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**SOME EXPERIENCES IN MOTIVATING THE MASSES  
TO PARTICIPATE IN PARTY BUILDING**  
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Vietnamese]

In the recent past basic Party chapters have widely applied the policy of motivating the masses to participate in Party building. Workers and collective peasants have enthusiastically introduced to Party chapters people who were worthy of being admitted into the Party, expressed their views on various tasks or criticisms of Party chapters and Party members and so forth. Through these practical actions the masses have made realistic contributions to Party building in the political, ideological and organizational fields.

The initial results of our task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building demonstrate that our policy on this matter is correct. This creative application of Marxism-Leninism has given us a very efficient Party building method, especially as our Party is holding power.

Since the day our Party successfully led our people in seizing power, the activities of our Party and its relationship with the masses have been different. After seizing power, "our Party must pay attention to major problems such as turning our backward economy and culture into a progressive culture; simultaneously it must be concerned with minor problems concerning the everyday life of the people." (Footnote: Ho Chi Minh: "On the Party Building Task," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, pp 103, 104). The relationship between our Party and the masses are unprecedentedly developed and close. Each action by Party members, whether it is right or wrong, exerts a direct influence on the people's material and intellectual life. In implementing Party policies and lines, cadres and Party members can not only take advantage of propaganda tasks to educate the masses and improve their revolutionary enlightenment, but also use the efficient means of the state for achieving this end. Unlike in the past, they must not--in carrying out their tasks--fully rely on the masses to supply them with food, lodging or protection. Moreover the body of Party members has become hundreds of times bigger than before seizing power. Past education and managerial measures have become insufficient. Therefore "for a Party that hold power, the greatest.

dangers to avoid are not only wrong policies, but also bureaucratism, commandism and despotism--errors that result in isolating the Party from the masses and weakening proletarian dictatorship." (Footnote: Le Duan: "Under the Glorious Party Banner, for Independence, Freedom and Socialism, Let Us Advance and Achieve New Victories," Hoc Tap, No. 2, 1970.)

Bureaucratism causes cadres and Party members to detach themselves from the masses. It also erodes the revolutionary fighting power of cadres and Party members. To combat bureaucratism, our Party must adopt stronger measures aimed at constantly strengthening the relationship between our Party and the masses and continuously improving the class character and vanguard character of our Party.

Motivating the masses to participate in Party building is one measure; at the same time, it is a rule governing the Party building task, a rule having the character of a principle. This is the continuation of the task of developing the traditional close ties between the Party and the masses; of closely linking the Party building task and the propaganda and education task in order to heighten the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses; and of making the Party constantly develop among the seething revolutionary movement of the masses and actually become a revolutionary party of the masses.

Our Party can advance and implement the policy of motivating the masses to participate in Party building because our workers and peasants are very good; they have an age-old tradition of loving their country; moreover they have been trained and educated by our Party for more than 40 years, that is why they are spurred by revolutionary eagerness; they love and trust our Party. They long to see our Party become increasingly stronger and more stable. In a letter sent to the Nghe An chapter in 1969 President Ho said: "Our people deeply love our Party. We must encourage them to contribute to the Party building task by, for instance, collaborating with the Party chapter in the selecting of leading cadres or new Party members. In so doing we will contribute to further strengthening the relationship between our Party and people." (Footnote: "President Ho and His Native Land," The Nghe An Provincial Party Committee's to Study Party History, 1970, p 42) On the masses' capacity to participate in the party building task, Lenin said: "The view and advice by the proletarian

masses outside the Party--and in some circumstances, by peasants outside the Party--concerning the rejection of those 'who have sneaked into the Party,' of the 'mandarins' and of those 'who have been affected by bureaucratism' are very valuable. (Footnote: Lenin: "Selected Works" Vol 2, Part 2, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, pp 546, 547.)

Facts concerning the movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party building over the past few years demonstrate that Party chapters that have satisfactorily carried out the movement have achieved good results. Under clever leadership, the masses have contributed many views profitable to the improvement of the ethics and capacity of cadres and Party members. Presented and improved by the masses, people who have been admitted into the Party have all the qualifications of Party members; they actually represent the revolutionary spirit of the masses; they are loved and trusted by the masses. Each phase of the movement to motivate the masses to participate in the Party building task is a phase of practical political activities for the masses. In addition to the effect of contributing to the Party building task, the phases of the movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party building have the effect of contributing to heightening the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses. Party policies and lines are more thoroughly understood by the masses. Party chapters and Party members have the conditions to strongly develop their role of organizing the masses and leading them in achieving the revolutionary objectives set forth by the Party. Thus is it correct to say that the movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party-building has contributed to heightening the class character and vanguard character of our Party in a practical manner and making these characters to manifest themselves in a lively manner?

