

the working class and the collective peasantry as well.

In brief, though young and small in size the Vietnamese working class commands tremendous revolutionary capabilities. *Being the leading class, it formed, together with the labouring peasantry, the main force in our national-democratic revolution; now together with the collective peasantry it forms the main force in our socialist revolution.*

This is born out by the process of our struggle and the successes we achieved in our revolution since the emergence of the working class' party.

Patriotism and national spirit is the most valuable assets and also the characteristic feature of the Vietnamese people all through the several thousand years of their history. They have taken shape ever since the founding of the country, and developed throughout the process of their protracted struggle against foreign invasion. Our ancestors knew how to avail themselves of and promote them for the defence of national independence. This explains why our people's recorded resounding feats of arms in the course of their history.

Imbued with class consciousness and aware of its historical role, the Vietnamese working class is now the most resolute standard bearer of national independence. President Ho Chi Minh has said, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." This resounding appeal is the crystallization of our people's tradition of struggle against

foreign invasion and of their will over the centuries to live in independence; this is their unshakable stand in the current life-and-death resistance to American aggression. This is also the stand of the Vietnamese working class at the present revolutionary stage. Let our working class do its utmost to be worthy of its leading role in the Vietnamese revolution, of being the continuator of the Vietnamese people's tradition of heroism, the vanguard detachment in the struggle for the achievement of the national-democratic revolution all over the country and in socialist construction in North Viet Nam, of being an integral part of the world revolutionary working class.

II

TASKS OF THE TRADE-UNIONS AT THE PRESENT STAGE IN THE THREE REVOLUTIONS

Formerly, the working class of our country being exploited and oppressed, trade-unions served as a means of struggle for the workers' economic and political rights against the capitalists and rulers. But now that in North Viet Nam the working class is in power, *the trade-unions have become an organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a school for the management of socialist industry and of the state, a school for socialist and communist education.*

The tasks and powers of the trade-unions have been legally recorded and guaranteed by our Constitution. The resolution of the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and that of the Seventh Session of the Party Central Committee have defined the role of the trade-unions in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction.

As ours is a backward agricultural country advancing toward socialism bypassing the stage of

capitalist development, the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North is a revolutionary process of all-sided transformation. This transformation consists in shifting the North from an economy mainly based on the private ownership of the means of production to a socialist economy based on ownership by the entire people and collective ownership, from small production to large-scale socialist production, from a backward and scattered economy to a well-balanced and modern economy, so as to turn our country into a socialist one with an up-to-date industry and agriculture, and an advanced culture and science.

This process of revolutionary transformation is a development process encompassing three revolutions; revolution in relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. It will last throughout the transition period in which socialist industrialization is the central task. Our working class acts as the leader and the main force in these three revolutions. Trade-union organizations at all levels and in all branches must make every worker and labourer thoroughly understand the role and task of his class in the three revolutions, and devote all his revolutionary ardour to the realization of the Party's program. The activities of all trade-unions must focus on the above-mentioned revolutions and particularly on socialist industrialization.

The revolution in relations of production constitutes the essential content of all socialist revolution. In developed capitalist countries, class

struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie is extremely arduous and sharp in this domain. Such, however, was not the case in our country. Owing to the fact that the working class led the national-democratic revolution and has established the people's democratic dictatorship the state apparatus of violence is wielded by the working class through the instrumentality of its vanguard Party; on the other hand, as the private capitalist economy was very weak the revolution in relations of production did not unfold in a sharp manner. After the confiscation and nationalization of factories and mines belonging to the imperialists our tasks in the revolution in relations of production was to transform the capitalist economy of the national bourgeoisie, and at the same time to undertake the socialist transformation of small production, the main link of which being agricultural co-operativization.

The socialist transformation of small production aims at converting the individual ownership of the means of production into socialist collective ownership in order to emancipate the productive forces, impel production and turn small production into a large-scale socialist one parallel to the building of large-scale production bases in industry, cardinal construction, communications and transport, etc.

The fundamental and immediate target of the revolution in relations of production is to *establish the collective ownership of the means of production by the toiling people, that is, to make them masters*.

in labour, production and distribution. Thus, a matter of paramount importance is how to ensure the role as real masters for the workers in factories, and the peasants in co-operatives so that they can bend all their strength and intelligence on increasing labour productivity and on economic management in every production unit.

The trade-unions must, on an ever-larger scale, enlist workers and working people from all branches of the national economy. They must make an ever-greater contribution to the drafting and implementation of economic plans, production and distribution plans, economic and technical norms. In factories and other enterprises, the trade-unions must bring the workers to realize their responsibilities in the raising of labour productivity and machinery output, and to care for the use of raw materials, for production cost and rentability; in sum, they must familiarize the workers with all the activities of their enterprises and with all aspects of the country's economic life. Only by so doing can the working class heighten its role as masters in taking part in the management of factories.

