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- North Vietnam -

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This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 7, 1964. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Workers and Citizens Movement in the Cities of South Vietnam	1
Ten Years of Struggle, Ten Years of Victory	15
Struggle to Uphold Ideals in the Task of Reason and Literary Criticism	29
Liberation and Unification of Vietnam, and Our Future Plans	43
Our Efforts to Liberate the People Will Be Completely Successful	56
Experiences in Socialist Education Activities for Workers	76 ✓
Raising the Quality of the Work-Study Movement Among Cadres, Workers and Farmers	88 ✓

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WORKERS AND CITIZENS MOVEMENT
IN THE CITIES OF SOUTH VIETNAM

-North Vietnam-

Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Minh Vy in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Study), no. 7, Hanoi, July, 1964, pages 40-47.

A few years ago, during the development of guerrilla warfare in farm hamlets, making the pillaging American gang and their henchmen taste one defeat after another, the struggling movement of the workers and citizens of towns in the South was also developing, emphasizing a new phase in the revolution in the South.

This movement made an important contribution in making even more painful a critical point in the internal affairs of the enemy, at the same time creating advantageous conditions for the development of the movement in farm hamlets. It is clear that the revolution in the South is therefore striking at the enemy in both farm hamlets and cities. These offensives are getting the enemy more bogged down, more embarrassed, and is always being subjected to disturbances in those places which they had always thought to be the most secure rear areas. On the other hand, these offensives are bringing to the revolutionary movement in the South endlessly valuable new experiences.

In the process of implementing the new colonialist policies, mainly from the outbreak of the rapacious war in the South until now, the imperialist Americans and their lackeys have perpetrated and are perpetrating countless crimes in farm hamlets of the South, and they have concurrently used radical fascist methods in order to oppress and terrorize the urban-dwellers. From the fascistic Law 10/59* with its guillotine, and with the imposition of martial law, curfew orders, and reprisals against the masses choking every right of minimum freedom of the people, up to the recent order in Degree No 93 entitled "Placing Communism and Neutrality Outside of the Law", the American imperialists and their henchmen have been defeated, weakened and left alone so much that they are increasing their oppression,

* [Law 10/59, provided for the "repression of acts of sabotage, of infringements of national security and of attacks upon the life or property of citizens."]

terrorism, and draining of our people in a terribly cruel way. As if repression by violence is not sufficient, they are using every wily artifice such as political deceit, spiritual poisoning, buying friendship, and flattery in the hope of dissolving the spirit of struggle and destroying the nationalist unity of our people.

Under these conditions, the struggling movement of the people in the cities cannot help but stumble over many major obstacles. But in order to combat the atrocious repression and subjugation by our enemies, and in order to protect our right to live, our comrades in southern cities are unceasingly and resolutely struggling against the enemy in many clever ways. That is mainly why, in the past ten years, including even those years which seemed the darkest, the struggle of the worker and people in the cities of the south has always been secure and has always been developed. Right from the beginning years of the American-Diem political authority, side by side with the movement demanding general congressional elections in farm hamlets, the people's movement in the cities, primarily involving the workers, was being strongly developed. From the strikes by the workers of the Saigon hydroelectric office which plunged the city into darkness for a few days, and the strike by the workers of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company which prevented airplanes from taking off, up until the continuous demonstrations demanding that the American-Diem political group correctly enforce the Geneva agreements and recognize the peaceful unification of the North with the South, these were the opportunities concentrating strength in the cities, and dragging all classes of people into the vast, seething struggle. Along with the struggling movement of the workers and laboring people, many struggles by other classes of people also broke out. Worthy of mention is the peace movement in Saigon and Cholon and the movement to save the victims of the bloody struggle between the Diem forces and the Binh Xuyen forces and of other disputes in which numerous people participated. In general, the movements which last more than one year (from the end of 1954 until the end of 1955) have created for the American-Diem gang many difficulties and have created much agitation among the imperialist American political henchmen, they have created advantageous conditions for the struggling movement of the farmers in farm hamlets at that time (1955-1956). During the years from 1957 to 1959, the American-Diem gang eagerly implemented the policy of "cleaning up", vindicating the old resistance people and creating the series of massacres at Duy Xuyen, Huong Dien, Cho Duoc; they enthusiastically implemented what they called "land reform", "population concentrations", etc.; they destroyed relations with the farm hamlets, and at the same time they struck strongly at the struggling movements of the city people by methods which did not lack cruelty and danger. Aside from the poison of "spiritualism" and "humanism" they still pull out ranks of reactionary organizations such as the Gold Trade Union, and the General Confederation of Labor in order to break up the workers movement and to poison the theories of other

classes of citizens. On the other hand, they also officially inaugurated their plans for dividing our country, provoking the North to attack, resolving the hamlet situation in the North, and boldly invalidating the Geneva Agreement, appearing to struggle against the people in the South.

Faced with this situation, the people of the cities, in general, and the workers and laboring citizens, in particular, have even more clearly realized the true aspect of the American imperialists and of the inhumane and unpatriotic regime of the Ngo Dinh Diem group. From that, all of the movements of the various classes of people will forge continuously ahead toward their various goals of combating the oppressive, plundering, draining, demagogic policies of the American-Diem gang. The masses are not only struggling in the demand for their democratic birthright, but they are also setting forth some political demands such as the demand for the "overthrow of the family dictatorship system of Ngo Dinh Diem", and for the "establishment of a democratically and popularly supported political authority". Also in those struggles, the city people have utilized productive and brisk methods of struggle. There are many aspects of the struggle which have application and significance in many areas such as the following: the workers on the "public" auto busses in Saigon, Cholon, and Gia Dinh go ahead and drive the passenger-carrying vehicles in the service of the people on all routes, but they don't collect money for tickets. There are even higher aspects of the struggle such as the following: fights between hundreds of policemen and Diem's soldiers, tearing down houses, stripping women, and chasing women in Phu Tho Hoa (Phu Tho and Tan Son Hoa) or the strike when the workers occupied the Stanvac oil depot.

Representative of the struggle of the workers and laboring people in the present time was the huge demonstration on 1 May 1958 involving half a million people. With slogans suitable to the struggle, this demonstration not only had a great effect in the concentration and assertion of the vast united strength of all classes of people in the cities, it also stimulated and encouraged the struggling movement in farm hamlets.

Along with the contentious slogans demanding an increase in the standard of living and demanding democratic freedom, there are also political slogans which are very much in accordance with the demands and aspirations of all classes of the masses such as the demand for corporate freedom and freedom of the press, the demand for rectifying repression and terrorism in farm hamlets, the demand for the reestablishment of peaceful relations between North and South, and the demand for a conference between the political authority of the South and the government of the democratic Republic of Vietnam in order to hold general elections and to peacefully unite our country. Besides, there are other slogans such as those demanding lower taxes, against capital punishment, and demanding higher salaries for soldiers and public officials.

The patrolled demonstration on 1 May 1958 was an opportunity to concentrate and to strengthen power with an important political significance; it was the completion of a wide front, it was aimed like a sharp point at the American imperialists and their henchmen. In the ranks of the demonstrators, aside from a backbone strength of workers and laboring people, there were numerous other people from all classes, from intellectuals, students, young students, artists, newspapermen, small trades people, and property owners to soldiers and members of the American-Diem ruling clique.

The patrolled demonstration on 1 May 1958 was one more occasion when the role, capacity, and influence of the working class and laboring people made themselves felt in the concentration and unification of all classes of people in the struggle against America and Diem. On other hand, it has struck a heavy blow at the American-Diem plot to cheat, to defraud, to divide, and to destroy the unity of the people.

If from 1954 until 1960, the lives of the people in the southern cities were miserable because of repression, appropriation, deceit, starvation and employment, then since 1961, when the American imperialists began direct armed plundering and initiated "special warfare" which got bogged down in the South, their lives have been totally miserable because of the terrorism, draining and severe plundering by the American-Diem regime. This barbarous repression and pillaging causes the struggling movement in the cities to be sometimes temporarily limited, but a vast number of people in all classes are being more seriously repressed every day and they are determined to struggle against this. Even though the American-Diem ruling clique is steadily intensifying their fascist policies, the struggling movement in the cities, and even in Saigon and Cholon, is in the minds of the enemy, and is being maintained and solidly developed.

The number of people participating in the struggle during the years 1960 to 1962 clearly shows the development of the workers movement, in Saigon as well as in other areas and other cities.

1960: 165,638 people
1961: 290,000 people
1962: 491,483 people

Up until 1963, parallel to the determined, seething, struggling movement in farm hamlets and before the continuous successes of the farm hamlet movement, the movement in the cities was also being developed on a standard and at a rate never before seen; it was primarily a struggle against the oppression and extermination of our Buddhist compatriots and millions of people participating, it created a deep split in the ranks of the enemy and helped to change the political crisis of their regime into an emergency. Following that, after the coup d'etat which overturned Diem in November 1963, the movement continued to develop

with a new atmosphere, combining economic struggle with political and armed struggle, thereby making the basis of the enemy's political authority and their plundering organizational machinery extremely unstable, and threatened their security. That movement had a vast political influence, even in the center of their lair in Saigon.

In that general struggle, the workers and the laboring people always maintained their framework status.

When the fascistic Law 10/59 had just been made known, and immediately afterwards when the American-Diem gang issued the initial urgent orders for the armed pillaging by the imperialist Americans in the South, many enthusiastic struggles of workers and laboring people immediately broke out and quickly spread. It started when the workers of the American capitalist Stanvac Oil Company went on strike against the factory. That strike gained the immediate support of hundreds of trade union workers of all branches. Following that, the struggle rapidly expanded to workers and all classes of laboring people in Phu Tho Hoa against evictions and tearing down houses. After that was the vast struggle by the pedicab and taxi workers joined with the bourgeoisie against the monopoly of the Lambretta Company.

In 1963, the struggling movement of the workers and the laboring people developed even stronger and received the vast influence of other classes of people. Mainly after the overthrow of Diem in November 1963, the movement against pillaging and destruction spread more enthusiastically than ever, in "public" factories or in the factories of American monopolists and their subordinates. Besides, the workers and laboring people are still positively participating in armed units in all cities in order to punish the pillaging gang and the gang of American "advisers."

Recently, the anti-American movement has become fairly intense in all cities. Many military bases, ammunition dumps, and petroleum depots in Can Tho, My Tho, and Quang Nam, were subsequently destroyed. Hundreds of American officer "advisers" were punished, and heavy firing broke out immediately in the center of Saigon. Time bombs were set off on the basketball courts of the American "advisers" near the Tan Son Nhat airstrip, and machine gun and grenade attacks on Kinh Do theatre reserved for American officers, caused the soliders, advisors, and even the American Ambassador to be frightened and worried. They had to organize American security groups in order to protect their security. After the fierce, determined struggle of the workers at the Vinatenco Textile Company recently, many complaints subsequently broke out. Workers at the Tan Mai wood factory -- one of the largest "public" economic installations in the South -- the autobus workers and the long distance radio operators in Saigon went on strike and sent thousands of pleas clearly manifesting their determined attitude to join the struggle against lay-offs and demanding the rights of the workers. It is worthy

of note that the recent struggle involving 12,000 taxi workers against the American pillaging gang in which three drivers were killed in Saigon and Gai Dinh enthusiastically manifested every threat, and every prohibition and every concealment given out by the American rulers of the Khanh-Hoan gang, and it created a wave of public indignation among all our compatriots in the South. More than 1,000 taxis were in the funeral procession of Nguyen Van Bay, one of the victims of this conflict.

A special point of the workers and laboring people's movement is that it always keeps a sharp edge prodding the American imperialists and their henchmen, even though that gang has used every deceitful, demagogic device in order to defraud the workers and laboring people. The most determined struggles by workers usually break out in factories belonging to the puppet authority in the South which are called "public" (such as the autobus works), or belonging to America (the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company), or belonging to the American gang and their political subordinates (Vinitec, Vinateco), or belonging to the gang of capitalist middlemen associated with America. The sharp edge of the struggle penetrates projects with a military character such as the construction of the Saigon-Bien Hoa turnpike, the opening of the Tan Son Nhat airstrip, or it penetrates into their deceitful, oppressive schemes such as in the "purges" in organizations, public offices, factories, schools, and in the construction of "associations, groups, and strategic hamlets". The atmosphere of enthusiastic struggle by the workers and citizens of cities in the south manifests in places the direct condemnation of the policies of the American imperialist and their subordinate political authority which rob the nation and sell the nation, condemnation of the plots which destroy their peaceful unification, or also manifest in their slogans the demand for increasing the standard of living, the demand for democratic freedom, demands for a self-controlled economy and against the oppression of trade unions and trade union cadre.

Relying on the help of the workers and laboring people's movement, other classes such as intellectuals, students, small trades people, the landed gentry, soldiers, and members of the enemy political authority all participate in the struggles with increasing strength, even though with different goals.

Students have shown a heroic spirit of struggle. Just recently, brothers Le Hong Tu, Le Van Thanh, Huynh Van Chin along with teacher Le Quang Vinh strongly condemned the plundering imperialists and their lackeys in a special circuit court in Saigon, creating an uproar in the country and all over the world. In 1963, the students movement, from the struggles against enemy troops, against the militarization of students, and against mass failing on examinations to the long term struggles demanding the teaching of Vietnamese in schools, and against the teaching of mass hatred, manifested itself more seethingly than

ever. Students and pupils played the role of fuses in the enthusiastic struggles against the policy of repression, against Buddhists in Hue and Saigon in the middle of the 1963. Following that, mainly after the coup d'etat against Diem in November 1963, the fiercely determined struggle of the students and pupils demanded the hanging of the gang of terrorists which passed themselves off as teachers, supervisors, and headmasters, as well as the right for the students and pupils to organize their own educational groups and to establish committees of student and pupil representatives; those were the strong blows at the various sponging organizations of the enemy. The movement against the enemy's draining not only won the support of most of the students and pupils in private schools and public schools in Saigon, but also spread to all the provinces of the South. The atmosphere of struggle was stronger than at any time before. There were places such as Vinh Long, where the students and pupils resolutely struggled for four continuous days demanding the expulsion of a headmaster charged with secret affairs; in the process of struggle, the students and pupils fought with police and made off with an enemy tape recorder. There were places such as Tra Vinh where they used the highest methods of struggle such as organizing meetings and raising high the flag of the National Liberation Front of the South, with slogans demanding the expulsion of the American imperialists from South Vietnam.

From 1954 until now, the struggling movement of the intellectuals has steadily developed, and mainly from 1963 on, the movement became stronger and did not lack one bit of determination. There were daily encounters with the enemy such as the struggles against the censure and suppression of newspapers. There were determined struggles such as the struggle of 40 teachers in Hue who resigned in protest over the Diem regime's obstinate attitudes and policies of repression against Buddhists, and the struggle of 250 intellectuals who rejected a motion by the Ngo Dinh Diem gang requiring them to sign a declaration opposing the active movement of the Buddhists in the South. It is worthy of attention that, recently, newspapermen, artists, and reporters used many aspects of the lively struggle, with the aim of limiting the life-draining, slanderous plots against the people regarding culture and intellect, and demanding democratic freedom. Those struggles have been applied in accusation of the black-hearted plots of the American imperialists, and of the inhumane and un-patriotic aspects of their political subordinates. Faced with this situation, the American puppet regime is very worried; in the space of 60 days, the Khanh-Hoan gang shut down 24 newspapers.

Along with the struggling movement demanding democracy and against the destructive draining and oppression by the enemy, the inclination towards peaceful neutrality is spreading among intellectual classes; even officers, the highest public servants, and bourgeoisie intellectuals are more and more supporting this movement causing the ranks of the enemy to be dangerously split. It is clear that the enemy is losing

and becoming more alone. In order to regroup, they issued Degree 93 placing communists and neutralists outside of the law. That point laid bare the violent substance and the fascism of the American-loving regime currently in power in the South.

The movement in the cities of the South not only reveals the class unity of the working class, but also reveals the active unity between the working class and other classes of laboring people in the cities on the basis of a democratic spirit and clear class consciousness. Between the working class and the propertied aristocracy, there was also a noteworthy friendly unity on a basis of mutual benefit and alliance against the people's common enemy, which is imperialist America and her henchmen.

In the daily struggle for rights, among the working class organization as well as among the workers of all branches, there was always a secure alliance on a fairly wide basis. For example: the struggle by the workers of the American Standard-Vacuum Oil Company received the support of the workers of the Caltex and Shell Companies; the struggles of the workers at rubber plantations also received the vast support of the workers in Saigon. At the end of 1961, the struggle of the Stanvac (American) Petroleum Company workers received the material and spiritual support of hundreds of other labor unions, composed of more than 50,000 plantation workers, 40,000 transport workers in the city of Saigon, and 20,000 workers from other branches. The capitalist who control the automobiles also agreed with the drivers, and they boycotted gasoline and petroleum products from Stanvac. The struggle of the pedicab and taxi workers in 1962 against the Lambretta monopoly (a financial basis of Le Xuan) also received the participation of other transport branches and received the sympathy of all the vehicle owners. Recently, the struggle of the Vinateco textile company workers also received the positive support of 21 labor unions in Saigon. It is mainly thanks to this mutual support that the workers have been able to combat effectively divisive activities of the American imperialists and their henchmen, and have been able to break up their subtly cruel, two-faced, oppressive devices. On the other hand, the workers' struggles always receive favorable public opinion and mainly helpful newspaper opinions.

The working class does not only struggle for their own individual rights; they are also the backbone strength of those movements having a universal character such as the movement to rescue victims, the movement against the oppression of Buddhist compatriots, the destruction of the life draining activities of the enemy in the cities, the execution of wicked people and police, the destruction of "corporations, groups, and strategic hamlets", the protests against house burnings, chasing people, and harming people. Besides the slogans demanding rights for the workers, they also show many slogans demanding rights for all other classes; that has increased the influence of the working class, making

a positive contribution to the vast unified front of all classes of city people against America and her henchmen.

One other special point worthy of attention is that the workers and city people's movement is becoming more harmoniously united with the struggle of the farming compatriots, strengthening the unity between worker and farmer, and between city and farm hamlet -- a decidedly victorious result for all of the revolutionary movements in the South. Right from the first days, when the American imperialists and their henchmen and reactionary landlord gangs usurped the rights and land which the farmers had won in the resistance, the working class has raised the slogan "reduce the rent a plowman should have a field"; and the same time there were many activities positively supporting the theft of farmers land at the time. In recent years, the mutual support between farmer and worker and between the city movement and the farm hamlet movement had steadily strengthened. Demonstrations by farmers coming into the cities had the effect of solidly joining them with the movement in the cities (this is a special characteristic of the struggling movement in a new situation in the current revolution in the South), and at the same time they receive the enthusiastic support and the strong active participation of the masses in the cities, which the essential strength comes from workers and laboring people. That support had the effect of encouraging protests, making the compatriots in the farm hamlets struggle even more enthusiastically. Besides, in the cities there were movements of positive support for the farmers, such as the burning of an enemy chemical poison, ammunition and gasoline depot, effectively preventing enemy aircraft from carrying soldiers to perform bad deeds such as at Soc Trang recently. Most recently, after the overthrow of Diem in November 1963, a number of youths, students, and pupils in the cities went to farm hamlets to join with the farmers in liquidating the wicked people and destroying the life draining activities of the enemy political authority in those farm hamlets where the movement is still weak. The union between farm hamlet and city have created a new field of struggle, and the enemy is being struck from the front as well as from the rear. The city and farm hamlet fronts joined in the attack to eliminate and liquidate the strength of the enemy and to isolate the enemy politically. The city movement developed solidly step by step with some large steps forward, and it created conditions for the farm hamlet movement to make leaps forward. That point has been shown clearly since the militant movement against the oppression of Buddhist compatriots, mainly after the overthrow of Diem in November of 1963.

In short, from 1954-1955 until now, the workers and citizens movement in the cities have always been maintained and developed, having a more popular character and a wider front, utilizing many endlessly productive aspects of struggle with a revolutionary significance

a struggle against the imperialist Americans and their henchmen, the demand for independence, democracy, and advanced standard of living, peace, neutrality, and the faster unification of our country. Passing over many difficult stages, the workers and people's movement in the cities in the past years has developed with a strong atmosphere and is at present undergoing continuous development along with the revolution in the South.

One problem evident in the structure of a cruel, deceitful, inhumane, dictatorial regime, and under the conditions of the cities being wasted by the imperialist Americans and their henchmen, how can the working class, the laboring people, and other classes in the cities possibly carry on a continuous, strong, effective struggle?

Everyone knows, regarding the imperialist Americans and their henchmen, that the cities are their rear securities areas, are their manpower, material and monetary storehouses, and are the starting places for their military operations against the revolutionary movement in farm hamlets. Therefore, they especially emphasized protecting the cities and protecting their spearhead positions by every method, from the most boorish artifice to the most subtle scheme. Their main objective of repression is the working class and the laboring people, so they do not hesitate to use the most violent methods in order to alleviate any threat against them. Along with cruel methods and the most intense controls, they desperately use every wily scheme such as the use of the Gold Trade Union to divide and purchase the friendship of the workers; at the same time, they boldly oppress all of the labor union movements when they realize that they cannot use these organizations to combat the revolution. Because they are highly isolated, the American imperialists and their henchmen must not only deal with the basic masses of the revolution, but they must also deal with the middle classes and even with the opposition elements within their political authority and their army. It is worthy of note that the revolution is becoming stronger, their internal affairs are encountering more disagreement, and they must guard against upset from within and increase their protection in cities. Diem established "corporations, groups and strategic hamlets" right in Saigon, held back "beautification", stifled foreign public opinion, organized special strength in order to protect himself, and organized public demonstrations against his overthrow. They do not hesitate to invoke martial law and to use the army to attack pagodas and Buddhist priests. The American imperialists and their subordinate Khanh-Hoan group is still pouring much military strength into Saigon in order to protect themselves. The imperialist Americans have grasped control of the police and security forces in Saigon; many special "security" precautions have been taken in order to protect the lives of their dependents. They are energetically strengthening the police and security forces in towns, strengthening the "corporations, groups and strategic hamlets", and stepping up the continuous oppression in labor areas throwing hundreds of people into jail on false charges. In that situation, it is possible to say that if the strength in farm hamlets

is compared between the enemy and the people, with the people gaining the advantage, then it is the other way around in the cities.

In the cities, the enemy not only has great military power, but also has economic strength. They are energetically harrassing the masses regarding politics, theory and culture, waiting for the morale of the masses to decline and the will to struggle subside. But if the above strongpoints regarding violence enable the enemy to have a great capacity for oppression and for putting down movements, then on the other hand, they will also encounter contradictions and setbacks which they are not able to overcome with any of their new style colonialist policies. Therefore, in the application of neo-colonialism, and the advancement of "special warfare" -- a type of plundering warfare suitable to neo-colonialism -- the American imperialists use the violence of their political machine and their subordinate army, then at the same time they must also use demagogic methods of "political mobilization", mobilization of manpower, materials and the wealth of the people in order to serve the war and to combat revolution. It is an aspect of neo-colonialism that the imperialist Americans must pretend to be a "friendly nation", supplying help from outside; that the lackeys selling the nation while claiming to be "patriotic", such as the Diem-Nhu group before and the Khanh-Hoan group now or all of the following gangs, must pretend to be "nationalistic", "democratic", "independent", and that those people are only "combating the communists" in order "to protect the people". They must keep this artificial democratic nationalism in order to emphasize it or at least to use it in the cities, because these are the places having a large middle class which they want to conquer, having many combating parties which the usurping lackeys must contend with for influence, are places having many workers and other laboring people whom they know are always prepared to follow the revolution, but with whom they must struggle in the revolution! The cities are also the places having much contact with foreign nations, and because of that, at least, they must try to maintain a facade in the cities in order to hold up a light to what they call the "free world". Therefore, even though their essence is violence, they must still undertake every perilous scheme in the cities, their main political testing ground. But they do not expect that that is their weak point where the working class and the people in the cities will aim the struggle against them.

From the beginning and all through the development process of the city movement in the last ten years, the working class and the laboring people in the South were always at the fore in the activities revealing the plundering plots of the American imperialists and exposing the true aspects of the unpatriotic, inhumane political authority subordinate to imperialist America. At the same time, they organized and concentrated vast strength in the determined struggle against the rapacious and the depriving policies of the enemy, causing the enemy to go from one loss to another loss.

On the other hand, the material life encountered much misfortune because the economic basis was dependent upon foreign nations, because of the unjust regime, and because of conditions causing endless starvation: beating, layoffs, reductions, and unemployment; these conditions make the working class and laboring people realize even more clearly that only with unity can the struggle protect their rights and develop the standard of living for them. Because life has revealed it to be true, the working class and the laboring people of the South not only are taken into the two-faced, deceitful, decisive plots of the enemy, but they also maintain their backbone, vanguard role in the unyielding, heroic struggle of the people in the cities of the South during the past ten years.

The working class in the South has received training in the many years of struggle under the leadership of the Party, not only having a high level of understanding regarding the benefits of nationalism, but also gaining much experience in struggling against imperialists and their lackeys. The working class in the South is joined with the farming class, receiving the encouragement of a strong, determined movement in farm hamlets, at the same time receiving the strong encouragement of the socialist North, which is determined not to bow its head to allow them to be forced or plundered, and which will not close its eyes to let them be plundered.

