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PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

SEAMEN'S ROLE IN ESTABLISHMENT OF INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

[Article by Nguyen Trong Con: "Forms of Organization and Struggle of Vietnamese Seamen From 1929 to 1935"; Hanoi, Nghien Cuu Lich Su, Vietnamese, No 151, July-August 1973, pp 26-32]

I. The Role of Vietnamese Seamen in the Activities of the Vietnam Thanh Nien Cach Mang Dong Chi Hoi (VNTNCMDCH) and the Indochinese Communist Party from 1929 to Early 1930.

At the end of 1924, after attending the 5th Congress of the Communist International, President Ho returned to Canton to carry on his revolutionary activities. In what was at the time the center of national and democratic revolutions of Far Eastern countries, he contacted Vietnamese patriots and persuaded them to renounce narrow nationalism and follow international proletarianism. Among the young workers taught by him, there were many seamen. In Canton, just as in France, he paid attention to propaganda, enlisted seamen in his revolutionary organization to serve later as liaison between revolutionary cadres at home and cadres overseas, between the revolutionary organization of our country and friendly parties abroad.

In 1925, in Canton, he organized those revolutionaries who already showed communist leanings into the VNTNCMDCH, the precursor of the Vietnamese Communist Party. After they returned to Vietnam, members of the VNTNCMDCH penetrated more and more deeply into the workers' and farmers' movements, paying special attention to propaganda, and campaigning among workers, particularly in cities and the area of the Hongai coal mine in Tonkin. As the revolutionary movement in the country developed, the liaison work between the revolutionary organization inside the country and the VNTNCMDCH Staff in Canton also developed. The newspaper Thanh Nien and most of the many secret documents edited and printed in Canton by the Thanh Nien General Headquarters were introduced into Vietnam through Vietnamese seamen who served aboard the ocean-going vessels plying the Hong Kong-Kwangtung-Haiphong line.

Starting in 1929, after we succeeded in organizing a communications line through the "S. S. Liem Chau," that ran between Haiphong and Hong Kong

of the Jean Panier Company, documents prepared in France for the benefit of Vietnamese revolutionaries in Tonkin and sent through French liaison comrades were passed on to the "S.S. Liem Chau" when she docked at Hong Kong.

When this ship arrived in Haiphong, if there are not too many documents to be introduced into the country, our cadres hid them under their clothes, boarded the ferry boat at Ben Binh to go to Thuy Nguyen, then took the ferry boat at Ha Ly to go back to Haiphong undetected by the customs officers at Ben Binh. Each time there were a lot of materials, they had to put them in big deep baskets, with a layer of common merchandise such as dishes and bowls on top. These baskets would be taken to the Do Temple in Haiphong before the merchandise was taken into the city. The Nam Anh Thu bookstore, the Hang Kinh Buddhist temples were familiar mail stops of Vietnamese seamen at that time.

Vietnamese seamen were also responsible for bringing in cadres from overseas and taking cadres or smuggling them abroad. It was aboard the Liem Chau that our liaison cadre brought Phiem Chu and Nguyen Van Hoi out to meet Uncle Ho and report to him about the July 1929 activities, and secretly brought Trinh Dinh Cuu and Nguyen Duc Canh out for the meeting held in Hong Kong in January 1930 to unite the three Communist groups.

Under the leadership of the VNTNCMDCH, the workers' movement in Tonkin urged the communist group founded by some progressive Thanh Nien members in Hanoi in March 1929 to resolve to organize the Indochinese Communist Party in June 1929.

Although established in Hanoi, the Indochinese Communist Party quickly sent cadres to operate in cities throughout Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. A line of sea communications between Haiphong, Danang and Saigon was organized and strengthened to fulfill the needs for speedy communications of the revolution in the new situation. Vietnamese seamen operating on the Haiphong-Saigon route as well as the Hong Kong-Haiphong one had secret missions of transferring cadres and revolutionary documents from north to south. The newspaper Bua Liem [Hammer and Sickle], the magazine Cong Hoi Do [Red Labor Union] reached Saigon and the rubber plantations in Cochinchina through this line of communications.

