters in the rural areas, we see that there is a fairly large number of party chapters that have not determined their proper position and role. They are not constantly trying to strengthen the party chapter and some of them are even without mass organizations. After an inspection of a few provinces following the 1971 floods, the number of deficient party chapters reached 20 percent. This objective reality and the requirements of the current assignment demands that we must not cease to raise the quality of the party chapters, especially the party chapters in the rural areas.

In the present stage of the revolution, a good party chapter must have a high sense of responsibility; have the ability to carry out the policies of the party and state; keep abreast of the local situation; properly outline policies, trends, and assignments; and have the proper methods to carry out these policies, trends, and assignments. A good party chapter must successfully lead production; build close ties with the masses; organize and care for the lives of the people; assure the development of the right of collective ownership among the masses; hinder and overcome bureaucratic corruption, tyranny, dictatorship, and acts that violate the democratic interests and rights of the people. A good party chapter strengthen and build up the party chapter internally including the various aspects of party member tasks, building up the organizations, carry out the action principle of the party, and build up internal strength and solidarity. Finally, a good party chapter must have good rank of key cadres, know how to deploy its cadres and assign party members well, and have rich forms for raising the cultural, political, economic, technical, and professional levels of the cadres and party members.

From this realization, we can see that, in order to raise

of the party chapter at the grassroots and the manifestation of the collective intellect of the party members in discussing and searching for successful methods to carry out the assignment of the party chapter and contribute to the overall leadership of the party. Therefore, raising the quality of party chapter activities is a basic method aimed at raising the effectiveness of party chapter leadership and forging and raising the quality of party members. When the drive to raise the quality of party members and admit Ho Chi Minh class party members, the party stressed and outlined the relationship between raising the quality of party activities and the educating and raising the quality of party members: "The raising of the quality of party members and the admission of Ho Chi Minh class party members must be closely connected with the work and activities of the party chapters and grassroots party organizations and connected with the mass movement. Raising the quality of the grassroots party organizations is a very important method for raising the quality of party members."

Carrying out the resolution of the Party Central Committee, the party chapters in the rural areas are striving for the party chapter activities to have deeper political contents; more and more assume the proper position, function, and assignment of a grassroots organization of the party in the rural area; and daily increase the close association between carrying out the immediate political task and raising the quality of party members. The activities of the party chapters in general has improved. Nevertheless, there is still a fairly large number of party chapters where the quality of activities is too low and they are not fully carrying out the leadership, combat, and education characteristics of the party chapter. There are party chapters that, although they hold long and involved meetings, do not properly discuss basic subjects and, as a result, the effectiveness of leadership and combat is low and has little effect on the education and raising the ideological concepts and political level of the party members. In many areas, especially in areas where the party chapter is weak, the activities of the party chapter is frequently inadequate and late. This is a primary reason why the thinking and activity of the party members are not unified, the morale of the party members low, the policies of the party and state not successfully carried out, assignments not completed, and so on. This has an adverse effect on motivating and developing creativity, on the strengthening of the cooperatives, and on the relations between the party and the masses. We must rapidly overcome this situation and step by step rearrange and increase the quality of party chapters in the rural areas.

The raising of the quality of the activities of the party chapters in the rural areas is, first of all, to make the party chapters fully bring out the leadership, combat, and education characteristics. In order to fulfill the three characteristics,

the activities of the party chapters must be centrally discussed to solve the important problems related to the policies and programs of the party and the lives of the people and related to strengthening and developing the party chapter and the mass movements. Le Duan has clearly pointed out that "The activities of the party chapters must truly have concrete and rich political contents and must discuss the policies and programs of the party; the work of the locality or unit; the plan to organize and carry out the work; the production and everyday lives of the masses; the assignment and function of each party member and cadre; and review the results of carrying out the policies of the party chapter and the responsibilities of each person; and so on."² The activities of the party chapter must step up criticism and self-criticism; must express whether the attitude is right or wrong; discuss the policies and programs of the party; and discuss the trends, tasks, policies, and work plans of the locality; review and evaluate the situation and the work that has been done; determine the responsibilities of every party member; discuss the political study and logic plans; and so on. Party chapter activities must clearly define the task and function and organize close inspections; issue specific resolutions; and not only have unity in terms of direction, and policy but also have a plan for detailed execution. Party chapter activities must also raise the ideological viewpoint of the working class and scientific working methods of the party members and at the same time, successfully carry out research and study on logic and political subjects with a view toward raising the political and ideological levels of the party members. ,

Raising the quality of party chapter activities in the rural areas also helps the activities of the party chapters guarantee the party principle of democratic centralism. Party chapter activities are primarily concrete expressions of the democratic centralism principle of the party. Nevertheless, there is not one party chapter that has met on the principle of democratic centralism. A great number of party chapters meet a lot and discuss a great deal but it is not democratic nor central and do not properly solve the problems set forth which leads to disunity. That is because the substance and principle of democratic centralism is not being properly carried out. In an effort to overcome this situation, the party chapter must be truly prepared for the meeting. We must be determined to overcome the situation of holding meetings that are not well prepared and not telling the party members about the contents of the meetings beforehand and about what subjects will be brought up for discussion. Prior to the meeting there must be detailed preparations. During the meeting ample time must be set aside for the discussion of important subjects and digressions should be avoided. During discussions, the person in control of the meeting must guide and motivate the party members to express many ideas but concisely, practically, and on the central theme. There should be a clear conclusion and resolution on resolutions.

Raising the quality of party chapter activities in the rural areas is to build a strict form of meetings for the party chapters. This appears simple but it is a very essential requirement for the weaker party chapters. The party chapters in the agricultural cooperatives must rapidly overcome the situation of not holding scheduled meetings, having party members not attend for no reason, having party members come to the meeting without a notebook, the party chapter not having a record book, and disregarding party activities or having too many party activities during a month.

The raising of the quality of the party chapters in the rural areas is closely connected with the subject of raising the levels of the cadres, especially key cadres such as the party chapter secretary and deputy secretary because these comrades are in charge of the party chapter meetings. They have an understanding of the party's plans and policies and a deep understanding of the realities of the locality and the cooperative. They know how to correctly carry out the functions of the party chapter and have the capability for successfully organizing to carry out these functions. They have experience in supervising meetings and can bring up subjects for discussion and successfully guide the discussions. Therefore, in one aspect, we have a plan to raise the level of these comrades and, on the other hand, with regard to each policy and program that is passed down to be put into action at the grassroots, the higher echelons must be mindful of providing detailed training to these key cadres so they will understand the contents and substance of each subject and understand the thinking and important points and know how to carry them out. There is a need to carry out a review and categorize these cadres so there can be a plan for supplementary education to raise the levels of these cadres. We also need to arrange for these cadres to study areas where they can improve the activities of the party chapter and how the secretaries can successfully carry out their responsibilities.

Recently, the Propaganda and Training Section of the Party Central Committee suggested the carrying out of three types of party chapter activities: the first type is for the party chapter to study the policies and plans of the party and study the specific situation of the locality for which that party chapter is responsible in order to outline programs and methods to carry them out (for example, study the policies on the purchasing and distribution of grain, policies regarding military responsibilities, and the learning of the cooperative members, and so on). The second is the discussion of the internal tasks of the party such as admitting people into the party, carrying out discipline among the party members, criticism and self-criticism, and so on. The third is activities regarding current events, politics, and logic. Carrying out these three types of activities will help the party chapters realize the characteristics of leadership, combat, and

education. The party chapters in the rural areas must do this.

Along with raising the quality of activities, the party chapters in the rural areas must gradually improve their leadership and guidance formulas. They must clearly distinguish the functions of the party chapter and chapter committee from the functions of the cooperatives and mass organizations in order to avoid duplication of effort. In the work of guiding production, there is a need to respect and develop the scientific guidance role of the management board of the cooperative and the chiefs and deputy chiefs of the production units. The party chapter committee and party team chiefs supervise production such as transferring manpower, assigning work to the production team chiefs, and so on. This work must create favorable conditions for the management board and production units to operate. In leading the mass organizations such as the youth group chapters, women's association detachments, and so on, the party chapter must not only motivate and appeal in a general manner but, based on the function of each organization, outline specific direction and activities for the cooperatives to help the organizations develop creativity, democratic discussions, and come up with methods to perform the work that has been outlined. The party chapter must summarize the situation, ideas, and aspirations of each organization and motivate the masses to unite around the party, stepping up the patriotic emulation movement. The party chapters in the rural area must perform comprehensive leadership, central guidance, gain experience, and provide specific aid in terms of programs, plans, and reviews to assure democracy while continuing centralism.

3 -- Raising the quality of party members.

President Ho frequently taught that "The party is strong because the party chapter is strong. The party chapter is strong because the party members are enthusiastic and set good examples."³ Le Duan has clearly pointed out that "If we want a strong party and strong party chapter, the quality of each party member must be really good."⁴ Therefore, raising the quality of party members has a decisive significance with regard to raising the quality of the party chapter and has a great effect on raising the combat strength of the party. The resolution of the Party Political Bureau on raising the quality of party members and admitting Ho Chi Minh class party members is primarily aimed at this goal.

Raising the quality of party members in the party chapters in the rural areas is primarily emphasizing the education and further training of party members in ethical quality and revolutionary potential. It must be recognized that our cadres and party members in the rural areas are maturing in every respect. A majority of them toil wholeheartedly and with enthusiasm, display the re-

volutionary ethics of a communist individual, maintain a diligent, simple, and clean life style, and gained much work experience. Many have shown that they are worthy of the full trust of the party and the people. Nevertheless, in the face of the requirements of the new assignment and the requirement to develop agriculture totally and advance to large scale socialist production, the aforementioned efforts and progress are not sufficient. The ranks of our cadres and party members in the rural areas still have many shortcomings, especially in terms of capability to apply party policies and programs and to organize to carry out the policies and programs; in terms of economic, scientific, and technical understanding; cultural level; and so on. The quality and ethics of a small number of cadres has seriously declined and individualism is fairly serious. In the weaker areas, these deficiencies are evident and there are violations such as corruption, decadence, debts, infringements on the land of the cooperatives, infringements on the democratic rights of the people, and so on. This objective reality causes us to see that educating and training the party members in quality, revolutionary ethics, and work ability is a very pressing matter at the present time. It will cause our party members to raise their enthusiasm for work and raise their combat will; give them a good and honest spirit; and heighten their efforts to closely coordinate with the masses and they will learn to respect and develop the collective rights of the masses. Further training for the cadres and party members will help the party member have the capability to understand and apply the policies of the party and give them the ability to organize and supervise with skill, give them a higher cultural level, and higher level in economic, scientific, and technical management, and so on.

In order to raise the quality of the party members, along with training and education, emphasis must be placed on more successfully carrying out the division of labor of the party members. This is because the division of labor of the party members is a form of training the party members in practical work, getting the party members out to fight for the party assignment, and give them a sense of responsibility and a higher level of understanding of the everyday tasks of a party member. A fairly large number of party chapters in the rural areas are still confused about the division of labor of the party members. The shortcomings which these party chapters frequently encounter is that the division of labor of the party members is not in keeping with the political assignment of the locality and not coordinated with the assault divisions of labor for each month. Some party members are assigned tasks that are not in keeping with their abilities, specialties, health, and family situation. The ratio of cadres assigned to the various sectors is not balanced and there is not proper attention being paid to animal husbandry units and units in other sectors. Too much emphasis is placed on form

and the party members are undertaking the work of others. There is not enough emphasis on supplementary education and training, and on the assignment of appropriate tasks for the masses outside the party. Inspections and reviews are not carried out well or with regularity. The party chapter must rapidly overcome these shortcomings and scientifically and rationally carry out the division of labor for the party members.

