

The stand of the working class is always tied to the political task at each revolutionary stage. While the workers were wage-earners living under foreign domination, their stand consisted in struggling against capitalist exploitation and oppression, in fighting resolutely to overthrow their rulers and seize power; now that they wield power and are building socialism, their stand is to acquire the sense of being collective masters, to raise their political, cultural and technical standards, and to foster their capabilities in factory and economic management so that they may bring into full play their role as collective masters.

Moreover, at present, this stand requires that the working class resolutely fight to the end, fearless of the heaviest sacrifices, for victory over U.S. aggression, for safeguarding the fruits of our socialist revolution in the North, preserving the independence and freedom of our country, and achieving its reunification, thereby making its contribution to the defence of the socialist camp and of peace, and giving a strong fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working class and the oppressed peoples all over the world. More than ever our working class must be fully aware that it is living in a period of utmost revolutionary effervescence, that it is performing the greatest mission in our history. It is necessary to convert its love for the homeland and socialism, its national spirit and proletarian internationalism into revolutionary heroism in production.

To elevate socialist consciousness among the working class is to make the workers clearly realize its vanguard role in socialist construction, its role as collective masters in the management of factories, of economy and of the state.

There is complete unity between the working class and the state. The working class and the toiling peoples must, by the agency of, and together with, the state apparatus, undertake the management of society and economy. Inversely, the state, which under the dictatorship of the proletariat truly embodies the will and aspirations of the working class and the other segments of the labouring people, constitutes an instrument to materialize this will and these aspirations. The similarity of interests between the working class and the state reflects the similarity of interests of the working class and the working people on the one hand, and of the nation on the other, as well as the similarity of stand of the working class and of the nation.

To be master of the state, the working class must, first and foremost, be master of each factory, each enterprise. The trade-unions must make the workers fully aware not only of the general political task of their class in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction, but also of the concrete tasks of each factory, each enterprise; they must make them consider the targets in the plan of their production unit as the political program that they are to implement in the best possible way.

At present, socialist consciousness requires from us the clear realization that, owing to the poverty of our country, the problem of accumulating funds for socialist industrialization is posed in a most acute manner; for, despite the low productivity of social labour, we have to concentrate funds on industrialization, and simultaneously carry out distribution according to the socialist principle, and gradually improve the people's living conditions. There is no other way for us than to bend all our energies on increasing labour productivity and to practise economy. We must chiefly strive to be economical in production, and at the same time, in all consciousness, save our personal spending to speed up accumulation. Only by substantially accumulating and concentrating funds can we accelerate the technological revolution.

Parallel to the development of industry, the ranks of the working class keep swelling. This is something natural and necessary, but the newcomers carry with them their habits of thinking and living more or less unfit for the working class. Moreover, as our working class was immersed in the sea of small production, which has been recently transformed, and as it has just been freed from colonial and feudal domination, it is natural that certain of its segments are contaminated by the unproletarian ideologies and vices of other classes. Therefore, a question of great consequence for the preservation of the vanguard character of the working class is the struggle for the elimination of vices incompatible with proletarian ethics, such as

the penchant to do what one pleases, the lack of discipline and of concern for the requirements of one's collective, inertness and conservatism, waste and corruption.

To become a strong organization possessed of high combativeness, the trade-unions must recruit and temper their members in the crucible of an ever-effervescent revolutionary movement. It is through the accomplishment of our production and combat duties, through the carrying out of our three revolutions and through the drives of patriotic emulation and socialist emulation, that the trade unions must consolidate the ranks, undertake the ideological formation, and strengthen the political and ideological unity of the working class.

We should clearly realize that aside from using the dictatorship of the proletariat as a sharp weapon in the resistance against aggression, for the defence of the Fatherland, and aside from repressing counter-revolutionaries, agents of imperialism, another form of class struggle of the working class in power is to bring economic construction and management to a successful end. We must make the workers thoroughly conscious that productive labour today is no longer waged labour but an obligation toward themselves, their family and society, and a revolutionary task—the building of our country into an independent and prosperous one. That is to work for oneself, for one's class and one's nation, for the present and the future of one's offsprings. To love labour, not to waste time and to

care for the preservation of machines are concrete manifestations of the working class' socialist consciousness and lofty virtues. Hence, workers, employés, and the working people as a whole, must enhance their sense of labour, resolutely oppose breaches of labour discipline, waste of time, sluggishness, ensure an eight-hour work day, and incessantly raise labour productivity.