The line of communications established by Vietnamese seamen did not stop at the Kwangtung-Saigon stretch. The newly-born Indochinese Communist Party had to try to secure the moral support and learn from the experience of the neighboring Chinese Communist Party and even of the French Communist Party.

Five months after our young Party was born, a line of sea communications was set up between the Indochinese Communist Party and the French Communist Party. In November 1929, Vietnamese seamen set out for their first historic voyage to accomplish this glorious task. The man entrusted with this glorious task was Hoang Quoc Viet, the beloved and respected present president of the General Confederation of Labor.

In July 1929, working as a mechanic aboard the "Claude Chappe," Viet smuggled revolutionary documents from Tonkin into Saigon. Since he had experience and had his seaman's license, he was given by Ngo Gia Tu² the task of contacting the French Communist Party. Viet got a job aboard the "Chantilly" plying the Saigon-Marseilles route. According to the routine schedule, the trip from Vietnam to France took one month, the ship would stop one month there before taking another month to come back to Vietnam.

In France, from 1929 on, the French Communist Party, enjoying the able leadership of the Communist International, had become more conscious and more determined to establish and maintain relations with revolutionary forces in the colony. According to the directives of the Communist International, the French Communist Party had to "ensure close ties between the Political Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the French Communist Party and the parties in the colonies. To this end, it was urgent to put a member of the Political Bureau in charge of controlling and leading the activities of Party Chapters in the colonies."³

Consequently, when on arrival Viet went to the contact address of the French Communist Party in Marseilles, he was very warmly received by members of the French party, who immediately sent a cable to the Central Executive Committee in Paris. The letter written by Ngo Gia Tu in the name of the Indochinese Communist Party and addressed to the French Communist Party was delivered in person to the representative of the Central Executive Committee of the French Communist Party.

After receiving the letter, the French Communist Party presented the Indochinese Communist Party with a few suitcases containing communist publications and a few revolvers to be used in self-defense, and set up the line of communications between the two parties.

Compared with the material and moral assistance received today from brotherly parties, the present from the French Communist Party was not much, but at that time it had an extremely important significance that was difficult to evaluate. We have to imagine that the French colonialists were trying by every means to prevent the young communist revolutionaries in the country from having any contacts with communism, and that they were shooting, killing and jailing people caught smuggling communist documents into the country. Only then can we realize the joy felt by young communists in the country when they received documents from the French Communist Party at that time. Only then can we see the courage of the seamen who showed so much creativity and bravery in serving as liaison cadres at that time. Early in February 1930, the first seaman working as liaison between the two brotherly communist parties arrived in Saigon with all the valuable documents that had been provided by the friendly party to support the activities of our Party in its early uncertain steps.

II. Effects of the 1930-31 Revolutionary Movement in the Country Upon the Vietnamese Seamen's Movement Abroad

On 3 February 1930, the three Communist groups in the country merged into the Vietnamese Communist Party under the leadership of the Communist International. This event marked a great turning point in the revolutionary history of our country.

Also in February 1930, broke out the Yen Bai violent incident organized by the Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang. In order to quell down this rebellion and every revolutionary movement of our people, the enemy carried out a very savage white terror. The workers' movement, led by the Vietnamese Communist Party, continued to develop, nevertheless. Many strikes were organized in urban and industrial areas throughout Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina at the same time as giant demonstrations by workers and farmers, involving tens of thousands of people, creating an effervescent revolutionary movement inside the country, culminating in the founding of the Soviet government in Nghe Tinh.

The revolutionary élan of 1930-1931 not only awakened nationalism and heightened the will to struggle among laboring people in the country, but also echoed all the way to France.

French workers there, together with Vietnamese workers in France, sent wave after wave of protests and launched vigorous struggle against terror in Vietnam. The news about nine members of the Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang being sentenced to death by the Criminal Court caused a struggle movement in Paris as early as in March 1930. Leaflets flooded those areas where Vietnamese lived, especially in the Latin Quarter, and posters covered all the walls on Paris streets to denounce the bloody massacres of our compatriots by the French imperialists.