Successfully carrying out the development of the party and being determined to get those persons who do not have the characteristics of a party member out of the party are also forms for raising the quality of party members. Both these aspects are important. We have guaranteed the requirements pointed out in the resolution of the Political Bureau. Nevertheless, there are still shortcomings that must be overcome such as the number of persons being admitted into the party who do not meet the standards -- a number that is not small. This fact shows that the process of admitting people into the party is not yet good. This tendency toward laxness and lowering the standards for admitting persons into the party is serious. On one hand, we must criticize and overcome this tendency and, on the other hand, prevent and overcome the tendency for strictness which leads to stagnation and fear of responsibility and not actively carrying out the development of the party.

The raising of the quality of the party chapter in the rural area is an assignment that holds a central and special position in strengthening and building up the party. In the past, we have had good success in this respect. However, because the party chapters in the rural areas have special characteristics, so when we are trying to raise the quality of the party chapters we must apply the appropriate methods and formulas. Only then can we get the desired results.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan, "Under the Glorious Banner of the Party, for Independence, Freedom, and Socialism, Advancing To Win New Victories," Hoc Tap, No 2, 1970, p 96.
2. Ibid, p 97.
3. Ho Chi Minh, "Appeals," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Vol 6, p 145.
4. Le Duan, Op. cit., p 97.

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PARTY CHAPTER ACTIVITY IN TAN PHU PARTY CHAPTER

[Article by Bui Van Thu; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 59-63]

The Tan Phu party chapter belongs to the party organization of Phu Lam Township, Thanh Oai District, Ha Tay Province. During the past few years, our Tan Phu party chapter has made many definite efforts in leading the cooperative to promote production, fulfill its obligation to the state, and raise the living standards of the people. In actual practice, we have attained results worthy of enthusiasm. In party construction however, our party chapter still has a number of shortcomings, especially in failing to give the proper level of attention to improving and raising the quality of party chapter activity. This has partially reduced the strength of the party chapter. We wish to present some principal shortcomings of our party chapter in party chapter activity.

First of all in the party activity concept of the party member: during the year 1971, our party chapter organized 14 party chapter meetings and one party chapter congress. The meeting of greatest attendance had 46 party members, 82 percent of the total party chapter. The meeting of least attendance had only 20 party members, 35.8 percent. Ten meetings had over 50 percent of the party members attending. Four meetings had less than 50 percent. During the fifth party chapter congress in November 1971 -- an important political activity of the party chapter -- nearly 20 party members were absent. At the opening session, up to 14 comrades were absent without reason. One comrade during 1971 was absent from nine party chapter meetings, eight without reason. One party member with shortcomings was called four times by the party cell to attend a meeting for review but did not appear. A number of cadres, especially those in the township party committee, have not yet made efforts to arrange their time in order to attend the party chapter meetings. During 1971, two party committee members were absent from 10 party chapter activity sessions. At times the party chapter was unable to meet due to too few party members. Party members attending usually failed to arrive at the proper time. Meetings were convened at 1400 but could only be held at 16 or 1630. Meetings convened at 1900 could only be held at 2100. During the meetings, a majority of the party members paid attention and listened but the remainder lacked concentration and talked privately or dozed. Nearly all the party members failed to register or no log book was kept. Each time a problem required discussion,

very few of the party members expressed their views. At any meeting, a maximum of only five or six comrades expressed their opinions. However, discussion was heavy after the conference. Some party members even misunderstood the spirit of the meeting, expressed their opinions haphazardly, revealed all the internal secrets, and caused a few bad elements to take advantage in criticizing the party members and cadres.

The reason for the situation above was primarily due to the party concept of a number of party members. The standards of party understanding of these party members were not yet profound. These party members did not fully recognize the importance of party chapter activity. Party chapter activity is an important step in strengthening and streamlining the primary level organization of the party and is a school to educate, train, and temper the party member. Only with regular party chapter activity can the collective leadership of the party primary level organization be achieved. Participation in party chapter activity is the right and obligation of the party member. A number of party members in our party chapter expressed their fear of hardship and that meetings were a waste of work and time. Some said that "it makes no difference whether a meetings is held or not" and "the cooperative will continue to advance when advancing and to decline when declining." On the other hand, our party chapter did not give the proper level of concern to educating the party member in a concept of party activity participation and did not have good methods to assure the best results in party chapter activity, especially not being truly strict with those party members arbitrarily disregarding party activity. Party statutes stipulates that "any party member who without legitimate reason disregards party activity or who does not pay his party dues for 3 successive months will be considered as automatically expelled from the party." We have not strictly observed this statute, causing a number of party members to neglect the principle of party organization and discipline.

In party chapter activity themes, although we have begun to utilize achievement of the political mission as an activity theme, there are still appreciable shortcomings. Nearly all the party chapter meetings are reserved solely to explain and disseminate the policies of upper echelons or to "adopt" the work predictions of the party chapter committee, not utilizing discussion of the policies or working methods of the party chapter as the primary theme to educate and train the party members. Many times we have deviated to the task of the administration and cooperative such as evaluating the quality of a number of public bicycles for resale to the cooperative members at the free market price, assigning personnel to corvee labor, water conservancy, etc. Because we have not yet differentiated the leadership role of the party chapter from the achievement organization function of the cooperative management section, it is still imagined that such procedure is effective without revolving around the cooperative. At times the party chapter secretary has directly convened a conference of production team leaders to disseminate the plan of rice care and pest prevention and eradication or at times the party chapter has been organized for technical training, harvesting and transplanting competitions, etc. We have only realized at the present time that in remaining close to the political mission and the cooperative, discussion of specific

plans by the party chapter is totally correct and necessary but it should not undertake the entire task of the cooperative management section, pursue the area of the administration, or lower the leadership and educational role of the party chapter. Party chapter meetings are not solely to hear dissemination of immediate tasks but more importantly to establish policies and methods in work aspects to lead the cooperative in the successful achievement of specific political missions in the local area and to assist the party member in what to learn in ideological and political concepts.

Our party chapter has also failed to give the proper level of emphasis to expanding criticism in party chapter activity. During the past year, almost no meetings were set aside to review the party members and organize for the party member to engage in criticism and self-criticism. Among the cadres and party members, there is a fear of criticism and conflict. A number of party members worry about saving face. Some comrades think that criticism and self-criticism are only appropriate for agency and enterprise party chapters while in the rural area, the relationship between party members is at times that of a father and son, uncle and nephew, or between brothers and if not, poor relations will exist and mutual criticism will easily become hatred. In actual practice, comrades who previously enthusiastically and straightforwardly criticized the mistakes of a number of party members and cadres have not withdrawn because they feel resented and hated. The party chapter has not yet established an atmosphere of relaxed and sincere activity with straightforward efforts to assist each other. Consequently, the political and ideological quality of party chapter activity is still low.

Another shortcoming of our party chapter in party chapter activity is that insufficient concern has been given to party construction. Nearly all the activity sessions discuss only production and combat with few concerning strengthening of the party chapter, admission of new members, education and training of party members, cadre training, establishment of mass organizations, etc. There is therefore an administrative and simple nature such as indecision to discipline party members, plans for party chapter congresses, party organization congresses, etc. Only with a strong party chapter can the cooperative be strong and the progress of the local area be firm and swift. Some among us think that the cooperative will advance without a strong party chapter. These individuals do not recognize that the cooperative makes accomplishments thanks to the leadership of the party chapter and the efforts of all cadres and party members. Only by strengthening and building a truly strong party chapter can the cooperative have a foundation for totally, strongly, and firmly advancing. In our party chapter at the present time, the understanding of the party members in every aspect fails to answer the requirements of the political mission. A number of party members still are greatly concerned for the living standards of their families and themselves and do not place the benefits of the collective and people over everything else and first. They consider and calculate their own interests, not giving their entire mind and strength to the work of the party chapter and cooperative. Some party members reject missions assigned by the party. The party chapter does not yet well-conduct the ideological and political education of the party member and does not give concern to establishment of mass organizations and elementary and advanced training of a

strong cadre rank. A number of existing problems of the party chapter have not been thoroughly resolved. Only by efforts to improve the quality of party chapter activity while simultaneously relying on the masses and actively mobilizing the masses to participate in party construction, first of all through achievement evaluation and reporting and organizing the masses to criticize the cadres and party members and contribute opinions to party chapter construction can the existing problems in party work of our chapter be rapidly and effectively overcome.

Concerning party activity procedures, our party chapter at times previously stipulated a monthly schedule of party chapter activity. Party cells met on the second day of the month, the party chapter met on the eighth, and the party chapter committee met on the 15th and 30th. Before each party chapter meeting, the party chapter secretary and party chapter committee carefully prepared a theme and reported it beforehand to the party members. When preparing the theme, we made efforts to base it on the specific situation of the party chapter and the party cells during the month and the requirements of the production mission during each period in the local area, relying on the opinions of upper echelons to propose assignment forecasts of the party chapter. Only after unanimous adoption by the party chapter committee and party cells did we present the theme to the party chapter conference. In this manner, the party chapter conference will attain good results but occasionally because there was no time and the party chapter committee pursued immediate urgent tasks without initiating an activity schedule, extraordinary meetings were more numerous than periodic meetings. The meeting theme was not concentrated. One meeting had to resolve many problems without knowing which problem was primary and which was the central task. Few meetings were devoted to one problem in a truly profound and thorough manner. Because the party members have received little training and have not yet truly concentrated their thinking, they have not well-prepared opinions for discussion and passively accept plans and missions rather than actively presenting opinions. Moreover, a number of presiding cadres and those responsible for disseminating assignments during the meetings speak at length, at times the entire period, and the party members have little time to express their opinions. The conference "adopts" much more than it discusses. Consequently, the democratic nature is not profound and at times becomes partially formalized. On the other hand, the conference for each specific problem has no concise and clear opinion. The conference report contains only general features and does not clearly differentiate between the opinions expressed by individuals from the decision of the party chapter collective. When departing, each individual understands one way and follows his own opinion. Consequently, the collective nature is not high.

Above are the primary shortcomings of our party chapter in improving party chapter activity. These shortcomings have greatly limited the progress of the party member and reduced the combat strength of the party chapter. They have also adversely affected the activities of a number of party cells and mass organizations. During 1971, the party cells met only a few times. Some cells did not meet at all but were usually replaced by a form of joint party cell meeting, that is a meeting of party members in each hamlet to conveniently disseminate assignments. The party cells have not yet set aside

time to review, criticize, and educate the party members. The activity of mass organizations, especially youth group chapters and women's association chapters, is also irregular. The party chapter has no specific supervision plan. During 1971, the youth group chapter met three times. The women's association chapter held one meeting with extreme difficulty. At times, three meetings were convened but they were unsuccessful and no one attended. It was necessary at times to sound the production unit meeting gong to discuss women's association chapter business. We believe that if the activity of our party chapter was better, properly assuring party principles, the strength of our party chapter would double. Our party chapter would have additional capabilities to lead the people of Tan Phu in totally developing the fundamental advantages and potential capabilities of the local area in advancing toward greater victories.