Mainly thanks to an intense patriotic spirit and a great loathing of the enemy, and thanks to their priceless experience with struggle, the working class in the South has overcome every complex, miserable obstacle, thereby living up to their role of the vanguard. Faced with the imperialist Americans and their lackeys, the working class and all other laboring classes in the South are not a weak adversary to be threatened, and they are also not a tender opponent to be plundered easily; they are a securely trained adversary with much experience, forewarned and ready to block every wicked scheme.

Aside from the working class, laboring people and all other classes of people (small property owners in cities, intellectuals) also passed through a longer period of struggle against imperialist and his lackeys, and they are shoulder to shoulder with the working class under the leadership of the party. Because they feel the influence of revolutionary victory in the recent resistance, they cannot bear a strangled life under a regime of the American imperialists and their lackeys. The bourgeoisie is being "assisted" by the usurping Americans, is a victim of the draining economic policies of the reactionary capitalist middlemen who are connected with the rapacious Americans; that class must struggle against them, and in order to do that, they must rely on the strength of the workers and the laboring people. Therefore, the working class not only combatted every divisive plot of the enemy, maintaining unity within their class, but also combined all the strength in cities against the American imperialists and their lackeys, instilling the struggling movement in cities with a high revolutionary spirit, and manifesting this front-line spirit ever more widely. This movement goes in the exact direction of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front which advocates independence,

democracy, peace and neutrality.

The birth of the South Vietnam Liberation Labor Congress, an organ of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, with correct strategy and goals, has struck a new forward step for the workers' and laboring people's movement in cities in the South. The program of the Congress states clearly: "Join solidly with the farming class and manifest worker-farmer solidarity, and on the basis of a union with other groups, classes, strata and all patriots in the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, step up the struggle to overthrow the domination of the American imperialists and their lackey Ngo Dinh Diem, to establish a people's coalition government which is democratic, to develop the lives of the workers, the laboring people, and every stratum of society, and to peacefully unite the nation." (1)

Concerning the bourgeoisie, the Congress advocates joining with them on a basis of guidance by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. "Every conflict between workers and laborers with the bourgeoisie will be resolved by negotiations following the principle that both sides are equal". (2)

Regarding soldiers in the army of the South Vietnam political authority, of which a majority are children of workers, farmers, and other laboring classes which were tricked or forced into the enemy military service, the Congress has called to them to join with the workers to form a "worker-farmer-soldier solidarity block" with the aim of overthrowing the enemy, and establishing independence and democracy and the peaceful unification of the country.

The working class and the laboring people of the cities have their own flags, their own organizations, and a clear path to follow. The influence and the role of the South Vietnam Liberation Labor Congress is increasing in the cities. In many struggles, mainly in the struggle by the workers of the Vinateco Company in January of 1964, the Liberation Labor Congress mobilized the vast strength of the workers and city laborers as well as the strength of the farmers and other groups, to join in the activities. The Liberation Labor Congress also resolutely struggled to protect labor unions and the vast organization of the working class and expelled from the ranks of labor unions the intentionally rebellious elements threatening the rights of the working class and of the people.

On the other hand, along with the maturity of the workers movement and of all other revolutionary movements in the South, the influence and international role of the South Vietnam Liberation Labor Congress as well as that of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front is steadily increasing. Many groups of representatives from the Liberation Labor

(1) Extracted from Program and Regulations of the South Vietnam Liberation and Labor Congress.

(2) Ibid.

Congress have participated in international assemblies for labor. The Congress has been recognized as a member of the International Labor Confederation, and an international labor committee combined with labor and the citizens of South Vietnam has been established in Hanoi in October 1963, with the participation of a group of representatives from the South Vietnam Liberation Labor Congress headed by comrade Tran Van Thanh. All of these situations show that the struggle of the workers and laboring people's class in South Vietnam against the American imperialist has received the vast support of the workers and laboring people's class all over the world.

The working class in the South has had a long tradition of struggle, especially in the last 30 years, under the leadership of the party; no one can forget the strikes and demonstrations which broke out in the cities and plantations of the South during the years 1930 and 1931. The strikes, demonstrations, and active committees during the time of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the patriotic spirit of the workers and soldiers during the revolt in the South (1940), the fierce atmosphere of the general revolt against the political authority on 25 August 1945 in Saigon (as well as in other cities) and the violent struggles in all cities during the initial days of the resistance in the South have revealed the heroically struggling tradition of the working class in the South. On 19 March 1950 -- a day on which millions of compatriots in Saigon and Cholon rose up with the slogans "Down with the imperialist Americans", "Throw out the American imperialists" -- this became a day for demonstrations against the Americans by all of the people of our nation. Subsequently, and manifesting those golden traditions, the peace movement in Saigon and Cholon, the movement for rescuing victims in Saigon and Cholon (1954-1955), the May Day demonstrations in 1957 and 1958, the struggles and factory takeovers by the Stanvac and Vineteco workers, the struggles of the laborers at Phu Tho Hoa against house burnings and arrests, the conflicts with hundreds of enemy soldiers, the punishments meted out by the American gang right in Saigon, the revolt of millions of compatriots in the movement protesting the oppression of Buddhists and in the movement protesting the interference of the enemy after the overthrow of Diem in November 1963; all of these clearly show the combined strength of heroic struggle put forth by the workers and laboring people's class around the cities of the South.

These golden traditions of more than 30 years of heroic struggle have more clearly than ever before pointed out the spearhead role of our working class in the revolutionary liberation of the people. With these golden traditions, the workers and laboring people's class in the cities of the south will strengthen even more the struggle against the imperialist Americans and their lackeys, making a useful contribution to the liberation of the South and the unification of our nation.

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TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE, TEN YEARS OF VICTORY

-North Vietnam-

Following is a translation of an article by Phan Hanh in the Vietnamese language periodical Hoc Tap (Study) no. 7, Hanoi, July, 1964, pages 48-55. /

From the signing of the Geneva agreement on Indo-China until now, the American imperialists and their lackeys have steadily violated that treaty, with the aim of destroying the unity of our nation and taking over the southern part of our nation as a territory and military base of America. From 1961 until now, the American imperialists have initiated and pushed forward their "special warfare" against the people of the South. The plundering war which the American imperialists are carrying out in the South is the hottest war in the world today. The crimes which the American imperialists and their lackeys have perpetrated in the South are countless. The people of the South, under the leadership of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, have overcome misery, poverty and many difficulties, showing the highest traditions of heroic and unyielding struggle of the people, encountering many productive aspects of struggle, and they have won many golden victories. The war has lasted more than ten years; ten years of struggle are also ten years of victory for our compatriots in the South.

Recalling these ten years of victorious struggle of our compatriots in the South, with meritoriously trustworthy devotion, we reread the illustrious pages which our compatriots in the South have written in more than ten years of struggle against the American imperialists and their lackeys, and we extract a few important conclusions about that struggle.

Victory For The Southern People In The Past Ten Years

After the reestablishment of peace in Indo-China, the people of the South stepped into a new period of revolutionary struggle, a period of political struggle demanding that the enemy enforce the Geneva agreement of 1954 aimed at strengthening the peace, completing the People's democratic nationalistic revolution in all of the nation, and realizing the peaceful

unification of our country.

But just when the Geneva agreement was concluded, the American imperialists publicly opposed and disrupted the implementation of that agreement with the apparent aim of dividing our nation and taking over the southern part as a new territory and military base in order to more easily attack the North and the side of socialism.

In order to realize this black plot, the American imperialists set up a puppet regime in the South, encouraging this regime to publish and to manifest "anti-colonialist, anti-wealth, anti-communist" policies, which was really a reactionary policy with the following intent: Oust the French, take back the field which the farmers had won during the resistance, and suppress the patriotic movement of the people. The American imperialists and their lackeys enthusiastically increased their military strength, stepped up the war against the people and started to eliminate the revolutionary movement among the people of the South, pushing the people of the South into a hot fire. They set up a dictatorial and war-mongering political machine from the capitol to the villages; they established a military and sem-military strength composed of tens of thousands of people; they imprisoned, tortured, exiled and executed tens of thousands of patriotic people, causing the revolutionary movement in many places and at many times to encounter much hardship and loss. During the relatively stable time of the America-Diem regime, the enemy gang believed that they had "pacified" the South, so they shouted and cried "march to the North". But they erred greatly. Their crimes and savage oppression could not overcome our compatriots in the South with their intensive patriotic spirit and tradition of unyielding struggle.

Opening the seething political struggle in the South was the vast struggle of our compatriots demanding the enforcement of the Geneva agreement and demanding general elections for the unification of our country, with the following aspects: Allowing propositions, strikes, meetings and demonstrations with great numbers of people participating.

The struggle against the enemy's massacres and oppression, and against "purging" battles has revealed endless cruelty. The result was that our compatriots in the South protected their own revolutionary strength; in many places, the revolutionary foundation is better developed than during the time of resistance against the French colonialists, creating difficulties for the enemy and the establishment of reactionary strength in farm hamlets.

A struggle demanding guarantees of life and demanding democratic rights is also a political struggle having great significance. It aims at solving a few immediate rights of the people, and it aims at establishing

and strengthening the power to advance and overthrow the imperialist regime and its lackeys in order to realize the unification of our country. It therefore embraces a profound political aspect against war, against the servant policy of the American imperialists, against the dictatorial regime, the demanding of peaceful unification, demanding independence and democracy. Besides, there is also a movement against enemy troops, against direct conscription into the enemy's war-mongering plots; a movement is against taking over villages, occupying land, against grouping people in order to establish a military base or build a strategic road.

The victories of the people in the South during the years 1954 to 1959 form a solid foundation for the following major successes:

The largest plot of the American imperialists and their lackeys during the years 1954 to 1959 was the effort to eliminate the revolutionary movement in the South in order to advance into the North. But the revolutionary movement in the South was maintained and developed, making the enemy embarrassed and furious. The Phu Loi massacre of February 1958, the fascist Diem Law 10/59 (April 1959) the "populated areas" policy (July 1959) on the one hand revealed the barbarous character and reactionism of the enemy, but on the other hand they pointed up to the truth when they implemented their "national purge".

Faced with the barbarous, cruel activities of the American imperialists and their lackeys in the South, the people of the South are forced to take up weapons and to stand up and fight. Reality has taught them to expect "goodwill" from imperialism and that this is only a delusion. It is exactly as Premier Ho said in his answer to the columnist Burchett at the beginning of August 1963: "At the time when thousands of people were liquidated in an atrocious manner and other thousands of people were thrown in jail to die slowly in the prisons and concentration camps of the Ngo Dinh Diem gang, our compatriots in the South only then realize that there were other roads besides the road of battle in order to protect their own lives. They painfully had to choose between either taking up arms or being liquidated."

Therefore, since the end of 1959 the people of the South have used every aspect of political struggle, armed struggle in order to combat the enemy and to protect their rights. Every extension of the enemy political authority in hamlets and villages has been exposed by the people and beaten down, interrupting the relatively calm periods of the enemy political authority. The guerilla aspect of the spreading revolt has unleashed a new revolutionary tide in the South.

In order to suppress the spreading revolutionary movement, the American imperialists and their lackeys are energetically strengthening their army, organizing thoughtless housecleanings, pushing ahead

to establish "thickly populated areas", and enthusiastically carrying out "purges". But the revolutionary movement is still continuously developing, making the internal affairs of the enemy become more split and scattered and the critical shortcomings of the America-Diem regime steadily increase. Ngo Dinh Diem's gang had to clarify internal affairs, eliminate some department heads and high-level public officials, replace many provincial heads and prefect heads; calculating until October 1960, Diem had to reorganize the "government" twelve times, putting 35 department heads who disagreed with him out of the "government", thereby fragmenting the internal affairs of the regime and the enemy army. At the same time, because they realized the ineffectiveness of Diem in the face of a strongly developing revolutionary movement, the American imperialists organized the overthrow of Diem in November 1960 but it did not succeed. .

In the wave of revolution, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front was born, creating a center for the unification of all strata, classes, religions, and people with the aim of overthrowing the gang which is taking over and selling the nation. Following that, the Vietnam revolutionary people's party and the liberation army were established. Those are the important elements guaranteeing that the revolutionary struggle by the people of the South will win the final victory. Successive victories by the troops and people of the South have liberated a large area of land, creating a secure rear area for the revolution.

The victories of the revolutionary movement of the South during 1960 have forced the enemy into changing their strategy throughout 1961. If the previous strategy of America and Diem considered attacking the North as essential, then through 1961 they had to change to consider "pacification" of the South as essential. They had to redistribute their strength, redeploy their battlefields, change their strategy and tactics, reorganize their strength and retrain their army, with the essential goal being anti-guerrilla warfare in the South. It is clear that the struggle against the enemy by the compatriots in the South concurrently have the effect of protecting the socialist North.

1961 was also the year in which the revolutionary movement in the South advanced a new step: From the attitude of local guerrilla activity, the revolt has spread to the attitude of revolutionary war with all the people and all the land, with revolt spreading in many areas. The people of the South have strengthened both political struggle and armed struggle, attacking the enemy in both political and military aspects with a three pronged attack: political struggle, armed conflict, and propagandizing enemy soldiers. The results have been that more than 80% of the people gathered in "dense population areas" in the South have been liberated, and 12 concentration areas in the mountains of Sector 5 have been destroyed. Approximately two-thirds of the enemy political authority in villages and hamlets of the southern delta and mountain areas of

Sector 5 has been scattered or paralyzed. Daily increasing numbers of soldiers desert the ranks of the enemy and return to the people. The colonialist privileges of the American imperialists have been limited, and the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem has been severely shaken, in order to rectify that perilous situation, at the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962, the American imperialists stepped up armed interference in the South under the guise of "special warfare", with the aim of eliminating the national liberation movement of the southern people, and at the same time using it as a "contest" from which to extract experience for opposing national liberation movements in other areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The armed interference of the American imperialists into the South must be counterattacked on all areas. America has exposed the Staley-Taylor Plan, which aims at the "pacification" of the South over a period of 18 months. The methods of implementing this plan are as follows: "To overcome the deficiencies in the Diem army regarding strength and mechanized capacity; to strengthen 'assistance' in every way in order to move toward counterattack, and to win back the initiative; to reoccupy liberated areas; to concentrate the citizens in strategic hamlets; to protect and blockade the border to concentrate all strength and their activity with the aim of eliminating the revolutionary movement in the South, and concluding the Staley-Taylor Plan by the end of December 1962.

Thanks to their increased strength, America and Diem has "gathered" few people into "strategic hamlets", implemented their house cleaning and endlessly cruel oppressions, and spread chemical poison in many places. They perpetrated innumerable crimes, and have created incalculable mourning for the people of the South. They believe that with such destruction as this, they will defeat the revolution in the South. But on the contrary, those being defeated are not the people of the South but are the American imperialists and their lackeys. The Staley-Taylor Plan was a failure. "Vertical mobility" and "armored mobility" were not as effective as they wished. Many "strategic hamlets" of the enemy were destroyed or were changed to areas of struggle by the people. The liberated area was expanded, and local bases of the revolution were strengthened. The people's armed self-defense forces continuously struck heavily at the enemy, slowly using up and eliminating the vital strength of the enemy. Morale in the enemy's army became more confused and more agitated. The people's political forces and the people's armed self-defense strength were developed and matured a bit.

After the above continuous defeat, mainly after the battle of Ap Bac, the American imperialists became more bogged down in their rapacious war in the South. In spite of that, the American imperialists still could not bear to give up their rapacious and war mongering plot.

One loss leads to another plan, and they proposed a program for resolutely winning a few decisive victories in 1963 and establishing a basically quite situation in 1964. In order to implement this plot, throughout 1963 the American imperialists concentrated every effort, increased the military strength of their lackeys, brought more American soldiers into the South, initiated many attacks all over the South from the delta to the mountains, stepped up the "collection" of people to establish "strategic hamlets", expanded their chemical warfare, stepped up "psychological warfare", "battle-field appeals" and espionage activities.

But every time the enemy devised a new plan, the revolutionary movement in the South advanced to a new and more important victory. In reality, 1963 was marked by vast political struggles by the people in the South in many aspects. Especially in the cities -- the places which are, and were historically, the victims of the enemy political machines -- every stratum of the people (from workers, laboring people, students, pupils, intellectuals, and capitalists up to believers in Buddhism) rose up in even stronger struggle. It was really the involvement of tens of thousands of people in Hue and Saigon-Cholon in a frightening demonstration having a truly military atmosphere, which had a great echo all over the nation and the world.

In the area temporarily controlled by the enemy, the people's movement to destroy the "strategic hamlets" is also developing. Piece by piece the "strategic hamlets" were destroyed, expanding the liberated area of the people and creating a restless atmosphere in the area controlled by the enemy. The number of revolts and desertions increased.

The people's armed self-defense strength also developed more rapidly. They struck at posts, destroyed public buildings, fought against sweeping victories, exterminated whole companies and platoons of enemies and advanced to annihilate entire enemy battalions.

Another major victory was that the revolutionary struggle of the people in the South received the sympathy and strong support of people all over the world. Even the American people, intellectual groups, humanitarians, monks, youths and American workers, also struggled against the rapacious policies of the American imperialists in South Vietnam.

The successes of the citizens and soldiers of the South in 1963 increased the development of contradiction in the ranks of the enemy. The situation of the enemy was becoming more and more distressing. When Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown, the American imperialists did not suspect that they and their lackeys had just dissolved a most resolute anti-revolution organization which the Ngo family had established through-

out the past 8 or 9 years. Today, the imperialist Americans have gone far along the road from which there is no escape in the South. They are faced with a difficult, if not hopeless, situation. They have had to decide on three roads: the first is to continue the war in the same way, the second is to expand the war to a wider scale, the third is to withdraw. Evidently, the only practicable road benefiting the American people and possibly gaining American prestige is that the American imperialists must pull out all American troops in order to allow our people in the South to solve their own internal problems.

At present, concurrently with increasing the destruction in the South, the energetic attempts at destroying the North and the discussions about "attacking the North", the American imperialists are rejecting opinions concerning a political solution of the problem in South Vietnam. Our people have always been very perceptive, and they are determined not to allow the American imperialists to fool them. With personal experience, our people clearly realize that imperialist gangs never can bear to negotiate with them no matter how much they lose the hope of victory on the battlefield. Revolutionary people who want a victory in foreign eyes must first of all win a victory on the battlefield. It is clear that if our people had not won the historic victory at the battle of Dien Bien Phu and on other combined battlefields, causing the serious elimination and annihilation of the enemy's forces, then they could not have won the victory at the Geneva Conference in 1954.

The battle of our compatriots in the South is in a complex and desperate phase. All of our people are always ready to deal with every dangerous and evil plots of the enemy. No matter how many "new" programs the Americans set forth, they still cannot avoid defeat. The success of our compatriots in the last ten years in the South not only bespeaks of the vast capacity of the revolution in the South but it also testified that the revolution in the South determined to be victorious.

Successful Aspect Of The Southern Revolution

Ten years ago, the people of the South heroically struggled against the American imperialists, the leading and most ardent imperialist in the world. Thanks to the union of correct leadership methods with a high revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, the revolution in the South has overcome thousands of difficulties and has won a vast, shining victory. The points guaranteeing certain victory in the revolution in the South are as follows:

- 1) Securely grasping the strategic responsibility of the revolution, determining the immediate enemies, setting a high example of nationalism and democracy.

We, our friends, and our enemies clearly realize that determining the correct strategic responsibility is the most important problem of every revolution. Mainly because the South had solved the problem correctly, they won a shining victory.

The Southern part of our nation is being controlled by imperialism and feudal power. Every day, the American imperialists and their lackeys straightforwardly force, plunder, oppress, and slaughter the people, forcing the people of the South to live in a troubled nation. In order to protect their lives and sacred rights, the people of the South have no other way aside from the overthrow of the American imperialists and their lackeys, winning nationalistic independence, democratic freedom and peaceful unification of our country. The manifesto of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front clearly states: "The fervent hope of our compatriots at present is the exulsion of a cruel, dictatorial, feudal regime, the establishment of independence and democracy, the necessity for food and clothing, and the necessity of peaceful national unification".

Implementing revolutionary liberation in the South means solving two basic contradictions of society in the South at the present time: the first is the antipathy between the citizens of the South and the rapacious imperialistic gang and their lackeys; the second is the paradox between the people of Vietnam, mainly the farmers, and the feudal landlords. Only by resolving those two paradoxes can society in the South develop advantageously, the people of the South live peacefully, freely and happily. The current revolution in the South is a nationalistic, democratic people's revolution; the basic responsibility of the revolution in the South is to liberate the South from the control of imperialists and feudalists, to establish nationalist independence, and to give farmers their own land, making a contribution to the construction of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and rich Vietnam.

The objects of the nationalistic, democratic people's revolution are imperialism and feudalism. During the current phase, the immediate real foes of the people in the South are the American imperialists and their lackeys, the representatives of the reactionary landlord gang and the capitalist middlemen who love America. The American imperialists and their lackeys are really the most dangerous and most brutal enemies of our people at the present time. They obstruct the national unity of our people, force, plunder, oppress and scatter the people of the South, prepare to wage their rapacious war in the North, annulling the achievements of the people's revolution in the North and then reestablishing the yoke of colonialist and feudal control all over our nation. Therefore, only by raising high the flag of nationalism and democracy, and by resolutely overthrowing the yoke of control of the American imperialists and their lackeys, can our comrades in the South liberate the South and advance the peaceful unification of our country. It is evident that in the solid block of all the people struggling against the American imperialists and their lackeys, the most determined revolutionaries are mainly the masses of farmers and workers led by the working class, and among them, the farmers are most numerous.

2) Resolutely rely on the strength of the masses, determinedly use revolutionary force against the counterrevolutionary force of the enemy.

Marxism-Leninism has demonstrated that a tendency toward violence is a basic tendency of imperialism, and that the most suitable path for a revolution to liberate peoples is the path of using the revolutionary violence of the masses to combat the enemy's counterrevolutionary violence.

In order to strengthen their control, the American imperialists and their lackeys have established a dictatorial and warlike regime straightforwardly oppressed and brutalized the people, and launched warfare against the people. The people of the South have no other choice than to use revolutionary force to defeat the counterrevolutionary violence of the enemy.

The people of the South correctly assessed the American imperialists and refused to have any false relations with the American imperialists. The American imperialists, who have succeeded the French colonialists who murdered our people before, are the enemy now perpetrating their long-term plot to divide our nation and the people of the South. The American imperialists are the ringleaders of countless bogged down crimes which have occurred and are occurring in the South. They are making the southern part of our nation into a "testing ground" for "special warfare" with the aim of gaining experience for the suppression of revolutions for national liberation all over the world. The exceedingly wicked activities of the American imperialists in the South have exposed their rapacious and warlike nature. Our people know that the road of revolution to win freedom and true happiness must naturally be filled with hope, but that hope is nevertheless small compared to the death and ceaseless misery under the enemy's cruel controlling regime.

The reality of the revolution in the South during the last ten years has taught our people a great lesson in estimating the American imperialists correctly. Through personal experience, our people clearly realize that, although the American imperialists have vast economic and political power, they are not a strong enemy which cannot be defeated. On the contrary, the American imperialists are exactly like other imperialists, exactly as Lenin explained nearly half a century ago, showing that "giants have legs of clay". Because they are torn by the basic contradictions of capitalism, the American imperialists are weak. Although weapons of mass destruction are in their hands, from after the second world war until now the American imperialists have continuously suffered severe losses against the revolutionary movements of the people of China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and Laos. The reality of the Vietnamese revolution and the revolution of other countries has show us that although imperialist Americans have modern weapons, the revolutionary people have the capacity to defeat them in every area and to win their independence and freedom.

Our people do not subjectively despise the enemy, but they also do not overestimate the American imperialists to the point of being afraid of them and not daring to fight in order to win. Resolutely relying on their own strength and determinedly using revolutionary violence in order to combat the counterrevolutionary violence of the enemy, our people are determined to win the final victory.

3) Utilize active strategic methods in the long-term political and armed struggle. The correct use of the strength of the masses is also an important problem. As a basis to the situation and special points of the revolution of the South, as a basis to the experience and personal strength of the people, and as a basis to the American policy of occupation in the South, the people of the South have determined that the correct strategic methods of the revolution are as follows: Long-term struggles in both political and armed areas.

Since the reestablishment of peace, the people of the South have changed from armed struggle to political struggle. That point is completely correct, because the people of the South along with the people of the entire nation have gone through a long armed struggle to achieve a victory with the Geneva agreement, with the establishment of peace in Indo-China, with the liberation of the northern half of the nation, and with the obstruction of the plot to drag out and expand the war of the American imperialists. That point is correct because during the initial years after the reestablishment of peace, the object of the revolution in the South was still the French colonialists and their lackeys.

The American imperialists are slowly supplanting the French colonialists, establishing a subordinate political authority, obstructing the enforcement of the Geneva agreement, and using armed force to suppress the revolutionary movement in the South. Therefore, the people of the south must slowly change from political struggle with armed self-protection to political struggle in union with armed struggle in order to lead the revolution toward victory.

Because the enemy controls the South and combats the revolutionary will by military strength, the people of the south must establish their own revolutionary armed strength in order to advance the armed struggle against the enemy. The liberation army in the south is mainly the armed revolutionary strength of the people and from the people, because the people are struggling. It was created and developed in a backward agricultural area, and therefore it still follows the pattern of the people's war, meaning that in the development from small to large, from weak to strong, there are three military aspects and strategic applications from guerilla warfare to combat transport, and there must be a base for the revolution.