In mid-May 1930, news was received that 39 additional people involved in the Yen Bai rebellion were sent to the guillotine, and that, in the May Day demonstration and parade, hundreds of workers were killed or arrested by the imperialists. The protest against terror and the movement to demand amnesty for political prisoners in Indochina became stronger than ever. In French cities with Vietnamese residents and in all French seaports with Vietnamese seamen, the organization called "Vietnamese Workers' Mutual Assistance Association," in which seamen were the largest and most active force, set up committees of struggle. Our compatriots from several cities and towns in France sent many indignant telegrams to the President of France, to the President of the French Senate and to the President of the Society for the Protection of Human Rights, to protest the extremely savage and cruel policy of the Colonial Administration in Indochina.⁴

On 27 June 1930, the French Communist Party, the Red International Rescue Society and the Unified Confederation of Labor in France cooperated to organize a mammoth rally at the Winter Circus. Among more than 4,000

participants, there were Vietnamese and Africans. When the Vietnamese delegate walked up the platform, put up slogans in Vietnamese, denounced the terrible repression and exploitation by the French imperialists and praised the spirit of sacrifice of the Vietnamese proletarians ready to give up their lives to struggle for national independence, he got a standing ovation.

Our compatriots and the French people organized many more rallies at other places. The flames of the struggle that raged blazingly in Vietnam had political repercussions in France. They struck at the intelligence of Vietnamese patriots in France -- above all, of workers -- most of whom were seamen and students. Our compatriots in France not only saw that it was necessary to support the struggle of compatriots in the country with all their capabilities. They also realized that in order for that support to be lasting and effective, they had to unite within an organization that had a more clearly revolutionary character than the associations for mutual assistance that had existed for some time.

The French Communist Party, as well as many leaders within it, actively guided our compatriots and helped them move forward on the road of the revolution. In Marseilles, Rene Gauthier, a professor of medicine, was one of the French Communist Party cadres who actively helped Vietnamese seamen build their organization.

In 1930 Vietnamese seamen abroad founded the organization called "Hai Vien Cong Hoi" [Seamen's Union] with the aim "to promote the interest of sea workers and help them secure their vital interests as well as to unite workers in the entire country."⁵

The bases of the organization were chapters, divided into cells, with regular activities, whose content was "to exchange information on the economic and political situation at home and in the world, to discuss permanent, urgent or special activities of the Union."⁶

In March 1930, the Vietnamese seamen in France published a Vietnamese-language newspaper entitled "Ban Hai Thuyen" [The Seaman's Friend] to disseminate communism among Vietnamese seamen. The front page of the newspaper carried these three slogans in boldface type:

"Proletariat of the world, unite!
Down with imperialism!
Long live the Indochinese Revolution!"⁷

Right from its first issue, the newspaper attacked the policy which forced Vietnamese seamen to sign three-year contracts with the French shipping lines on the cheap wages of 18 piasters a month. The newspaper called on Vietnamese seamen to join the French Communist Party and the Unified Confederation of Labor so as to gain political sophistication and to become stronger in struggle.

Thus from the year 1930, while the working class in the country was led by the communist party and guided by the underground Red Labor Union in the struggle, Vietnamese seamen abroad also began to be grouped in mass organizations with class character and led by the French Communist Party.

Well organized and led by the policies of real communism, Vietnamese seamen, together with our compatriots and the working people in France, organized and participated in every form of struggle organized right in France to defend class interests and at the same time fight terror and national oppression by colonial capitalists.

III. Vietnamese Seamen's Movement in France During the Depression Years (1932-1935)

When economic depression spread all over France, especially after the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement in Vietnam, Vietnamese seamen in France lived under very miserable conditions.

The congress of the Unified Confederation of Labor commented on the plight of Vietnamese seamen in France during that period as follows:

"During the past few years, as the revolutionary fervor of the oppressed masses in Indochina increased every day, a bloody repression has fallen upon the heads of all the Indochinese presidents in France, whom General Nogues considers active elements of the Red Peril in an article he wrote for the newspaper L'Ami du Peuple [The People's Friend]."