In considering the shortcomings of party chapter activity, we increasingly understand the harm of these shortcomings. We are determined to overcome every difficulty and improve the quality of party chapter activity precisely in accordance with the course pointed out by Le Duan, "The activity of the party chapter must truly have a specific and rich political theme, discussing the line and policy of the party, the mission of the local area or unit, the plan of organizing and achieving these assignments, the production and daily living of the masses, the assignment and clear division for each party member and cadre, the review of results in achieving the policies of the party chapter and responsibility of each individual, etc."* In order to accomplish this, we recognize that the following methods must be successfully achieved:

One is to actively educate and train the party member in a fundamental understanding of the party and a concept of party activity while simultaneously maintaining party discipline, properly assuring the party chapter activity principles and procedures, and making party chapter activity a procedure.

Two is to wholeheartedly emphasize organization of the party member to study and discuss party resolutions and directives, assisting the party member to assimilate the line and policy of the party and to clearly recognize the situation and mission characteristics of the local area in order for the party member to have conditions to participate in discussing the work policies of the party chapter. In discussing and deciding policies, our party chapter is striving toward achievement of the political mission, properly assuring the leadership nature of the party chapter, conducting specific but not petty discussion, and not covering tasks which are the function of the administration and cooperative.

Three is to regularly implement review of the party chapter work and to promote the self-criticism and criticism of the party member. Based on the specific monthly missions of the party chapter and the tasks which each party member is assigned during each party chapter activity period, we will set aside the necessary time for the party chapter committee to report achievement of the party chapter mission and for the party member to conduct

* Le Duan, Under the Glorious Banner of the Party, for Independence, Freedom, and Socialism, March Forward to New Victories, Hoc Tap, No 2, 1970, p 97.

self-review and to criticize achievement of missions assigned by the party chapter. In order to accomplish this, the party chapter must establish a spirit of struggle, progress, and true mutual assistance for the party member.

Four is to expand democracy and intensify concentration. Our party chapter is striving to create conditions for every party member to engage in the democratic discussion of the common party tasks. Specifically, each party chapter and party chapter committee meeting must be carefully prepared, the theme must be reported beforehand to the party members, party members must be called upon to deliberate, and sufficient time must be provided for the party members to conduct discussions. When careful discussions have been conducted, the party chapter committee must reach a clear conclusion for formulating a common resolution. Every party member must strictly obey the party chapter resolution and the party chapter committee must regularly follow and inspect achievement of that resolution to promptly correct discrepancies which occur.

By accomplishing the four tasks above, our party chapter will surely make new progress in improving and raising the quality of party chapter activity.

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SOME OPINIONS ON THE TWO PLAYS 'DOI MAT' AND 'AM MUU AND HAU QUA'

[Article by Huynh Sang; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 64-69/

Our young socialist theater is maturing. In its progress, it is striving to answer the requirements posed by the revolution. At the beginning of this year on the occasion of the theatrical sector organizing a phase of resistance against America spring performances, the two plays Doi Mat /Pair of Eyes/ and Am Muu va Hau Qua /Plots and Consequences/ as performed by the Central Theatrical Group have drawn many fairly heated critical opinions. An analysis of the good and bad aspects of each play assists us in gaining beneficial experience in present theatrical composition.

The play Doi Mat was written by Vu Dung Minh, a cadre of the military medical sector. Doi Mat was praised by many for its sincere description of a number of features in the combat life in one of the locations of a resistance against America spearhead for national salvation. Through the performance, the audience could recognize the creative labor and efforts of the artist collective from the writer and director to the performers, painters, musicians, and stagehands. The play takes place at a military medical station located next to an emplacement protecting a road bridge. Daily and hourly, our soldiers (doctors and wounded) fight to resist the disabilities and death caused by the American aggressors. In order to accomplish this mission, they must struggle against the appearance of negative ideology. Basically, they are new men with fine qualities, expressing the great ideology and feeling of the era. They are men who "dare to die for a great cause," who "unceasingly engage in revolutionary offensive, rising to complete their mission," and who know how to love their comrades, compatriots, and homeland, and hate the American and puppet aggressors and the ideology of petty and contemptible individualism.

There is Hai, a medical doctor who loves his job, is wholeheartedly for the wounded soldiers, enthusiastically engages in specialized research, has a will to rise, and courageously accepts and at any price overcomes difficulties to fulfill his mission. Hai has resolutely struggled for his doctrine, originating from his spirit of high responsibility and profound love for the wounded soldiers. He resolutely strives against the selfish and negative intentions of responsible individuals and those avoiding hardship and fearing a loss of

individual prestige, therefore desiring to send seriously wounded soldiers to a higher echelon military hospital. The challenges confronting Hai become greater and more complex when he learns that the wounded soldier he is treating is the fiancé of Nga, the girl he secretly loves. The great ideology and feeling of the new doctor assists him in surpassing every challenge, including his private feelings, self-esteem, and petty pride, to concentrate his strength and intelligence in the mission of treating the wounded.

Besides Hai, there are also Nga, Viet, etc. Nga is a young female military doctor, new to the trade, who is enthusiastically prepared to accept and successfully accomplish every assigned mission, upholding the traditions of the "loyal and responsible" Vietnamese women. Both maintaining her feelings for her dearly beloved who was presently a seriously wounded soldier under treatment and expressing an attitude of respect for the feelings her fellow workers held for her, she satisfactorily resolved the relationship between both. Viet is a youth representing the class of new man in the socialist rural area. Graduating from the tenth grade, he returned to his home town to aid in cooperative construction. When the American imperialists invaded, he left for the front line to kill aggressors. He fought calmly and bravely, would not leave his emplacement when wounded, and courageously struggled to overcome serious illness. He fervently loved life but was prepared to sacrifice himself for the happiness of others.

Along with Hai, Nga, and Viet, there is a collective of individuals with fine qualities and ethics. They have studied and been trained in the school of the new system and have vigorously matured in the "fight America college." There is Hap, a hospital attendant specializing in surgical assistance, Mai, recently transferred from an assault youth unit to become an army medic, Sao Chi, a girl of the Van Kieu ethnic minority who is studying the nursing profession with the intention of serving her own people, Thanh, a soldier driver, the wounded soldiers, etc. Each one has his own personality and individuality but all have common features representing the Ho Chi Minh youth generation, are self-confident, love life, uphold revolutionary heroism, are determined to "pierce the Truong Son mountains to save the nation," and are determined to defeat the invading American aggressors at every assignment position.

Along with the attractive force of the images of new mankind, the life of resistance against America for national salvation, and the sure performances of the actors, Doi Mat also has a number of limiting aspects. It is possible to cite a number of items: the extremely brave and endlessly glorious war of resistance of our army and people against the invading American imperialists is little reflected in the play; the contradiction between the two policies of retaining the wounded soldiers for treatment and sending them to a higher echelon -- the crux of the play -- is partially exaggerated and false; solution of the internal struggles of the main characters (Hai, Nga, and Viet) was simplified; at times the humorous factors were excessively abused in illustrating the personalities of the supporting characters (Mai and Hap), etc.

Another weak point of the play was the simplification in expressing the personality of the two treatment unit leaders. What caused Son, assistant leader of the treatment unit who was a good military medical cadre with rich training and professional experience, to now regress in ideology and allow individualism to control his work and activities in such a manner? His awakening and rise to join the collective at the end of the play was also unnatural. As for Ha, the treatment unit political officer, a post usually considered as the soul and expression of the party leadership in an army unit, the role was obscure, including his decisive participation at such moments as resolving the disagreement in ideology toward the wounded soldiers between Hai and Son or when Hai was undergoing an intense internal struggle to find methods of treating the wounded soldiers, etc.

Although the play had a number of weak points, the actual effectiveness of the performances allow us to confirm that Doi Mat is a good play. It is a relatively good example of those plays written on modern subjects and presented to the public in recent performances.

Although it has a theme of resistance against America for national salvation like the play Doi Mat, the play Am Muu va Hau Qua describes the U.S. subjected society in Saigon and the division in the family of trusted Nguyen Van Thieu lackeys faced with the protest movement of the people. The play takes place in the home of "big" comprador bourgeoisie Le Dinh Chuc. In a "one-horse race," Thieu chose Chuc to arrange everything. From trading, even in ballots, welcoming an American advisor delegation, bribing this individual, and using force against that individual, he progressed to turning his family wine cellar into a dungeon to coerce, torture, and murder those not in cahoots with Thieu. Among those imprisoned in the cells was even Hai Hanh, Chuc's half-brother. Confronted with these insidious and brutal actions, Chuc's mother joined his younger brothers and sisters to promptly block his murdering hands. All joined the people in resistance against America. With this subject and theme, the writers (Buu Tien and Nguyen Hoang Mai) wished to clarify the inevitable collapse of the Thieu puppet government and to show the audience that the final victor is the revolutionary people, including the compatriots of South Vietnam in general and those of Saigon in particular. Through a number of acts, the audience visualizes part of the suffocating, tense, quarrelsome, and troublesome atmosphere between the American lackeys and the cool attitude of the people toward the "one-man election" of Thieu. Through the role of journalist Phong Hien illustrating the admiration, ethical pride, and undertaking of President Ho, the audience also recognizes the good intentions of the writers.

Nevertheless, the play Am Muu va Hau Qua in the overall outlook has extremely great shortcomings due to its total lack of an achievement nature.

The writers hoped to present social contradictions by describing family conflicts. However, this plan is unsuccessful simply because the family conflicts of a comprador bourgeoisie cannot reflect the great contradictions in the present society of South Vietnam between the South Vietnamese people and the American imperialists and their lackeys. The plan only produces a result

of both failing to properly describe the family of a comprador bourgeoisie and the laboring people and other classes of society. Consequently, the characters are played in a false and ineffective manner.

Tu Vui, that is Hai Hanh, can be said to represent the main character. The presence and actions of this character on the stage are presented by the writers as an individual who suffers many losses and as a cadre with prestige among the masses. However, through the actions of this character, the audience recognizes that Tu Vui lacks the minimum character and political concept of a revolutionary cadre, at times even inferior to the ordinary citizen. The action of Tu Vui in sending Mai the letter which Mai had written his mother 50 years ago shortly after his birth did not attain its intention of condemning the black plots of Chuc as an instigator for Thieu in the "presidential election." On the contrary, the consequences were that Chuc examined the clues and spread his net to capture Tu Vui. This was an idiotic and stupid "bow in the dust to me" action which no revolutionary cadre would commit. This is not considering whether sending the letter was an action worthy of a revolutionary soldier or not. The lack of political awareness of Tu Vui also is disclosed in the attitude of Chuc toward his mother. Tu Vui met her until he was arrested. His political indecision reached its peak when Tu Vui tried "propaganda" aimed at awakening Chuc and hoping that a malicious tyrant full of bestiality and with many blood debts to the people such as Chuc could "return to a good and virtuous life" and cooperate with the revolution. The audience cannot imagine that a worker and moreover a revolutionary cadre immersed in the protest movement in an area under temporary enemy control could be indecisive in realization and be so immature and foolish with such actions. The character Tu Vui is far removed from a revolutionary soldier who works night and day in an unsung, daring, courageous, and calm manner with all his intelligence to attack the enemy right in their last lairs.

Such was the manner in which the writers described the leadership cadre. How did they describe the revolutionary masses? It is necessary here to speak about the character of Chuc's mother. The writers wished to establish this character as an outstanding image representing the municipal masses present in the play and moreover as a figure to represent the mothers of Vietnam. In the political and social situation of Saigon, it is also possible to suspect the rationality and truth in the event and action system of this character. She is the "well-matched" wife of a rich man once famous for his debauchery and has borne five of his children. She is also the mother of a reactionary comprador bourgeoisie. What causes her to exceed the restrictions of her class and to attain a progressive political viewpoint as described by the writers? What created such a formidable strength to force a worthless son such as Chuc to retreat and watch his plots become bankrupt? The writers present no deep reasons leading to the political division in the family of the reactionary comprador bourgeoisie as they describe. Nor do they allow the audience to understand why the mother in this family changes to follow the patriotic resistance against America movement of the people. The writers plan to present the mother in the family of a pro-American reactionary comprador bourgeoisie to describe a beautiful figure representing the mothers of South Vietnam in general. The plan fails and leads to a result of presenting a false and untrue figure. The plan is not only erroneous but also harmful.