Motivating the masses to participate in Party building is a correct and creative method. However, we must not apply this method in a simple manner in accordance with our convenience. It is obvious that both the tendency to distrust the masses' capacity to participate in Party building and the tendency to reluctantly rely on the masses to carry out the Party building task are erroneous. On the other hand, it is also a grave error to believe that all the views expressed by the masses are correct, that all problems must be discussed by the masses

and that all tasks must be carried out in accordance with the masses' views. In fact this is a tendency to dog the masses' footsteps. Lack of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the masses or dogging their footsteps in the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building--or in any other task --is erroneous. It demonstrates a misunderstanding of our Party's line concerning classes and masses.

Strictly following Marxism-Leninism, our Party has always maintained that revolution is the work of the masses and that their revolutionary capacity is inexhaustible. However to improve the revolutionary capacity of the masses and mobilize the majority of the masses to struggle for the revolutionary work, there must be the leadership of a vanguard party, a scientific theory and correct policies and lines. That is why the genuinely revolutionary achievements are generally the results of an association between the clear-sighted leadership of the Party and the seething revolutionary eagerness of the masses. It cannot be otherwise. Thanks to their inherent revolutionary nature, the masses can easily assimilate the revolutionary policies and lines of the Party. Guided by their personal interests, the masses can clearly realize which policies or lines are profitable to them. However, this does not mean that the masses by themselves can advance correct revolutionary policies and lines. Moreover, the majority of our workers and peasants are still engaging in small production. The habits and experiences that have been shaped up and accumulated in this surrounding cannot supply them with the basic knowledge necessary for the construction of socialism. On the contrary, in many cases, small producers' preconceived ideas have prevented the masses from quickly assimilating the Party's policies and lines concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction. That is why we must not confound revolutionary eagerness with scientific knowledge. We must not believe that those who belong to a good class and have a good political background can advance correct views in all fields of activities. Belonging to a good class, having a good political background and having revolutionary eagerness are conditions necessary for assimilating the Party's revolutionary policies and lines. To advance correct policies and lines, in addition to firmly sticking to the working class' viewpoints we must thoroughly understand and creatively apply Marxist-Leninist science.

Some views of the masses are good; others are erroneous. That is why, after gathering all the views of the masses, a Party chapter must analyze them and select only the good ones. It must demonstrate the error of the other views so that the masses can understand it. Only in so doing will it show its ability to associate Party leadership with the masses' revolutionary eagerness. In the recent past a number of Party chapters advanced the policy of relying on the masses' initiatives to develop animal husbandry. But due to the fact that the Party chapters failed to help the masses understand the Party's cooperativisation policy, the majority of peasants advanced the policy of applying small producers' experiences: They proposed that hogs of collective farms be distributed among and be reared by cooperative members' families. With this method, difficulties concerning sites and food were temporarily overcome. Under the condition that cooperatives lacked experiences in large-scale breeding, this method of having hogs reared by cooperative members' families achieved higher labor output than that of breeding cooperatives. But this method weakened socialist production relations, instead of strengthening them. It was profitable to only a number of cooperative members' families. It did not create conditions for cooperatives to develop their activities. After studying Party policies and lines, the masses collaborated with Party chapters to quickly eliminate this shortcoming. This proved that the masses had the socialist revolutionary spirit and that the discussion of the policy of developing breeding by the masses was not an erroneous practice. What was erroneous was the Party chapters' tendency to dog the masses' footsteps and their failure to explain the Party's policies and lines to the masses.

The experiences accumulated by the Party chapters that have satisfactorily carried out the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building demonstrate that the propaganda and education task aimed at constantly improving the socialist revolutionary enlightenment of the masses is very necessary, but is not sufficient. The task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building demands that Party chapters point out the practical problems and work out practical improvement plans. For instance: During the phase of recruiting Party members for the Ho Chi Minh Class, the factory Party chapters of the Haiphong city Party chapter achieved

good results in motivating the masses to participate in Party building through organizing courses in which workers learned about the characteristics of the Party's objectives, Party members' qualifications and the city Party committee's policy of developing Party organizations. Later the masses contacted their production units and introduced to them the people who had the qualifications to join the Party's ranks. While they helped workers study the characteristics of the Party's objectives, Party members' qualifications and so forth, the Party chapters set forth different requirements in accordance with each objective. They trained the old and professionally experienced workers-- members of the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union who had participated in the revolutionary struggle for years--and entrusted them with the task of guiding the other workers in their factories. As a result of this realistic method, workers introduced to the Party chapters many good workers who were worthy of being admitted into the Party. When they introduced someone in Party chapters, they informed them of his strong and weak points. When they faced a point about which they did not know, they proposed that the Party chapters conduct an investigation and so forth. The majority of the workers' views were correct. Thus they provided the Party chapters with favorable conditions enabling them to satisfactorily fulfilling the task of recruiting new Party members.