The enemy controls the South in a territorial manner, promulgating false "independence", "freedom" and "democracy" falsely, so the people of the South have the opportunity to take the deceptive slogans of the enemy in order to strike at them with political methods of struggle. During the war with rapacious enemies, the people of the South have principles, a high revolutionary understanding, a tradition of unyielding struggle and as much experience in political struggle and armed struggle.

The reality of the revolution in the South during the past few years has showed to us that political struggle and armed struggle go hand in hand with each other and strengthen the development of each other. The more armed struggle is developed, the higher is the movement of political struggle; on the other hand, the higher is the movement of political struggle, the more victorious will be the armed struggle. The more the armed forces of the people eliminates and destroys the forces of the enemy and the stronger are strikes at the enemy, then the more perplexed will be the morale of the enemy army, the more confused will be the internal affairs of the enemy, the lower will be the prestige of the enemy, the more enthusiastically the people will revolt, and those are good conditions for strengthening the political struggle. On the other hand, the more widely developed our political struggles, then the more restricted will be the enemy military strength, not allowing them freedom to operate and destroy; if the army mobilization activities of the enemy are more strongly developed, then the enemy soldiers either receive the support of the struggling people, or they do not enthusiastically charge out on the battlefield, or they desert the ranks and return to the people; those are the good conditions which weaken the enemy military strength and create conditions for the armed strength of the people to eliminate and annihilate the enemy strength. It is evident that saying that political struggles and armed struggles go hand in hand with each other does not mean that armed struggle need not follow predetermined regulations of warfare.

The people of the South have not only mobilized methods of political struggle in union with armed struggle during a long process of struggle, but have also mobilized those methods in a brisk manner in every different area, in every struggle, on every battlefield; in every circumstance, although the serious goals are different, our people have stepped up political and armed struggle together, with a three pronged approach: political struggle, armed struggle, and mobilizing the enemy soldiers. The political struggle of the people in the South not only advanced under the legal aspects such as petition and proposition, but also advanced under many semi-legal and extra legal aspects such as meetings, demonstrations, direct conflict, and even as far as using the activities of the enemy such as extracting

from original documents, not publicizing "purges", not paying taxes, or digging personnel trenches, setting up roads of bamboo spikes, and destroying roads and bridges, which the enemy recognized as successful and rational. It is because of that that the people have legalized their semi-legal and extra-legal activities. Many times when the political struggle breaks out under the highest aspects of having people rush out to obstruct the operations of the enemy, there is a great conflict with the commanders, and the indoctrinated soldiers do not shoot the people or oppress our compatriots, creating conditions for the armed strength of the people to easily eliminate the enemy.

Therefore in the real struggle, the people of the South have created various aspects of struggle suitable for guaranteeing a victory. The conditions for advancing those aspects of struggle are as follows: the movement of the masses must be expanded, leadership strength must be determined, and the masses must prepare their hopes to fight and defeat the enemy.

4) It is necessary to establish a united national front on a basis of worker-farmer solidarity, and led by the working class.

The experience of the revolution in the South is still showing that, in order to win a victory, it is necessary to concentrate the patriotic strength of the masses into a unified national front against rapacious imperialists and their lackeys. The goal of the front is peace and also national independence, democratic freedom, a higher standard of living and the peaceful unification of the country. The activities of the front must be brisk, they must capitalize on the paradoxes within the internal affairs of the enemy, strive to unify every strength that can be unified, with the aim of collecting numerous people for the movement of the revolutionary struggle. The National Liberation Front in the South was borne to fulfill the demands of the revolution in the South. The Front has concentrated people of all strata of society in the South to make up political and armed organizations of the people and even political and armed organizations which use to be in the ranks of the enemy, but which now have returned to the people. The slogan of peaceful independence is a doctrine of the Front. It has the application of dividing and isolating the ranks of the enemy and collecting the vast sympathy of all classes of people in the country and in the world.

The Front has been expanded because of the gathering of much of the middleclass, but the strength of the Front must rely on a basis of worker-farmer solidarity. The farmers of the South are the vast power of the revolution which has been trained and tested greatly in combat, which is positively revolutionary, and which enthusiastically follows the flag of leadership of the working class. They are the main militant

forces of the revolution. The working class in the South with its own assault units is the Vietnam National Revolutionary Party having a completely revolutionary theory, taking Marxism-Leninism as the compass for their activities, having the correct revolutionary pathway, knowing how to set forth a clever and flexible policy, but also knowing how to maintain an unyielding struggle and principle regarding the enemy of the revolution. That is also the determined aspect of victory for the revolution in the South.

5) Energetically gather the sympathy and support of people all over the world especially on the socialist side.

The advance of revolution in every nation is because of the efforts of the people of that nation. But the sympathy and support of democratic and peaceful strength all over the world has a very important influence, because it augments and strengthens the revolutionary people within the nation, and concurrently contributes to the disbursement of the enemies of revolution on the public opinion of the world. Therefore, strengthening international propaganda, gathering the sympathy and support of people in the world, especially from the socialist bloc, has great utility concerning the victory of revolution.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam had strength and great influence in the nation. And thanks to that strength and influence the Front has been able to collect the support and sympathy of a wide area of the world. The sympathy and support regarding materials and morale from the people of the world about the revolution in the South has the effect of raising the position of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and increasing the strength for revolution in the South during the struggle of the American imperialists and their lackeys.

The revolution in the South is part of a world-wide revolution. The people of the South are in a revolution to liberate the South and to defeat rapacious plots of the American imperialists, weakening the strength of the American imperialist war-mongers, and overturning every step of imperialism; that point has the effect of contributing to the protection of the socialist block, strengthening the nationalistic liberation movement and the struggling movement for peace and democracy all over the world. The people of the South are praiseworthy and should receive the sympathy and support of people all over the world.

The endlessly heroic and difficult revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South has lasted for ten years and is still continuing. Our compatriots in the South are truly praiseworthy with the appellation "citadel of the nation". Ten years ago, the American imperialists and their lackeys created countless misery and suffering for our compatriots in the South. Raising the tradition of unbending struggle, developing

each of their creative capacities, the compatriots in the South have won many honorable victories causing the American imperialists and their lackeys to be scattered and confused. The defeat of the American imperialists with their lackeys and the victory of our compatriots in the South demonstrates that during the current period, when socialist, democratic and peaceful strength is stronger than war mongering imperialist strength, when national liberation movements are presented as storms all over the world, then a nationality, no matter how small, with united determination to stand up and struggle for their self-liberation, with correct leadership and the sympathy and support of peace loving people all over the world, can decide to win the final victory against plundering enemies, even though that enemy may be imperialist America with her vast military and economic power.

At present, the American imperialists are searching for every method for strengthening their rapacious war in the South. The American imperialists are expediting the internationalization of the problem in the South, involving the United Nations Organization controlled by America in the interference in the situation in the South. Every effort by the American imperialists cannot help them to avoid being defeated. The best escape for the American imperialists is to withdraw the American army from South Vietnam in order to allow the people to solve their own internal affairs. That is also the only method for reestablishing true peace in this area. If the American imperialists stubbornly pursue their rapacious war in South Vietnam then it is determined that they will be disastrously defeated. Our compatriots in the South have had much experience in struggles against rapacious imperialists, they have had training and testing through many years of struggle, they have a heroic tradition of struggle, and they have received the morale support of the people in the North and the sympathy and support of peace loving people all over the world; they are determined to liberate the entire South and to realize national unification.

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STRUGGLE TO UPHOLD IDEALS IN THE TASK OF REASON
AND LITERARY CRITICISM

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Huy
in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Study),
Hanoi, No 7, 1964, pp 72-78.]

Our socialist literature is a literature which is extremely conscious of its responsibility in regard to life and history.

It must reflect to the fullest, the reality as well as the demands of the times and the people; it must struggle to make this reality everyday more attractive, to bring these demands everyday closer to reality.

Why is it for literature to speak out on the basic nature of our period, to praise the optimistic spirit of the revolution and the victorious courage of the working people, the conscientious education which is asserting itself in the work of building Socialism and the realistic struggle to unify our homeland by such measures as are in accordance with the thoughts and feelings of the people.

Why for an empty literature must there be strong feeling, along with clear reasoning, sharp thinking and wide searching? These are the urgent demands of our times in regard to our present day literature. The Party's Third National Congress then proposed these tasks:

"Develop a new literature with a Socialist content and a national character, secure a realistic, Socialist method, struggle to bring about many more literary works which will honestly reflect the new life, contribute to the education of the new man, mobilize the people in the struggle for the Socialist revolution and the task of unifying our Country."

The struggle to realize the task is the responsibility not only of the creative individual but of everyone capable of reasoning and criticising. If creative literature is to uphold the spirit of the struggle in accordance with the party spirit of Marxism-Leninism, reason and criticism must set a still higher example of the theme of this struggle. More than that, our country's literature demands the expansion of reason and criticism in literature, and it is only upon the installation of the party spirit of Marxism-Leninism that such expansion can take place.

It is not only with the advent of present day that we have had reason and criticism in literature. The history of world literature reveals that literary reasoning and criticism were born and developed right along with the creative aspect and are themselves as ancient as written literature.

Whenever there is the creation of literature, there is the conception and realization of creativity. Literary reason and criticism were born and developed right along with the creative aspect and are, themselves, as ancient as written literature. Wherever literature is created, there is the conception and realization of creativity. Literary reason and criticism are always closely connected with the practical creation of literature. Yet it must be realized that it is only in our present era with the expansion of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the investigation of all conceptual forms of society that literary reason and criticism, together with the study of literature, have become a legitimate, scientific enterprise. Particularly, in our own country, although there have been for quite some time reason and criticism within the Arts and Letters, not until the present time has there been an organ to allow for vigorous development. Formerly the terminology within reason and criticism was clearly foreign to Feudalist, Bourgeois Scholars and men of Arts and Letters. But from the time that the party of the laboring classes has led the revolution and because of this, there has been a dissemination and proper utilization of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the practical, Vietnamese Revolution. [Because of this] and because of the struggle of ideas in the cultural and literary fields, of the development of original work in the stream of proletariat literature before the Revolution, of the Revolution in culture and literature after the Socialist Revolution during the resistance and especially in literary life, literature has become an urgent need of the people from the time of the establishment of peace.

Due to the present struggle: against the tendencies in decadent, reactionary, bourgeois literature, against modern revisionism [Chu Nghia Xet Lai], the mission of reason in literature following the principles of Marxism-Leninism and carrying the spirit of Communism, has become an important, indispensable organ of literature.

At the moment it is possible to say that any creative or critical individual can achieve a certain measure of sympathy with the average

reading public, but without reason in literature following Marxist-Leninist lines then they cannot participate in a positive manner in literary life.

Practical Vietnamese literature is propounding for reason and criticism, extremely urgent functions. A letter from the Party's Central Executive Committee to the Third National Conference on the Arts and Letters says:

In order that Arts and Letters advance in accordance with the wishes of the revolution we must all be very attentive to the functions of reason and criticism. It is necessary to study all matters of reason which illuminate our Country's literary and artistic activities, and stimulate reasonable undertakings of a creative nature. The work of reason is like that of criticism in that both must adhere firmly to the literary position of Marxist-Leninist ideology follow correctly the literary path of the Party and relate closely with the Socialist life and the situation of literary activities.

Reason and literary criticism and the profound ideas of the working classes must struggle to eliminate all non-proletariat, reactionary tendencies which are essentially the influence of modern revisionism in literature. On the other hand, they must protect the fundamental truths of proletariat literature, must affirm the successes of contemporary Socialist literature, must guide and declare every achievement of creativity, reason and criticism and never cease to uphold the standard of entertainment literature among the masses.

They must strengthen the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic stand and the literary part of the Party for those engaged in literary work and for the masses, reunify and reorganize those carrying out literary tasks, strengthen their awareness,, bolster their confidence, allowing them to become truly revolutionary warriors on the battlefield of culture and thought. Reason and literary criticism with Party spirit must carry out the task of assembling the experiences of Socialist literature, appraise the treasure of our peoples' classical literature, guide in the assimilation of foreign literature making reason everyday more abundant in Vietnamese literature thus affording a contribution to the treasure of common sense in the treasure of world literature. As to method, the ideals of the working class demand that reason and criticism maintain a high, scientific standard. They must endeavor by means of sound arguments to encourage a firm union between reason and practicality, between profound analysis and generalizing synthesis, between a determined spirit of struggle and a truly sincere attitude. Between a thorough understanding of the realities of life and the common, fundamental truths, between a regulative spirit and the historical spirit of literature, etc., . . . they must not tolerate subjective, superficial attitudes, methods of examination which are vague, sketchy or results which are baseless, eccentric, rebellious, often running contrariwise to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, falling into a bourgeoisie outlook which supposes itself to have the look of creativity.

II

In all this time, what has our work in reason and literary criticism amounted to? A letter from the Central Executive Committee to the Third National Conference on the Arts and Letters clearly points out:

"The work of reason and criticism has made many efforts to strengthen and illuminate the Party's literary path and has sought a greater understanding of the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism in regard to literature with the aim to promote creativity and art entertainment."

Under the leadership of the Party in new favorable conditions, reason in literature has been upheld and everyday played a more positive role. It may be said that thanks to the action of leadership and interest in the Party now a great many people can become acquainted with the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Aesthetics and apply these fundamental truths to creativity, research, criticism, and popular literature. The literary principles of the Party from the De Cuong Ve Van Hoa Vietnam (principles of Vietnamese culture) articles by Chairman Ho, the resolution of the Third National Conference on the Arts and Letters, the letters of the Central Party to all of its literary assemblies, to the literary discussion raised in Chu Nghia Mac Va Van De Van Hoa Vietnam (Marxism and Vietnamese culture) by the ~~comrades~~ of the long march (Truong Chinh) and all other statements regarding literature by comrade Party and Government leaders from past to present are precious documents to contribute to the treasure of literary reason of our Country, according to Marxism-Leninism, and have illuminated the tasks of creativity, reason and criticism, and opened up broader perspectives for the branch of scientific, literary research in our Country and established hope for a literature of reason in Vietnam.

Under the brilliance of the Party's principles, all experts in reason, criticism, creativity and the branches of literary and artistic research have daily advanced reason, making it everyday more abundant. All literary and artistic training organizations and all schools have made notable records in the dissemination of the aesthetic principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the application of these principles into practical Vietnamese and have resolved a number of the important problems in the history of Vietnamese literature, regarding all of the Vietnamese classical authors and their works, regarding the contemporary, literary scene in Vietnam, allowing creativity, criticism and literary research to make distinct progress.

The ranks of reason and criticism everyday increase, becoming a popular force for reason in the struggle for the literary principles of Marxism-Leninism together and especially of our Party, bringing reason everyday deeper into practical literature and the broad masses. Now,

to a large extent, the masses have begun to understand the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism in regard to arts and letters and are becoming a people determined to protect those principles. Literary reason in Marxism-Leninism does not closet itself as the bookworm, aloof and remote from the masses nibbling and fabricating to their hearts content hoping to dazzle and fool the masses. In all the struggles: against the group Nhan Van - Giai Pham 1956-1958 (Men of Letters - Best Works - 1956-1958) against the wavering principles of creative literature in the recent past, the masses have shown themselves to be critical individuals with Party spirit. Chiefly the masses dispelled the crucial wavering in arts and letters startling those in criticism and reason; these waverings can only be resolved upon a practical basis for research and when principles of Party spirit are secured. Recently the peasant masses have produced a number of writers of reason and criticism for which there is much hope. Together they speak most eloquently of reason in the literary movement and especially in literature itself.

All of these achievements in the practical revolution have brought about a fundamental result of historical meaning in the literary life of our people: the fundamental truths of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and the literary part of our Party, as arts and letters serving the administration, serving the warrior-farmers (công Nông Binh), literature reflecting the revolutionary life, practical Socialist methods, Party spirit, class spirit in Arts and Letters, etc., . . . has been affirmed and has become a joint realization of the masses and men of Arts and Letters. Upon this base we have fundamentally defeated the degenerate, reactionary, bourgeois literary position of the 'Men of Letters - Best Works Group' mentioned above, the struggle against the influences of modern revisionism as well as the other, indefinite waverings of the present day, promote the development of the new literature, protect the inner light of Marxism-Leninism, protect the literary principles of the creative spirit of our Party, contributing a working share to Marxism-Leninism "An absolutely favorable taking over of the spiritual life of our Country and forming a system of thought for the entire population." (1)

(NOTE: Text of Footnote (1) . . . Van Kien Dai Hoi (Documents of the Congress), Central Executive Committee of the Vietnamese Labor Party, published 1960, Part I, Page 185.)

Naturally, in light of the wishes for development of our present day Socialist literature, work in reason and criticism leaves much to be desired. A letter from the Party Central Committee to the Third National Conference on the Arts and Letters has pointed out:

"The work of reason and criticism in Arts and Literature is still weak and has yet to resolve the biggest problems of the Art of Literature; the Phenomena of Criticism and the Teachings of Criticism are not yet in

accordance with the principles of Party spirit and 'esprit de corps' (Tinh Than Dong Chi).

The most important waverings of all in the work of reason in literature during the recent past is the position of "personalism" among the masses and mediocre humanism.

Marxism-Leninism determines that literature always be the weapon of the classes, always carrying the spirit of the classes. Revisionism seeks every way to promote "personalism", principally aimed at clouding the viewpoint of the classes in literature. Among us, influenced slightly by modern , international revisionism, a number of individuals engaged in the work of reason have either intentionally or unintentionally spread the propaganda of "personalism". They feel that only through a study of a work on "personalism" can they refine their understanding, grasp fully its principles. They attempt to demonstrate that in literature alongside the spirit of the classes is "personalism", that there are eternal (mediocre) sympathies which allow classical works to live forever and stir the hearts of present day men. That's a totally outdated line which has suffered the scrutiny of Marxism-Leninism and has long since been discarded by the practical revolution.

There are also times when the promotion of "personalism" among the classes is concealed under the guise of promoting the spirit of the people.

They continue: "There can be no class spirit among the people." They have completely stripped class content from the spirit of the people, and mirrored the theme of a spirit of class-less people, saying that the eyes of a class-less people can more properly appraise matter and art than can our own eyes with their party spirit. There is no need to go on, we all can see just what kind of mistakes these are!

There is an altogether different viewpoint regarding the work of reason and criticism which designs to reduce the role of world-view

relating to creativity and which regards (rather) lightly the Party spirit. Naturally everyone knows that world-view doesn't determine everything but we all know how a world-view plays a determining view in regard to creativity.

We are unable to imagine a literary work which has the ideals of the working classes being put out by an author who is not possessed of a Marxist-Leninist worldview. Recently a number of individuals have argued that reality completely determines a world-view, and naturally reality then completely determines creativity. At first hearing, this reasoning sounds smooth enough because it stands upon a materialistic basis viewing reality as the determinant of conscience. But actually this is an unsound argument which falls back on a point of argument of modern , foreign revisionism which states that ideals need only "Faithfully" reflect reality, then naturally literary products have ideals.

Lessening of the role of world-view in creativity actually stimulates creativity "unconsciously" - a case of wanting to and not wanting to - (Du Muon Du Khong) an argument: for irresponsible authors, for speaking of creation of non-reality.

It is no coincidence that recently, a number of individuals in our creative world have for a time held a "practical" position, viewing practicality as determining everything and reason as miscellaneous matter that you could either have or do without: there being times which are easier to bear more tenable without reason. In a piece coming out of the Third National Conference on the Arts and Letters, Comrades in the Long March (Truong Chinh) evaluated the above viewpoints. The Comrades stated: "There are those comrades who suppose that to wade deep into the river is to be sufficiently creative. Naturally to wade deep into the river is good, but to have Marxist-Lenin reason in your head then to wade deep into the river is so much the better. The mistake of Vao Doi (into life) lies first of all with the author reflecting life from the standpoint of the world-view of the bourgeois class, the reactionary landowners. The mistake of Dong Rac Cu (piling up old trash) (Volume I), is first of all, again due to the author supporting a baseless (Vo Chu Nghia) world-view and failing in his responsibilities to his readers.

Modern revisionism reduces the determining role of world-view with the aim to scatter and lose (Danh Lac Huong) the effect of service toward the administration and the significance of education from literary products in order to drag into legitimate literature the decadent, reactionary viewpoints of bourgeois literature until they run out of words. They suppose good taste (Dac Trung Tham My) and fresh individualism to be the factors which determine the worth of an artistic product; it would appear that the artist can do without a progressive world-view yet must not lack an aesthetic conscience. Even more cynical, the group following modern revisionism says that conscious thought (Y Thuc Tham My) is not necessary for an artistic product and [further] that conscious thought propaganda is a bad thing.

Though in our work in reason here we as yet don't have any viewpoints quite as ignorant as that, we must realize that: there are times when in our desire to overcome the simplicity, the mechanical aspect an individual may over-emphasize the unique character of literature and not accurately attend to the class spirit or the guiding effect of a world-view relative to creativity, or be absorbed with other functions to the extent that he does attend, sufficiently to the educational function of literature.

In denying the determining role of the Marxist-Leninist world-view, pragmatism (Thuc Te) is, regardless, always completely realistic. There are people who proudly voice the propaganda for the viewpoint of art for art's sake.

They act as though they had brought out something new and made a substantial contribution to the treasure of reason in art and letters. Actually they have merely "imported" some viewpoints from foreign, modern, revisionism into our Country in a tasteless, half-baked manner.

For example, when some guy following foreign, modern revisionism when analyzing a film comes out with the primary rule "Destroy the basic cause of life" and encourage the creator "It is not necessary to expound from an intimate objective rule (Lo Gich)", then over here someone immediately seizes this viewpoint and also "comes out" with the primary rule "Destroy the basic cause of life" also stimulating "creation" it being, not necessary to obey the order of life. Many similar examples can be cited. We must immediately eliminate the stupidity of swallowing whole, the outdated and reactionary viewpoints of foreign countries camouflaged under a dazzling "revealing", "sticking-out", novel mantle; eliminate the sources of these stupidities immediately, in our peoples' thinking and reshape foreign learning and its characteristic: lacking of independent thought. Foreign learning is an object worthy of encouragement but the learning that is without any sense is the blind, swallowing of whatever our subjective selves reveals as new. Especially while the bunch following modern revisionism wears a false mantle of Marxism-Leninism, let's seek every possible means to gain control of the international communist movement in all its facets, then it is increasingly necessary to broaden our field of perception (Canh Giac), to distinguish where is the firm truth of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of our Party and where lie the principles of modern revisionism in whatever form they may take.

Because of original work in reason is still weak, still possessed of a number of points of indecision, it is therefore not yet able to react quickly in the work of expounding (Phat Hien) on a manner, is not yet in time, in praising those works which are good and criticising those which are poor. There are times when a matter will be expounded upon and among us will be an individual who has it in mind to argue that certain works are unwholesome, evil and reactionary. But the first critical articles in the two volume critique Into Life and Piling Up Trash (Volume I) are one example. Suong Tan (The Clearing of the Mist) by Hoang Tien is a work containing many bad viewpoints which have long since suffered examination and judgment passed upon them, but the people engaged in reason and criticism continually waver and even submit newspaper articles in their favor.

Criticism must rely on a primary rule of idealistic principles. [They] must not praise what they like, belittle what they hate as they see fit, and out of fear of hurting the feelings of the author, noticing and reacting

to errors yet not daring to say anything about it, it is evermore the case that criticism must not become too "buddy-buddy".

One other crucial factor in our critical work is that very often articles will lack any definite tendency: will introduce a product without having made a careful selection, praise or belittle, indiscriminately according to a pattern of eclecticism without accurately reflecting Party principles and naturally minus the spirit of struggle for the way and literary viewpoint of the Party. A line of criticism lacking in the idea of a primary rule like this can only induce people to careless speech and actions, spreading separate tastes among the people and changing their standards of artistic appraisal, publicizing the technique here, the art here following the viewpoint of art for arts' sake, either forgetting completely or else regarding too lightly a scientific analysis of the thought content and the art of the object.

All of the failings and hesitancies mentioned above are manifestations of a lacking of Party spirit on the part of reason and criticism. These are the principle difficulties to be overcome. Naturally, we must take into account shortcomings in another direction, other weaknesses. These are the manifestations of simple, mechanical viewpoints which do not attend precisely to the unique aspects of the object, the shape of the art, the method of the artist, does not analyze the artistic image nor compare each aspect of the artistic product with the corresponding aspect in the way, the policy of the Party.

III

Practical literature is presently making pressing demands upon us to exert our strength in upholding the spirit of struggle, of science and of the masses in the work of reason and criticism.

Socialist literature is a morale weapon of the Socialist Revolution. Reason and criticism must illuminate this point, pointing out for men of literature just what it is they must struggle against, what to protect and promote, and evaluate according to the principles of the ideals of the social classes and the revolutionary viewpoints of Socialism.

Principally due to our lack of a spirit of struggle and reasonable content there is, as yet, no action which is truly pushing literature forward. Men engaged in literary tasks do not yet conceive and act as warriors standing constantly in the front ranks of the Party's intellectual front. It is true that we do have a good spirit of responsibility, a basis for study and we are able to cope with the difficulties which arise in thinking and writing; but these things are solely the responsibility of the average individuals engaged in the introduction of reason and literary evaluation. We still lack the courage or the bearing of a Beletskii, a Gorki or a Rodan .