The mothers of South Vietnam as well as those throughout the country, largely members of the laboring class, dearly love their husbands and children, and treasure and economize on each can of rice, bunch of vegetables, and pill to nurture their husbands, children, and the revolutionary cadres. They are individuals born from generations of Vietnamese heroes and valiant men. They themselves have become valiant men and heroes. They are mothers taking up arms to participate in armed combat or to lead unarmed political protests. Their love is boundless and their "loyal and indomitable" qualities are expressed during ordinary times as well as when confronted by the foe. The image of these Vietnamese mothers is extremely noble, a simple and easy picture which is never obstinate, noisy, or false or expressing any common abstract "character."

Not thoroughly understanding the role of the revolutionary masses and the close relationship between the masses and the leaders, the writers of Am Muu va Hau Qua have described the masses in an obscure, uncoordinated, and false plane. Therefore, although they are present between the curtains and on the stage, their effectiveness is fragmentary, a pantomime and adornment nature exists, and an entertainment atmosphere is created in telling the story of the tragedy of Chuc's family. In observing the masses not contained in the structure of the play, the audience cannot understand their great effect on the main characters and cannot explain the "stupendous" strength of the people in the cities of South Vietnam in the "protest" phases to shake the very foundations of the American and puppet regime.

In the play Am Muu va Hau Qua, Chuc is the central character. According to the arrangement of the writers, Chuc is the individual who must bear the "consequences" of the "plots" he has instigated. The writers partially succeed in painting a portrait of a lackey with some "ability" but when the character is placed in the play, a series of events and situations strip the rationality and sincerity from the image. Chuc is a half-brother to Hai Hanh (also known as Tu Vui), but the two men stand on two opposing battle lines and have completely opposite class hatreds. Moreover, Hai Hanh is carrying out an assigned mission to destroy the deceitful election farce of Thieu directed by Chuc. Why didn't Chuc destroy his enemy instead of shooting Hue -- his concubine and the daughter of Tu Vui? Why didn't such a traitor and tyrant such as Chuc continue to carry out his plots to the end instead of trembling before his mother until he obeyed her in releasing those he had arrested and tortured, including Hai Hanh (also known as Tu Vui)? The weakness of Chuc before the glare and voice of his mother greatly limited exposure of the bad qualities of a malicious traitor and bloodthirsty individual.

Nguyen Van Thieu, Le Dinh Chuc, and their companions cannot block the rise of the South Vietnam revolution. They will certainly be crushed by the wheel of history. The people of South Vietnam are the final judges and will determine their own fate: "Americans scam and puppets fall," an independent, democratic, peaceful, and neutral South Vietnam on the basis of national accord will be formed. That is inevitable. The play Am Muu va Hau Qua strives to illustrate this truth. However, due to its untruthful nature, irrational events and situations, and false characters, the work does not reflect the achievement of South Vietnam. Only a small picture is presented of the true

facts concerning the American lackeys and their internal division in the face of the public protests without relying on class analysis and an event structure of firm logic. The play's writers were also limited in their understanding of the situation of cities in South Vietnam in general and of Saigon in particular, especially not understanding the nature of the classes in South Vietnam society and the individuals in those classes. Therefore, the characters placed on the stage by the writers were false, untrue, and without vitality. Writers must rely on a number of technical methods and stage skills to present these images. The general feeling presented the audience is one of internal turmoil, imitation, and fraudulence with superficial and formalized methods of behavior (although the artists responsible for the roles made many efforts in artful labor). These images and situations in the play had little persuasive power and did not create a lasting impression on the audience.

Our people are waiting for works of theatrical art "to successfully, truly, and powerfully" reflect the great revolutionary achievement in our country, in North as well as South Vietnam. They acclaim the efforts of the stage aimed at introducing the lives of the common people who are bravely taking up arms to directly attack the Americans on the front line, and are taking up hammers, plows, pens, etc. to produce and work in the rear area. They demand that the stage present fine images of the new Vietnamese and the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

The writers of Doi Mat and Am Muu va Hau Qua all tried to reflect the great lives and struggles of our people at the present time although the results attained were different. Surely gaining experience, the writers will make new efforts in art work and will attain new and better results.

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THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' NEW ESCALATION OF THE WAR WILL CERTAINLY BE DEFEATED

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 70-73]

The U.S. imperialists are frenziedly escalating the war against our country. On 8 May 1972, U.S. President Nixon announced new military measures to intensify the bombing and shelling of the north. On Nixon's order, U.S. air and naval forces mined the seaports of North Vietnam and cruelly bombed and strafed Hanoi, Haiphong and other populous areas in the North, killing and wounding many people and destroying many houses, roads, bridges, and scores of economic and cultural facilities. This is a new, extremely serious escalation of the war by the U.S. aggressors against our country.

To defend his piratical acts Nixon turned black into white, falsely accusing the Vietnamese people of waging "aggression" and stating that he had to order the blockade bombing and shelling of the north to "protect the lives of U.S. troops" in the south.

The truth is as clear as daylight: The U.S. Government sent its troops tens of thousands of kilometers to invade Vietnam and kill the Vietnamese, prompting the Vietnamese people to take up weapons to fight back. No Vietnamese soldier has ever gone to attack the United States, nor has single Vietnamese bomb ever been dropped on the United States. On the contrary, U.S. military forces are occupying and trampling on Vietnamese soil and U.S. bombs are killing Vietnamese people. In the Vietnam war the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors, whereas the Vietnamese people are the victims of aggression. No deceitful propaganda by Nixon can alter this simple truth.

Being the aggressors, the U.S. imperialists must end their aggression and withdraw their forces from Vietnam. As long as the U.S. imperialists continue their aggression in Vietnam the Vietnamese people have the right to use every sort of weapon to struggle against the U.S. aggression. This is the most sacred and inviolable right of self-defense of the Vietnamese people as well as of other peoples throughout the world. The fact that U.S. troops had to die on the Vietnam battlefield results from the U.S. Government's aggressive policy. The only way for the U.S. Government to "protect the lives

of U.S. troops" is to end the aggression immediately, pull out U.S. forces completely and unconditionally and cease maintaining the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration, a lackey of the United States. The more the U.S. Government continues to escalate the war of aggression in Vietnam, the heavier U.S. casualties in Vietnam are and the longer the list of the U.S. bandits captured in the war of destruction is. Nixon's contention that the United States blockaded and intensified the bombing and strafing of the north to "protect the lives of U.S. troops" is completely deceitful and hypocritical.

In frenziedly escalating the war against our people, Nixon has said that his act is not meant to "expand the war" or to "escalate the war" but to end it. Nonetheless, his deceitful words can not deceive anyone.

Nixon has noisily made a show of the "eight-point peace proposal" which he believes to be very "generous" and, at the same time, has blatantly lied that our people demand that the United States "surrender" and impose a communist regime on 17 million people in South Vietnam." As everyone knows, the so-called "eight-point peace proposal" announced by Nixon on 25 January 1972 is aimed at attempting to force the Vietnamese people to lay down their weapons and surrender to the United States, accept the Saigon puppet administration -- lackey of the United States -- and accept U.S. neocolonialist rule in South Vietnam. While heightening the determination to fight U.S. aggression for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have presented a logical and reasonable solution for the settlement of the Vietnamese problem. This is reflected in the PRGRSV's seven-point proposal with two key problems further explained. This proposal, which has been approved and supported by the DRV Government, demands that the United States end the war of aggression and completely withdraw its forces from Vietnam. It also demands the immediate resignation of Nguyen Van Thieu, the elimination of the Saigon puppet government's repressive and coercive machinery, and the establishment of a broad national concord government consisting of three segments and having the duty to organize truly free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam to elect a constitutional national assembly to draw up a constitution and establish an official government in South Vietnam.

In his 8 May 1972 speech, Nixon stated that U.S. air and naval forces resumed bombing and shelling throughout the DRV and laid mines to blockade DRV ports in order to "keep the pledge of protecting the 17 million people of South Vietnam" and save them from a "long night of terror." How ironical it is! The whole world clearly understands how the U.S. imperialists have "protected" the South Vietnamese people. During the past 17 years our compatriots in the south had to live under millions of tons of U.S. bombs and amid the destruction, death, oppression, and terror caused by the U.S. imperialists. Our compatriots in the south are determined to resolutely struggle against such "protection" by the U.S. imperialists and demand a complete U.S. troop withdrawal from South Vietnam so they can live in democracy, freedom and happiness. Nixon stated that the U.S. imperialists have the "right" to "protect" the South Vietnamese people and the "right" to decide which form of government the South Vietnamese people must follow. Who bestows that "right" on the U.S. imperialists? The political regime in South Vietnam must

be decided by the South Vietnamese people. Who bestows upon the U.S. imperialists the "right" to establish a political regime for the South Vietnamese people? The era when the U.S. imperialists forcibly imposed a political regime on the peoples and ruled with impunity is gone.

Nixon also stated that he ordered the blockade and bombing of the north to "defend U.S. honor." This is indeed a deceitful and malicious theme. By waging the war of aggression in Vietnam, by using bombs and bullets to ravage Vietnamese soil, by killing Vietnamese people, by blockading the DRV and by violating international law, Nixon has sullied U.S. honor and history. The best way to defend U.S. honor is to end aggression in Vietnam, completely withdraw U.S. troops, stop blockading the DRV and stop maintaining the U.S. lackey puppet administration in Saigon so that the people in South Vietnam and the Vietnamese people can decide their own affairs.

Nixon has tried to deceive the American people and world public opinion with deceitful themes, but the iron truth has rejected all his deceitful themes.

The mining of DRV ports and the blockading of DRV seas by the U.S. imperialists are impudent acts that seriously violate our country's sovereignty, the freedom of maritime navigation, and the freedom of trade of other countries. This is a piratical act that grossly tramples the elementary principles of international law. The DRV is an independent and sovereign country. The relations of trade and travel between the DRV and other countries are based on international law and on freedom recognized by everyone. What right do the U.S. imperialists have to impede the travel and trade between the DRV and other countries? What right do the U.S. imperialists have to prevent and forbid other countries to aid the Vietnamese people? Nixon has given himself the "right" to send U.S. troops to invade South Vietnam and U.S. aircraft and warships to ravage Vietnamese soil and kill the Vietnamese people. He has also sent U.S. vessels to massively transport bombs and weapons to the U.S. and puppet forces in the south. Yet he has "forbidden" other countries to assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against aggression. He has given himself the "right" to use force to hinder this assistance. This is a piratical act that flouts international law. It is a challenge not only to Vietnam but also to other countries having trade relations with Vietnam. It is also a challenge to justice and peace-loving people worldwide.

Nixon's new, extremely serious war escalation does not prove that the U.S. imperialist posture and strength in the Vietnam war are improved and stronger. On the contrary, it illustrates the heavy defeat of the U.S. imperialists in the war of aggression in Vietnam. It proves that the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization" plan is facing complete bankruptcy. With the mobilization of a massive U.S. force, especially air and naval forces, for the Vietnam battlefield to escalate the war of aggression, Nixon has openly admitted to the world the tragic failure of the "Vietnamization" plan and the "Nixon doctrine" which he has often ballyhooed during the past 3 years. The U.S. imperialists' new war escalation act has completely rejected all Nixon's bragging about victories so far.