A number of Party chapters in Dong Hung District, Thai Binh Province, successfully fulfilled the task of motivating the masses to express their views on the plan to enlarge the spring crop acreage. These Party chapters explained to cooperative members about the role, effects and characteristics of the spring crop as well as the difficulties and advantages of the task of enlarging the acreage. Then they proposed that the masses discuss the measures to carry out this plan. Realizing the importance of the cultivation of the spring crop, the masses started discussing the above measures. They stated the experiences drawn from the cultivation of the spring crop during the previous seasons. They pointed out the shortcomings of the plan to organize the Party chapters' leadership over the application of technical measures, the sense of responsibility of cadres and Party members and so forth. When they discussed the plan to achieve new objectives, the masses advanced measures to be taken to strengthen the Party chapters' leadership and so forth.

Thus starting from the requirements of a concrete political task, the Party chapters shifted to discussing the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party-building in these fields: the trend of this task, measures to be taken, ideological and organizational task and so forth.

The above facts prove that when they understand Party policies and lines, the masses manifest their enthusiasm and voluntarily advance many initiatives concerning the implementation of these policies and lines. Basing themselves on the requirements of the immediate objectives, the enlightened masses claim for the Party chapters' leadership and are ready to help the Party chapters and Party members overcome their weak points and shortcomings so as to strengthen the Party chapters' leadership. This close relationship can be achieved only when the Party chapters and Party members do their utmost to help the masses thoroughly understand Party policies and lines and clearly realize the concrete objectives of these policies and lines and when they discuss with the masses about the measures to be taken to achieve these objectives.

The task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building requires that Party chapters and Party members not only advance correct views but also adopt adequate organizational measures and methods. The more people are motivated to participate in Party building, the greater the results of this task will be and the more strongly the mass character of the Party will be developed. However, the masses are divided into many strata, some of which have been closely organized while others are not. Each stratum is composed of many people who differ in their enlightenment, political attitude and revolutionary eagerness. Thus which strata must we mainly aim at while carrying out the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building? Which norms will we base ourselves on to select the right people for the Party building task? Which methods will we have to adopt to attract the majority of the masses? Party chapters must work out plans to solve these concrete problems. For years a number of Party chapters have mobilized the masses to criticize Party chapters and Party members. But due to a poor organization of this task, its results have been restricted. For instance: At the meeting of all cooperative members, a number of Party chapters proposed

that the people present criticize the Party chapters and Party members; since the masses were not informed of it beforehand, they raised different problems;

some of them even raised problems caused by personal conflicts. Finally the conference collected a number of heterogeneous views having few practical effects. Bad relationships developed among a number of cooperative members. Some Party chapters carried out the movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party building by organizing too many training courses or too many enlarged and days-long conferences, thus creating difficulties to production and other tasks. That is why the masses did not approve of this method.

The experiences drawn by the Party chapters that have satisfactorily carried out their movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party building prove that the Party building task requires that Party chapters respect the principles and have a high sense of responsibility. That is why first of all they must rely on mass organizations such as the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, trade unions, collective peasants in cooperatives, people's councils and so forth. The members of these organizations have volunteered to join the revolutionary ranks and strictly follow the Party lines; they have a sense of organization, discipline and responsibility; they are eager to strengthen Party leadership. But there are differences among these people. If Party chapters rely on an organization as a whole, they cannot develop the capacity of each of its members in order to serve the Party building task. Thus Party chapters must know how to select the most active and progressive people and use them as a core force. To find the most active people and create a core force for the movement, Party chapters must take into account their spirit and capacity while implementing Party policies and lines. The necessity to group active people into a core force does not mean that slight attention must be paid to motivating the majority of the masses. On the contrary Party chapters must use these active people to motivate the majority of the masses to participate in Party building.

To motivate the majority of the masses to participate in Party building, Party chapters have created many different methods, such as: organizing meetings to discuss the concrete

policies of the Party, reviewing the situation of the fulfillment of the local tasks and reviewing the leadership tasks of Party chapters and Party members; linking the general recapitulation of the achievements of a unit with assessment of the leadership tasks of Party chapters and Party members; and linking reporting and assessment of achievements by the masses with assessment of Party members' achievements. Some Party chapters have organized direct contacts with each family or each person, set up boxes for the submission of new initiatives and so forth. Facts prove that to collect the masses' viewpoints it is necessary to have adequate organizational methods. But no matter what organizational methods are adopted, Party chapters must report to the propaganda and educational task to encourage the masses to enthusiastically participate in Party building