"Vietnamese seamen are the special victims of this terror. Many of them have been forced to return home because they took part in anti-imperialist demonstrations. Vietnamese seamen were not only repressed, but also attacked by capitalist overlords, thus making the situation of these poor people really miserable.

"The employers gradually replaced the Indochinese with Chinese manpower in order to incite hatred among workers of the same situation. In case a shipping company hired a Vietnamese seaman, the latter would be obliged to present his papers to the police.

"Since the depression became serious in France, living conditions of Vietnamese seamen have been sinking even lower. Capitalist employers fired all Vietnamese seamen, replacing them with local labor. Worse still, all the Vietnamese seamen who had been thrown out of work were considered undesirable elements and forced to go back home. For the same reason, 23 Vietnamese seamen were recently sent back to their native land, where they have to suffer from the local depression even more intense and deeper than in France and where they are trampled under a bloodier and more cruel dictatorship. Many of them have wives and children in France, so their families got separated.

"At present, hundreds of Vietnamese seamen have not been deported to Indochina, but they are unemployed. Only very few still receive extremely low wages.

"Before this precarious situation, Indochinese seamen more than ever united closely with French seamen. Together with their French colleagues, they demand unemployment compensation for the Vietnamese as well as for the French. They strongly oppose the policy of forced repatriation to Indochina."⁸

Thus during this period, in France as in Indochina, Vietnamese workers were caught in the terrible disaster of capitalism -- serious unemployment. The newspaper "Vo San" [Proletarian], organ of Vietnamese communists within the French Communist Party, provided concrete information on the unemployment of Vietnamese seamen in France around the middle of 1932 as follows:

"Le Havre -- Unemployment. Nineteen ships lying idle in port. Each has one seaman on guard, there is one lieutenant for every five of them. Many seamen out of a job, among them there are 60 Indochinese.

"Marseilles -- Unemployment. There are now more than 200 unemployed in Marseilles, but only some 20 of those working aboard the Providence receive unemployment benefits. The mayor told the seamen to go home and wait, but the Unemployment Committee forced the mayor to distribute food to them. They kept deceiving the Unemployment Committee several times so as to discourage the workers. Later, thanks to the repeated protests of the Unified Confederation of Labor and of the Representatives of Indochinese Seamen, they agreed to allow more than 20 men to collect unemployment benefits."⁹

The above-mentioned facts prove that, despite the terror and many difficulties, Vietnamese seamen in France as well as the working class at home continued to express their indomitable and persevering will to struggle throughout that period. Noticing this, the French Communist Party and the French Unified Confederation of Labor paid more attention to the guidance and nurturing of the Vietnamese seamen's movement during that period.

Before convening their 6th Congress, the French Unified Confederation of Labor sent invitations to all labor organizations in the colonies to send their representatives. The Seamen's Union in Le Havre sent a Vietnamese delegate¹⁰ to report to the Congress on the organization and express the demands of colonial seamen. The 6th Congress of the French Unified Confederation of Labor on 15 November 1931 held in high esteem the role of 200,000 colonial workers on the French labor market at that time. The Congress affirmed that, despite hard working conditions and low living standards, the colonial workers were full of a resilient spirit of struggle each time a conflict broke out between workers and their capitalist bosses.