Nixon is escalating the war while in a weak and defeated position. One look at the battlefield situation in South Vietnam verifies this. In the face of stormy attacks and uprisings by the heroic South Vietnamese armed forces and people, the Saigon army and administration are sustaining serious defeats and are quickly disintegrating. An important part of the puppet troops' vital forces has been annihilated. A great amount of U.S.-puppet war material has been destroyed. Large areas have been liberated. The Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration is facing collapse.

Faced with the danger of complete defeat in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are frenziedly escalating the war by attacking and blockading the north in an attempt to shake our people's determination to fight the Americans for national salvation, to boost the sagging morale of the Saigon puppet troops, prop up the puppet administration, and prevent aid and support to our people from the brotherly socialist countries and world's people. However, all the Nixon clique's schemes will certainly fail. The more the U.S. imperialists attack North Vietnam, the greater our people's hatred for them and the higher our people's determination to fight and defeat them. The South Vietnamese armed forces and people are of one mind and are determined to live up to their pledge: If the Americans lay hands on the north one time and the South Vietnamese armed forces and people are determined to deal them counterblows five to 10 times heavier. The more stunning blows the puppet troops and administration sustain, the lower their morale will sink. Therefore, in stepping up their attacks against North Vietnam the U.S. imperialists will not be able to boost the morale of the puppet troops and administration but, on the contrary, will worsen their morale.

Nixon's sea piracy is a serious challenge to the socialist countries and other countries having trade relations with the DRV and to the peoples of the world who love freedom, peace and justice. The U.S. mines dropped into our territorial waters and the U.S. bombs dropped on Hanoi, Haiphong and other populous areas in the north have exploded into violent storms the world over against the U.S. aggressors. The governments of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, have severely condemned the United States and stated that they were resolved to continue to provide aid for the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression. The governments of many other countries also condemned the United States and expressed their sympathy and support for our country. The world people's movement for solidarity with and support for Vietnam is rising higher than ever. Even in the United States, Nixon's new war escalation has ignited "a storm of protest throughout the country," "expressing the greatest antiwar sentiments." (Even UPI had to admit that "Nixon's hope of uniting the American people behind the war escalation has collapsed.")

Sustaining serious defeats in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war to attack and blockade North Vietnam in hope of escaping total collapse in South Vietnam. However, this is a vain hope. The more the U.S. imperialists escalate the war, the nearer they come to complete failure. The armed forces and people in both parts of our country are dealing them

appropriate counterblows. In North Vietnam many U.S. planes have been downed, many U.S. aggressor pilots have been killed or captured and many U.S. warships have been set afire. In South Vietnam our armed forces and people are dealing the U.S.-puppets serious blows in Tri-Thien, central Trung Bo, the western highlands, eastern Nam Bo, the Mekong Delta and so forth.

No escalation of the war or threats by the U.S. imperialists will be able to prevent the vigorous development of our people's struggle against the U.S. for national salvation struggle. Implementing President Ho's sacred testament, all our people are of one mind and are determined to stalwartly step up the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. With the great support of the brotherly socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the world's people -- including the U.S. people -- we are determined to fight to smash all the U.S. imperialists' war escalation moves, to completely defeat the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to protect the north, liberate the south and proceed toward the peacefully reunification of the country.

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CUBAN SEA FISHING

Article by Nguyen Ba Mao; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 74-79/

In early contact with the sea, Cuba has long fishing traditions. However, during 10 years under the new government, Cuban fishing has taken a long step forward. Cuba is one of the nations with the most rapidly developing fishing sector.

Cuba is located between the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, a large island surrounded by 1,600 small islands. Although at 20 degrees latitude like North Vietnam, the island has the sea on all four sides and an ocean climate prevails with moderate weather and year-round rain and sunshine. The main island of Cuba from east to west is approximately 1,175 kilometers long but the coast is 3,300 kilometers in length with many bays, there are many beaches and much vegetation, and the rise and fall of the tide is very little -- about 1 to 2 decimeters.

Cuban land is approximately 38,000 square kilometers with many different depths. In the direction of the Caribbean Sea is the North Equatorial Current and in the direction of the Gulf of Mexico is the Gulf Stream, the largest warm current of water in three oceans.

With such natural conditions, the seacoast of Cuba is extremely rich in types of marine products. According to statistics, this sea area has about 500 types of fish worth catching. The most important economic types consist of various varieties of the perch, sardine, mackerel, globefish, shark, and mullet families. There are many other different types of marine products with fairly rich reserves such as sea shrimp, lobsters, oysters, and sponges. Besides that, there are also varieties of sea turtles, including fairly many tortoises.

The area of the Cuban sea and Gulf of Mexico is an important sea area with extremely many types of fish worth exploiting. In the northern gulf area at the mouth of the Mississippi River, there are many fairly large schools of herring. With a towed net, it is possible to catch 5 tons an hour. In the western gulf area are many red snappers and carp. These types of fish account for 70 percent of all the fish in the area. The amount of these fish caught yearly is fairly stable. In the upper water layers of the gulf are many sardines which may be netted. Besides that, there are also many globefish, fish

concentrations are fairly heavy, and 260 kilograms per 100 hooks may be caught per hour. The shrimp and lobster resources in the Gulf of Mexico are also extremely rich and 50 kilograms per day may be caught with a hand net.

In the Caribbean Sea are shrimp and globefish. Sponges may be seen over the entire Cuban sea area but especially in the Caribbean Sea, there are many different varieties, including the "stack" variety, a small, long, soft, and beautiful fiber sea sponge of high economic value. Before the revolution, under the callous rule of the reactionary government and the lackeys of North American imperialism, the sea fishing of Cuba was undeveloped. Fishermen were unorganized. Because mechanization standards of fishing were extremely low, fishing techniques were backward, and boats and nets were few and small, fishing was not conducted far from the shore. There were only about 2,000 fishing boats throughout the country, largely hand fishing boats with a small number fitted with 150 horsepower engines. Besides that, there were also 20 ship owners with approximately 30 small boats specialized in the catching of shrimp and collection of marine products. The life of the fisherman was extremely unstable. When there were many fish, the ship owners bought cheaply, and when there were few, they would not lend money. Among the Cuban people there is still a saying, "The fisherman is a man who eats lion meat" to indicate the difficulty and danger in the lives of the Cuban fisherman under the old regime.

After the revolution succeeded, recognizing the characteristics of an island nation with a coast and many marine product resources, especially shrimp and oysters, as a source of export products with extremely high economic value (pickled and frozen whole shrimp are worth 2,100 dollars a ton, frozen headless shrimp are worth 3,500 dollars per ton, and canned oysters are worth 6,000 dollars per ton), the government of Cuba gave immediate attention to developing sea fishing and upgrading fishing to an important sector in the national economy. The Cuban government strongly promoted coastal and bay fishing which had long existed and boldly developed sea fishing, including special attention to the development of shrimping, considering this an economic spearhead. The objective of this economic policy was aimed at raising the material standard of living of the people, increasing the protein in the daily diet, supplying much more fish meal to stock raising, and especially to create a large source of export products.

To achieve the objectives above, during the first 3 years from 1959 to 1962, the Cuban government swiftly and basically completed organization of the fishermen into cooperatives and mechanized fishing. The Cuban government has requisitioned all the production materials of the boat owners and built additional new boats for issue to the cooperatives and promulgated fixed purchase prices and a loan system in order for the fisherman to purchase additional equipment. The hand boats of the cooperatives were gradually mechanized by installing small engines of 30 to 150 horsepower. Fishing nets, ice, and repair parts for the cooperatives were supplied. Besides that, the government also constructed housing and established separate fishing towns with sufficient schools, hospitals, maternity clinics, nurseries, etc. When fish were caught, besides those retained to eat, the cooperative sold all to the state. The state will gradually extract money for the cooperative's debts, each time

not exceeding 25 percent of the fish sales price. Besides the portion for repaying the state debt and divided among the cooperative members, the cooperative will accumulate an approximate 20 percent annually.

Last year, Cuba had 34 fishing cooperatives with 10,000 laborers working on 2,200 small and medium wooden boats and a number of engines with approximately 150,000 horsepower. The cooperatives fish primarily along the small islands in the gulf. Differing from before, the cooperative fishermen now are assured good living standards, work in an organized collective medium, and fishing equipment although still rudimentary is fairly sufficient. Therefore, the fish output of the cooperatives is greater than the entire national output during the days before liberation (the annual fish output prior to 1969 was approximately 20,000 tons). In order to strengthen labor and production management and to create modern conditions for the fishing sector, the cooperatives, beginning in 1971, are gradually shifting into local state-operated businesses.

Parallel with the cooperativization of the fishing industry, the Cuban government implemented improvement of organization and management throughout the fishing sector. Due to its great economic significance, fishing was separated from the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Fishing Institute was established. This institute is of the same level as a ministry with three members of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee in charge. The entire fishing sector was placed under united management, including the export of marine products and the import of sector equipment, a task which previously in Cuba and presently in other countries throughout the world is conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In order to swiftly increase fish output, the Cuban government on one hand has gradually mechanized the local fishing sector while on the other hand immediately established state-operated fishing sectors. Only 3 years after liberation, the Cuban government began to establish state-operated sea fishing boat units. The fishing sector presently has the following units:

1. The Cuban Fishing Boat Unit. This is an ocean fishing boat unit which at first consisted of 48 boats with 65,000 horsepower and three large boats with 10,500 horsepower used for refrigerating and transporting fish and 15 boats used to process fish meal on the spot. This unit usually catches whitefish in the North Atlantic, globe-fish in the South Atlantic, and cuttlefish southwest of Africa. Each trip lasts a minimum of 45 days and a maximum of approximately 6 months. The period of activity by each boat per year is more than 200 days. Each year, the Cuban Boat Unit is provided with additional modern equipment. The boat unit in 1970 had 69 boats.

2. A boat unit for fishing in the gulf and one for fishing along the continental shelf. These boat units with a few score boats were established in 1963, nearly all the boats were wooden-hulled of Cuban manufacture, each powered with 100 to 250 horsepower. By the end of 1969, the number of boats had risen to 120 with approximately 27,000 horsepower. Although these boat units do not travel far, in 1967, only 3 years after their establishment, their fish output rose to 65,000 tons, comprising 10 percent of the total

national fish output. In 1969, their fish output rose to 67,000 tons with an average output per laborer of 5 tons per year.

Besides the fishing boat units under central management, there are also five fishing coordination centers under local management. Each center has approximately 160 boats with 27,000 horsepower and an annual output of about 100,000 tons.

As stated above, the Cuban sea area as well as the sea of Central America is a location of many shrimp. Shrimp are a marine product desired by many countries throughout the world, the selling price is extremely high, and the export volume is small but the profits are many. Clearly recognizing the characteristics of this natural resource, the Cuban government has considered exploitation as an economic spearhead and has actively developed shrimping on a large scale by the most modern methods. The Cuban government has assigned the chief of the National Fishing Institute direct responsibility for the shrimp boat unit.

This is the largest and most important boat unit of Cuba, consisting of more than 150 craft. The majority of Cuban shrimp boats are double the size of the same boats from neighboring countries well-known for their fishing such as Mexico. The boats are up to 25 meters long with 370 horsepower. The refrigeration units are also large, equal to 110 cubic meters. The activity range of these boats can include distant oceans. During 1969, this unit caught 2,900 tons of shrimp and 4,400 tons of fish. During 1970, in coordination with other units, this unit caught 16,000 tons of shrimp. During 1968, the year of greatest shrimp output, this unit alone caught 8,900 tons of lobsters, comprising 50 percent of the total lobster catch throughout the world and second only to Australia with 15,100 tons.