How happy we, labourers, are to take in hands the destiny of our Fatherland, to be masters of our own lives, to fight for the defence of our beautiful country bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and to build a bright future for the coming generations! At present, in spite of sacrifices, difficulties and hardships, our hearts are filled with joy and happiness because revolution is always a treat for the popular masses. Our compatriots in South Viet Nam, who are put to fire and sword and are suffering a hundred times more than we, remain enthusiastic, optimistic and indomitable. Their shining example commands our affectionate admiration, makes us proud, reinforces our confidence and increases our strength.

In short, the tasks of the trade-unions at the present stage are to step up the education of the workers so that they fully realize their role as collective masters and to reinforce the organization of workers so that they can take an active part in the management of factories and economy with a view to the triumph of the technological revolution. These tasks at the same time consist in paying great attention to the living conditions of the workers and

employés to stimulate them to take part in patriotic emulation and socialist emulation to the best of their ability, to carry on socialist construction and resolutely fulfil their duties in production and combat, thus contributing to the frustration of all the aggressive schemes and actions of the U.S. imperialist aggressors in order to defend the North, liberate the South and proceed toward the reunification of our country.

To accomplish all these tasks *trade-union cadres must be the most representative revolutionary militants of the advanced revolutionary forces of the society*; they must be well aware of the concern and aspirations of the workers and employés and be the true spokesmen of the labouring people. They and the leading bodies of the trade-union organizations as well, must get in close touch with the masses, with production work and the workers' life. *A slogan for trade-union cadres is: go to factories and enterprises.* It is there and not in their offices that they must do their work. They must go there, live there, and talk there with the workers to know the latter's concern, aspirations and needs to acquaint themselves with and solve the problems mooted by production and combat, by factory management and the workers' life. They must go there to strengthen their class stand, improve their style of work and enrich their knowledge of industry.

To keep close contact with the masses is the most basic, the most important condition for the success of all trade-union activities. If, in such and such a

place, in such and such a branch, there lacks an impetuous revolutionary mettle among the workers, one must question the class sentiments and the revolutionary will and the contact with the masses of the trade-union cadres there.

Lenin has said, "These comrades (the trade-union cadres — L.D.) should live right among the workers, study their lives in every detail, and be able unerringly, on any question, and at any time, to judge the mood, the real aspirations, needs and thoughts of the masses. They must be able without a shadow of a false idealization to define the degree of their class consciousness and the extent to which they are influenced by various prejudices and survivals of the past; and they must be able to win the boundless confidence of the masses by comradeship and concern for their needs." *

In order to improve the work and working methods of the trade-union committees, we should imbue ourselves with this teaching of Lenin.

In addition, trade-union cadres must study to raise their technical level, they must understand economic laws and widen their knowledge in all fields, especially in economic and industrial management. In short, they must make themselves able, and acquire the qualification required, to carry out our three revolutions with success.

* V.I. Lenin, *On Socialist Economic Organization*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, pp. 348-349.

To strengthen the links of the trade-unions with the worker masses and maintain the mass character of their activities, we must see to the composition of their executive committees at all levels and consolidate their apparatus from a just viewpoint.

Among trade-union cadres there are many old comrades, many veterans who, under the colonial rule, fought for a wage-rise of a few cents. They are very valuable cadres who enjoy a high prestige among the workers. A great many others have grown up since the August Revolution and taken part in our first Resistance War. But at present trade-union committees at all levels include few representatives of the workers who have contributed to socialist construction in these last ten years.

To highly rate old cadres makes sense and it is necessary to preserve and enhance the revolutionary traditions of our working class. Nevertheless, failing to pay adequate attention to the representatives of those new strata of the people would be a serious shortcoming. Our working class is very revolutionary, very heroic, including the young segments who have recently joined its ranks. These neither lack intelligence nor courage; they are capable of mastering modern science and technology. Fostering and enhancing the ardour and dynamism of the youth conforms to the requirement of the technological revolution and that of increasing the qualities and management abilities of the working class.

Women make up a tremendous productive force. Now that we are at war, women workers keep increasing in number and play an important role in production even in combat to protect their factories. We must pay special attention to fostering them, to putting them in, and to promoting them to, appropriate posts in management and leading trade-union bodies. This meets our need of boosting production and serving combat, and concurrently aims at accomplishing a great task of the socialist revolution: the emancipation of women.

We must attach importance to consolidating grass-root trade-union committees and to appointing capable cadres to leading posts. These committees should include enthusiastic male and female workers who enjoy the confidence of the masses, young comrades capable of strongly forging ahead. They should not exclusively comprise Party members; the participation of non Party workers is indispensable. Only so could the trade-union committees be aware of the concern, aspirations and needs of broad masses of workers, be in close touch with the latter's life and with production. This is to ensure the application of a principle that we must abide by with regard to our connection with the masses. Should we overlook this principle the voice of a trade-union would in no way differ from that of the Party, and the activities of a trade-union would no longer be those of a mass organization.