The Congress resolved that "the Unified Confederation of Labor shall intensify its efforts among the colonial workers, and that it shall urge its

member organizations and individual members to fight hostility and discrimination between French workers and colonial workers, and at the same time seriously defend the particular interests of colonial workers so as to ensure their job security and look after their education."¹⁰

The Congress also recommended concrete measures that aimed at implementing the above tasks:

1. To set up a colonial committee composed of delegates from colonies, from organizations and areas having large numbers of colonial workers;
2. To organize a Central Standing Committee, responsible to the Secretariat of the Unified Confederation of Labor of the implementation of the above-mentioned tasks;
3. Areas and cities such as Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Le Havre, etc. that have large numbers of colonial workers must establish similar organizations;
4. To appoint representatives of colonial workers to committees of struggle in enterprises or in the streets;
5. To set up classes to teach the French language to colonial workers;
6. To give equal rights to French delegates and colonial delegates in every organ of leadership of labor unions;
7. To set up permanent organizations to protect the interests of unemployed colonial workers.¹¹

The preparation for and organization of the 6th Congress of the French Unified Confederation of Labor at the end of 1931 were also a phase of great political life in France's revolutionary labor organization. The Confederation launched a far-reaching movement ready to support the revolutionary activities of colonial workers. It strongly condemned the anti-revolutionary thoughts of the Yellow Labor Unions led by the SFIO and which considered colonial workers obstacles against the groundless struggle movement of French workers to demand pay raises and jobs.

Vis-a-vis Vietnamese seamen, in particular, the French Unified Confederation of Labor helped them unify their organization, and switch from mutual assistance activities of existing seamen's organizations to activities of an increasingly higher revolutionary nature.

While the 6th Congress of the Unified Confederation of Labor met in Paris, on the same day, 15 November 1931, 500 French, Vietnamese, Arab and Senegalese seamen met in Le Havre and passed a resolution:

1. To unite all the unions organized separately before (deck hands, mechanics and waiters) into a unified union of seamen, Syndicat Unitaire des Marins;
2. To oppose by all means the lowering of pay;
3. To demand a 10 percent increase in shore leave allowances.

The above resolution was translated into Vietnamese and reprinted in leaflets to be distributed aboard the 50 ships moored in Le Havre. This noisy propaganda resulted in the fact that all the Vietnamese seamen in Le Havre joined the French Unified Confederation of Labor at the end of November 1931.¹²

On 6 December 1931, all the Vietnamese seamen stood in the ranks of a gigantic demonstration involving 2,500 Le Havre seamen of all nationalities and responding to the call of the French Communist Party to take part in the general strike of seamen all over France, particularly in such big seaports as Le Havre, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rouen, Dunkirk.

While taking part in the French workers' movement, Vietnamese seamen organized struggle movements to demand that the authorities solve their own grievances and those of their nation. For instance, on 25 November then on 6 December, 1931, Vietnamese seamen in Le Havre distributed leaflets to call on French communists to respond to the Vietnamese seamen's struggle to oppose the imperialists' terror policy, and to demand that they release Nguyen Ai Quoc and Nguyen Van Tao who had been detained. Vietnamese seamen also protested against the French government's forcing them to report to the Special Political Commissioner before boarding a ship to work. They protested the fact that the government kept the Vietnamese seamen's working permits, thus depriving them of the means to find employment and to receive unemployment benefits.

On 14 December 1931, Vietnamese seamen at Le Havre, in the name of the organization called "Dong Duong Hai Thuyen Lien Hiep Hoi" [Indo-chinese Seamen's Union], sent a petition to the Mayor of Le Havre to protest the groundless dismissal by the company Dau Ngua [Horsehead] of Vietnamese seamen aboard the "Dupleix," the "Kerguelen," the "Fort de Douaumont," the "Dahomey," etc., and to request the city government to intervene so as to allow Vietnamese to have jobs and to receive unemployment benefits just like French seamen.¹³

After the 6th Congress of the French Unified Confederation of Labor, the Vietnamese seamen's movement underwent marked changes in organization and in struggle, not only in Le Havre, but also in nearly all large seaports in France.

In December 1931, Vietnamese seamen in Bordeaux, together with seamen from other colonies and French seamen decided to set up an Unemployment

Committee to deal with the capitalist bosses' plot to fire personnel, and at the same time responded to the suggestion to establish a united front to plan a general strike among seamen as a protest against the transportation of weapons to China to help the reactionaries there.