All of the fishing and shrimping units have rear area facilities and command agencies in individual ports such as the shrimping unit in the port of Havana. The port of Havana was built with the assistance of the Soviet Union in 1964 with a capital investment of approximately 50 million pesos. It is the largest and most modern port in Cuba with a port equipment repair shop and a 2,800 ton floating dry dock to repair large ships. The port communications equipment is also extremely modern (with a radiotelephone network to control the boat units at sea and a television network to observe the port).

A system of maintenance and refrigeration with a capacity of approximately 12,000 tons of marine products is located right in the port.

Marine product processing enterprises have been established near the port. Shrimp and fish caught in distant locations are usually processed on the spot and the majority are immediately sold in foreign ports. In this manner, transportation expenses are reduced and time is saved for fishing the currents and most important, the foreign exchange is used to handle rear services on the spot. The remainder is brought back for processing at the enterprises. During the fishing season, these enterprises produce all types of refrigerated and canned fish and shrimp or ground meal. At the conclusion



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of the fishing season, they shift to processing of lobsters, a more complex product. Cuba resolves the problem of marine product processing expenses by delivery direct to facilities without passing through intermediary commerce steps. The marine products sector delivers products all the way to the supply stores for distribution to the people, production unit agencies, and troop units. Refrigerated and canned goods are usually sold to foreign countries. Cuba at the present time stands second throughout the world in the export of refrigerated shrimp, a product of extremely good quality rapidly sold on the western Europe and Japanese markets.

Besides the primary fish and shrimp products, the small processing stations also produce sponges, a product not available in large quantities but with a high export value. The European market annually consumes about 750,000 dollars worth of Cuban sponges.

Because the fish processing industry is new in Cuba, when establishing this sector, the Cuban government had to invest tens of millions of dollars to provide the refrigeration systems, frozen fish and shrimp production lines, fish meal processing machines, ice machines, and even plastic bag production machines to support the fish processing enterprises and stations while simultaneously supplying the fishing coordination centers in the local areas. These fishing port areas now have up to 10 plants producing ice with an annual plant output of approximately 10,000 tons but the present amount of ice answers only one-third of the requirements. Many ice plants with larger capacities are continually being constructed. In the Havana fishing port area, Cuba recently completed the construction of a large fish processing plant with a capital investment of about 10 million pesos, including a refrigeration unit with a capacity of 10,000 tons of marine products, equipment for extremely rapid freezing, fillet processing, and the production of fish mixes and meal. In the Santiago fishing port area, a fish processing plant has also risen with an output similar to the plant above.

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In fishing, the most important part and also the part of greatest capital investment are the fishing boats.

Before liberation, Cuba had no ship building industry other than a number of boat building facilities and only a few small repair shops. Since beginning to establish and develop the fishing sector, the Cuban government has emphasized on one hand the purchase of ocean fishing boats of the most modern type from the Soviet Union, Poland, France, Spain, etc. in order to have immediate means of exploitation and on the other hand, to immediately establish a ship building industry. The amount of capital invested in this new industry during the past 10 years has risen to 100 million pesos.

The ship building enterprises were formed in 1960 and began to build small ships operated by about 20 horsepower and 1 year later, medium sized ships were launched. This type of ship was longer than 10 meters, operated with 200 to 250 horsepower, and was equipped with radiotelephones, fish sounders, etc. Seven years later, the ship building industry has produced series of fairly large ships, up to 35 meters long with more than 500 horsepower and specialized for refrigeration. The year 1968 was the first year in

which Cuba built a steel-hulled ship, 50 meters long, and fitted with a refrigeration unit to use in transporting shrimp and fish, and was also the first year in which steel reinforced concrete shrimp boats were built. Since then, series of other shrimp boats have appeared. The Cuban oceangoing ship building industry has developed in a fairly rapid manner. Except for the large fishing vessels which cross the ocean, the remainder are medium sized and shrimp boat types active within the gulf and along the continental shelf, all built and equipped by the oceangoing ship building industry of Cuba. In the not too distant future, this young industry full of vitality will promptly answer the demands of ocean fishing ship units and the technical requirements of the modern maritime sector. Technical cadres and skilled fishing workers are trained in a course of both outstanding professional standards and a rich patriotism, love of socialism, courage, daring, and constant vigilance and readiness to fight and resist the provocations of American warships. During the first years, a small number were trained in foreign countries but the majority have gradually matured in production practice. They study under an accompaniment form on active fishing boats. During the period between 1962 and 1965, each fishing boat had one-half Cuban youth and one-half foreign technicians and skilled workers. These specialists had a mission of both direct production and providing training in maritime and fishing techniques for all types of marine products. The Cuban government also applied a policy of generous reward for the labor output of the specialists (for example, an output exceeding the plan by 1 ton of shrimp was rewarded with 50 dollars) in order to stimulate them in improving techniques in small production to increase output. With this form of training, the Cuban fishing boat units presently have hundreds of experienced boat captains and thousands of skilled workers to self-control even the fishing boats crossing the ocean.

During the past few years, a number of maritime schools from the elementary to the college level have been established. Included are three schools to train workers and sailors which are handled by the National Fishing Institute and have approximately 1,500 students. There are also two maritime navigation and high level fishing schools handled by the revolutionary armed forces with more than 1,000 students per school. The organization structure of these two schools has a paramilitary nature. The students are divided into units like the army. Within the school, besides the subjects specializing in fishing, there are also military subjects. The objective of these two schools is to train students into laborers both with high technology and strict discipline in order to coordinate their production mission with the mission of protecting the Fatherland after graduation.

Since 1960, the Cuban sea fishing sector has trained tens of thousands of technical cadres and workers, has established many short and long-term fishing boat units, has purchased and built hundreds of fishing and shrimp boats of all sizes, and has constructed many large and modern rear services facilities. The total capital investment in this sector has risen to 150 million pesos.

Thus, in only a period of 10 years, thanks to proper policies and active, bold, and resolute methods, the Cuban sea fishing sector has taken a long step

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forward. In 1958, the year of greatest fish output before the revolution, only 21,900 tons were attained. In 1969, only 1 year after the revolution succeeded, fish output rose to 31,200 tons and in 1970, nearly 10 years after completing the fishing cooperatives and establishing the state-operated sea fishing units, fish output rose to 175,000 tons, seven times the highest annual fish output under the old regime. In 1967 alone, in a comparison between the 22 countries of Latin America, Cuba stood ninth in output and fourth in output value. Before the revolution, Cuba only received approximately 5 million dollars annually in marine export products. During 1968, that figure rose to 10 million, in 1969 15 million, and in 1970 20,000 million dollars.

The Cuban fishing sector on a road of development with such rapid steps forward has encountered definite difficulties. However, these difficulties are being overcome in order to proceed such as assuring balanced development between all aspects and economic management problems within the sector and especially in the rear services aspect. With the proper line and revolutionary offensive spirit in production and combat of the Communist Party, the revolutionary government, and the people of Cuba, the Cuban fishing sector will surely make more splendid accomplishments.

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SIGNS OF DECLINE IN THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

[Article by Huy Un; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 5, May 1972, pp 80-89]

After World War II, the high rate of development in the Japanese economy attracted the attention of many. What caused the economy to develop and through its process of development, what were the fundamental weaknesses and expectations?

Before World War II, the average annual rate of increase in the Japanese economy was 4 to 5 percent. After the period of restoration (1945-1950), Japanese industrial production in 1951 attained the prewar level. From 1951 to 1968, the average rate of increase in the Japanese economy was 10 percent while the economic rate of increase throughout the entire capitalist camp was 5.6 percent (in the United States 4.5 percent, West Germany 7.3 percent, Italy 8.3 percent, France 5.4 percent, and Great Britain 2.9 percent). Compared with 1950, the 1960 industrial production of Japan increased by 11.7 times (the entire capitalist camp increased by only 2.6 times, Great Britain 1.7 times, France 2.6 times, and the United States 2.2 times). Due to the rapid increase in industrial production, the production ratio of Japan in the capitalist world also increased and in this aspect at the present time, Japan stands second to the United States. During 1968, Japanese foreign commerce accounted for 6.2 percent of the total export goods value of all capitalist nations, standing fourth after the United States (16.2 percent), West Germany (11.9 percent), and Great Britain (7.1 percent). The gross national product of Japan in 1968 was 142 billion dollars and in 1970 was 196 billion dollars.

Development of the Japanese economy at such a high rate was due to the following reasons:

Japan invested a relatively large amount of capital in economic restoration and development: the total capital investment from 1950 to 1965 was up to 360 billion dollars. In order to obtain this large amount of capital, Japan had to swiftly increase the capital accumulation level. In 1960, the accumulation level accounted for nearly 30 percent of the gross national product, including more than 26 percent reserved for fixed capital. By 1968, the accumulation proportion increased to nearly 40 percent of which nearly 35 percent was

reserved for fixed capital. The average annual fixed capital accumulation ratio in the gross national product of Japan from 1958 to 1968 was 29.2 percent while that proportion in West Germany was 24.1 percent, in Italy 20.62 percent, France 20 percent, Great Britain 16.9 percent, and in the United States 14.3 percent.

The Japanese bourgeoisie class increased its exploitation of the worker class and laboring people in order to obtain a high accumulation level. During the years from 1934 to 1936, the portion for individual needs in the gross national product was 65.4 percent but had declined by 1967 to 51.1 percent. The average wages of the Japanese worker are extremely low, lowest of the capitalist countries (5.6 times lower than the United States and 2 times lower than the countries of western Europe). The low wage system proves the merciless exploitation by the Japanese bourgeoisie class of the hired laborers!

Another primary source of the high capital accumulation was the use of the Japanese laborers' savings. These savings are basically not "surplus money" but money necessary for daily needs first of all which was deducted to reserve for cases of sickness, disability, old age, and dismissal. Although the average income level of the basic masses in Japan is low, their level of savings in the national bank is extremely high. The percentage of savings in the average annual income of Japan from 1961 to 1967 was 18.6 percent, highest in the capitalist world (the United States 6.2 percent, Great Britain 7.7 percent, France 8.7 percent, and West Germany 13 percent). The Japanese monopolistic capital group used the majority of this money for exploitation of the Japanese laboring people. Besides the sources noted above, in order to increase capital accumulation, Japan relied on foreign capital: from 1956 to April 1970, foreign capital invested in Japan was under two forms, aid and loans. The amount of money borrowed from foreign countries (primarily the United States) rose to 7,154,000,000 dollars. The amount of foreign capital investment (enterprise shares and foreign corporation branches in Japan) was 4,398,000,000 dollars. The total amount of money received by the Japanese government from foreign countries was 13.6 billion dollars. In conjunction with the large capital investment, widespread renewal of fixed capital and swift development of modern industry were important reasons for raising Japanese production to a high level. During the first few years after the war (1946-1954), Japan was still backward in modern technology and production processes compared with the other capitalist countries. In order to overcome this situation, Japan used the scientific and technical achievements throughout the world to the highest level. By 1968, the value of Japanese contracts to purchase the scientific and technical creations and inventions of foreign countries rose to 7.8 billion dollars, of which the value of Category I contracts accounted for nearly 4.8 billion dollars. In the total contract value, the United States accounted for 59.8 percent, West Germany 10.3 percent, Switzerland 7.4 percent, Great Britain 5.7 percent, and France 3.6 percent. Thanks to the purchase of foreign technology, Japan renewed fixed capital on a broad scale: during the 1940's, nearly 80 percent of Japanese equipment was obsolete but highly technical equipment now accounts for 70 percent.