National trade-union committees must attach particular importance to professional and technological studies and encourage the workers to raise

their professional and technical standards and accomplish the central task of each branch in accordance with their position in the whole of our country's economic and cultural life. As for regional trade-union committees, they must look after the family life as well as the public life of the workers, take care of their health, and provide labour insurance.

The trade-unions are directly responsible for agitation among the workers; this work, nevertheless, devolves upon the whole Party. Party Committees at all levels must pay great attention to trade-union work and constantly attend to the growth of the workers' ranks. City and provincial Party committees, in particular, must give heed to trade-union work since we are pushing up the development of regional industry—a problem new to us—in all respects, from factory building, production and management to the training of workers. These Party committees must regularly listen to reports by city and provincial trade-union committees on their activities, and give them directions in order to help them play their role and contribute to making enterprises start producing in a short delay and achieve good management and ever-greater economic efficiency.

To help trade-union work achieve rapid and steady progress, the Industry Department, the Propaganda and Education Department and the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee, as well as the mass organization under

the Central Committee, must co-operate more closely with the Federation of Trade-unions; on its part, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee will provide closer guidance to trade-union work.

For several years now, the trade-unions have recorded good result in mobilizing the workers and employés for economic construction and cultural development. Since the start of the American war of destruction they have adapted their activities to the new situation, and the workers have set good examples of courage in production and undauntedness in combat. It is hoped that the trade-unions will make strenuous efforts to organize the workers and employés and stimulate them, so that the latter can surmount all wartime difficulties and accomplish their immediate task in contribution to our victory over the U.S. aggressors.

Dear comrades,

We are living in the most glorious period of our history. Our people are carrying out two revolutionary tasks at the same time: the building of socialism in the North, and the fight against U.S. aggression for defending the North, liberating the South and proceeding toward the reunification of our country, for safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world. The valiant and persistent struggle of our people is the concrete expression of the close combination between genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

We are extremely glad to live in the most glorious epoch of human history, epoch in which

the working class, in alliance with the oppressed peoples, are rising up to conduct the last struggle, unremittently attacking the imperialists and advancing toward the complete overthrow of imperialism with U.S. imperialism as the ringleader, to achieve the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale.

This epoch has been ushered in a half-century ago, on November 7, 1917, by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The communists and the toiling people in every continent will soon celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, a resplendent festive day, a day for the glorification of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, of the workers' revolutionary movement, of proletarian internationalism and of friendship among nations.

The October Revolution is the dawn of a new era, the sunbeam that dispels the long and painful nights in which the toiling masses have been living during thousands of years under the rule of oppressors and exploiters.

The triumph of the October Revolution and the development of the world in the last fifty years — the striking characteristic of which is the fact that the socialist camp has become the decisive factor of the evolution of human society — further demonstrates the soundness and strong vitality of Marxism-Leninism which is invincible.

The triumph of international significance of the October Revolution has confirmed the historic role

of the working class as the main force in the class struggle of our time and as the bearer of the banner of socialism to the final destination.

Following the path charted by the October Revolution, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, learning from the experiences of the Russian, Chinese and other revolutions, and creatively applying the teachings of Marx and Lenin and these experiences to the concrete conditions of our country, the Vietnamese communists with President Ho Chi Minh in the van, have led our working class and people to surmount all difficulties and sacrifices and recorded splendid successes.

Sharing the joy of the labouring people all over the world, our working class and people commemorate the October Revolution with all their heart and profound gratitude; for the ideology which inspires the October Revolution has shown our working class the victorious path to save our nation from extermination and brought our people to a new way of development, one which will lead them to the apex of civilization — communism.

We have the right to be proud of the heroic fighting traditions of our working class; the latter, too, has the right to be proud of its vanguard Party which has always been faithful to the interests of its class and of the nation, a thoroughly revolutionary Party which has been following the path mapped out by the October Revolution, and proved absolutely faithful to immortal Marxism-Leninism.

Our struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation is entering a most arduous and sharp stage; the continuation of socialist construction in war time and its acceleration after the triumph of the Resistance War set our working class and people most urgent and heavy tasks. But under the correct leadership of the Party, our working class and our trade-unions will certainly fulfil this great historic mission.

Let our workers and toiling people close their ranks under the glorious banner of the Party, promote their revolutionary traditions, heighten their patriotism, their love for socialism, and their spirit as collective masters, and enthusiastically march forward, emulating one another to carry out President Ho Chi Minh's sacred appeal for national salvation.

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