We are, as yet, either unrecognized or timid and afraid. As for promoting, we do not yet promote selectively, as for evaluation, we do not yet evaluate systematically.

The things which we put out are generally superficial, mediocre, fragmentary, and false, not yet the key items. The life and substance of Arts and Letters. We still lack the reactions, the sharpness of a real warrior. There are times when we lack self-confidence.

Because we do not yet have a firm grasp of truth and reality and still lack revolutionary ardor, we generally have to avoid thorny matters. It must be said that those engaged in reason and criticism work do not, as yet, have a thoroughly scientific attitude, Marxism-Leninism is determined to protect truth and to struggle resolutely against the mistakes which obscure or contradict truth, therefore, we must have consideration of fear and collision or conversely attacks upon the individual, denials of our efforts.

This is one among many reasons why a problem when it is set forth is not completely resolved. The poor circumstance of a number of artistic products which leave many people muddled in their thinking is not good for Arts and Letters in service to the administration, that will give timely service to the masses, etc., . . . will give rise to a situation which is too simple and sketchy in creativity. They don't seem to realize that the sad state of affairs is due, first of all, to a lack on the part of the basic nature of the authors and certainly not because the authors

adhere to the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism in the field of creativity.

Actually, outside of these poor products, our literature has had a number of good works. Why is it that we have yet to make a positive expression of these successes, allowing us to disregard the false arguments, the indefinite realizations?

Lacking the revolutionary spirit to protect the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism regarding literature and over-emphasizing the unique character of Arts and Letters, a number of people hastily drew the conclusion that these truths are no longer of any use to creativity in reason and criticism.

The spirit of struggle and confidence placed in Marxism-Leninism, the way and the literary principles of our Party is a spirit of struggle and confidence placed in a secure, scientific establishment. The task of reason and literature is not the "Anger of Reason But the Reason of Anger".

(2) [See Note]

It has a strong expression when ardor is mixed with a scientific spirit. The primary laws of Marxism-Leninism is science; the revolution of science in life, in the structure of society, in the way of examining phenomena and the thinking of the species of man. The field of Art and Letters is a complete area of study, the people working in reason and criticism cannot allow themselves to lightly regard the spirit of science.

[NOTE]: Text of Footnote (2) - Marx: Loi Noi Dau Cuon "Phe Phan Triet Hoc Phap Luat Cua He-Ghen" (Foreword and Afterword, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law") Vietnamese Edition, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Page 9.)

Science as pragmatism has been emphasized enough, following its objective stipulation has helped us to make many definite advances. The work of reason and criticism still lacks a scientific spirit, above all else it is in this area that we are still without practical results.

Many of our undertakings in reason and criticism have had a limited effect because the resulting works have had no practical significance, lacked in the essential facts of life and literature, as a matter of policy authors do not generally work from close observation of life nor from a research of literary works, but based only upon subjective reasoning, upon their own personal bias, and very often conceal their own deficiencies by taking advantage of the authority of the classics.

The spirit of science in reason and critical work demands that we know how to think independently on a Marxist-Leninist basis in conjunction with Vietnamese practicality. It objects to repetition, to frequent copying when it leads in the direction of the swallowing whole the reactionary viewpoints of revisionism; it also objects to borrowing "without a contract, contract". (Khong Co Khe Uoc, Van Tu).

Scientific searching in the work of reason and criticism also demands our

heritage include an evaluation and proper development of the work of those who have gone before us as well as our contemporaries. For some time now there have been none too few individuals who have written without looking to see who has written before, as they, how they wrote or where they stopped, so as to then correct the errors, supplement and further creation. There are many problems which arose a long time ago which they treat as completely new. Principally because of this many authors have parroted each others ideas in the conscience-less manner of a reason and criticism literary group. There are instances of greed, "bravely", someone in his desire to resolve great problems on paper and conscious that his pen is all-powerful; will, with insufficient documents build a system of thought drawing arbitrary conclusions, unaware that science is a continuous, extended contribution, long-lasting and filled with hardship. The scientific spirit demands that we continually search for what is new. There will always be creations and contributions by brilliant individuals (Chinh Minh) and if we wish to contribute, to create, we must always master the history of the problem, contemporize our knowledge on a firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism, practical life and practical literature.

"Study, Study More, Study Forever." There are the precious words of the great Lenin. Beletskii also said: "Thought is activity, and every activity must always accompany motion. Thought is dialectical thinking . . . motion or development is the life and substance of thought." (3) See Note. Reason is the manifestation of thought. It demands friction, contrast, comparison with pragmatism and other forms of reason and with the fundamental character of thought in order to expand, become enriched and never come to a standstill.

NOTE: Text of Footnote (3) - Bi-e-lin-ski (Beletskii): "Luan Van Triet Hoc Chon Loc" (Selected Philosophical Essays), French Edition, Foreign Language Press, Moscow, 1951, Page 238).

The scientific spirit also demands that we firmly grasp the unique character of literature. Every science has its fundamental object. Its method is determined by its object. Experimental work reveals that because we have not yet combined the popular truths of Marxism-Leninism relative to the class struggle and all forms of social consciousness, with the unique character of literature (this combination has a fundamental nature), therefore, we have not yet achieved an analytical attitude nor of profound synthesis that we may adequately appraise the worthy achievements of artistic labor and that we may take steps toward the development of all national, literary materials.

By this means (we hope) to bring about fresh conclusions in all branches of creativity, criticism, and to treat the areas of historical and popular aesthetic taste. If appreciation of literature's unique character can

raise up its social, administrative, and thought content then reason and criticism can together be effective in education, thought and taste for the masses. The task of analyzing literature according to its unique character does not entail the work of reason and criticism entering the direction of a search for pure skill or the promoting of formalism. The work of reason and criticism has proper significance only when it allows people to thoroughly understand that only when thoughts, deep sentiments and proper, administrative achievements alter the image of the active life is a total value brought to literature.

The spirit of struggle of the task of reason and criticism demands that we build this work upon the foundation of the masses with its content also organized in a like manner.

The subjects which are brought out in literature must issue forth from the needs of the people. We must regularly research carefully the contents of the literary products for the masses in order to pick out the reasonable subjects from literary criticism, to guide entertainment and literary creativity.

Socialist literature aims principally to reflect the life of the masses, portray the new man, the new life presently blooming among the masses. Socialist literature serves the masses directly; the best literary products must have ideals and a profound sense of humanity, etc.,

As many of these matters become elementary truths, then the establishment of reason and literary criticism will not be restricted to those few individuals with a good literary standard. In these facts, the popularization of reason in an inspiring manner is essential toward the raising the standard of the masses with regards to entertainment and observation of literature and art. This is with the idea of forming within the masses a broad-minded public which participates in ever greater numbers in literary life. Therefore, slowly achieving the position of a people in vital control of a progressive, attractive literature for the Nation and all men.

On the other hand, reason and literature can only become sharp weapons in the struggle against Faddism, reactionary or backward literature, build and expand socialist literature only when it truly represents the voice of the masses.

Finally, understanding the nature of the masses in the broader sense the task of reason and literature demands a firm union, a profound sympathy, among the three classes of creative people: entertainment, those engaged in the task of reason and criticism, and those engaged in literary research. The creative person must have an abundant life, have a profound, reasonable attitude and the love and respect of his readers. The man engaged in the task of criticism and reason must have the soul of an artist, at the same time having a thorough, profound knowledge of

society. Persons in popular literature need to unite with other writers to seek a logical understanding of literature. Such concepts as propose that only creative individuals may understand creative individuals, only the cultured man may criticize and discuss culture or that the creative individual can do without reason, or that reason causes a withering, a loss of sympathy, capacity for enjoyment, etc., are false and unwholesome. A literature which would develop completely must do so in accord with creativity, criticism, reason, research and a public standard.

"A people who would stand at the pinnacle of science yet are not possessed of a reasonable nature, cannot succeed." (4) See Note. This rationalism must today bear the spirit of the Communist Party.

This rationalism is Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with Vietnamese practicalness. Only with supreme confidence, endeavoring to express all of our Nation's literary achievements from past to present "The knowledge to discard reactionary tendencies . . . , the knowledge to utilize our way, and struggle against the entire way of all influences and all classes which oppose us" . (5) See Note, can this rationalism develop. We must be sure to struggle that Vietnamese, Socialist literature may become radiant with all the brilliance of reason and criticism.

(NOTE): Text of Footnote (4) - Ang-Ghen (Engels): "Phep Bien Chung Cua Tu Nhien" (Dialectics of Nature), French Edition, Society Publishers, Paris, 1952, Page 51.)

(NOTE): Text of Footnote (5) - Lenin: "Chu Nghia Duy Vat Va Chu Nghia Kinh Nghiem Phe Phan" (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism), Vietnamese Edition, Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Page 480.)

LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION OF VIETNAM, AND
OUR FUTURE PLANS

- North Vietnam -

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Hoc-Tap (Study), Hanoi, 4 July 1964, No 7,
pages 1-8.]

Ten years have passed, years of painful struggle. However, these years have been the glory of the South Vietnamese people and of the people throughout our country who oppose US imperialists and their puppet henchmen. They are doing this in order to put into effect the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. Since US imperialist policy is one of intervention and invasion, the unification of Vietnam, the highest aspiration of our people, has not been implemented as the Geneva Agreements had prescribed. The US imperialists are proceeding with an armed invasion of South Vietnam attempting to turn our divided country into a neo-colonialist American military base.

Therefore, the people of South Vietnam are manifesting their determination and developing an unswerving will for close democratic unity and an armed struggle, as they have done in the past ten years, and therefore have won great victories, forcing the enemy into a "Street without Joy."

We are not alone in world opinion and, even now, all over America, there is incessant talk of a new Dien Bien Phu, a new Geneva for the problem of South Vietnam.

In honor of 20 July, this year we ought to take a backward look at the paths we have tread upon, and commemorate what were the costs of the victories we have won; we ought to realize that the road ahead leads to a complete

victory in the struggle to liberate South Vietnam, the step towards achieving a peaceful unification of our Fatherland.

(I)

If there had not been a victorious resistance, there would not have been a 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indo-China. In that treaty, for the first time in history, all the colonialist nations were forced to recognize the legality of the independence of a colony whose people had taken up arms in the struggle for self-liberation.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements not only extinguished the fires of war which had threatened to spread, but they also were aimed at eliminating colonialism on the Indo-Chinese peninsula and guaranteeing a lasting peace in Indo-China. In that sense, the 1954 Geneva Agreements were a painful defeat for US and French imperialism. The US delegation, in refusing to sign the treaty and in recognizing the treaty in a separate verbal declaration intended, in the US imperialistic way, to use "ngam bo hon lam ngot" [Vietnamese proverb, meaning "To suffer shame and obliquy, whilst showing a smiling face," or "The mouth does not know bitterness while it tastes sugar"], gave us foreknowledge at the same time that the hidden intentions of the Americans would be to sabotage the treaty from then on.

In reality, the US imperialists used the French defeat to surplant the French and substitute their own heel for the French in South Vietnam. They set up a puppet government in the South representative of a gang of feudal landowners and capitalists who had sold out to the Americans. The US imperialists and their puppets refused to implement the basic clauses of the Geneva Agreements aimed at unifying Vietnam by a free and nationwide general election by July, 1956. They shamefully violated all of the important clauses which forbade a foreign country from setting up military bases in South Vietnam, and which forbade the South Vietnamese authorities from allying themselves with a foreign country. They trampled shamelessly upon those clauses concerning democratic freedoms which forbade persecution and torture of former resistance personnel, etc. The US imperialists reverted to "the most infamous repressions and the most horrible outrages against our people" (Report of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Lao Dong Party at the Third National Congress, September 1960.)

Even the peace had been re-established in a completely liberated North Vietnam; in the South under the yoke of brazen interference of the US imperialists and their puppet henchmen, the sound of gunfire has not been silenced for the past ten years. After dealing with all of the French-sponsored factions, the Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai, and the Hoa Hao,

the US imperialists and their puppet henchmen started a war which in reality was a carefully concealed plot to liquidate the people's revolutionary forces in the southern part of our country. From the "anti-communist" campaigns to the special policy of purging former resistance personnel in bloody repressions in accordance with the 1959 fascist laws [Law 10/59], the US imperialists came in to commence mopping up operations aimed at sweeping people into Malayan-style concentration camps and into areas which were called "secure areas." This brought the South Vietnamese people to the point where they would have to choose between two roads, either take up arms and fight for their lives, or else surrender and be liquidated. The South Vietnamese people, a part of the heroic Vietnamese peoples who had just won out over the imperialistic French invasion through a long armed struggle were determined to choose the former road. This was the road to a resolute struggle to protect their independence and freedom which the Geneva Accords had recognized. To rephrase the argument throughout the first years, from 1954 to 1959, the South Vietnamese people had waged a brave political struggle during peacetime, requesting democratic freedoms, improvement of their standard of living, peaceful reunification of their country as the Geneva Agreements had prescribed. However the US imperialists and their puppet henchmen did not believe in the framework of legal process and did not cease using death-dealing armed might and destruction and so the South Vietnamese people were forced -- rightfully so -- into the use of armed might to protect their very lives and property.

The main thing that occurred was that the South Vietnamese people made a coordinated changeover from political struggle to armed struggle determined to sever the bloody American-Diemist fist. Therefore, in the middle of 1959, guerrilla warfare emerged. The South Vietnamese people used all kinds of enthusiasm and zeal in liberating many rural areas from the stifling yoke of the enemy in conjunction with a general concomitant stabilization of the situation. In December 1960, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was established with a broadly-based legalistic platform which transformed the patriotic fighting movement of our southern compatriots and advanced it to new heights.

From the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962, and thereafter, the US imperialists advanced another step -- direct armed invasion of the southern part of our country. Taking a leaf from all the past anti-revolutionary books of world imperialism, the US imperialists devised the three-point Staley-Taylor Plan which aimed at liquidating the revolution in South Vietnam and partitioning our country, to wit:

1. Pacify South Vietnam in eighteen months and, at the same time, unleash counter-guerrillas and spies, and set up a provocative counter-revolutionary framework of sabotage in North Vietnam.

2. Dominate the economy, increase the build-up in South Vietnam and stress sabotage of North Vietnam.

3. Develop the South Vietnamese economy for the northward advance.

In order to achieve the above plan, the US imperialists established the US Military Command in Saigon, going all-out in bringing in soldiers, stressing the build-up of their forces and the increased supplies of modern weapons and war material to the South Vietnamese Army -- especially helicopters -- applying new tactics such as "vertical [*i.e.*, helicopter] mobility" and the development of the puppet army's mobility, the use of chemical poisons as a means of war, etc., with large and powerful forces and the wherewithal of savage warfare. They began thousands of deceptive mopping-up operations in order to liquidate the revolutionary armed forces which had the sympathetic affection of the people, and assembled the citizenry into "strategic hamlets" aimed at "disassociating" the people from the revolution and forcing the isolation of cadres, and guerrillas from the people so that "the fish would be separated from the water."

This war of invasion which the US imperialists are waged in South Vietnam at present is the most monumental conflict in the world. The US imperialists are using South Vietnam as a focal point for their new military strategy of "special warfare." Their aim in this type of warfare is to sabotage the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world.

In the face of such a situation, what ought the people to do? The answer is quite clear. The people must coordinate the political struggle with the armed struggle in order to repulse the enemy, to stamp out, liquidate, and decimate the enemy forces and proceed to force the US imperialists out of South Vietnam or else liquidate them on the spot.

For more than two years now, the heroic South Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have undergone tremendous difficulties and hardship setting up the complicated form of the struggle and have won great victories, politically as well as militarily.

Many arduous attempts have been made in strategy and tactics by the people and the South Vietnamese Liberation Army; modern American weapons have been rendered ineffective as we had hoped they would. Guerrilla warfare is developing, the people's armed forces have not only been kept from liquidation, they have been speedily built up, winning many

glorious battles due to their fighting will. The political struggle has also developed into channels largely unseen in the historic revolutionary struggle of our people. The policy of setting up strategic hamlets which the US imperialists encouraged is bankrupt.

The people's victory, and the defeat of the enemy, has caused rapid internal contradictions within the enemy camp to develop. The Americans had to organize an anti-Diem coup to purge a number of powerful puppets in their front ranks, in the high levels of the government and who were deeply resented by the people. A new coup followed the old. Horses were changed in the middle of the stream but the policy of invasion was retained. The US imperialistic stratagem of 'changing horses' and fiendish slogans still could not solve those contradictions deepening daily between the two sides. On the one hand there were the people of South Vietnam, on the other the US imperialists and their puppet henchmen together with a number of daily arising insolvable contradictions within the US imperialist puppet gang holding power in South Vietnam.

There are also different opinions within the internal ranks of the brazen Americans arising from the concept of the anti-revolutionary policy in South Vietnam. There are deepening contradictions amid imperialists of the South-east Asia bloc and the NATO bloc, especially between France and the United States. Because they had abdicated power to the US in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the Far East, the French imperialists do not acquiesce to the US war policy in South Vietnam.

The prestige of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam increases daily, the South Vietnamese revolutionary movement becomes stronger every day and the peoples of the world have confidence in it and accord it wide support.

It is exactly as Chairman Ho Chi-minh has said: "The past ten years in South Vietnam have been years of brave struggle and glorious victories. The patriotic South Vietnamese forces have gone through all kinds of suffering and hardship, and the more they fight, the stronger they become; the stronger they become, the more they win. The more the US imperialists lose the more they fight; the more they suffer, the more they lose. At present the peoples of the world and the whole of American public opinion have realized that the US imperialist's war of invasion in South Vietnam will go down in defeat." (Chairman Ho Chi-minh, Report to the Special Political Conference, 27 March 1964, Hanoi.)

(II)

At present the war of liberation in South Vietnam

has turned out to be different from the previous people's national resistance. Since the Independence of our country was recognized by the 1954 Geneva Accords brought about by our people winning out over the French colonialists, and since the international balance of power has changed in favor of Revolution and against Imperialism, it is impossible, therefore, for the US imperialists to intervene directly in South Vietnam as the French imperialists had done before them. According to their neo-colonist policy, US interference in South Vietnam is transmitted through a puppet government. When they proceed with their war of invasion, it is essential that they use puppet military forces in line with their new type of war of invasion and in conjunction with neo-colonialism, at present it is ESSENTIALLY A WAR OF INVASION AND COUNTER-INVASION AND, AT THE SAME TIME, CLOSE-COMBAT EVERYWHERE. The US imperialists and their puppets use military strategems mainly, but in order for them to control the people and take away our support, it is impossible for them not to use demagoguery and political strategems. Thus, they achieve a policy of using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese; using a war to feed upon itself.

Our people must not only study and learn from the previous experiments of former revolutionary and resistance struggles, they must also benefit from the new lessons and experiments of actual fighting against the Americans and their puppets in South Vietnam at the present time in order to pave the way for more successful forms of the struggle to defeat neo-colonialism and the US imperialists' "special warfare." Those lessons and experiments can be summarized as follows:

1. Immediately following the re-establishment of peace, the Party clearly stated that WE MUST COMPLETE THE REVOLUTIONARY MISSION AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES OF THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN SOUTH VIETNAM. We realize that perilous imperialism, especially US imperialism, would never relinquish its prerogatives, never desire peace. Defeated militarily and forced to recognize the 1954 Geneva Accords, they sought means of sabotaging the implementation of the treaty as soon as it was signed by permanently dividing our Fatherland and making over the southern part of our country into a neo-colonial nation and an American military base. Therefore, the revolutionary mission among the democratic peoples is as yet incomplete and we are determined that it shall continue. The struggle to request implementation of the Geneva Accords, to request a peaceful unification of the Fatherland, as prescribed in the Geneva Accords, is in reality the liberation of South Vietnam from the yoke of the imperialists and their puppet henchmen. "The struggle to achieve a unified country is the clear fulfillment of the revolutionary struggle with its long period of hardship and

mobilization against the US imperialists and their puppet henchmen in South Vietnam." (Political Report of the Third National Congress, September 1960.)

In the midst of the struggle, there could possibly be a form of unification, step by step, "within a framework of agreements between both sides in common discussion based upon some middle ground, without either side using coercion or force." (Political Report of the Third National Congress, Sept 1960.) However, the main goal is one Vietnam, peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and strong. While North Vietnam has a revolutionary socialism and is constructing socialism, the revolution in South Vietnam is still in the stage of a democratic people's revolution. The revolutionary mission in the south is still to overthrow imperialism and that gang of feudalists and capitalists who have sold out to them. It is certainly not yet time to completely abolish the system of man's exploitation of man.

Naturally, the revolutions in the two parts of the country are mutually influential, but it is still true that the two revolutionary strategies are different from each other in needs and aims. They are absolutely not to be confused with one another.

We will not be hoodwinked by the use of imperialistic tricks and we are not going to allow them to camouflage themselves in the neo-colonist mottoes of "nation," "independence," "republic," or "democracy". From the beginning of the anti-US imperialist, anti-puppet revolutionary struggle, we have maintained that the methods to be used are to make the South Vietnamese people realize their chief aim, win their hearts, affirm the struggle, and win great victories as we are doing at the present time.

2. THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION ARE PRESENTLY BEING DEALT WITH CORRECTLY, THAT IS TO SAY, TO CORRECTLY COORDINATE THE TWO MISSIONS OF PROTEST AND ANTI-FEUDALISM, providing broadly-backed legalistic policies aimed at mobilizing all our forces against the US imperialists and their puppets, accentuating the contradictions which divide their ranks, liquidating the differences of opinion between our people and the peoples of the world and at the same time resolving correctly the problems of the peasants.

Really, the slogan "overthrow US imperialists" fits in with "The South, Peaceful and Neutral." This serves to mobilize opinion against the US and their accomplices, to light the fires of actual defense, first of all. It divides the ranks of the imperialists -- the high-ranking US imperialists in this case -- and it shows that we deserve the support of the whole world. Based on the slogan "Colonialism is declining, we are progressing towards a solution to the problem of land for the peasants so each farmer will have

fields to plow," with practical implementation the peasant will be solidly for the revolution strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants, the framework of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. At the same time, the slogans must coincide with the prerogatives of a people's proletariat and all the other classes of people mobilized under the banner of the National Liberation Front and allied with patriots and other anti-Americans and in compliance with the National Liberation Front's political basis. The National Liberation Front is not only to hold high the banners of the people and democracy, mobilizing any patriotic and progressive Vietnamese within its ranks, but it is to affirm each person's attitude of unity and to organize them against the Americans and their puppets even though they are not yet in sympathy with the National Liberation Front, or else are not yet prepared to travel with the National Liberation Front.

In short, the policy of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is to unite everyone who can unite with us, to make everyone fight who is able to do so, to neutralize any power that can be neutralized, and to use the US imperialists and their puppets to overthrow themselves. It is mainly due to a firm hold on the banner of the unity of the struggle against the US imperialists and their puppets that the forces of the National Liberation Front have been so strongly developed to the point where the US imperialists and their power-holding gang are forced to recognize that the National Liberation Front is "the principal organization to emerge triumphant over them and it is the organization which has the decisive power to better the situation in South Vietnam." (Political Report of the Second Congress of the National Liberation Front.)

3. The best experiment of the previous resistance was that a small people who are fighting the invasion of a gang of imperialists with a large and powerful army and large material forces MUST SECURE A COMMON STRATEGY OF POPULAR RESISTANCE AND ATTACK THE ENEMY'S REAR. Today, once again, that is being done in South Vietnam. Our people in South Vietnam are striking back but we must fight ceaselessly for time to gain strength and fight; the balance of power between ourselves and the enemy must change. We, who are the weaker, must become the stronger. The enemy, who are stronger, must become placid and the weaker in the final analysis. It is we who will triumph over the enemy.

In comparison with the earlier anti-French resistance, the war of liberation in the South is presently developing its principles and procedures to achieve certain victory. These have been developed during countless years of fighting against outside intervention. That is the destiny of the greatness of North Vietnamese socialism, a focal

point of the world revolution and a secure framework in the struggle aimed at achieving the peaceful unification of our country and the world socialist order now being developed by all peoples. That is the greatness and strength of the people's liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the beachheads of imperialism, whose leader is the US. This leads to the development of a peace movement and a drive for democracy among the peoples of the capitalist countries, of which so many Americans are in sympathy and support the supreme struggle of our people. In reply to this, we say that this phase of general oppression by world capitalism at this time finds imperialism caught between contradictions that are growing deeper each day and which are weakening it; the ringleader of imperialism being the US who is invading South Vietnam. It is the US who will invade South Vietnam. It is the US who will be the most sternly beaten of all imperialists. They have been defeated from China to Korea, from Indo-China to Cuba, etc. Their hopes are great, but their forces are waning. They divide their forces to cope with many trouble spots, therefore, by holding this spot [*i.e.*, South Vietnam] as well as all the other places, they spread themselves too thinly and they cannot secure any place! With these pre-conditions, the will to fight, and a permanent self-defense, this is all that is necessary. The South Vietnamese people have enough pre-conditions and potential to start a chain of events, good for them, and harmful to the enemy, enough to win great victories, and progress towards complete victory.

4. One more great experiment of our people in the midst of the revolutionary struggle was "the keen coordination of the armed struggle with the political struggle." (Political Report of the Third National Congress, Sept 1960.)

It is being applied skillfully in the present war of liberation in South Vietnam.