On the basis of widespread equipment renewal, the Japanese economy has made profound changes. From the technical standards and industrial techniques of the 20's and 30's, Japan rose to the standards of the 50's and 60's. Sectors with high productivity developed extremely fast. Heavy industry sectors,

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especially construction, electronics, and chemicals, developed more rapidly than all others. The percentage of heavy industry and chemicals in the manufacturing industry of 1960 accounted for 57 percent and in 1965 for 65 percent (Great Britain 65 percent, the United States 64 percent, and France 61 percent). The annual average increase in industrial labor productivity from 1955 to 1966 was 9.4 percent, including an assured 5.4 percent increase in equipment modernization (that is 56 percent of the total labor productivity increased), and the application of advanced technology was assured at 4.1 percent (that is 44 percent).

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On the basis of capital investment and technology, the business sphere has expanded and the leadership functions have become increasingly more complex, demanding new forms of organization in production, control, and management. In order to answer these requirements, Japan has organized a rank of cadres and personnel made up of all those who previously served the Japanese war machine and a number recruited afterwards. In 1965, Japan had 453,170 engineers and technicians, 1.4149 million administrative and management cadres (including 886,500 corporation directors), and 6.186 million public servants. Of special interest, the number of personnel in the third area (commerce, transportation, and communications) increased from 13.6 million in 1955 to 21.9 million in 1969. Besides capital investment, technology, and cadres, under conditions in which a new economy was restored but not yet strongly developed, the reduction in war expenditures was also a cause for increasing the ratio of capital accumulation in the gross national product. During the periods from 1934 to 1935 and 1936 to 1937, war expenditures comprised 7 percent of the Japanese gross national product. These expenditures during the years of World War II rose to 40 percent (the 1944-1945 fiscal year), but after the war were greatly reduced and accounted for only an extremely small proportion of the national budget. For example, during the 1967-1968 fiscal year, these expenditures accounted for less than 1 percent.

As a defeated nation, Japan lost many things: a rich system of colonies, long time markets, and a cheap source of raw materials and labor in Asia. The Japanese merchant marine was destroyed, export potential had seriously declined, and the population had risen. Japan was also occupied by the American imperialists. Under this situation, Japan emphasized expansion of its economy to foreign nations and expansion of foreign trade. During the 10 years from 1960 to 1969, Japanese exports increased by 4.5 times and imports increased by 4 times while the new total industrial product increased by 4 times and the gross national product increased by 3 times. By 1971, Japanese exports had reached 24.684 billion dollars and imports were 19.695 billion dollars, resulting in a Japanese export surplus of 4.989 billion dollars. To a series of economic areas and important production sectors, the foreign market played a decisive role. According to statistics of the Japanese government, during the 5 years from 1965 to 1969, the total import value was 57.3 billion dollars of which weaving raw materials, ore, petroleum, etc. accounted for 45 billion dollars, comprising 80 percent. Also during the same period, the export value of industrial products accounted for 85 percent of the total Japanese export value. Japanese imports from industrial countries accounted for 30 billion dollars and exports to these countries 29.7 billion dollars, an import surplus

of 300 million dollars, and exports to the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America accounted for 25 billion dollars. Of special interest, during the 3 year period from 1965 to 1967, Japanese exports to Southeast Asia averaged an annual 2.8 billion dollars and imports from this area were an annual 1.9 billion dollars, an average annual export surplus of 900 million dollars. By 1969, the amount of Japanese goods exported to Southeast Asia, primarily machinery, equipment, and industrial goods, was worth 4.462 billion dollars and goods imported from this area, primarily raw materials, were worth 2.381 billion dollars, an export surplus of 2.081 billion dollars.

Another important reason causing the Japanese economy to rapidly develop was that the Japanese monopolistic capital was enriched thanks to the two U.S. wars of aggression in Korea and Vietnam. From 1950 to 1960, the total number of orders for special requirements made by the United States to Japan was 7 billion dollars. From 1967 to 1969, goods ordered by the U.S. army reached 1.7-2 billion dollars. During the war of aggression in Korea, through the sale of military goods to the United States, Japanese monopolistic capital earned a profit of 1.6 billion dollars. During the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, the military goods of Japanese monopolistic corporations during 1966 were worth 700 million dollars and in 1967 reached 1.4 billion dollars. The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam -- as western economists have stated -- assisted the Japanese economy to escape the 1964-1965 recession and gave the Japanese balance of payments a surplus of 1 billion dollars.

During the past few years, the economy of Japan has developed at a high rate but during the process of development, many great shortcomings have been revealed.

First of all, in capital investment and distribution of production areas, Japan has concentrated investment in the key sectors earning much profit such as iron and steel, machinery, shipbuilding, electronics, and chemicals but has not yet developed mining to the proper level. The reserves of this sector are still few and do not answer the urgent requirements of industrial development. Japan has concentrated industrial construction in a number of central areas such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagasaki while many rural areas are still backward. The situation has gradually led to a loss of balance between the centers and throughout Japan, creating "old and new" worlds.

Another outstanding shortcoming in Japanese industrial production is the two level structure. This structure of an upper level of large modern production comprising .5 percent of the total Japanese enterprises (each enterprise has an average of 500 to 5,000 workers), annually producing 48.5 percent of the total social output, and a lower level of small production consisting of medium and small enterprises accounting for 99.5 percent of the Japanese enterprises (80 percent have less than 30 workers), utilizing 27 million workers, that is 77.1 percent of the total, annually producing 51.5 percent of the total social product. The majority of these medium and small enterprises contract work from the large corporations and a number are bankrupted by the annexation of these corporations.

The above two level structure is actually coordination between the two formulas of feudal exploitation and capitalism. Reducing the wages of workers in the large enterprises, suffocating millions of laborers in the medium and small enterprises, and when crisis occurs, firing the workers of the upper level enterprises and forcing them to move to the lower level enterprises or the rural area if necessary; these are the primary stratagems of Japanese monopolistic capital to earn high profits and a large capital accumulation. However, they are not to their long-term benefit because these very stratagems destroy the conditions of expanded and stabilized reproduction. With the existing problems of two level production in both modern concentration and handicraft dispersal, Japan is a capitalist country but with the least stabilized production, most intense competition, and greatest occurrence of bankruptcy. Concerning this problem, Hube Borotse /transliteration/, a French economist specializing in Japanese research, has stated, "The situation of two parallel business areas existing in industry is both a lucky thing and a crime of the Japanese economy."

Along with the harm of the shortcomings noted above, social and class contradictions become increasingly deeper and cannot be resolved. During the past few years, the Japanese economy has developed at a high rate but what has it brought the Japanese laboring people? During the 7 years from 1960 to 1967, Japanese industrial production increased by 133.9 percent and the nominal wage of the Japanese laborer increased by 92.7 percent. His actual wages increased by only 30.6 percent. During 1968, this rate of increase remained basically unchanged. The actual income of the families of hired laborers during the year increased by only 5.4 percent. This rate of increase was 5 to 7 times lower than the rate of profit increase of the Japanese monopolistic corporations.

Housing shortages, pollution, labor accidents, and traffic accidents became increasingly serious and are creating many additional difficulties for the daily living of the Japanese laboring people. Confronted with this situation, investment by the Japanese government in public welfare projects is still a drop in the bucket compared with investment of Japanese capital in production and the profits they earn. In 59,162 enterprises with 7,026,000 workers during 1968, the total output value was 97 billion dollars but the wages and social insurance funds were only 10.7 billion dollars while the total pure profit earned by the enterprise owners usurped 31.6 billion dollars.

Due to the situation above, social and class contradictions and class struggles in Japan become increasingly harsh. During the past few years, the wave of protest by more than 30 million workers and all classes of the Japanese laboring people demanding their social welfare and democratic rights and an independent economy have been boiling in Japan and have caused many obstacles to the Japanese monopolistic capitalists.

Besides the shortcomings noted above, another major shortcoming cannot be calculated, that of outside dependence. Because the industrial development of Japanese capitalism must depend on the outside in many aspects, the Japanese economy increasingly expands and becomes increasingly dependent on the outside.

This dependence in the long run will not be beneficial to Japan because each time a capitalist country has an economic and political change, it will adversely affect the Japanese economy. In the history of Japan and especially during the period since World War II, eight economic crises have occurred in Japan, seven occurring at the same time or a short time after economic crises in the United States and western Europe.

Liberalization of Japanese state trade and capitalism has been a major obstacle to the independent and peaceful development of the Japanese economy. Foreign monopolistic capital, especially that of the United States, becomes increasingly greater in the key industrial sectors of Japan such as electronics, chemicals, etc., bankrupting one after another of the medium and small enterprises as well creating difficulties for the entire Japanese industry. The Japanese emphasis of purchasing the scientific and technical achievements of foreign nations has gradually led to a recession in the fundamental research to develop its own science and technology. There are signs in Japan of backward equipment compared with worldwide standards although Japanese equipment is of the newest types in the capitalist countries. During the past 10 years, capital invested by the government and Japanese corporations in scientific research has accounted for 1.8 percent of the gross national product but is still only one-half that of the United States. According to the French news agency AFP, on 31 January 1972, the Japanese Scientific and Technical Organization admitted that, "Japan is still lacking in development because of great dependence on foreign technology. For example, during the 1969-1970 fiscal year, Japan spent 308 million dollars to introduce foreign technology but received only 68 million dollars in technical exports."

Japan is an industrial processing nation because the resources are extremely few. Mountain forests cover 68.7 percent of the total land and are privately owned by the emperor and landlords, farmland comprises 16.3 percent, and stock raising pastures account for 2.6 percent. Japan has only .062 hectares of farmland per capita. Furthermore, the Japanese government continues to reduce farmland to support industry. The important raw materials of industrial sectors such as cotton, wool, and iron ore must all be imported from foreign countries (compared with requirements, 80 percent of the coking coal had to be imported during 1968, 98 percent of the petroleum had to be imported during 1970, and 90 percent of the metal ore had to be imported during 1970). Due to such dependence, Japanese industrial production is encountering increasing difficulties as development advances.

Concerning outside dependence, we must first of all speak of the dependence of Japan on the United States. This dependence is expressed in many fields. In economy, from 1950 to 1968, 80 percent of the total foreign capital invested in Japan (7.2 billion dollars) was from the United States. Also during this period, the technical aid supplied Japan from other countries was 5.5 billion dollars, of which the United States accounted for 3.3 billion dollars (53.4 percent). The amount of U.S. capital invested in Japan is ten times more than Japanese capital invested in the United States. Besides that, Japan is also dependent on the United States for raw materials and fuel such as iron ore, coke, and crude oil and in the sectors producing military products demanding high technical standards. In trade, after the war the U.S. market played

an important role in Japan (in goods consumption and supply). From 1950 to 1968, the value of U.S. exports to Japan increased by eight times (from 417 million to 3.5 billion dollars. The value of Japanese exports to the United States during this period increased by 22 times from 182 million to 4.1 billion dollars).

Japan is dependent on the United States not only in the economic but also in the political and military aspects. In U.S. foreign policies resisting the socialist camp and suppressing the national liberation movement, Japan basically follows the United States. In the fourth "national defense plan" of Japan, Japan estimated that arms worth 800 million to 1 billion dollars would be purchased from the United States.