Also in December 1931, an Indochinese Mutual Assistance Society was founded in Marseilles, grouping the majority of seamen and a number of Vietnamese students and residents. Without interruption Vietnamese seamen and students in that city strengthened their internal organization and participated in every struggle within the international movement. On 21 June 1932, they took part in a 5,000-man rally to demand the release of nine black seamen who had been sentenced to death. On 29 June 1932, the Mutual Assistance Society in Marseilles was asked by the Far Eastern and the Indochinese branches of the French Anti-Imperialist Society to appoint a delegate to represent them at the Anti-Imperialist Conference to be held in Paris on 2 and 3 July 1932.¹⁴ In July 1932, Indochinese workers in Marseilles sent three delegates to the Chamber of Deputies to recommend that it solve the demands of Indochinese workers in France and in Vietnam. It also sent delegates to the Conference of Workers and Farmers in Paris.¹⁵

In every international conference, delegates of Vietnamese workers in France as well as all colonial delegates denounced the Yellow Labor Union (the Confédération Générale du Travail) as an organization that betrayed the interests of the proletariat. Colonial workers unanimously recognized that the Red Labor Union, that is to say, the French Unified Confederation of Labor, was the mass organization of the French working class that was really international. The Unified Confederation of Labor was a revolutionary organization that really defended the interests of colonial workers.

In the Far East, in 1934, the Chinese Communist Party actively helped the Indochinese Communist Party set up an Overseas Committee to restore the organization from the top down. The Overseas Committee built a Plan of Action as guidelines for the activities of those Vietnamese communists still out of jail. As an extremely secret activity, in order to avoid enemy sabotage during that period, Vietnamese communists in China published "Diary of a Sinking Ship" and distributed it among seamen to carry out communist propaganda without the enemy's knowledge. Cadres, provided with the above materials, were supposed by all means to be brought into the country to reestablish contacts between the Party and the revolutionary masses. Vietnamese revolutionary seamen going to Vietnam from both China and France were those who had the responsibility to carry out those extremely dangerous plans. Of course, there were also Chinese and French seamen in the revolutionary organizations of the friendly parties who worked together with Vietnamese seamen as contacts. In their noble obligations toward their own national revolutions or toward the common undertaking of the international revolutionary movement, they constantly upheld a spirit of total dedication to the revolution.

In order to prove this fact, we need only to list below various arrests carried out aboard several ships during the last quarter of 1931:

12 September 1931 - Nguyen Dac Quyen, seaman on the "Chantilly," suspected of being a contact man;

20 September 1931 -- Duong Bach Mai, hiding aboard the "Haldes" that sailed from Hong Kong;

24 September 1931 -- Sung Fei-Hsiung, a Chinese steward aboard the "Haldes" who was working as liaison;

29 September 1931 -- Cheng Wa, a Chinese steward aboard the "Helikon" who was working as liaison;

10 October 1931 -- a steward working as liaison on the ship "D'Artagnan";

18 December 1931-- Ch'en Ch'ien, a Chinese liaison man aboard the "Wong Shek Kung";

31 December 1931 -- Ly Pham, a liaison man aboard the "Helikon."¹⁶

Thanks to the dedication and courage of Vietnamese, Chinese and French revolutionary seamen working as liaison, several Party cadres overseas, then as now, were able to secretly sneak into the country through the seaport of Saigon, and sometimes through the port of Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, then across the Vietnamese-Lao border. Once inside the country, those cadres continued to rebuild the Party structure and all its mass organizations, to prepare the launching of a new revolutionary movement in Vietnam -- the movement to demand democratic freedoms, to fight the warlike imperialists and the colonialist reactionaries during the period of the Democratic Front in Vietnam.

To sum up, during the period from 1932 to 1935, when the working class at home, under the leadership of the Party, tried to overcome all difficulties to restore the movement following violent waves of terror by the French colonial administration, Vietnamese seamen overseas, and particularly in France, thanks to the echoes of the revolutionary movement at home in 1930-1931 and with the leadership of the French Communist Party, more and more resolutely stood in the ranks of organized struggle of the international proletariat.