Really, when military force is used mainly against the revolution, the US imperialists and their puppets have to use political stratagems to hoodwink the people; therefore, the people have to use the strategic policy of "so close they are back to back" to cope with them. The movement of political struggle of the masses is pre-conditioned to develop this to a high degree. The masses have been organized into political units comprising millions of people throughout the country in order to fight the enemy everywhere and anywhere. The military struggle and the political struggle have been coordinated in many respect; we ought not have merely a liberation army without "a political army of the masses to harrass the enemy in their rear or front." The political struggle is supplementary to, and synonymous with, the armed struggle since the people must use revolutionary warfare to combat counter-revolutionary warfare and

liberate themselves. This is the only way to crush the neo-colonist American yoke by armed struggle and guarantee a revolutionary victory in South Vietnam. We can describe the situation in South Vietnam by saying that revolutionary violence demands iron discipline. Therefore, political struggle cannot be lacking since the political struggle along with the rest of the composite stance is the only way towards the political solidarity and enthusiasm of all the ranks of the people. This is essential to the completion of the task of overcoming the enemy given the pre-conditions in South Vietnam as they are at the present time.

Both aspects -- the political struggle and the military struggle -- are included in the solution to the war of liberation in South Vietnam. It is especially the correct coordination of these two points that will spell great victories for the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam. In this regard, the armed struggle is being politically transformed, and vice versa, especially in comparison with the enemy. The South Vietnamese people are not only fighting the enemy militarily and politically but morally as well. Our psychological warfare mission is aimed at lowering the enemy's military morale and is playing a most important role in the revolutionary war.

To fight the war of invasion in South Vietnam, the enemy uses the military forces of the puppet government mostly. Our correct policy must be based on breaking down that army's ideology and organization. At present, the US press and the gang of US advisers are interfering with them daily, rapidly lowering their puppet governments' defense morale. Chairman Ho Chi-minh correctly stated that "the South Vietnamese army springs from the Vietnamese; for what reason would they want to follow American orders and shoot their own people dead! As the days pass, they will begin to rebel and to seek out ways to turn their guns against the gang of sell-outs and traitors." (Chairman Ho Chi-minh: Report to the Special Political Conference, 27 March 1964.)

Essentially, in summary, we realize that in reality the US imperialists will never change; that the horses may change but never the riders; at least not for a long while. The people will not be fooled. Despite tricks, the people will not succumb. We reply that the South Vietnamese revolution has its roads, methods, correct strategy, mass unity, mass recruitment and mass activity. It is a long struggle and, steadfastly, we are determined to win the final victory. This is the great moment, carried from victory to victory during the past. That is the best proof to overwhelm any discord from those who believe in revisionism and the peaceful intentions or strength of the US imperialists.

(III)

Ten years of struggle against the US imperialists and their puppets in South Vietnam, especially in the last two years, have brought great victories to our people in South Vietnam. A comparison of forces in South Vietnam shows a slow shift in our favor. Two-thirds of the arable land in South Vietnam has been liberated and over one-half of the South Vietnamese people have been freed. Life in the liberated areas has improved; over one and one-half million hectares of land have been placed in the hands of the peasants. The material and cultural life of our countrymen in the liberated areas has been improved in every way. The prestige of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has increased inside as well as outside the country.

However, the US imperialists still cannot face up to reality. The Taylor group in coming to Saigon will prove themselves to be powerless in achieving an increase in their balance of power, improving the conduct of the war, or in trying to win a few victories so their puppet, can increase his sphere of influence. They will not stabilize the situation any more than to succumb quickly in South Vietnam or else hang on in spite of a series of defeats from now on until the US presidential election this coming November. At the same time, the US imperialists are going all-out in mobilizing allies and foreign-aid recipients for the US war in South Vietnam so these participants can share the heavy American responsibility there and especially where the US is politically without support on the international scene. Even more, they seek ways to have the UN intervene in South Vietnam and Cambodia in order to make a legal pretense at their invasionary activities which are at the bottom of their savage crime. They plot to increase their nefarious activities, their sabotage of North Vietnam and their preparations for an expansion of the war into North Vietnam by hoodwinking us with the subterfuge "advancing in order to defend."

Confronted with such a situation, the peoples of the world must increase their determination to repulse them and prepare to cope with any plot or new strategem of the US.

If we are not to accede to the US imperialists, the peoples of the world must realize that the only way we can force them to implement the 1954 Geneva Accords on Indo-China is through the determination to struggle, the blocking of all of their plots and strategems, making them realize that the more evil they do, the worse will be their defeat.

In spite of everything, the South Vietnamese people are going to go all-out, increasing their forces in every way with the aim of liquidating, abolishing, and dispersing the enemy's armed forces, crushing his plots to control the

people with strategic hamlets or to liquidate our armed forces and which figure so grandly in the strategy of McNamara's and overall plan for South Vietnam in 1964.

Our people in North Vietnam are determined to raise their patriotic morale, to stress the emulation movement of "every person will work double so that they can set aside for their impatient countrymen in South Vietnam," go all-out in labor production, construct socialism in North Vietnam, Strive for defense, increase protection of the north, and energetically support their southern countrymen's revolution of liberation. The people of North Vietnam must complete the 1964 State Plan well and prepare to complete the first Five-Year Plan, strengthen the value of becoming a framework of security and strength for the public struggle aimed at achieving a peaceful unification of their country.

At present, because of severe defeats in South Vietnam, the US imperialists are plotting to increase their dastardly activities and sabotage in the north. The people of the north must realize that this is an imperialist American plot and will not cease to increase watchfulness and preparations to deal with any eventuality. We must prevent, immediately, those wayward gangs of counterrevolutionaries, gangs of spies, guerrillas, gangs of religious opportunists, and gangs of plotters, so they cannot complement or give encouragement to the American imperialistic framework of sabotage of the north in order to foment rebellion. We need to prepare the necessary pre-conditions for achieving the manifesto of our National Assembly: "If the American imperialists and their puppet henchmen attempt to expand the war to the north, all the countrymen of the north, millions of people, will rise as one along with their countrymen in the south to defeat them."

Internationally, we need to increase international propaganda, to fight for greater recognition and wider, stronger, and more substantial support from the peoples of the world, from the peoples of socialist nations, from the democracies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, from the national liberation movements, and peace and democratic movements, throughout the world in sympathy with the struggle of our South Vietnamese countrymen. We must direct special attention to the recognition and support of the American people, believing firmly that peace-loving and conscientious Americans who have raised their voices in protest against the American imperialist policy of invasion will struggle, day by day, even more energetically in fighting their own war of invasion in South Vietnam, a war of slaughter and wanton destruction which is a blemish on America.

The peoples of South Vietnam are struggling victoriously against the US imperialists and their puppets, the people of North Vietnam are achieving good results in the

construction of socialism; the people of all socialist countries and the peoples of the world are energetically supporting the liberation struggle in South Vietnam and the struggle aimed at achieving a peaceful unification of Vietnam which is the assured way of achieving the preservation of legality, in accordance with the problem of South Vietnam. As Chairman Ho Chi-minh has pointed out:

1. The US Government, as well as the government of each country participating in the 1954 Geneva convocation on Indo-China, must fulfill correctly their agreement to respect the de jure authority, independence, unification, and sovereign territory of Vietnam and not intervene in the internal affairs of Vietnam.

Just as with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the authorities in South Vietnam must achieve implementation of the essential military clauses in the Geneva Accords: No participation in a military alliance with a foreign country; allow no foreign country to establish military bases; receive no foreign military agents on the soil of their country.

2. The US Government must cease the American war of invasion in the southern part of Vietnam, they must withdraw their army and US weapons from the South so that the internal affairs of South Vietnam can be resolved by the people of South Vietnam themselves in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

3. The problem of the peaceful unification of Vietnam is the concern of the Vietnamese peoples; that problem will be solved according to the spirit of the platform of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

We have a secure basis upon which to say that our people are determined to win the final victory: Liberation of South Vietnam and the peaceful unification of the Fatherland. The most important thing is that the whole citizenry of North Vietnam as well as those of South Vietnam must have sufficient fortitude, must strive to overcome with a resolute faith, that the revolutionary way which they have set out upon is correct.

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OUR EFFORTS TO LIBERATE THE PEOPLE
WILL BE COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL

- North Vietnam -

[Following is a translation of an article by Hong Chuong in the Vietnamese-language publication Hoc Tap (Study), No. 7, Hanoi, July 1964, pages 16-29.]

This year is the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreement on Indo-China which recognized the independence, unity and territorial rights of the three Indo-Chinese countries of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The past ten years have been years during which the American imperialists have not ceased their efforts to violate the clauses of the Geneva agreement, have not ceased intervening in the internal affairs of the Indo-Chinese countries and because of this they have met with confusion and defeat. The past ten years have also been years of heroic struggle and glorious victory for the people of Indo-China. In looking over the events of the past ten years, we can see the grand victories which we have achieved and we can be confident of a bright future for us.

The plots of the American imperialist want to invade and enslave the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to realize their neo-colonialism have manifested the concept of "filling the vacuum" in order to replace the former English and French colonialists who have been thrown out by the national liberation movements. In 1954, because of their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French colonialists had to withdraw from Indo-China and the American imperialists immediately jumped into Indo-China to "fill the vacuum." The American imperialists gathered their colonialist friends and lackeys to form a bloc to invade Southeast Asia and declared that South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were placed under the "protective umbrella" of the Southeast Asian bloc. America's plot was to replace the French administration in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, hoping to change South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos into a new type of colony and a military base so they could make preparations to attach the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, occupy all of Indo-China, change the former "French Indo-China" into "American Indo-China." In the eyes of the American imperialists,

Indo-China was a united battlefield. The recent U.S.-organized meeting of Nguyen Khanh, Phoumi Nosavan and Son Ngoc Thanh in Dalat to coordinate the activities of the American's lackeys in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia has proven this fact. The U.S. has paid special attention to South Vietnam because that is an excellent army, air force and naval base and a large source of manpower and supplies. The U.S. hopes to use South Vietnam as its primary base to conquer all of Indo-China. After she has occupied Indo-China, the U.S. will control all of Southeast Asia and will then be in line to attack Red China, a plot to occupy half of the eastern socialist world.

The aspiration of the U.S. is a large one but her capability is somewhat restricted. America wants to swallow South Vietnam, but South Vietnam is like a large, long, stiff bone caught in America's throat, causing her to "be unable to either cough it out or swallow it." America wants to control Laos but she has received a heavy blow to the jaw by the Laotian people at Nam Tha. The presence of American force in Thailand has not threatened the Laotian people. The Americans had to sign the 1962 Geneva agreement guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Laos; but recently the Americans went back on their word by organizing a coup to overthrow the Laotian government and to realize their plot for new aggression in Laos, but as a result, they received a heavy blow by the Laotian people in the *Plaine des Jarres*. The U.S. wanted to consume Cambodia but the Cambodian people have chosen to remain peacefully neutral and have looked for ways of avoiding U.S. control; the U.S. has organized two coup attempts to overthrow the Cambodian government but has been defeated both times; some of America's lackeys in Cambodia such as "Dap Chum" have been killed and some have been forced to flee such as Sam Sari and Son Ngoc Thanh; the U.S. has used her lackey armed forces in South Vietnam to attack the border with the aim of destroying the peace and neutrality of Cambodia, but they have always been forced back by the Cambodian troops and people.

America's largest defeat has been in South Vietnam. She is pouring two million dollars a day or 700 million dollars a year into South Vietnam; she has brought over 20 thousand troops, thousands of airplanes, hundreds of warships, hundreds of armored vehicles and tens of thousands of tons of arms and munitions, but America's position in South Vietnam is becoming more perilous every day. America's President Kennedy, who was assassinated last year, called America's war in South Vietnam a "prolonged struggle between sunset" and felt that America was entering "an unescapable trench" in South Vietnam. In a report to the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Appropriations, on 23 March 1964, U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara had to admit that the American situation in South Vietnam was "definitely bad" and that the lackey government of the U.S. in South Vietnam "does not have control in the rural areas." At the beginning of June 1964, McNamara declared that "the war will be long, tense and difficult," and he publicly confessed that "total victory is not within the realm of our power." In an article published in the newspaper New York Tribune on 22 April 1964, newspaperman Walter Lippman was forced to admit:

"The Saigon government holds no more than 30% of the people and during the day controls no more than one-fourth of the land area." The American press has also commented on the desertion situation in the puppet army of the South. On 18 May 1964, the New York Times *said this: "An important subject is the recent influx of desertions by the South Vietnamese, and this fact proves that a defeatist spirit is developing, and naturally the deserters are carrying American weapons with them to give to the enemy." On 16 May 1964, the newspaper New York Tribune printed: "Everyone who wants to summarize the seriously confused situation in South Vietnam must begin by observing that there has been a frightful regression ever since President Ngo Dinh Diem was killed." The British publication Observer on 23 February 1964 compared the U.S. situation in South Vietnam to "a leaf in a windstorm falling into a whirlpool." In speaking of the American situation in South Vietnam the American press has been forced to use such terms as: "from bad to worse," "the bankruptcy of American policy," "an unhappy road," "a dirty war," "pitiful," "tragic," "desperate," etc. One American reporter compared the American situation in South Vietnam to a bicycle rider being forced to keep the bicycle running or he would fall off. And this is so, America is like a poor cyclist who does not know how to ride and who also does not know how to stop it, so he has to keep going so he won't fall off but all the while he is heading for a cliff. In May 1964, American newspaperman Walter Lipman wrote on the deadlocked American situation in South Vietnam as follows: "We are assisting and carrying out a cruel war but we cannot see any end to it. There is not one indication of the end of the trench." Many foreigners often compare America's present situation in South Vietnam with the French situation in Indo-China over ten years ago just prior to the Dien Bien Phu battle. On 9 May 1964, the New York Times *** wrote: "The strange fact in Indo-China during the past ten years since the French surrender at Dien Bien Phu is that the hopeless game being played is the same, only the players have been changed. The French suffered a serious blow in battle and afterwards was pushed out of Asia and Africa. The collapse of the French military forces created an opening for the U.S. to enter. This change of one western power by another created a deadlocked situation. The U.S. inherited France's role to block the tide of communism. France inherited the role of the U.S. as a critic with maximum power." Another newspaperman said that American policy in South Vietnam "will lead to a political Dien Bien Phu." The British newspaper New Statesman wrote on 6 March 1964: "Ten years after Dien Bien Phu, the same epitaph can be written for the U.S. efforts in Vietnam." The vice chairman of the French Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee declared on 16 April 1964 that: "The Americans have lost in South Vietnam and are progressing towards a Dien Bien Phu." General De Castori, who was captured and made prisoner by us at Dien Bien Phu and then later released and is presently director of an import-export firm in France, just recently commented on the American situation in South Vietnam as follows: "In my opinion, the war in South Vietnam cannot be won. It is the time to support Ho Chi Minh." General Navarre, commander of the French Expeditionary Corps in Indo-China during 1953-1954 and presently owner of a brick factory in France, also just recently made this statement: "The (American) situation in South Vietnam has been corrupted. We must let Vietnam, together with Laos and Cambodia, form a neutral bloc."

* (James Reston) ** (Joseph Alsop) *** (Sulzberger)

The French have tasted defeat in Indo-China so they have more "feeling" than the Americans in regard to the coming peril.

On 18 May 1964, the writer, James Reston, that the American imperialists are gradually realizing the lessons learned by the French after 70 years of ruling the Indo-Chinese countries. That lesson is composed of the following three points:

1. The Vietnamese people have a very high anti-imperialist spirit;
2. The Vietnamese communists are very courageous and brazen soldiers;
3. With Vietnam bordering on China, the Vietnam question cannot be settled without the agreement of China.

The war of aggression caused by the American imperialists in South Vietnam has created many losses for the American people. Thousands of American youths have been killed and wounded. Billions of the American tax dollars have gone up in smoke in South Vietnam. The American people are realizing more and more the dangers that the war in South Vietnam are bringing to America. Movements protesting the war in South Vietnam are spreading among the American people, especially among the workers, women, youths and students. The American intellectuals have also raised their voices in protest to the American war of aggression in South Vietnam. On 2 May 1964, 6,000 Americans demonstrated in New York to protest the American war of aggression in South Vietnam. Movements protesting the war in South Vietnam have even echoed the American congress. Senator Morse, who has often protested the American war in South Vietnam called it "McNamara's war" and demanded that the American government "must cease this illogical killing of Americans in South Vietnam." On 29 April 1964, Senator Morse declared: "Every American killed in South Vietnam has been killed without reason and the hands of the American government are stained with their blood." In speaking of American-caused war in South Vietnam, this senator affirmed that "it is not a war of the people of South Vietnam... It is a war of Secretary McNamara. It is a war financed and commanded by the U.S.; America has hit the interest of one of her friends and her lackey is General Khanh." After pointing out that the U.S. "spent 97% of its budget and much American blood in South Vietnam," Senator Morse said that the U.S. "wasted too much American blood and money there" and declared: "Millions of Americans have begun to see that the time has come when we must withdraw from South Vietnam."

Another American senator who demanded that the U.S. change its policy in South Vietnam and demanded that the American soldiers in South Vietnam be returned home, declared: "All American soldiers must immediately be withdrawn from combat missions. Every dependent must be brought home right away. And we must begin the gradual task of returning our soldiers home." He, Senator Gruening, said: "That is not our war. Now is the time to withdraw before more American lives are lost."

In order to have a reason for intervening in South Vietnam, the American imperialists stated that the guerrilla war in South Vietnam was controlled and supplied with weapons from the outside. But one French specialist on South Vietnam stated that during 1962 and 1963, South Vietnamese guerrillas seized 125,000 U.S. weapons. The American press also confirmed that 90% of the weapons of the South Vietnamese guerrillas "were supplied through the U.S. assistance program." Major General Mark Johnson in the US News and World Report, on 16 March 1964 stated that: "enemies within the new South Vietnamese regime is a large problem." US Senator Morse also stated on 29 April 1964 that: "The only foreign armed force in South Vietnam is from the U.S." The American imperialists sent their most skilful politicians and commanders to South Vietnam. Those facts have still not helped America to avoid defeat. Just as with the French colonialists in the past, every time they are defeated, the American imperialists change their commanders. Politically, when Nolting was through Cabot Lodge arrived. Now Cabot Lodge is gone and Taylor has replaced him. Militarily, because of utter defeat, Harkins was removed and Westmoreland was appointed to replace him.

Although they have suffered heavily at the hands of our compatriots in the South and although the American people have strongly protested, the invading Americans stubbornly persist in waging the "special war" in South Vietnam. They are pouring more money and weapons into South Vietnam, they are raising the draft in order to increase the number of troops in the South's puppet army. They have just recently brought an additional 6,000 American troops into the South, even though General Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staffs (just appointed U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam to replace Cabot Lodge), had just announced that "bringing more American forces into South Vietnam is foolish." The American imperialists in South Vietnam are like a "thirsty" gambler who gambles and loses and loses and gambles. In dreaming of "filling the vacuum," the American imperialists have fallen into the "vacuum" like someone on a swampy road who struggles to become free but the more he struggles the deeper he sinks.

How can imperialist America, a rich, strong country standing at the head of the imperialist faction, be defeated in Laos and especially in South Vietnam? Why can the South Vietnamese and Laotian peoples defeat imperialist America and her lackeys? Those are facts which people who use quantity and quality of weapons as a measuring stick of strength will never understand.

The high-ranking American officers who have a close relationship with the American leaders have striven to find out why America and her lackeys are always being defeated in South Vietnam. A number of these people have dared to look straight at the truth and have found the cause of their defeats. On 21 April 1964, the New York Times* stated: "Based on an investigation, the lack of initiative manifested in the Vietnamese armed forces is a basic obstacle to the winning of the war against the Viet Cong. Without a spirit to win or even without a

* (Pete Grose)

spirit to struggle, all the assistance the U.S. could give or any socio-economic plan cannot mobilize an army to fight a revolutionary force with such clear objectives."

The combat spirit of the revolutionary soldiers of South Vietnam is entirely different. In speaking of the South Vietnamese guerrillas, the New York Tribune on 9 December 1963 stated: "How can you fight an enemy that has the capability of hiding under the mud all day and only breathe out of a reed? The Viet Cong can continue the war indefinitely. They mingle among the rural people." The above newspapers have realized a basic fact: human spirit determines the outcome of a war.

Why do the Southern revolutionary soldiers have such an heroic combat spirit? Because they are fighting for the rights of themselves, their families, the classes and the people. Because they have high ideals and they are ready to die for those ideals. The Southern revolutionary soldiers have a high combat spirit because they understand that the war which they are fighting is for a just cause and that it conforms to the rules for the advancement of society, therefore this war will surely be a success.

The human element has a determining effect in a war. However, soldiers must have a high combat spirit in order to guarantee that they will emerge victorious from a war. The Greek, Malayan and Philippine guerrillas who were active after the Second World War did not have a combat spirit, even though they fought for righteous causes: however, they did not win. The Spanish Republic soldiers prior to World War One also had a very courageous combat spirit and the war which they waged against the fascist Franco gang was also for a righteous cause: however, the Spanish Republic soldiers lost the 1936-1939 revolt.

The revolutionary war, in addition to the morale factor, has another extremely important factor: that is the method of waging a war. If the heroic combat spirit is present but proper execution methods are missing, a war cannot be a success. The previous war conducted by all our people against the French and the present war of liberation against the Americans by our Southern compatriots has been and is being very successful and that is because our troops and our people have an heroic combat spirit; on the other hand, our army and our people have the proper methods for carrying out the war. The proper methods for waging a war are that it must be a people's war. The war must be of the people, carried out by the people and because it is advantageous for the people.

Because we conducted a people's war, our troops and our people were able to defeat the French colonialist and American interventionists in the past resistance. A number of high-ranking French officers who were defeated in the past resistance have admitted this fact. General Paul Ely, Chief of Staff of the French army (1953-1954), the French High Commissioner and commander of the French forces in Indo-China (1954-1955), who was one of the essential commanders of the French war of aggression in Indo-China stated this fact in his book on the Indo-Chinese war: Indo-China in a Storm; this book was published on the tenth anniversary of the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. In his book, Paul Ely wrote: "More than all other countries, even more than America in Korea and more than Britain in her colonies, France

stood before a modern, total war, a revolutionary war." Being present, Paul Ely clearly saw the role morale played in that war. He wrote: "During the revolution which we were forced to oppose in Indo-China, morale played a more determinant role than in any other war."

General Paul Ely thought much about the painful experiences of the French colonialists in Indo-China and then he strived to make a complete analysis of the war of aggression by the French colonialists at that time, but naturally this analysis contained the colonial viewpoints of the author. Ely compared the two wars taking place at that time: the Indo-Chinese war and the Korean war. After pointing out the close relationship between those two wars, he outlined their differences: "During the Korean war, battle lines were finally formed and it took on the aspect of a classic war. But the Indo-Chinese war was a very special war. In Indo-China we were faced with an internal conflict, a new form of fighting which the communists are using more and more." The "internal conflict" [see note] of which Paul Ely speaks of here is a war which has no battle lines and where imperialist armies must be spread out like small islands in the middle of a huge guerrilla sea, and thus be surrounded by guerrillas. It is guerrilla warfare spread throughout the country. It is a war of all the people. Paul Ely said that in that war, "a military victory cannot hinder the political advancement of the enemy or the unity of the country because of the activity of the revolutionary machinery." In that way Paul Ely had to admit that the imperialist gang is entirely inefficient and cannot cope with a people's war.

(Note: Naturally, the term "internal conflict" used by Paul Ely here is not correct because our resistance was a war of liberation against foreign invasion.)

A people's war is a champion. A people's war realizes the military ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Sixty years ago, during the first Russian revolution, Lenin often spoke of the importance of guerrilla warfare and the people's war:

"Guerrilla warfare, continuous strikes and tiring the enemy through attacks, along with street-fighting in the various parts of the country has brought and is bringing about the best results. No country can long oppose such a drawn out struggle because it paralyzes industrial activity, wipes away the morale of the officials and the armed forces and makes the people dissatisfied with the order in effect." [See note].

(Note: Lenin: Complete Works, Russian edition, Political Literature publishing house, Moscow, 1947, volume 9, page 311.)

Guerrilla warfare is a form of struggle by the people that is suppressed by the ruling classes. Guerrilla warfare is primarily a type of warfare carried out by the peasants. In modern times, that is a war conducted by the peasants and led by the laboring classes.

Every new revolution brings a new class into the historic ring to create new military concepts. Bourgeois military concepts are natural products of a bourgeois revolution. Its premise is the political

and social liberation of the bourgeois and peasant classes. The bourgeoisie spends the money, the peasants enter the military and those two classes break the chains of feudalism. These are necessary conditions to establish a large armed forces under a bourgeois system.

A proletarian revolution brings the proletariat into the spotlight. This type of revolution can create its own new military concepts and tactical methods. A new military science is a natural product of a new social relationship. Proletarian military concepts encompass the liberation of the proletariat and peasants. The working class is the vanguard leadership force, the peasant class are the soldiers, and together they overthrow feudal imperialism, destroy capitalism and build up socialism. Those are necessary conditions to build up Red military-labor-peasant units or a people's army or a liberation army. Those military units are concrete organizational forms of military relationships between the working and peasant classes led by the working class. The peasant class is very large, but because of its individual economic system, it cannot become an independent political force; politically, it must remain under either the bourgeoisie or the working class. During these modern times, the peasant class participates in a revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

More than 100 years ago, in 1856, Marx talked about the coordination between the peasants' war and the worker's movement, a coordination which can create a revolutionary situation. With that coordination, a new proletarian revolution can succeed. In 1923, Lenin stated, "when conditions permit, we shall realize the coordination between the peasant's war and the worker's movement." While writing of that coordination, Lenin was thinking of "the contingencies being produced by the revolutions" and of the "revolutions being started by the East" at that time.