In the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building, the masses' criticism of Party chapters and Party members is the most important method and measure because it exerts a direct influence on the Party and caps all other motivation methods. Indeed, before discussing with the Party chapters about the leadership line and methods and Party members' behavior and about the recruitment of new Party members and so forth, the masses must first observe and analyze the past implementation of policies and measures. In criticizing Party chapters and Party members, the masses can freely express their views on Party policies and lines and assess the leadership of Party chapters and the activities of Party members. This is a very revolutionary measure. A Party that is not actually concerned with the masses' interest, that does not have correct policies and lines and that is not strongly supported and trusted by the majority of the masses dares not hold public meetings in the course of which it criticizes itself before the masses and urges the masses to criticize it. This method cannot be applied if Party chapters and Party members lack revolutionary eagerness and a sense of responsibility. Experiences drawn from the movement to motivate the masses to criticize Party chapters and Party members prove that if the masses boldly, frankly and sincerely state their views on the Party's lines, policies and activities, they are not sincere and frank in criticizing the Party members who, in their opinion, are not ready to sincerely accept and listen to their criticisms.

To encourage the masses to enthusiastically participate in these criticisms, Party chapters and Party members must demonstrate their readiness to sincerely listen to the masses' views. Here is the best way for Party chapters and Party members to manifest this readiness: they must sincerely and severely criticize their own shortcomings. Experiences prove that: among the Party members who do not welcome the masses' criticism, some are afraid of the masses' criticisms because they have committed many mistakes; others--who have good qualities, who have faithfully fulfilled all their tasks and who are loved and trusted by the masses--disapprove of this method of letting the masses criticize Party chapters and Party members because they are afraid that these criticisms, with their conflicting views, personal attacks and so forth, are harmful to the unity between Party members and the masses. That is why on one hand Party chapters must help their members thoroughly understand the meaning and objectives of the movement to encourage the masses to make criticisms. On the other hand Party chapters must stipulate strict measures that Party members must satisfactorily fulfill in order to encourage the masses to make criticisms. As for the masses, Party chapters must give them time so that they can make careful preparations before making criticisms because good criticisms must have good contents and must be impartial. Criticism that contains no constructive views does not achieve good results. Therefore Party chapters must help the masses understand the content of policies and lines so that they are able to correctly evaluate the achievements of Party chapters and Party members and find constructive views for their criticisms.

Many Party chapters' experiences prove that the first meetings, in the course of which the masses criticize Party chapters and Party members, cannot achieve good results no matter how well these are prepared because both Party members and the masses are inexperienced. Concerning a number of comrades who have not thoroughly understood the policy of motivating the masses to criticize Party chapters and Party members, they need facts to be convinced despite all the explanations by Party chapters. It is the same with the masses. The first time the masses do not state all their views. They do not have correct attitudes and standards the first time they publicly criticize Party chapters and Party members. Only after

meetings in which the masses criticize Party chapters and Party members have been organized many times and regularly, after Party members have thoroughly understood the policy and after the masses have accumulated more experiences and enlightened one another will more and more constructive views be advanced. The results will be greater and greater however, if in the first meetings Party chapters and Party members make sincere self-criticisms, they will receive sincere views from the masses. The Party chapters and Party members who have committed many mistakes but who have actively tried to avoid committing these mistakes again will enjoy greater confidence from the masses. In many areas the masses are deeply moved by the sincere self-criticisms of Party chapters and Party members. After criticizing Party chapters and Party members, some people criticize themselves and ask Party chapters and Party members to help them overcome their shortcomings.

A number of Party chapters were so weak that higher authorities had to send down cadres to directly organize the movement to motivate the masses to criticize Party chapters and Party members. The masses frankly pointed out the shortcomings of Party chapters and Party members. But later, shortcomings were not overcome; no improvement was observed. This was because Party chapters and Party members had no sense of initiative. Cadres sent down by higher authorities could not replace the local Party chapters and Party members. As a result these Party chapters and Party members lost the confidence of the masses. These Party chapters' leadership became less efficient. This proves that the movement to motivate the masses to criticize Party chapters and Party members must absolutely be carried out by the Party chapters themselves. Only too-weak Party chapters need help from cadres from higher echelons. Even in that case, these cadres must only help these weak Party chapters improve and become sufficiently strong to fulfill their duty to motivate and lead the masses by themselves. Only then will these basic Party organisations be able to thrust their roots deeply among the masses and have the necessary conditions to continuously develop.

Although it has just been started, the task of motivating the masses to participate in Party building has achieved good results. However, these results are limited because of the scarcity of experiences.

**Drawing up past experiences, developing strong points, overcoming shortcomings and further stepping up the movement to motivate the masses to participate in Party building, we will surely score greater achievements in the task of consolidating and developing our Party.**