Japan has been resuscitated by the United States but when Japan has sufficient feathers to fly, means will be found to brush off the United States as previously done by the Japanese elder imperialists. In economic relations, Japan naturally competes in an increasingly violent manner with the United States and seeks a way to escape U.S. control but is still dependent on the United States in many aspects and therefore, must still undergo the fault-finding of the United States. Previously, the industrial sectors such as weaving, electricity, and automobile manufacturing of Japan were dealt painful blows by the U.S. "protective" policy. After a dollar crisis occurred during May and July 1971, Nixon forced Japan to raise the value of the yen and created losses to Japan of nearly 4.5 billion dollars (from May 1971 to January 1972). A large number of medium and small Japanese enterprises were bankrupted. The U.S. 10 percent surtax placed on imports was primarily directed toward Japanese goods because they accounted for a relatively large percentage of the U.S. market (for example, during 1969, of the 4,305,000 television sets sold in the United States, 2,273,000 were Japanese). Also worthy of attention is that the United States is bogged down in Indochina and surely will be totally defeated. The U.S. war of aggression in Indochina will no longer be a lucrative source to Japan as during the past few years. Concerning the losses caused Japan by the United States, Akio Morita /transliteration/, an important man of the Japanese Sony Corporation, admitted, "The U.S.-Japanese economic war surely has no sense but the weakness of the U.S. economy surely pains us as it does the Americans." At the present time, the competition between the United States and Japan continues but the dependence of Japan on the United States has not yet ended and on the contrary, is still serious and will cause much other additional harm to Japan.

To Japan, the countries of Europe are also a "great economic objective." Japan has placed an extremely large number of products on the market of western Europe and has "cooperated" with the monopolistic capital group there in technology and capital in an attempt to contend with many influences and to seek the maximum profit. However, the capitalist groups in these countries, especially the European Common Market, with familiar stratagems (the protection policy, customs barriers, and restrictions in the supply of important technology and raw materials), are savagely resisting Japan. This fact was clearly illustrated during the dollar crisis when the countries of western Europe forced Japan to raise the value of the yen. The paper Chau Phi Tre

Young Africa on 5 February 1972 stated, "Except for West Germany and France, the trade of common market countries with Japan has drastically declined. These countries, especially Italy, desire self-defense, and resist the invasion of Japan by protective clauses." In a white paper on the foreign market of 1972, the Japanese foreign trade organization (JETRO) advised, "Japanese businesses must limit their increase in exports to Europe because a flood of Japanese goods will cause Europe to apply the restrictive import methods as done by the United States." Tadashi Yamoto transliteration of the Japanese foreign trade organization also lamented that, "Europe is the hardest and most difficult to chew apricot."

Asia and especially Southeast Asia has an extremely great importance to the Japanese economy. One-third of the Japanese exports are sold in this area. Japanese industry must rely on the raw materials of this area. In 1969 alone, the profits collected by Japanese capital in this area were 2 billion dollars. Therefore, the "aid" and "economic cooperation" of Japan in this area are not "impartial" and "generous" as claimed by Japan but actually turn this area into an area for obtaining raw materials, exploiting cheap labor, and creating a serious refugee and pollution problem. The people of Asia as well as those of Africa and Latin America are becoming increasingly aware, fervently desire to escape the shackles of imperialism and obtain both economic and political independence, and are violently resisting the old and new colonialism as well as every insidious plot of the Japanese militarists. Surely the economic expansion predictions of Japan in this area will meet many more adversities.

As the Japanese economy more rapidly develops, the shortcomings noted above have an increasingly stronger effect, causing the Japanese economy to encounter more difficulties the more it expands.

Totally contrary to the erroneous concept that the pattern of irregular development of capitalism will not develop an effect in Japan, the Japanese economy during the past few years although developing at a high rate has been unable to avoid a cycle of capitalist reproduction. After the war and especially since 1950, the Japanese economy on the average of every 5 years falls into a recession and partial or total crisis in many economic sectors (1953 - 1954, 1961 - 1962, 1964 - 1965, and 1970 - 1971). Worthy of attention is that after the economic crisis at the end of 1964 and during 1965, the prosperity of Japanese economy was faced with a declining situation: the rate of production development by many sectors gradually declined, some up to 30 or 40 percent; many important production sectors slowed; prices increased by 7 to 8 percent, the highest level in the capitalist countries; and a number of large enterprises such as the Sano Share Iron and Steel Corporation and Yama-chi, one of the four largest bond corporations in Japan, became bankrupt.

The latest crisis began in the fall of 1971 -- and as the Hong Kong paper Kinh Te Dao Bao Economic Paper of 1 January 1972 stated -- was twice as serious as previous times. According to the Kyoto Japanese News Agency, "Japanese economy at the present time is generally in a stagnate situation both in industrial production and maritime transportation and signs of decline continue."

Export plays a decisive role in the Japanese economy but is encountering difficulties. According to the Hong Kong paper Kinh Te Dao Bao, the Japanese government authorities have been forced to admit that although the first 6 months of the 1971 fiscal year (March 1971-September 1971) increased by 27.6 percent over the first 6 months of the 1970 fiscal year, such an increase was abnormal because it was due to only previous orders and to the fact that foreign nations were "striving to import Japanese goods" in order to speculate in the yen. Exports during September 1971 increased by only 1.3 percent over September 1970 and were 7.8 percent less than August 1970. According to the Japanese Trade Revival Association, export contracts signed during August and September 1971 were only 30 to 40 percent of normal periods and consequently will adversely affect future exports.

The export difficulties have caused an additionally serious "surplus" crisis. The industrial production situation during 1971 -- as announced by the Japanese Ministry of Industry and Commerce -- declined at a great rate: a 1.6 percent decline in March 1971, 4.7 percent decline in May 1971, and a 2.4 percent decline in October 1971 from the September 1971 level. The paper Tin Tuc Hang Ngay (Daily News) commented, "This is the most serious decline in 10 years." The forecast of the Japanese Ministry of Industry and Commerce in December 1971 was that the Japanese mineral production industry during the 1971 fiscal year would increase by only 3.5 percent, a great decline compared with the 16.1 percent increase of 1970 and the estimated 11.3 percent increase at the beginning of 1971.

The medium and small Japanese enterprises are presently suffering the greatest adverse effect. According to the Hong Kong paper Kinh Te Dao Bao (1 January 1972), the exports of these enterprises during 1971 in comparison with previous years will decrease an average of 15 percent. Especially after the United States introduced the new economic policy, the export contracts of these enterprises were only about 18 percent of normal periods. Therefore, machine utilization capacity also declined: if the index for 16 August 1971 is taken as 100, that for the end of August 1971 was 93, September 1971 was 88, and October 1971 was 76.

Even the large enterprises are concerned over the present poorly developing economic situation. The paper Tin Tuc Hang Ngay on 8 November 1971 stated, "Usually during a poor economic situation, there are still a number of sectors such as automobile production and electrical appliances which develop in order to lead in restoring the economy but these sectors at the present time are also unable to rise." The largest corporation in Japan (Nissan) declared, "Sales during 1971 both within and outside the country failed to attain the norms." The French news agency AFP announced, "Electronic articles used in the Japanese family (television sets, radios, and tape recorders) -- according to figures of the Japanese Ministry of International Commerce and Ministry of Industry -- during 1971 declined by 7 percent compared with 1970. In the value of television sets alone, an important product of Japan, the decline was 20 percent, the decline in radios was 14 percent, and the output of the iron and steel industry also continued to decline last year. Recently, this sector was forced to request that the Sato government use administrative

methods to force corporations in formulating plans with a 20 percent output reduction, and generator, petroleum chemical, and ferrous metal industrial sectors also are formulating plans with a 20 percent output reduction. Weaving, the industrial sector most oppressed and attacked by the United States, is falling into a recession."

The number of bankrupt medium and small enterprises at the present time is increasing. According to announced figures of the Japanese Department of Economy, 865 enterprises declared bankruptcy during October 1971, an increase of 19.5 percent over September 1971, and the total amount owed by these enterprises in October 1971 was 178.6 million dollars, a 36 percent increase over September 1971. According to the estimate of a private investigation organization, the number of bankrupt corporations during 1971 exceeded 9,000. This was the greatest number of bankrupt enterprises in 3 years. The number of unemployed has increased due to the dismissal of thousands of workers by the large monopolistic corporations such as Mitsubishi, Metan, Maininh, Hitashi, and Toyobo, and due to the many bankrupt plants. The cost of consumer goods has also rapidly increased. According to statistics of the Japanese authorities, prices during September 1971 increased 10.3 percent over September 1970. Due to the poor economic situation, the gross national product has increased slowly. According to estimates of the Japanese Ministry of Industry, this value would increase by 10.1 percent during 1971 but on 19 December 1971, the Japanese Department of Economic Planning announced that the actual value increased by only 4.7 or 4.8 percent. According to statistics of the Japanese Department of Economic Planning, "during the 60's with the exception of 1962 and 1965 which were years of crisis when the gross national product rose by only 6.4 and 4.4 percent and 1963 and 1966 which were years following a crisis when the increase was only 10 percent, the level reached was 12.5 to 15.6 percent. Therefore, the gross national product during 1971 increased little as noted above, proving that the economic crisis of Japan is extremely serious.

The reason why Japan has the crises above is due to fundamental causes: the contradiction between socialized production is increasingly greater with the ownership of production materials still in the hands of the Japanese monopolistic capital group. Besides this basic reason, there are also others: the market in Japan has not expanded as before but is becoming increasingly restricted because the Japanese laboring people are heavily exploited and their standards of living are declining. Japan is still dependent on the United States; when the United States suffers a crisis in every aspect, Japan cannot avoid the same crisis. Japan is also like other imperialists, since the war falling into an overall condition of market shortages.

The Japanese economy has a slow tendency. However, to resolve the crisis and continue economic expansion, the Japanese monopolistic capital group is and will strive to use the following three methods:

First, to intensify competition with the other imperialists on the world market. The more the Japanese economy expands, the more necessary is a consumer market. Because the domestic market is becoming increasingly restricted, the outside market is still the primary sales location of Japan.

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The decline of the Japanese economy as well as of the entire world capitalist economy increasingly strengthens the confidence of the Japanese working class and laboring people in their struggle for national independence, democracy, and social progress under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party.

In order to accomplish this, Japan must intensify invasion of the world market and competition with the monopolistic capital groups of other countries in order to win an influential position and the maximum profits. Under conditions in which the markets of the imperialists are suffering a general shortage, such action by Japan creates additional turmoil in the markets of other capitalist countries, causes dissension between imperialists to become deeper, and the overall crisis of world capitalism becomes steadily more serious.

Second is that in economic expansion by intensifying the arms race and militarizing the economy, in the competition with other imperialists, Japan is still unable to resolve the sales problem. In case Japanese militarism foolishly plunges into new military adventures, it will commit suicide before the boiling gale of revolution in Asia as well as Africa and Latin America. The dishonorable defeat of the Japanese fascists during World War II and the disastrous defeat of the American imperialist leaders in their war of aggression in Vietnam and Indochina at the present time are great examples to Japan.

Third is that intensifying the exploitation of the worker class and the Japanese working people's class is considered by Japanese state monopolistic capital as the primary method. This will gradually lead to an increasing number of unemployed, steadily higher cost of living, increasingly more difficult life for the Japanese laboring people, steadily deeper class dissension, increasingly more violent class struggle, and the rule of Japanese capitalism will become more seriously shaken.

The decline of the Japanese economy as well as of the entire world capitalist economy increasingly strengthens the confidence of the Japanese working class and laboring people in their struggle for national independence, democracy, and social progress under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party.

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