World revolutionary experience during the past several years has proven that any country which realizes coordination between the peasants war and the worker's movement will succeed in its revolution (China, Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, etc.).

In the process of carrying out a prolonged armed struggle against reactionaries within a country and imperialists from outside, the Chinese communist party led by Mao Tse Tung realized the coordination between the peasants war and the worker's movement exactly as directed by Marx and Lenin, and in that way it made a complete success of the Chinese revolution.

In our country, since after the Bac Son revolt at the end of 1940, our party began to realize the coordination between the peasant's war and the worker's movement. Because it realized that coordination in a widespread manner throughout the country, our party succeeded in its resistance against the French colonialists and American interventionists (1945-1954), liberating one-half of our country. The present liberation war of our Southern compatriots is a new development and a higher objective of the coordination between the peasant's war and the worker's movement in our country. The strongly developed guerrilla warfare in the Southern rural areas and the close coordination

with the struggle movement in the cities of the South, especially the struggle of the "Vi-na-tech-co" workers and Saigon taxi drivers, has created a new revolutionary movement in the South. Upon this basis, the people's war in our country will develop stronger every day.

Our party's method of a people's war is complete, creative utilization of the military concepts of Marxism-Leninism under conditions present in our country.

The coordination between the peasants' war and the worker's movement at present has given the war a characteristic of truly being of the people. The people's war is becoming a popular form of struggle by oppressed people and nationalities against imperialists and their lackeys. The people of the countries only have to experience a long revolutionary struggle in order to find that form of struggle. The people's war is the greatest military science discovery in modern times. Some people think that the greatest military discovery was finding nuclear weapons. This is not true. Naturally, in respect to natural science, finding atomic energy is a great discovery of modern mankind. But war is not a natural phenomenon, but a social phenomenon. Applying natural science discoveries to social phenomena has an effect on the development of those social phenomena, but that effect must follow the laws governing the objective development of society. No one can deny the destructive force of nuclear weapons in a war, but war is a social phenomenon and it has its own process of development. In addition, nuclear weapons also have various shortcomings and weaknesses which their users cannot overcome. The late American President Kennedy, in a speech in November 1961, admitted the inefficiency of nuclear weapons against a people's revolutionary movement or against guerrilla warfare. Therefore, in a people's war where both sides are stationed so close to each other, using nuclear weapons would only result in killing yourself as well as your enemy; therefore, it is entirely impossible to use nuclear weapons in a people's war. A people's war is better than a nuclear war. The practicality of our country's revolution proves that a people's war has defeated and is defeating American imperialists who have nuclear weapons in their hands.

If we only count from the beginning of the resistance against the French (23 September 1945), the Indo-Chinese people in general and specifically the Vietnamese people have had to experience 20 years of war. If we start from the beginning of World War II, the people of Vietnam and the people of Indo-China have experienced 25 years of war. In modern times, there are very few countries where the people have had to experience such a long war. It is not an accident that the Indo-Chinese people have had to suffer so much hardships and sacrifices. Our Indo-Chinese peninsula has a very special position right in the middle of several heavily populated countries: China to the north with 650 million people, India to the west with 400 million people and Indonesia to the south with nearly 100 million people. These are countries which all the imperialists are eyeing hungrily. In regard to the imperialists, Indo-China is a very good base for invading the above countries, especially China and India. A long time ago, Lenin spoke of the importance of China and India. Lenin

pointed out the effect of the Chinese and Indian revolutions on the success of the proletarian revolution in the entire world. The Chinese revolution has already succeeded. In order to save imperialism and in order to block the world revolutionary movement, the American-led imperialists must strive to hinder the influence caused by the Chinese revolution, must strive to destroy the construction of socialism in China and must plot to invade that country. Indo-China is a very good base for the imperialists, especially the American imperialists, to realize that plot. Indo-China is in the middle of a boiling Southeast Asia struggling against imperialists. Indo-China is a part of the present revolutionary storm sweeping through Asia, Africa and Latin America. The success of the Indo-Chinese revolution has a great influence on the overall Asian, African and Latin American revolutionary movements and the Southeast Asian movement in particular. In order to block the development of the Asian, African and Latin American revolutionary movements, especially the one in Southeast Asia, the American-led imperialists must block the success of the overall Indo-Chinese revolution and the Vietnamese revolution in particular. The imperialists are determined to turn Indo-China into a military base and a colony, while the Indo-Chinese people are determined to repel the imperialists in order to liberate themselves; therefore, the struggle between the two sides will be fierce, decisive and long. This struggle has lasted 20 years and we don't know how much longer it will continue before it ends. We only know that that struggle will end someday and the final victory will go to the Indo-Chinese people.

The Indo-Chinese people will certainly win the final victory because they have a very effective form of struggle -- the people's war. It is not that the American imperialists have not seen the effectiveness of the people's war, but they have thought that they have means of coping with it. In talking with General Paul Ely while he was in America on his way to rescue the French forces at Dien Bien Phu at the beginning of 1954, Admiral Radford*, then commander of the U.S. forces in the Pacific, approved of Paul Ely's observations on the effectiveness of guerrilla warfare in Indo-China. Radford felt that "pacification must begin from within, if a foreign country initiates the action, the effect will only be temporary; if not, communism will lean on nationalism and racism and will surely raise up." That which Radford felt was "racism" and "nationalism" was the national liberation movement. Radford advocated "raising nationality forces in order for the war to have a more crowded nature." The "national forces" mentioned by Radford are native puppet troops. It was on these viewpoints that after the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreement on Indo-China, the American imperialist gang set up in the South the fake "independent" and "democratic" government of Ngo Dinh Diem and established seven divisions of puppet forces in the South to prepare for the "March Northward" campaign. In Laos, they organized the rightist forces commanded by Phoumi Nosavan to oppose the Pathet Lao forces.

* [transliterated "Rat-pho"]

Although the U.S. was able to build up the armed forces consisting of natives who were indoctrinated by "national," "humanitarian ideals," the U.S. was still not able to make their war of aggression in Indo-China have a "broader nature" as desired by Radford. In order to save the situation of the rising revolutionary movement of the South Vietnamese people, America had to bring her own troops in. One French reporter well versed on the South Vietnamese situation wrote: "U.S. forces, each unit untouched, have poured into South Vietnam since the end of 1961. The only thing people have not done was call them 'expeditionary forces!'" U.S. Major General Mark Johnson wrote in US News and World Report: "The Kennedy Administration came into power determined to defeat the communists in South Vietnam. Mr. Kennedy appointed high-ranking military personnel to assess the situation and find out what must be done. After that, America made a great effort aimed at supporting the limited war of the Vietnamese within the strategic framework of a limited war." The commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam, General Harkins, declared: "Vietnam has become a proving ground for guerrilla warfare tactics of the U.S. forces. This is a war unlike any other previously witnessed by American forces." The senior American officers felt that in South Vietnam they must oppose "a totally new war which is not written in the books." They said that "compared with the guerrilla war in South Vietnam, the Korean war only was an old style war that was in the text books already." General Taylor felt that the struggle in South Vietnam is not a purely military struggle, but is a political, economic and psychological struggle. On 23 June 1964, President Johnson declared that the war in South Vietnam is "a struggle on every realm of mankind." Really, the war in South Vietnam is a global war.

A number of expert American officials on the South Vietnamese situation have observed that the war in South Vietnam is "a political-military war" and feel the "Pentagon does not have the ability to draw up and realize the necessary type of political-military war plan." The Associated Press on 23 June 1964 printed these comments of an American official: "The complicated problem is that the communists have cadres who are not completely military men or who are political cadres as we think of them. They do both jobs. We have nothing to cope with cadres who have the capability of causing those threats. This lack is hitting America on the head in Vietnam." The U.S. method of creating separate political and military cadres clearly does not meet the demands of the "political-military war" in South Vietnam. In order to fill that situation, recently, in order to assume an "ambassadorial" position in South Vietnam (similar to a "plenipotentiary" or "high commissioner" position under the French), the American imperialists had to appoint "a couple" consisting of a general (Taylor) and a foreign diplomat (Johnson). But those measures will still not help the American imperialists escape the situation in South Vietnam.

The gang of American imperialists think that with their new discovery of a "special war," they are luckier than the French colonialists in that they can cope with a people's war. But within the framework of a "special war," the primary combat force is still the puppet army consisting of natives and the Americans only act as "advisers." After several years of conducting a special war in Vietnam, the senior American officers admitted that "controlling a war through the advisers is complicated and ineffective." Moreover, the native soldiers, according to American military observers, are not able to wage the war in a lively manner" because "they lack a combat spirit."

The American imperialists usually complain that the puppet forces and puppet authorities in the South are not supported by the peasants, therefore they cannot "beat the Viet Cong." Why aren't the pro-American puppets in the South supported by the peasants? In looking at the land situation in the South, we can see why. According to the figures presented at the meeting of Phu-luan-hoi in Saigon on 28 April 1960 by Tran Ngoc Lien, chief of the Agricultural Cooperative Credit Bureau, of the Southern puppet government, after completing the so-called "land reforms," the land distribution in the South was as follows:

Large land owners having 50 or more hectares consisted of 2.5 percent of the population but they had 45 percent of the arable lands.

Average and small landowners having from 5 to 50 hectares consisted of 11.1 percent of the population and held 42.5 percent of the arable land.

Rich, average and poor peasants with less than five hectares consisted of 86.4 percent of the population but only held 12.5 percent of the arable land.

According to the declaration made on 15 April 1964 by Nguyen Khanh, "premier" of the so-called "Republic of Vietnam government," there are presently 34,000 landowners who own over 100 hectares of land, and 1,200,000 peasants who have no land. Therefore, we can understand very easily why the peasants in the South do not support the regime set up by the American imperialists in the South. The British newspaper Tribune wrote on 6 March 1964: "The Viet Cong are winning because they are giving the peasants what they want." What the peasants want is land. Land is the key to solve the problem of the National liberation revolution. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has a clear solution to the land problem in the South, and it has realized and is realizing that solution by dividing millions of hectares of land among the peasants in the liberated areas.

In a people's war, the people's army lives among the people-- primarily among the peasants -- just as a fish lives in water. The American imperialists advocate "splitting the guerrillas among the peasants" in order to annihilate them by "stopping up the water to catch the fish." But when the water is high and there are many large fish, the American imperialists cannot only not stop the water and fail to catch the fish, but the water will submerge their heads and the fish will swallow them up.

The American imperialists are constantly being bogged down in South Vietnam. A number of American officers feel that they can escape from that situation by "taking the war to the North." In the past few years, the U.S. has tried hard to destroy the North. They have often invaded the territory, the sky and the coastal areas of the North. They have sent many commando spies into the North to conduct sabotage and gather intelligence. But they have been soundly defeated in those efforts. C'Francois Sully estimated that about 85 percent of the spies sent into the North by the Americans have been captured. On 20 March 1964, the French newspaper Nationalities Tribune (?) wrote the following on the defeat of the American general "Rot Son," famous American "guerrilla activity" specialist, in his effort to send commandoes into North Vietnam: "Every time his soldiers dare to cross the border, the Northerners 'met' them at the beginning of the road and gently led them to the nearest concentration camp."

Although they have suffered continuous defeats such as that, the U.S. still continue their efforts to sabotage the North. Recently, W.W. Rostow, chairman of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Council drew up a plan to sabotage the North, which was called the "Rostow Plan Six," and consisted of three points:

1. use the navy to blockade the port of Hai Phong;
2. use torpedo boats to attack bases along the Northern coast;
3. drop bombs on the Northern cities.

Former Vice President Nixon also advocated attacking the North. In a television interview on 14 June 1964 Nixon said that "America can be defeated in South Vietnam and that fact could lead to losing all of Asia." Because of this, Nixon proposed to strike the North.

Walter Lipman, an American bourgeois newsman, wrote this on the proposal to attack North Vietnam: "This should never take place unless we are prepared for a large-scale war with China."

Senator Goldwater, a candidate for the American presidency, on 24 May 1964, threatened to drop atomic bombs on North Vietnam. Goldwater's threats have not scared the Vietnamese people but have frightened the Americans. Senator Morse also stated that "these useless threats will not bring about results" and "this propoganda will cause a strong pressure against America." This same senator declared that: "Expanding the war to the North is the only worse disaster than maintaining the status quo in South Vietnam." On 15 June 1964, he declared that if the U.S. attacks North Vietnam and is submerged into a war with Red China, the "world will hate us for 500 years."

Goldwater's foolish declaration caused a strong reaction from around the world. On 3 June 1964, Walter Lipman wrote in the New York Tribune on Goldwater's proposal as follows: "That fact is an immoral insanity. It is crazy because if the U.S. intervenes in such a barbaric way into the affairs of an Asian country, it will precipitate a radical action from mankind. And we must be punished for such an action." Walter Lipman continued that "only America's navy and air force are strong, and America must strive to avoid being engulfed in a war in Asia."

The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has often warned the American invaders about their plot to bring the war to the North. If America and her lackeys dare to violate the shores of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they will feel the blows of our army and our people.

There are some American authorities who have seen the danger to America if she attacks the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. McCone, director of the American Central Intelligence Agency, declared: "U.S. intervention in North Vietnam could cause Ho Chi Minh to empty his resources into South Vietnam and defeat the government of General Khanh before that government has a chance to consolidate its position."

Since they are caught in a dilemma, many of the U.S. leaders have advocated maintaining the situation in South Vietnam as it stands. But to maintain the present South Vietnam situation, according to a French specialist on the South Vietnam situation, the U.S. must increase its puppet forces in the South from one-half million to one million members, increase the number of U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam from the present 20,000 to 60,000 and increase its yearly spending from 300 million sterling to 600 million sterling. That is a heavy load which would be hard to bear alone by the U.S. budget over a long period of time. But although the U.S. is striving to reach this goal, it will only postpone its total defeat in South Vietnam. Some Americans have estimated that the war in South Vietnam will last for 25 years. But the Americans do not have the strength to last for such a long war. Walter Lipman wrote: "I believe that Americans are unable to carry out a war for 25 years in Asia." But the war of a people determined to liberate themselves can be prolonged not only 25 years, but could be drawn out even longer. The U.S. is very afraid of a long war. General Harkins, commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam, admitted: "one of the characteristics of Americans is that we lack patience." On the first anniversary of the establishment of his command in South Vietnam, Harkins said: "We know that Rome was not built in a day. We have established an organization to be used for one night. That could be good in America, but we must remember that in South Vietnam we have come up against a different cultural system a culture that preceeded ours."

The war in South Vietnam is being prolonged and the American imperialists are spending lives recklessly and the people of the world are protesting. In order to lessen its isolated guard, while at the same time draw others to lessen its load, the U.S. has pressured its military allies and satellite countries to participate in the war in South Vietnam. On 23 April 1964, President Johnson declared: "I hope to see the flags of a number of other countries flying in South Vietnam." Although pressured by the U.S., many countries refused to participate in the war in South Vietnam or only participated for the sake of looks. Until now, contributions of all countries other than the U.S. have only been 3 percent of the total cost of the war in the South.

Many countries refused the "invitation" of the U.S. to participate in the war in South Vietnam because 1) they do not want to expose themselves to America's influence, 2) they are afraid their own people would protest, and 3) they have seen what happened to the French colonialists in the past. More than ten years ago, the French colonialists forced the Algerians to fight the Vietnamese people and the results were that because of the contact with the Vietnamese the Algerian soldiers in the French Expeditionary Corps studied the guerilla warfare methods of the Vietnamese and when they returned home, under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of Algeria, they rose up to fight the French and finally drove out the French colonialist to gain their independence. In the book Indo-China in a Storm, M. Ely made this observation of the 12,000 prisoners which we released to the French in 1954: "I realised that it appeared that not one of them accepted the influence of the Marxist ideals; on the contrary, many of them were induced by the effectiveness of the Viet Minh methods; this fact influenced the development of the Algerian situation." What Ely called "Viet Minh methods" were the method of gerrilla fighting or, more correctly, the concept of a people's war.

Today, the American imperialists, regardless of what happened to the French before, are pressuring other countries to send troops to fight the Southern Vietnamese people; this will bring serious consequences upon them in the future.

The American imperialists are so afraid of being stranded in the war in South Vietnam while the other imperialists are watching from outside. Experience during the Korean War has shown America that as soon as she committed herself to the war, countries such as France, West Germany, Japan, etc., stood on the outside to take advantage of that opportunity to escape from U.S. control, to develop their own forces, to compete with the U.S. and to take a swipe at U.S. markets. Therefore, the American imperialists are striving to find ways of pulling other countries into the South Vietnamese war. In realizing this plot, the American imperialists usually think of the "role" of the United Nations. In 1963 when the Afro-Asian people denounced imperialist America and her lackeys for suppressing the Buddhist followers in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists used their influence to have the United Nations send a delegation to investigate this situation in South Vietnam. But the results of this delegation were not the ones wanted by the U.S. Recently, when Cambodia denounced the cruelties of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam on the Cambodian border, the U.S. again pulled the strings to have the United Nations send a delegation to investigate the Vietnam-Cambodia border situation. The American plot is to use the United Nations in drawing other countries into the war in South Vietnam with The U.S. and to intervene into the affairs of the Indo-Chinese countries, as they did in Korea and the Congo. It is regrettable that this time just as before, because a number of people want to keep their promises with the U.S. not to attack each other in the United Nations, have not protested

but have ignored America's pulling strings to accomplish the above decisions. It is clear that their attitude is disadvantageous to the liberation of our people and is advantageous to the invasion plots of the American imperialists.

Although the U.S. has carried out many shrewd plots, they have not been able to be victorious in the war in the South. Faced with continuous defeats, the American authorities have become thoroughly confused. A number of influential people in America, among them Senator Mansfield, feel that "actually, the Americans should never have made any military advances into Vietnam to replace the French who were defeated." But out of clumsiness they have been unwise and in this situation they can do nothing right. French President De Gaulle proposed to "neutralize" Indo-China and Southeast Asia, and he advocates that this would be a "solution" to the South Vietnamese problem. But how would that "resolution" come about? Some advocate "striking hard for negotiations." On the other hand, others say that to "continue fighting in South Vietnam will only bring about defeat and disgrace for the U.S."

A number of knowing people in American political circles demanded that the U.S. withdraw from South Vietnam. But the American rulers still stubbornly advocate "to remain in South Vietnam," because they are afraid that if the liberation war of the Vietnamese people is victorious, it will encourage the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. On 27 March 1964, Secretary of Defense McNamara declared: "Southeast Asia has a large strategic value, therefore if it falls into the hands of the communists, this area will create a very serious threat to the security of the free world. Therefore, to protect southeast Asia, the U.S. must cope with the challenge in South Vietnam." On 14 June 1964, Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared: "The remaining portion of Southeast Asia will be in danger and protecting this area will be much more costly, both in personnel and in materials, than is being used to protect Laos and South Vietnam." The U.S. is clinging to Indo-China in general and South Vietnam in particular like a hungry leech not wanting to let go. They are afraid that the victories of the South Vietnam revolution and the Indo-China revolution will be like a fuse touching off a powder keg in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

South Vietnam is presently like a volcano; even though the American imperialists and their friends pull each other up to block the volcano, they will not be able to find cover when it erupts.

In a manner of speaking, the countries in the present Indo-China peninsula are a reduced picture of the world. In an area of 760,000 square kilometers with 40 million people there are places which are conducting a social revolution and are constructing socialism; there are other places which are striving to liberate their people, and here, imperialism has clung to its final positions; there are still other places which are following the road of peaceful neutralism. All of the basic conflicts in the world today are able to be seen in Indo-China: the conflict between socialism and imperialism; the conflict between oppressed people and the imperialists; the conflicts

between imperialists; and the conflict between proletarianism and capitalism. In addition, there is the conflict between the peasants and the landowners, as well as other conflicts. There are both types of primary revolutionary movements in Indo-China: the socialist revolution and the revolution to liberate the people. The revolutions of the Indo-Chinese people are solving many problems similar to the ones being faced by the revolutions of many countries of the world. The practicality of the Indo-Chinese revolution is casting light on many questions that are causing debates among the international communist and worker movements.

Lenin stated that the practice is more important than all debate about reason in the world [See note]. From the practice of the Indo-Chinese revolution, we can find correct answers to the questions being argued in the international communist movement.

(Note): Lenin: "Five years of Russian revolution and the prospects of the world revolution," Selected Works, Vietnamese edition, Su That publishing house, Hanoi, 1959, volume II, part III, page 643.]

First of all, we will discuss the nature of imperialism. There is not one aware worker in our country who does not see the tyrannical aggressive nature of imperialism, especially the imperialism of North America, and who thinks that the nature of imperialism has changed. The average laborer in Indo-China who has the scars of the imperialists' bullets can understand the nature of imperialism, a fact that people who only meet them at foreign affairs meetings and who only hear them speak compliments can never understand. The people of Indo-China can easily realize that America is the most bellicose and most aggressive imperialist, and is the number one enemy of the world. Thoughts of fearing America, serving America or being pro-American cannot develop in the Indo-Chinese people. The common people in our country can also not realize the vagueness of the nature of imperialists such as Kennedy for example; because Kennedy gave the order to start the "special war" in South Vietnam. In regard to our people, Kennedy was a murderer not a "great peacemaker" as some people say he was. And our people also do not pray before Kennedy's picture "to bring us peace" as some people did.

Concerning war and peace. The people of Indo-China want very much to live peacefully in independence, democracy and prosperity, but the Indo-Chinese people have had to live in an environment of war for 25 years. The people of Indo-China have clearly seen the aggressive nature of imperialism which Indo-China has just dispelled because of those wars. But before the August Revolution, the Indo-Chinese people were miserable because of the imperialists' wars (more concretely the French-Japanese, French-Thailand and Japanese-American wars). After the August Revolution, the people of Indo-China were miserable because of the war of aggression caused by the imperialistic French and then the American imperialists. The Indo-Chinese people distinguish clearly between the two types of wars: a dishonest war is caused by imperialists to massacre and enslave and a righteous war is one which a country protects itself against imperialist invasion.

The people of Indo-China see that they have to defeat the plots of invasion in order to win peace. The most correct measure to protect peace is to struggle resolutely against imperialism.

We believe that disarmament is very advantageous to preserving peace, but it is clear that the imperialists will not disarm. The American imperialists talk of "disarmament" but in reality they are bringing thousands of tons of weapons into Indo-China in order to slaughter the people of South Vietnam and Laos. In that situation, we must fight against the aggressive actions of imperialist America, not just appeal for total disarmament, which is just an echo of America's line to deceive the people of the world.

We want to realize a happy relationship among the different socialist countries. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has realized a peaceful co-existence with Cambodia. But it is clear that the imperialists, because of their nature, cannot live peacefully with us. The U.S. is plotting to invade and conduct continuous sabotage on North Vietnam, provoke and conduct overthrow activities in Cambodia, and cause a war of aggression in South Vietnam and Laos. The U.S. government has ordered the execution of embargo laws in regard to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Even American stamp collectors who want to collect stamps from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are prohibited from doing so. In that situation, if we do not carry out a struggle against the intervention and aggression of imperialist Americans, it will sow seeds of vagueness and illusions about the U.S. and it will indirectly help the imperialists to realize their plots of aggression.

Concerning the peacefulness of rising to socialism. The people of Indo-China want their revolution to be a success with as little suffering and bloodshed as possible. But the imperialist gang and its lackeys use bloodshed as a means to oppose the liberation struggle of the Indo-Chinese people; in this situation, the Indo-Chinese people must use their revolutionary force to oppose the counter-revolutionary forces of imperialist America and her lackeys. The imperialist gang and its lackeys use the gigantic suppression machine consisting of the administration, the armed forces, police, courts and prisons to suppress the people. To liberate themselves, the people of Indo-China must use force to smash the government of the ruling classes. The situation in countries which have bureaucratic and militarist systems of rule and who give the illusion of being "peaceful" is damaging to the revolution of the people in those countries.

Through their own experience, the people of Indo-China have clearly seen that in order to liberate themselves, the oppressed people must be determined to fight against imperialism. The imperialists will never voluntarily abandon their colonies. We must throw them out. We must struggle against them in every manner, including armed struggle, in order to liberate the people. The argument that oppressed people do not have to conduct a revolution because they must sacrifice much, but they must sit and wait for the imperialists to give them their independence through their policy of "non-colonialization" is an argument to trick and deceive the oppressed people which is aimed at

prolonging their colonial system of slavery. The Indo-Chinese people also clearly see the effect of the U.S.-controlled United Nations in realizing the aggression plots of the U.S.; therefore the people of Indo-China cannot wait for the United Nations to intervene to have imperialist gang return their independence. The Indo-Chinese people have been miserable not only because of the colonialism of the French but they are suffering as a result of the new U.S. colonialism, therefore they see that the road to self-liberation is to struggle against every type of colonialism, old as well as new.