Said Lenin on this problem :

“ The trade-unions must take a far greater part in the activities of all the planning bodies of the proletarian state, in drawing up economic plans and also programmes of production and expenditure of stocks of material supplies for the workers, they must make them familiar with all aspects of

economic life and with all details of industrial operations, from the procurement of raw materials to the marketing of the product, give them a more and more concrete understanding of the single state plan of socialist economy and the worker's and peasant's practical interest in its implementation."

However, the trade-unions, while performing their function, take part in factory management as a workers' mass organization, that of toiling people masters of their enterprises. They must see to it that the congresses of workers and employés start effective activities, thereby enhancing the role of the workers in all the activities of their factories. The trade-unions must direct their activities toward resolving difficulties in production and business, consolidating and intensifying labour discipline, heightening the workers' cultural and technical standards and guaranteeing adequate working and living conditions to the workers and employés.

The trade-unions do not replace directors and managing bodies of factories in economic management. Nevertheless, their motions must be taken into good account by the latter as they emanate from an organization set up in the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of factory management.

The regime of management elaborated by our Party and Government has defined the functions and powers of each organization in a factory. A good review of the campaign to improve factory management and technical innovations is needed in

order to make Party Committees, managing committees and trade-unions fully realize their respective responsibilities and better grasp the principle of democratic centralism in the management of factories, construction sites and mines. The problem is to further enhance the spirit of socialist co-operation for the interest of socialism with a view to unceasingly consolidating the workers' role as masters of their enterprises.

Patriotic emulation and socialist emulation constitutes an important medium to bring into full play the workers' role as collective masters by encouraging them to an active part in the economic life of our country. *Emulation is linked to the law of socialist economy ; it must act as a lever to boost production and the amelioration of factory management.* The trade-unions must help the workers grasp the economic and technical targets, to the best of their ability surpass the established norms and step by step set up ever-higher targets. Unless the workers act as collective masters and the activities of every production team, every labour team, every workshop and every factory are brought into full play, emulation cannot achieve good success. For it is on the basis of furthering the efforts and encouraging and promoting the initiatives of everybody that we can lift up the technical and production standard of our country as a whole. Hence the necessity of following closely the activities of the trade-union organizations in each production team and each workshop, of relying on each production team in order to constantly

reinforce their political and ideological unity, and stimulate the spirit of collective emulation and socialist co-operation that must be regarded as our objective in the building of the trade-unions from the ideological and organizational points of view.

The role of the labouring people as collective masters must, in the end, be concretely translated in the distribution of the fruits of labour. That is why the Party and the State must carry into effect an appropriate policy of distribution to meet the requirement of economic development and to ensure the right of the working people. All problems concerning prices, wages, allowances, public welfare, social insurance, labour protection, etc. are not only tightly related to the workers and employés' livelihood but also materialize the said role of the labouring people to which the trade-unions must pay adequate attention. It is the obligation of the State and all organs of economic management to take care of the workers' and employés' life; nevertheless, the trade-unions also bear responsibility for it.

In this urgent situation of the fighting and production the trade-unions must, on the one hand, impart to the workers and employés the spirit of self-reliance, of overcoming all hardships and difficulties in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and on the other hand adequately care for their living and working conditions, while paying particular attention to air defence in order to safeguard their lives and carry out

prophylactic hygiene and treatment of diseases. We are not allowed to allege difficulties for overlooking all this. Many factories are credited with experiences on how to organize for improving the employés' living conditions. They encourage them to grow vegetables and practise animal husbandry to meet part of their needs in foodstuff, they ameliorate board and lodging and study for them and, to a certain extent, for their children. These experiences should be propagated to other factories and enterprises.

In addition to distribution according to the work done, the children and old-aged and disabled people must be adequately cared for by society in our socialist regime. In the present conditions of economic development, however, we cannot afford to apply such a distribution. Yet, an urgent problem to which the trade-unions and co-operatives must pay attention is to give help to large families and war victims, not to let children lack food and warm clothes in winter, not to let the war victims and disabled and old-aged people live in too straitened circumstances. Provincial and town Party committees must see to it that each inhabitant has a job to live on. They must be well aware of the situation in each street, in each family and provide a job to all those who, though fit for work, cannot find employment. Party committees and governmental bodies must seek every way and means to solve these problems. The trade-unions in particular must pay constant attention to the employment problem and help tide over difficulties encountered

in their everyday life by the labouring people, including non-union members.

For the trade-unions neither of the two tasks—economic management and caring for the workers' and employes' livelihood—is of greater consequence than the other. They must do their best on the one hand to improve their work and accomplish their functions as regards economic management and state management, and on the other help so organize as to raise the living conditions of the workers and employes. For, taking care of their material and cultural needs is part and parcel of economic management, one of the conditions for them to work better; all the more so as not a few shortcomings are to be remedied in this respect.

To take an active part in factory and economic management the trade-unions must make their members fully realize the importance of, grasp the Party's line on, and thoroughly understand their class' position in, the technological revolution, so that they can act as shock detachments on this front.

Of the three afore-said revolutions, *at present the technological revolution is playing the key role* since it aims at laying the material and technical bases of socialism and organizing productive forces compatible with the socialist relations of production. Without these bases we could not build a new economy, a new regime and a new culture, and form new men. The technological revolution sets our country a tremendous and extremely difficult and arduous task. For, bypassing the stage

of capitalist development, and modern industry being almost non-existent, we have to build the material and technical bases of socialism from scrap.