The movement and strong forces of the French working class was the base and also the moving force that urged the Vietnamese seamen's movement in France to move forward to secure the class interests. The Chinese Communist Party and the Seamen's Union in the Pacific created favorable conditions to help Vietnamese seamen carry out their task of bringing cadres back into the country to restore the revolutionary movement at home.

Even through incomplete information on this period, we have seen how Vietnamese seamen overseas stretched forward in the years 1932-1935 without

interruption to march in step with the international workers' movement. In France, they contributed to the revolutionary struggle movement of the French people to fight reactionary forces in France. In the Far East, they contributed to the restoration of the revolutionary movement at home, to the preservation of relations between the Vietnamese revolution and the revolution in France and in China, and to the creation of favorable conditions to prevent the Vietnamese revolution from being detached from the world's revolutionary movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. Our liaison cadre then was Le Van Dan, the ship's radio operator, now retired in Hanoi.
2. Ngo Gia Tu was then the representative in Cochinchina of the Provisional Central Executive Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party.
3. Report of the Surete; File "Committee on the History of the Confederation of Labor," No $\frac{06}{A3}$ 251 -- 3.
4. Archives of the Committee on the History of the Confederation of Labor, No $\frac{05}{A3}$ 250.
- 5 and 6. By-laws of the Seamen's Union, 1930. Archives of the Committee on the history of the Confederation of Labor, No $\frac{03}{D3}$ 362.
7. Ibid., No $\frac{03}{A3}$ 248.
8. Appendix of the 15 January 1932 Report of the Marseilles Harbor Police (CAI) on the activities of the French Unified Confederation of Labor. File $\frac{25}{G3}$ 433.2
9. Vo San [The Proletariat], No 13, June-July 1932. File No $\frac{03}{G3}$ 403b
10. According to the report of the CAI, the Vietnamese representative in Le Havre was Seaman Dang Dinh Tho: File No $\frac{24}{G3}$ 631.
11. File No $\frac{25}{G3}$ 633 -- 2
12. File No $\frac{07}{A3}$ 635, 1 -- 2

13. File No. $\frac{27}{G3}$ 635, 2^b 2^d

14 and 15. Files Nos $\frac{03}{G3}$ 403^b and $\frac{15}{G3}$ 405,1^b. From Vo San of July 1932 and October 1933.

16. Report of the Surete Service of Indochina, File No $\frac{07}{E4}$

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PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

HAIPHONG LAO DONG PARTY COMMITTEE SECRETARY CALLS FOR IMPROVED ACTIVITIES

[Party Activities column by Tran Kien, Secretary of the Haiphong Lao Dong Party Committee: "Improve the Quality of Party Chapter Activities"; Hanoi, Nhan Dan, 21 September 1973, p 2]

To assist in the study of the document "Improve the Quality of Party Chapter Activities" and contribute to promoting the work of strengthening the Party organizations, we present the following article by comrade Tran Kien, Secretary of the Haiphong Municipal Lao Dong Party Committee.

Nhan Dan

The matter of improving the quality of Party chapter activities is an important matter to which our Party has long paid attention. During the period in which it operated secretly the Party paid much attention to the matter of the holding of Party chapter meetings. If we are to develop the strength of the Party chapter and cause it to continually be strongly consolidated and be capable of leading the implementation of the lines and policies of the Party in each period we must pay attention to improving the activities of the Party chapters, the key, most important activities of the base-level Party organizations.

There are many measures for improving the quality of Party activities, as well as for improving the quality of Party members, but we believe that the improvement of the activities of the base-level Party organizations must be regarded as a measure of the utmost importance. If the Party chapter does not fully discuss the lines, stands, and policies of the Party, and does not specifically discuss methods for activating the masses, then the Party members cannot firmly grasp the lines and stands, cannot understand the work methods, and sometimes go astray from the Party's action guidelines. And therefore the Party members cannot be educated and forged.

The experiences of many base-level organizations prove that Party chapter activities are a school for improving the quality and capabilities of Party members. If the activities of a Party organization or chapter are not regular and are not held at the proper times, then many problems will arise in the Party