Through their experience, the people of Indo-China realize that there must be close relationships among the socialist countries and the national liberation movements. If the socialist countries have an international proletarian spirit and complete their international duties, the socialist countries are places upon whom the national liberation movements can depend and are bases for the liberation of the countries and for the development of the national liberation movements. The development of the national liberation movements will destroy the imperialists' plans to encircle and attack socialist countries and will contribute to the preservation of the socialist countries. If the socialist countries do not fulfill their international obligations but carry out misrepresented agreements with the imperialists, this will encourage the imperialists to suppress the national liberation movements and create hardships for them. The national liberation movements which meet up with hardships and do not develop will create conditions for imperialists to increase their encirclement and preparations for attacking the socialist countries and will cause the socialist countries to become oppressed by imperialism.

Through their experiences, the people of Indo-China also realize the relationships between the national liberation movements and the preservation of world peace. A strongly developed national liberation movement plays a large role in preserving world peace. World peace which is preserved is advantageous to the development of a national liberation movement. The experience of the Indo-Chinese people proves that the armed struggle of suppressed people against imperialism and the liberation of the people does not lead up to world nuclear war as some people have baselessly affirmed, but on the contrary, it positively helps in stamping out the imperialists' plots to prepare for a world war and it does indeed preserve world peace.

In the long struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys to gain national liberation, democracy and socialism, the people of the Indo-Chinese countries have distinguished between who are their friends and who are their enemies. Among their enemies, the Indo-Chinese people have also distinguished who the most dangerous ones are and which ones must be overturned first. The Indo-Chinese people have praised all their friends who have supported them in their liberation, while at the same time, they have also seen who were the most sincerely devoted friends.

The people of Indo-China are progressing and are overcoming every dangerous hardship to gain the final victory in their war against the imperialists.

Our people are an heroic people. Twenty years ago our people threw out the Japanese imperialists, an aggressive and daring imperialist country, in order to regain our power. Ten years ago our people defeated the French imperialists, an experienced, strong imperialist country. Today our people are defeating the American imperialists, the richest imperialist nation in the world. The heroic struggle of our people has completely changed the face of our country.

In the past ten years, beginning with the signing of the Geneva agreement until now, the Indo-Chinese situation has made some vast changes. North Vietnam has changed from a colonial and semi-feudalist country into a socialist country with an economy and culture which is developing strongly. South Vietnam and Laos have had great victories in their struggles against the American imperialists and their lackeys; the liberated areas in South Vietnam and Laos are being expanded every day. Cambodia is progressing on the road to peaceful neutrality and is escaping from her political dependency upon the U.S. All of Indo-China is in a revolutionary storm and is in an assault against imperialism. In the past ten years, the people of Indo-China have gained grand victories. But in defeat the American imperialists and their lackeys are being insanely cruel. There will still be difficulties on the road ahead. The people of Indo-China are determined to struggle until the end, to surmount every obstacle, defeat the American imperialists and their lackeys and to have complete liberation of their country.

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EXPERIENCES IN SOCIALIST EDUCATION ACTIVITIES FOR WORKERS

- North Vietnam -

Following is a translation of an article by Duong Huong in the Vietnamese language periodical Hoc Tap (Study), no. 7, July 1964, Hanoi, pages 65 to 71. /

In order for socialist education activities for workers to have good results, they must originate from the characteristics of the working class in our country.

The characteristics of the working class in the North, since the reestablishment of peace, can be summarized as follows: the ranks of our workers are composed of both old workers and new workers undergoing over-all development, our workers have advantages and at the same time they also have disadvantages; their strong points are in basic areas and are being steadily developed, while their weak points, although they are not in basic aspects, are being clearly developed and must pass through a long process in order to be overcome. The general advantage of our workers at the present time is that, because they live in a nation which was previously a territory and semi-feudal, because they were plundered and mercilessly oppressed by imperialists and feudalists, and because they were put under the leadership of the party and passed through a prolonged revolutionary struggle, they have a heroic tradition of struggle, they have a profound patriotic spirit, they have a high class understanding, they have asserted and are asserting their vanguard role in every area, mainly in production, they are spreading their own positive and creative spirit throughout the economic recovery and the prior economic and cultural development, as well as throughout the current construction of socialism. Our workers also have a general weak point because their ranks were formed and developed in a backward agricultural nation where industry was not yet developed, and the majority of our brethren are closely tied to small production foundations in farm hamlets and cities. This social condition on the one hand helps our

workers to have the essential relationship with farmers and other laboring people, and it is of benefit to the task of uniting and leading them in revolution; but on the other hand, it makes our workers bear many theoretical influences and habits of small production people, causing the collective spirit, the organized atmosphere and the discipline of the workers to be greatly restricted. Moreover, because of the long control by imperialists and feudalist gangs, the technical and cultural level of the workers is low.

The above general strongpoints and general deficiencies of our workers appear differently among old workers and new ones. Old workers are the backbone strength of the working ranks, having a tradition of revolutionary struggle, having a class consciousness, a consciousness of discipline and a high technical level. The old workers are composed of workers who labored under the old regime and of workers who labored in military factories during the resistance. Those workers who worked for a long time under the old regime were previously that had gone bankrupt and who had gone to work in factories and mines in order to live. There they were mercilessly oppressed and plundered, so they had an early class consciousness. From the day the French colonialists established factories and mines on our land, they struggled ever stronger against plundering and oppression; when the party assumed leadership, that struggle was raised to a higher level, initiated by vast strikes during 1930 and 1931. From that time on, in mining regions and in cities having concentrations of workers, the workers heroically struggled unceasingly. Workers who participated in the resistance received continuous education from the party and obtained much training in the revolutionary struggle. In general, the old workers have a fairly high spirit of organization and discipline created by production conditions and the resolute struggle against their enemies. Thanks to that spirit of organization and discipline, the old workers seldom violate production regulations and seldom allow machinery breakdowns and labor accidents occur. The old workers also have skillful labor abilities, and because of that, during the past nine years, they have been the backbone of technical strength. They have been the educators for the new workers: over the past six years, among the thousands of new technical workers that have been created, there are only a few thousand people who were trained in regular schools, and the rest were created in factory schools or right in the factories and were watched over mainly by the old workers.

The new workers, although they could not possibly early have those qualities enumerated above (a tradition of revolutionary struggle, a class consciousness, a consciousness of discipline and a high technological level), they also have many good points. Since the reestablishment of peace, new workers have been composed of the following: political cadre, militia men or public servants who have transferred from those branches, cadre from the South who have joined us, farmers, handicraftsmen,

poor city people, students and female cadre. Without counting the political cadre and militia men who have entered the ranks of the workers to give the workers ranks a political character, other people generally say that the basic masses, although they have not passed through the direct struggle against the capitalist gang in factories, have never gone through the struggle against imperialists and feudalists, and they all have a fervent patriotic spirit. The young people (there are quite a few, and in the heavy industry branch alone, the percentage of workers under 30 years of age is more than 70%), although they have not been through a period of hard oppression and violent struggle, understand a little of the revolutionary struggle and of the class struggle, but because they have lived and grown up among courageous people, when they enter the ranks of the workers they continue to receive the theories of the working class and to give the working class additional manpower and creativity. When these youths enter factories and mines, aside from the demands of living there are other demands: those are the ideals of socialism and communism. The tens of thousands of youths in the movement to "voluntarily push to surpass the goals of the first five-year plan", young or old, all have that desire. Thanks to that, the young workers, when they have received an understanding of politics and theories, can perform big jobs. In every factory today the young workers are establishing many production records. For example: in the integrated textile factory at Nam Dinh, the loom operators having the highest efficiency (at present there are 24 old type automatic looms) are young workers, even though they have not been long at their profession. If we compare the above efficiency with efficiency under the French -- even though at that time the capitalists sought every scheme to increase the level of labor, workers still could not operate more than five machines of the same type -- we will see the advance by our workers is great. They want to advance every moment; as far as they are concerned, today's record is not the final goal. Although the number of machines which they are operating has exceeded the wage levels decided upon, they still continue to operate the additional machines without bearing to stop. Or when they are performing this task successfully and receive a call for some other task where the salary may be less rewarding, they are still happy, because they understand that the task that they will perform will have a much greater and more general benefit. The majority of the new workers of youth who have additional advantages of liking new things, liking to study, desiring progress, and therefore in general they advance quickly. They dare to think, dare to act and dare to struggle against things that have become old and outmoded, opening new roads for the development of production.

In the ranks of the workers in the north today, new workers are in the majority. Numbering in the industrial branch alone, new workers outnumber the old workers 97 times. In general, this number of new workers have emanated from small production people in farm hamlets and cities. Therefore, bad points such as freedom according

to convenience, working thoughtlessly, and having a low cultural level and a low understanding of technology, are universal among the ranks of our workers, mainly among the new workers. New workers working in all branches except industry number nearly five times more than the new workers in the industrial branch. This ratio clearly shows that the number of workers in the mechanical production foundation is low, but the number of workers in handicraft production branches and work camps is large. This point emphasizes the fact that overcoming the deficiencies of workers is difficult and requires a long time. Because they grew up under a new social system without passing through the violent struggle against an enemy class and without receiving much education concerning politics and theories before entering the ranks, they do not have a great understanding of class and of socialism. The old workers also have deficiencies: because their cultural level is low and because their production habits are old, they accept new things slowly; their labor capacity, although they are clever, is still insufficient, because today's socialist revolution demands a type of labor which is creative and more technologically advanced. Although the old workers are prepared to have a consciousness of organization and discipline, the organizational and discipline consciousness which they have prepared from during the old regime have not truly recovered, because their level of understanding regarding socialism is not high. Even though the old workers have a decided understanding of classes, they still do not have a profound realization of the leadership role of their own class.

If the strong points of the workers are being manifested daily, then their deficiencies are also becoming more clear daily. Although their elimination has been strongly emphasized, those deficiencies still remain and are manifested in every aspect. At present, the activity of small production people among the workers is decreasing in one line while increasing in another line. The attitudes of going to work late and going home early, doing defective work and deceptive work are decreasing, but there are many situations where production regulations, factory regulations, and many state systems and regulations are not being enthusiastically enforced. If the above situation is allowed to develop regarding workers and factories, then it is also becoming popular with workers in work camps. Although the cultural and technological levels are being raised with effort, it is still a major deficiency. The number of technical workers in 1962 increased nearly four times the number in 1957, but they still only number 10% of the total number of workers. There have been fair results in eliminating the culture void, but at present the average worker has only reached a level of grade one. Because the cultural and technological level of the workers is still low, the utilization of preparatory public works is not great, machinery breakdown and accidents are many. There are many projects and products which were made incorrectly, and for which quality cannot be guaranteed. Average labor efficiency is low.

Many instances of greed and waste have created great losses. Plans are steadily out of balance and are not completed at the same time in every area. Although the deficiencies of the workers are being steadily overcome, that task of overcoming them is clearly becoming a complex and long term task. Commencement documents from the "three constructions, three struggles" movement at three installations (the Gia Lam factory, textile mill construction workcamp 8-3, and the combined department store in Hanoi) have recently pointed out this fact.

The desire of socialist industrialization in our country demands that our workers must steadily raise their political and theoretical levels, and their cultural and technological levels. Only by doing that will our new workers be able to fulfill their immediate and long term responsibilities.

The situation of the above special points shows clearly that educational activities for workers have advantages but also have difficulties. Workers have some very basic strongpoints, and educational activities could possibly develop those strongpoints. But their deficiencies are very difficult to overcome, and educational activities must progress a long time in order to overcome their difficulties. In socialist education activities for workers, it is necessary to join the task of developing the current asset, meaning the wonderful traditions and strong points of the workers, with the task of education and training in new subjects, meaning theoretical consciousness and socialist activities, for the workers.

Our workers have an enthusiastic and patriotic spirit. It is necessary to develop that patriotic spirit in order to mobilize the workers to energetically construct socialism. Our workers are prepared to have an animosity toward imperialist gangs and their lackeys, and it is necessary to develop the anti-imperialist feeling of the workers and to change that animosity into positive activity in the construction of the North. The development of the workers traditions and strong points can possibly help them to overcome the difficulties in the construction of socialism. In order to construct socialism, it is necessary to have socialist people. A patriotic spirit cannot be substituted for socialist theories. Only when the workers have an understanding of socialism can their task of socialist construction be truly self-sufficient, their enthusiasm solid and long lasting. Few of our workers have a consciousness of class struggle. This consciousness received this development during the struggle of the people against foreign plunderers, during land reform and during the struggle to create a bourgeoisie. Educational activities must always reawaken that consciousness of class struggle in order to raise the people's will for revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, it is necessary to enable the workers to have a sufficient realization of the current class struggle, and of their vanguard role and leadership role in that

struggle. Our workers have a tradition of hard work and unselfish labor. Educational activities must develop that spirit of the workers in order to compensate for their deficiencies, which are lack of technical skills and a low level of organization. But socialism is more and more demanding that our workers, aside from a labor spirit, must have a type of all-encompassing labor, and they must have a high level of technology, discipline and organization.

In the past few years, we have attended to the development of strong points and the positive revolutionary spirit of the workers, and thanks to that our workers have guaranteed fulfillment of their vanguard responsibilities. Truly, in the initial days after the reestablishment of peace, because our nation is temporarily divided and because of the change in administration of cities and newly liberated areas, the political situation is endlessly complex. At this time, our party is educating the workers (and all the people) to continuously develop their revolutionary and resistance tradition, to strengthen their consciousness of revolutionary struggle, and to mobilize every person to energetically restore production and to bandage the wounds of war. During 1956 and 1957, the complex political situation had a partial influence on the theories of the workers. Educational activities have helped the workers to become peaceful, have penetrated the discrimination of right from wrong, have protected the methods and policies of the party and the government, and have protected the successes of the revolution. Since then, educational activities have continuously and steadily mobilized patriotism and profoundly roused an antipathy toward the American imperialists and their lackeys among the workers so that they energetically are constructing socialism in the North, building the foundation for pursuing the struggle for the unification of our country. In production labor, educational activities are steadily developing the good points and positive spirit of the workers. Thanks to that, in the past few years, although labor and living conditions contain many difficulties created by our maturation, and although the workers have many deficiencies, their glorious revolutionary tradition has been developed and is acting as the vanguard in economic recovery, reconstruction, and development.

Educational activities for the workers have had many successes, but they have also had many shortcomings. Every year, many places open up classes to teach the revolutionary traditions to the workers, but in those places many old workers are persons whose revolutionary traditions advance relatively slowly, while the new workers still do not have a high enough understanding of classes, because the activities of strengthening traditions have not yet filled the level for the establishment of class consciousness for workers. The usual form of the classes on tradition is that the old workers tell bad stories

and the new workers sit and listen; that aspect has good use, but it will be limited if it stops there. Regarding the **older** workers, this organization has allowed them to tell stories, and aside from the desire to have a good influence on the theories of the younger workers, there is a desire moreover to have a beneficial influence on their own personal theories. But for many workers who have just finished telling stories, their **pride** creates self-satisfaction. Therefore, educational activities do not fulfill their goal. Hold up the old as a backbone for constructing the new. Hold up the honorable traditions, remembering that people with traditions should develop those traditions, and at the same time remembering that people without traditions model the former people in order to advance. Therefore, when holding up the traditions of unswerving and courageous struggles, of laborious toil, of steadfastness with the people and with revolution, and it is necessary at the same time to teach revolutionary heroism to the workers. Revolutionary heroism today demands that the workers must heroically struggle and steadfastly live up to the ideals of socialism. This point is emphasized as the most important standard of socialist morality; it raises the spirit of responsibility of the workers regarding the construction of socialism at the present time. Educating the young workers in the class structure must be pushed forward by many methods. The method of listening to stories is the initial step to increasing one's class consciousness. Telling stories can supply a small part of the living experience of the younger workers regarding the class struggle and regarding the revolutionary war. And it is therefore aimed at helping them to compare the two regimes and to understand clearly the process of laborious struggle by our people and by the previous working class, and it is also aimed at helping them to have the capacity to examine, to discriminate right and wrong, to combat the influence of property theories, to strengthen and increase their consciousness of the **proletariat**, and finally it is to help them realize and to resolve correctly those problems occurring in life. The teaching of traditions must therefore not compose simply of telling stories and listening to stories. That is why the results of the education movement have been limited. Educational activities must aim at the goal of helping the workers to develop their strong points and to overcome their weak points. If we only teach revolutionary traditions and do not teach socialist theories to the workers, then the strong points and the positive revolutionary spirit of the workers will be developed, while their weak points will not be overcome. Development of strong points is the backbone for overcoming deficiencies, but that does not mean that whenever strong points are developed then deficiencies will be rectified immediately, but they can be overcome only when new things have been constructed and replace them. Educational activities of the workers therefore will not have good results if the teaching of revolutionary traditions is not cleverly joined with the teaching of **socialist** theories to the workers.

Education, theoretical training and socialist activities for workers are essential. The majority of our workers are people who have come up from small production elements and are therefore endowed with many of the theories and activities of small production people. The task of furthering the socialist theories for them is not easy. Therefore, it is necessary their production and struggle practice in order to allow them to further their theories on socialism. Construction experiences of the new people in socialist labor groups and units have clearly shown that the establishment of new people is really the establishment of people having socialist theories and actions and that collective labor with organization is the best method.

The new people in the North presently are people having the spirit of understanding socialism, having a capacity for clever labor and having a civilized life. Among the above aspects of the new people, the aspect of socialist understanding is of leading importance and has a determined character regarding other aspects. Therefore, the establishment of new people is essentially first of all the construction of a spirit of socialist understanding, really the construction of a consciousness of the theories and actions of socialism. That consciousness of theories and actions is manifested first of all in a correct attitude concerning labor, a spirit of collective management, a spirit of socialist cooperation, a consciousness of organization and discipline, a quality of simplicity, order, urgency and justice. Among those aspects, it is necessary to take the task of raising labor output as the stumbling block in the construction of new people.

Truly, in order to complete the plan, it is necessary to struggle to raise the collective labor efficiency. The main obstacle blocking the manifestation of that task is the fact that collective skill levels are not equal. Raw materials and machinery are just about alike, while people with high efficiency are few and people with low efficiency are many. That fact also reflects the special situation of our workers: old workers having a high technological level are few, while new workers having a low technological level are many. But when workers have received an understanding of socialism and determined struggle, they have many methods for raising the collective efficiency, such as helping each other to augment their profession, strong people going with weak people, old people accompanying new people, apportioning the work by pairs to guide each other. Whoever has new skills and a high labor efficiency must popularize and teach it to every person in training, and the process of manifesting the above method is really the process of forming and developing a collective consciousness and a spirit of socialist cooperation. Therefore, in the process of struggles to raise collective labor efficiency, socialist theories are established and new attitudes are steadily developed. Theoretical activities must strengthen the workers in their struggle to increase labor efficiency and must timely develop and raise those new theories and attitudes for the enthusiastic struggle to reach higher efficiencies. Within production labor, the establishment of new people and the establishment

of new people in order to serve production is like this. Those are also very effective educational methods. Not only socialist theories, but socialist actions as well must receive training in labor and in the struggle to achieve high efficiency. It is mainly in order to guarantee a high collective efficiency that the workers have established regulations, promises of struggle and methods of collective administration; educational activities if not joined with the above methods will not establish new activities for workers. Socialist activities can only be constructed during a long process of struggle against old practices. Not only by promoting simplicity is it possible to overcome the activities of small production people. With uninterrupted strengthening in daily activities, in labor, and in the execution of regulations and statutes, is the only possibility for socialism to slowly replace a past custom, a tradition.

Therefore it is necessary to establish good qualities for the workers, mainly in labor. But labor as mentioned here is not every kind of labor, but is centralized labor having a high degree of organization. Centralized labor having a high degree of organization is labor in which the worker applies solid and relatively scientific methods of organization and administration. Perfected labor organizations have the application of replacing the theories and activities of the workers. Therefore, while promoting educational activities, it is necessary to pay attention to raising and perfecting labor organization. It is necessary to lead production groups in the raising of the quality of political and theoretical activities. In order to collectively mobilize the workers in the task of self-education, it is necessary to have organization and method. Higher labor organization means greater application of education for the masses. At present in the north, socialist labor units and groups are the new aspects of this type of highly organized labor. Therefore, in order to increase the application of collective education, it is necessary to attend to the strengthening of the struggling movement to augment socialist labor groups and units, and enabling this movement to have the people's educational manpower.

Aside from education, raising the understanding of socialism for workers in production labor, changes created by the socialist revolution in society and in economics (such as society's ownership of the production materials, a basic change in the distribution of work, the higher role of the worker in socialist labor organization) have all had a great influence on the worker's understanding of socialism. Saying that production raw materials have become the property of society and that they have an influence on the worker's understanding is speaking about their role in collective management. Previously, capitalists held the production raw materials, relying on that to oppress the workers, and since the workers did not own production raw materials, they had to sell their own manpower to the capitalists.

Today, production raw materials belong to the society, governed by the workers. The worker's ideas regarding their own personal position have basically changed. In saying that an altered plan of work distribution has a relationship to the workers idea of understanding is speaking about the significance of labor. Previously, workers sold their manpower in order to seek food. Today, the worker works in a factory or mine owned by him and by all the people; their labor is labor for themselves and for the state. Previously, monetary reward was a cheap return for the sale of manpower. Today, monetary rewards are part of the state controlled profit allocated by the society to the worker according to the quantity and quality of his labor. An altered labor distribution program also changes the consciousness of the worker regarding his own life accordingly. It is clear that the changes brought about by the socialist revolution have a significance of basically changing theoretical consciousness, labor attitude, inclination and customs and all the important world to the worker. When seeking to understand the theories of the worker in order to educate him well, it is necessary to examine the process of change in all his theories from all of the above standpoints, and to determine how educational activities may enable those aspects to be utilized in strengthening the ceaseless development of their theories. Emphasizing only one aspect is a deficiency. Saying that the changes created by the socialist revolution influenced the consciousness understanding of the workers does not mean that from the beginning and spontaneously the worker has had a clear and immediate realization of all of the changes in society, but that it is mainly thanks to traditional and educational activities. Practical experience has show clearly that, because of the long life in the old society, the workers are not impervious to the theories and activities of the plundering class and to the customs held over from the old society. One time when they did not have a sufficient understanding, although the goals were different, in their theories and their activities they still were such unevenness as follows: they did not clearly realize the character of factories in the role of the worker. It was difficult for them to understand immediately that they had only their own two hands, that they did not have "social position", and that they could be a part of the collective management of factories. Although they receive much education, up to now not all of the workers have had a true realization and a complete manifestation of their own management role. Educational activities must help the workers to understand those revolutionary changes. Classes to educate the workers regarding the character of the two systems advanced during 1959 has started to manifest that task with results. In spite of that, these educational activities must be maintained for a long time and cannot allow a few classes to be finished. It is necessary to approve the activities of the workers who are uninterruptedly promoting these educational activities.

The stimulation of workers to perform factory management is not sufficient, and the important point is what to do in order for the workers to realize their own managerial rights. The persons who are furthering administration are responsible cadre. Any number of responsible factory cadre have not yet correctly resolved each relationship between leaders and workers in the administration of factories, while the managerial role of the worker has still not been truly increased. Therefore, to increase the managerial role of the worker is necessary to rely on workers, to know how to mobilize people, and to educate the workers to participate in administration, first of all to participate in production administration. If the cadre correctly perform the above tasks, they will have wide application to the task of increasing the level of understanding of the workers. Since 1959, a party resolution concerning activities to develop factory administrative systems expounded the viewpoint of the party concerning administration and construction for cadre opinions relying on the working class, and leadership activities according to the ways of the masses. The resolution also set forth a system for workers to participate in administration. The "three constructions, three struggles" movement continues to increase the manifestation of administrative viewpoints and principles. All of those tasks help cadre to overcome individualistic administrative habits and the influence of the administrative standpoint of the bourgeoisie. Those are advantageous conditions for increasing the management role of the workers. Increasing the conscious understanding of the workers must take place from the above realities, which teach the basic arguments to the workers; teaching the workers about their role of collective management without performing the above tasks is a waste of time. Or if the above tasks are performed without basing the increase of the workers realization on them, that is also not fulfilling educational goals. If any amount of the realizations of the workers regarding revolutionary changes is not profound, then their level of understanding will also not be raised.

Although the manner of distribution has changed, it is not necessary that workers must always realize that fact. The principle of socialist distribution is reward according to labor, greater reward for more work, less reward for little work. But that does not mean that no matter how much a worker puts out, he will be rewarded that much. A worker's labor, aside from his own goals, must benefit society, and must contribute to the accumulation of wealth for the construction of socialism. Moreover, the lives of the workers during the initial phase of socialism are full of hardships. Those hardships prevent the workers from fully realizing the important significance of the changes in the method of distribution. Theoretical activities must therefore help the workers to realize those changes. Evidently, it is necessary to speak to the workers about their hardships. But speaking only of temporary hardships will make it easy for them to become pessimistic. It is necessary to mobilize the workers to bear hardships and to overcome difficulties. But this task of mobilization will not have any application in raising the level of understanding if, while mobilizing, we do not speak of the above basic changes. Only

when the workers perceive all of the changes in the method of distribution brought about by the socialist revolution will they be able to develop their utility in the construction of socialism. These educational activities must also be maintained, without allowing a few classes to be closed. Because at no time do all of the workers together realize that fact immediately and completely. Many young workers have not gone through the miserable life under the old regime and therefore do not easily perceive the significance of the new method of distribution. And even a few of the old workers mainly those who joined the ranks of the workers during the temporary enemy occupation, are influenced by the deceitful and friendship-buying policies of the enemy; or those workers who have been working for many years, and who receive a high salary, usually find it difficult to perceive the profoundness of the more permanent character of the new system. In many cases, consideration of the lives of the workers has the effect of changing their theories and sentiments, mainly in regard to workers who are encountering many hardships in their lives. In order to enable the workers to produce peacefully, it is necessary to go all-out to help them resolve the hardships in areas where conditions permit this. But it is not possible to regularly supervise theoretical education for the workers. The masses say in general that it is easy to see immediate benefits, and hard to see the long-term advantages. They pay much attention to individual earnings, and easily think only of the simplicity of the earnings from their labor. It is the responsibility of educational activities to help the masses escape that narrow way of viewing things, enabling them not only to attend to the advantages immediately before them, but also to consider the long-term benefits to the people and to the rest of the nation. Speaking to the workers about understanding those facts also means teaching them about the consciousness of the position and leadership responsibilities of the working class, the duties joining them with farm laborers, and the duties of the struggle to manifest national unification.