Our technological revolution evolves in two ways: gradually to advance from handicraft work to semi-mechanization then to mechanization; and directly to embark upon up-to-date technique, including the latest world technique. Our technological revolution is a process of all-round technical development in industry, agriculture and the other branches of the national economy.

The essential contents of the technological revolution consist in transforming the whole of our social production at present from handicraft production into a large-scale mechanized one, in re-equipping all the branches of the national economy with new technique. The rate of development of this process depends upon the determination with which our working class, our cadres and technical personnel carry out the technological revolution.

Science and technology have now reached a very high level, become a direct productive force, penetrated and tied itself to man's daily life. To change our economy rapidly it is necessary to achieve socialist industrialization, i.e., in essence to carry out the technological revolution far and wide, in all the branches of the national economy. This great revolutionary task requires deep socialist consciousness from our people so that they may thoroughly perceive the importance of science and technology and vigorously and rapidly march forward along the path of socialist construction.

To achieve good production, the workers must master technique. To the workers really masters of their factories, political and socialist consciousness means determination to study technique with perseverance and to unceasingly heighten their technical standard; they must grasp the technological process and the process of production to best use the machines assigned to them, raise labour productivity and obtain the highest output from each machine and from the factory as a whole.

To push up the technological revolution, to build socialism, we need millions of skilled workers, dozens of thousands of engineers and scientific workers of a high professional standard. Our Party and State must work out policies for the rapid and all-sided training and fostering of workers and scientific and technical cadres. Our Party and State encourage every worker to study technique, improve his professional standard, develop his ability and make innovations.

To assimilate modern technology and science, one has to unceasingly raise one's cultural standard. Our workers, therefore, must, in a definite length of time, strive to go through the second and third degrees of general education. Those who are gifted and enjoy favourable conditions should continue their study to attain the summit of science and technology.

Trade-union committees must combine with the bodies in charge of economic management, with factory directors to look after the technical study

and general education of workers. Plans must be worked out to this effect to provide guidance in every production team. One must adequately organize various forms of technical study outside production hours, improve and closely direct professional courses for young workers, technical refresher and on-the-job courses and correspondence courses for complementary general education. Importance must be attached to the propagation and application of vanguard experiences in production, rationalization of production and technical innovations. Club activities in factories must be made better, libraries set up, and books and periodicals placed at the disposal of the workers so that they may acquire more knowledge.

Il a word, the trade-unions must tide over all difficulties in order to turn every factory, every enterprise into a school, and bring about the most favourable conditions to the workers in general education, in studying science and technology, under any circumstances. They must pay more attention to the above, *they must raise an ebullient revolutionary movement for the conquest of science and technology.*

We are presently giving a strong fillip to the development of regional industry, and transport and communications to meet the needs of production and combat, and, through the medium of regional industry, gradually place technique at the service of agricultural production and step by step achieve a new division of labour. Centrally-run industry, including both light and heavy industries, must

make an effective contribution to the building of regional industry and the development of transport and communications.

The satisfaction of our needs in intensive cultivation, in raising output in cultivation and animal husbandry, in carrying out in good time agricultural seasonal work, in increasing labour productivity in agriculture, in freeing labour in the countryside, in transforming the farm products, in repairing small machines, etc. requires that industry give more active technical help to agriculture. In a comparatively short time we must do away with the shortage of common farming implements and introduce into the countryside a large number of improved ones, of small machines, coal and electric power. If we could attain the above targets we would give a sensible impetus to our co-operative agriculture, and on this basis impel industrial development forward.

Trade-union committees at all levels and in all branches must bring the workers to a clear realization of our requirements in the development of regional industry and transport and communications, and especially of our urgent needs in agriculture; they must encourage the workers to emulate one another as best they can in production and building with a view to accelerating the tempo of technical equipment of farming co-operatives.

After establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely after becoming masters politically, the workers and labouring people must strive to be masters of society, of nature and of their own

self. Therefore, parallel to the revolution in relations of production and the technological revolution, we must carry out the cultural and ideological revolution.

This revolution aims at forming new men, men of the socialist society, masters of their own self, of society and nature, men who, with zest, take part in production, in scientific and technological work, in literary and artistic activities, so as to bring about a new relationship between man and man in accordance with the principle "each for all and all for each", and to infuse into them the world outlook of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, and the communist outlook on life. For the working class, to carry out the ideological and cultural revolution is, at present, to *remould itself into a truly revolutionary, really advanced army from the ideological, political and organizational as well as from the technological and professional points of view*, so that it proves worthy of its role as leader of the revolution and collective master, master of the socialist society.

The capitalist system comes into being and develops spontaneously. On the contrary, the building of the socialist system springs from the aspiration of the toiling people to be collective masters, and from their understanding and application of objective economic laws. That is why we pay particular attention to enhancing man's dynamism, and unceasingly strengthen the class stand and socialist consciousness of the labourers.