If class education for workers is not combined with production and life, and with the problems interesting them the most, then those educational activities are out of touch with reality. Only solving problems of production and life, and answering the daily troubles of the workers, (without raising those understandings to become basic perceptions, but merely mobilizing workers to develop their traditions of hard work, misery, and elimination of hardships, and without raising those understandings to become the perceptions of the vanguard role of the working class) will not raise the understanding of socialism for the workers. Therefore, political and theoretical education activities for workers will achieve little success and will not fulfill the current demands of the socialist revolution.

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RAISING THE QUALITY OF THE WORK-STUDY MOVEMENT
AMONG CADRE, WORKERS AND FARMERS

-North Vietnam-

[Following is a translation of an article by Ngo Van Cat in the Vietnamese language periodical Hoc Tap (Study), no. 7 Hanoi, July 1964, pages 56-64]

The construction of socialism in the North demands a large body of cadre and new working people. These people must not only have socialist theories, a new labor attitude, and a high understanding of their own revolutionary role, but they must also have a basic knowledge of culture, of reason and responsibility, of science and technology.

At present, the agricultural production front needs thousands of cadre with the ability to administer cooperatives; the active branches of the party and the nation need many cadre who are highly skilled in every aspect in order to serve the revolution; the industrial production front needs additional thousands of technical cadre and skilled workers. Faced with this situation, the work of strengthening and creating our cadre has become a demand of the highest level.

At present, our party has set forth methods of education aimed at training even better the new class of laboring people, with a high technical level, with a sufficient understanding of socialism, and in order to create a true body of intellectuals from the workers and farmers. In order to do this, on the one hand we must have a long term and comprehensive program of training in the regular schools for thousands of cadre specializing in all aspects of national science and social science; on the other hand, it is necessary to pay special attention to the strengthening of many types of leadership cadre and administrative cadre, to strengthening workers and farmers to advance fervently in the construction of a material and technical foundation for socialism. The task of raising the cultural level for those people currently producing and

working is the primary, immediate responsibilities of the task of changing education, with the aim of strengthening political and theoretical education activities, strengthening the activities which train and augment many cadre in economics and culture, of expanding the task of popularizing science and technology among the laboring people. The most suitable aspect of study for cadre, workers and farmers is the office study aspect, working and studying at the same time without giving up production.

Up until now, the party has supervised the task of organizing and leading office study as a "political duty, a duty regarding organization". Not only does it have a wide application for production, but it also creates the essential conditions for strengthening the leadership of the party, strengthening the political authority of the nation in all levels, creating cadre who follow the class road of the party. Those cadre who rise up from the workers and farmers, and who are strengthened and trained by the work-study method, have advanced forward according to the new demands of the revolution, always maintaining a close liaison with the production basis, with the masses of workers, and with real society. They combine a firm political attitude with a high understanding of their specialization, combine theory with practice, and because of that they have a great capacity "to develop their personal economic conditions and the conditions of the nation". (1) But the big advantage for them we cannot perceive clearly in the growing class of youth, because these youths, although they receive continuous sound education from infancy, cannot avoid being inexperienced and lacking the experience in production and struggle reality.

In spite of that, the work-study problem in our practical condition has many difficulties. The major part of our production base is still handicraft production, and not long ago it still relied on personal property rights and dispersal. At present, the new production base is just being concentrated to move ahead. Therefore, the lives of our people, although they have been steadily advanced, still are not sufficient. Labor conditions in general are severe and fairly dependent on nature. In living and working conditions such as these, the organization of study is not easy or simple. But this is only a minor aspect. The essential aspect is that many people who are filling the culture void, as well as production leaders and activity leaders, do not yet sufficiently realize the role, position and usefulness of study in relation to the practical demands of the revolution, and mainly they fail to realize the devoted relationship between production and study. We must take experiences from organization and leadership as well as from specialization in order to raise higher the quality of the work-study movement.

(1) Lenin Classical Marxist Writings on Education, Education Publication House, Hanoi, 1960, page 30.

The project of overcoming illiteracy in the delta and foothills of the North, changing the ratio from 95 per cent of the people being illiterate (1945 figures) to 93 per cent of the people knowing how to read and write, is one of the magnificent cultural achievements of our people. But that task was just finished in 1958, and now it is necessary to continue the work in the mountains, mainly in the higher areas. Beginning in 1959, the movement to fill the cultural void was just set on a firm footing for development. In the North there have been millions of ordinary laboring people who have escaped illiteracy by receiving cultural education, technical education, education on organizational methods and production administration. Thousands of people have become cadre on agricultural cooperative administrative committees, or become technical workers in factories, work camps and other production organs. Thanks to the fact that the level of cadre in every area has been raised, production has been strengthened, technology has been vastly popularized, and economic and cultural administration activities have gone on according to plan. But it is clear that the cultural level and the level of other aspects of the cadre still do not fulfill the demands of the current phase of the revolution.

"The socialist revolution is one of the most thorough, profound and magnificent revolutions in history".² It is "composed of three revolutions: The first is a revolution regarding production relations aimed at eliminating the system whereby people plunder people; the second is technological revolution aimed essentially at developing production forces in order to change a small handcraft production basis into a large socialist production base, leading our nation from a backward agricultural country to a modern agricultural and industrial nation; the third is a theoretical and cultural revolution aimed at having Marxism-Leninism occupy a position of absolute advantage in the spiritual lives of our people, and constructing for our nation a modern scientific and cultural foundation."³

² Le Duan: On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, page 96.

³ Le Duan: op. cit., page 378.

Premier Ho often admonishes us: "In order to have socialism, it is necessary to have socialistic people." Those people, aside from the essential factors of socialist theory and strength, must have a high level of culture and technology, and they must be well developed people in every area in order to construct the new socialism. In the task of socialist industrialization, the workers must have a determined cultural and technological level. Lenin has said: "All comrades completely realize that the task of mechanization cannot be performed by illiterate people, but that task demands something more, and that is rudimentary knowledge".⁴ Along with completing the agricultural cooperative movement, the technological and cultural level is also one of the most important elements. "If we can organize all the people into cooperatives, then we are standing solidly with both feet on socialist ground. But that condition--the organization of all the people into cooperatives--involves a decided cultural level for the farmers (I state the farmers, because farmers are the vast masses), and makes it impossible to achieve universal organization into cooperatives without a cultural revolution."⁵

On the two fronts of industrial production and agricultural production, only when the laboring masses can grasp science and technology will the socialist inspired patriotic movement develop strongly. Stalin has written: "How can the socialist movement have had the character of the masses? It is because among the workers have been many comrades who not only grasped a basic technological intelligence, but who also advanced to a level parallel to that of technicians, starting to remake the deficiencies of engineers and technicians, breaking up the goals which have currently become backward and establishing newer and more modern goals."⁶

Each worker, villager, each cadre, mainly the leadership cadre of all branches and all organizations responsible for production leadership, must profoundly realize that only when we complete these points, will be able to

(4) Lenin, Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, (Vietnamese edition), Hanoi, 1959, Volume Two, Part 2, p 443.

5 Lenin: op. cit., page 670.

6 Stalin: Classical Marxist Writings on Education, Education Printing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 82.

have sufficient determination in order to overcome the theories and attitudes controlling education and obstructing education, with a will having a low cultural level and a lack of personal experience. Getting through this theory, the only way to completely repair the conditions occurring in a few branches and a few production organizations, is to separate--sometimes in completely opposite directions--the task of education from the task of production although both tasks are of the same substance. The more that production is being planned, then the more that culture, science and technology have the application of strengthening production. If cultural, scientific and technological strengthening is the condition for steadily raising production, then on the other hand, production practice offers its content for raising the quality of training. If these two aspects enforce each other in their forward advance, then they determine the production foundation will develop speedily, strongly and securely. The pure production viewpoint, lightly considering cultural, scientific and technological training, cannot possibly create beneficial conditions for the development of production. That viewpoint is not suitable to the demands of steadily strengthening the laboring people, the first interests of the construction of socialism.

At the end of 1960, an assembly of party leaders from all branches in the North discussing the program of filling the cultural void decided on one principle: Production leaders must take the responsibility to lead the training for the workers, farmers and cadre. In that assembly, Comrade Truong Chinh said: "It is necessary to supervise the filling of the cultural void as an important source of production, and as a problem belonging to the expansion of production."

From then until now, in a few localities and a few production organizations there have been leadership comrades who have been very much interested in leading in office training, and the work-study program. Those comrades have set a personal example in training. There is not another situation anywhere which equals this. Therefore, in order to have a clear realization concerning the role and application of the work-study program, and in order to have the correct attitude and spirit concerning this training, it is necessary to pass through a trying period of difficult and complex struggle. In order to disseminate widely the party's educational principles and methods, it is necessary to correctly realize the following three basic principles of the work-study movement:

First, studies must include strengthening production, creating cadre to fulfill the goals, and they must fulfill the demands of the construction of socialism during the current period.

The general methods of the first five year plan are as follows: "To concentrate on solving the most basic demand, which is the construction of the material and technological foundations for all branches of the state economy, and first of all for agriculture and industry".⁷

Concerning agriculture, our party has set up an operation called "Developing Cooperative Administration, Developing Technology, with the aim of Developing Agricultural Production in all aspects strongly and securely." This operation demands that we enthusiastically attend to the problem of cultural training, technical training, and education regarding socialism for village cadre and cooperative administration cadre and youth. Those cadre have achieved a higher level of personal culture in order subsequently to achieve a high level of scientific and technical intelligence, and to utilize that intelligence in the development of administrative activities and the strengthening of production. The movement for filling the cultural void shows this area is the weakest area. Key cadre and farm hamlets, although there are many difficulties in training, are the people contributing the most to the construction of socialism in farm hamlets, and if they cannot study, then it is clear that the tasks of raising labor efficiency, developing technology, and strengthening agricultural production will not have a secure foundation. And therefore, the training movement in farm hamlets is spreading widely but is still a movement which does not have the correct orientation, and which does not have sufficient revolutionary content.

Concerning industry, the theory that it is advantageous to develop heavy industry in a rash manner, at the same time developing industry, and it is necessary to attend to directing industry to serve agriculture more usefully,⁸ is also evident in educational activities

⁷ Resolution of the Eighth Central Assembly for Planning the Development of a State Economy with the First Five Year Plan (1961-1965), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, page 19.

⁸ op. cit., page 20.

where it is necessary "to positively develop and augment the ranks of the cadre and technical workers."⁹ The cultural and technical level of our workers has been raised high, but up until now, that level of a large number of workers is still not sufficient for them to receive more technology rapidly. Therefore, by strengthening training among the workers of essential industrial branches such as machinery, electric power, chemicals, gold refinery, mineral prospecting, and mechanical development, only then can we create the advantageous conditions for expanding and building schools along with production organizations with the aim of strengthening the technical capacity which the cadre and technical workers currently possess. This is an essential condition in order for them to be able to fulfill the demands of, developing all of the above branches in the process of socialist industrialization.

Along with attending to the essential branches and to essential objectives, we must also energetically raise the quality of the work-study movement. Speaking of raising the quality of training, it is first of all necessary to speak about the joining of studies with production and with life to make every step forward in training also a step forward in production and in activity. In the current cultural training movement there are two incorrect tendencies. A large number of cadre, workers and young farmers only want to study culture as a means of speedily going from this class to a higher class, because their goal is to get into a college or intermediate specialty school in order to avoid their current position in activities for production, and they want better treatment. Therefore, they emphasize that first-level or intermediate-level technical studies or business matters are the important studies because of the essential objectives in production, and in the personal activities which they have set forth. Studying pure culture like that, although one has much more intelligence, is not making full use of one's intelligence in the task of utilizing technology, raising technology and raising business affairs. It must be after a long period of time, after things have been "settled", before one can use the things he has learned. The tendency for training like that has no benefit for developing production and increasing the standard of living; it is contrary to the methods of socialist education (study goes along with work, theory is joined with practice), and is not suitable to the demands of the work-study classes. It is necessary to realize that, under our system, it is only necessary to worry about not having the will, and it is not necessary to worry about not having a place to study or a high level of study which can be raised even higher.

The second tendency of a few cadre and direct production people is that they only want to study those things of immediate use to the task

(9) *op. cit.*, page 55.

before them, and which will immediately solve the ensnaring problems of business. These people believe that studying for universal basic intelligence is "wasteful" and useless, but they don't know that basic universal intelligence is the essential foundation enabling them to understand and to solve the technological and business problems which are becoming more complex every day. Because of that incorrect concept, they study the universal basic subjects carelessly, disconnectedly, without plan, for short periods of time, and they completely change the sequence to fit their own convenience. Necessarily, the quality of their training will not be high. Not only do they not have modern technological and scientific subjects or long term utilization in the production basis which is becoming more modern every day, but right now, they also do not have sufficient understanding of the essential technology and science for analyzing and solving the practical problems in production and in life.

The Secretariat of the Party Central Committee has clearly shown to all branches filling the cultural void: "Aside from the responsibility of supplying basic cultural subjects with the aim of helping the cadre, workers and farmers to solve the practical problems in activities and in production, the activities filling the cultural void must prepare the students to be able to advance securely forward in grasping modern technological and scientific subjects". (10)

During a period with such high cultural and technological development as there is today, without universal basic subjects natural science and social science it is impossible to understand deeply problems of development and of social development, and because of that there would be a lesser capacity to change our backward production basis into a large modern and up-to-date production basis, and there would be less kindly and sufficient recognition of the evident changes of society and of life. Studying culture does not mean to emphasize that it is the final goal. The final goal is to be able to grasp science and technology, production administration science, and social science, while culture is only the basis for continuing work. In other words, cadre, workers and farmers must study cultural subjects up to a level which is determined to be essential, then they may change to the technical, business and legal training of Marxism-Leninism, with the aim of strengthening activities and strengthening production, and after that, after additional study of culture, they prepare the foundation for higher steps of study. This "basis of cultural subjects" must be in accord with every phase of the revolution which is slowly advancing, and need not absolutely regulate the level of skill for every person.

(10) Resolution no. 93-NQ/TU, 2 December 1959, from the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee: On Increasing Leadership of the Activities Filling the Cultural Void for Cadre, Workers and Farmers with the Aim of Strengthening the Socialist Revolution in the North and the Struggle for the Unification of our Country .

Second, it is necessary to establish different levels of training for each objective having different demands and capacities, it is necessary to attend to the correct goals according to the hopes of the individual if those hopes are in accordance with the general benefit of technical and production development.

The cadre, workers and farmers in the work-study program are similar in that among youths in general have studied little or not at all, but they also have made dissimilarities regarding age, health, profession, political and technical levels. They have participated in struggles through different revolutionary phases, and therefore have different practical understandings. Therefore, it must be based on the achievement limits and production limits of each person, and based on the capacities and hopes of them; in short, it is necessary to start from those places where they need study and where they can study something, and to establish suitable training goals. Whoever needs only a course in international commerce simple accounting, whoever needs only a determined level in order to have a foundation for pursuing technology, whoever needs to finish studying at any level in order to manifest a leadership utility, and just as with those people studying together in one class and according to one plan, it is also necessary to establish different demands and levels for those persons having different conditions and capacities for training.

The demand of the nation and of the party is that cadre of all levels must study up to a grade to cultural level in all aspects. On that basis, intermediate cadre and top-level cadre must study those basic specialities of grade three, stressing the business and technical training which was determined in the goal of their personal struggle. Fundamental to the government and party demands of cadre is the fact that it is necessary to have a capacity for leadership activity in every area, and fundamental to the task of the majority of intermediate and high level cadre who are now nearly finished with the study plan for grade two, and the above decision is completely correct and suitable. The workers and farmers, mainly the technical workers, positive young villagers, key cadre of villages and agricultural cooperatives whose level of pursuit has not yet reached the will to overcome difficulties, must necessarily strive to study the most basic subjects of grade two. In a few important industrial branches such as electrical power, chemicals and gold refining, these young technical workers must study the additional essential subjects of grade three.

Partial objectives and determined level struggle such as these will clarify the significance and goals of the work-study movement and will overcome the condition of spread-out training, will mainly have the practical capacity to raise the quality of training for the main objective which is the objective having positive and practical use in regard to production development.

On the basis of determining the objectives and goals mentioned above,

the content of the work-study plan will become more clearly perceptive and more positive. The work-study program is determined for different objectives, on the one hand having to pay attention to the demands of different professions and different branches, regarding the objectives; on the other hand, it must guarantee to give the most general subjects, but must not leave out the special subjects serving the workers of each branch. Of course, attending to the demands of classes of young people who want sufficient training in order to fulfill the higher and higher demands of production (in following plans) is correct and in accordance with the demands of objective development of the revolution. Therefore, the practical leaders of the program must be lively and must know the applications of many different goals and aspects. Not every place programs training exactly alike, and they must therefore follow the essentials of different professions and branches which the leaders of the study-plan have observed. There are places which need only study a few cultural subjects, there are those who intersperse the study of cultural subjects with technological problems which must be immediately grasped in order to produce well. There are also places which must study in a progressive manner, according to a determined system. The important point is that the program must be practical, this place must not model the other place in a mechanical or measurable method. If we allow production laborers to study general culture in order to compete, then we have unwittingly separated them from production responsibility. That is a mistake. It is necessary to issue a stern official decision on the use of ridiculous programs and study methods by general schools in those classes studying to overcome the cultural void of workers, farmers and cadre, because that reduces the spirit of responsibility. We must also urgently complete the task of generalizing grade one education for workers and farmers, excluding those people who are too old (among cadre, this responsibility has nearly been completed) so that they will reach a level from which to pursue technology in order to strengthen production. Along with these different aspects of training, it is necessary to initiate mass cultural activities such as clubs, discussion groups and literary research with the aim of perfecting the incomplete training of all classes filling the cultural void and to strengthen on the job technology in order to gather many different objectives which have had a general cultural level.

At present in farm hamlets, the work-study program is encountering many difficulties. The highest responsibility of villagers having a high level of reading and writing skills and of the cadre having a grade one cultural level, is not to study for a higher class in a systematic method. In reality, we must strive to have a capacity to enable all the farmers to study upwards together, according to a systematic plan over many years. But in order that their training will have a true benefit for the revolution and have a benefit for the establishment of cooperatives and construction of new farm hamlets, the propaganda, agricultural, irrigation and medical branches suitably combine their activities with educational and cultural organizations in order to bring to the farmers

the essential understanding of the methods and policies of the party, of technical procedure, and of strengthening their labor enthusiasm. And concerning younger cadre, and concerning farming youth, their training responsibility must first of all also follow that direction, but in order to fulfill the request of the highest following plans, it is possible immediately to let them receive training in all areas and systematically.

Third, establish a work-study system for all aspects (including culture, technology, business and law) for production laborers and slowly unite this system of study with the national education system.

In the space of a few years, on the job training not only changed from eliminating illiteracy to filling the cultural void, but it also increased the studies of technology and economic administration. Technological training programs and economic administration training were also raised from a position where they were composed of practical but sparse problems into systematic, regulated programs, approximating the contents of programs in schools and regularly constituted classes.

Students graduating from general schools are completely accepted in the ranks of construction laborers constructing the nation, and can also demand continued cultural training or production technology training. The party and the nation also request other branches to "come together at determined intervals, to raise the level of administrative and leadership cadre regarding Marxist-Leninist laws, regarding culture, regarding business and technology, and timely fulfill the steadily developing demands of the responsibility of constructing socialism". (11)

The task of implementing and strengthening all around training systems composed of culture, technology, business, law and politics have become an essential objective of the revolution. The content of the training is making higher and steadily more demands concerning both quantity and quality and concerning the systematic character of the training. This new situation demands that we create better conditions for training to overcome the cultural void, and we must combine this with training in all other aspects. Establishing an all around work-study training system positively prepares conditions for youth, worker, and farmer cadre to gain the capacity and to advance true study to a regular program of the national education system.

In order to manifest completely the above three principles, it is first of all necessary to construct a training program. The Secretariat of the Party Central Committee has issued a timely order (12) programming on the job training (culture, technology, business, law) for cadre

(11), (12) Order no. 61-CT/TU, 29 March 1963 from the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee concerning: Developing On-The-Job Training Regarding Law and Politics, Regarding Business and Technology, and Regarding Culture.

determining objectives and other required levels regarding goals and time periods for all high level, intermediate and low level cadre. Fundamental to this program, each cadre may easily decide his own objective, compare his current level with that objective and based on the most essential demands of his own job, he may determine what to study first, what to study last in order finally to receive sufficient subjects for the goals of law as well as culture, technology and business.

A program such as this must also be for the technical workers of all branches; they have great utility in many aspects:

1) Rationalization of training for workers. In cases where the workers level is low in all aspects, where the work is piling up, and where study time is little, programming the training will enable the workers to arrange their time and to work in a scientific manner, reducing work, but producing more and doing it better.

2) Combine within organizations the study of culture with the study of other subjects, taking culture as a basis. This aspect of study will strengthen, expand and increase the positive points of the former aspect. Rushing into the study of culture and giving up the demands created by technology will cause great delay. All branches could possibly open high level, intermediate level or low level technical classes right along with the production basis and they could not lack qualified people for studying as they are doing now. Advancing a step further, the workers should work and study up to regular study levels such as intermediate professional and college level, in the various branches without being impeded at all.

3) Clearly establish responsibilities for each worker as well as for each branch and each production basis, and there must be methods for implementing the work-study program within the decided time period. It is necessary rationally to attend to age, to previous technological and cultural levels, and to the training conditions of each person in order to develop the capacities of each person in a suitable manner.

Whether or not a work-study program is well constructed, and whether or not it is correctly implemented, depends on whether or not the production branches and activity foundations clearly set up on the job training to fulfill a general revolutionary responsibility, whether or not they assume the responsibility as the education branch, because these tasks are not the special responsibility of the education branch. On the contrary, the education branch is developing its own positive role as staff and backbone to a greater extent so that other branches may implement work-study programs for their own cadre and workers more advantageously.

The forward position of work-study activities has been clearly determined, but whether or not these activities are developed still

depends on the objectives of the commanders and the path of the party at all command levels. If each party command level strictly implemented the doctrines and road of the central committee the work-study movement will be uniform, symmetrical and of a high quality. In agricultural production cooperatives, if there is a lack of leadership on a party command level and a lack of positive participation from agricultural branches, from farm hamlet activity committees, from cooperative administrative committees, and from youth and women's auxiliary groups, then the training movement of the cadre and villagers will be decidedly broken up, will fluctuate irregularly, and will not be able to stand before difficulties and obstacles. The training movement among workers will not be symmetrical and will lack quality if party leaders, trade unions, youth groups and factory administrative committees do not enthusiastically mobilize people to study or to teach, do not lead the content or methods of teaching, do not preserve the necessary time for students and teachers, and primarily if they do not implement the systems and policies determined for teachers and for the organization of the work-study movement.

The education branch has the main responsibility in directing the content and method, and has the responsibility of proposing, with party leaders and the responsible committees of all branches, the doctrines concerning organizational methods, concerning policies and concerning the systems which must be unified throughout the country.

In past years, wherever party command groups and the responsible committees from all branches and classes have attended to constructing and utilizing correctly the classes to fill the culture void, then in those places there have been good experiences regarding the application of methods having an educational development character. It is mainly in farm hamlets, the places which are usually energetically struggling against natural calamities such as droughts, floods, storms and inundations, that the work-study movement has been tested, and has been positively applied in production, as well as in every aspect of other activities. It is possible to say that these places are the places of first reliance for us to promote the development of work-study programs, an important part of the coming project of educational development.

The party commander of Tri Yen village (Ha Bac) has used the cultural education classes as a "regular meeting place" in order to organize and lead the successful manifestation of every doctrine and policy from the party. Phuong Tru cooperative (Hung Yen) has, through two years of administering cultural education activities, finally believed in the new technology and strongly applied that technology in the growing of jute and sugar cane, and they have thereby increased jute production from 21 kilograms to 47 kilograms per sao, and raised sugar cane production from 1.2 tons to 2 tons per sao.

The comrade manager of An Xa cooperative (Hung Yen), where the cultural level is only at grade six, thanks to recognizing the content of cultural education lessons regarding production and regarding

local realities, has fulfilled the production plan, has encouraged the use of all areas of land, reducing the public portion and speeding up the advantageous task of section apportionment.

Among the 34 key cadre of the Binh Duong cooperative in Ha Tinh, thanks to the cultural training (31 people are studying at level 2, among which are 12 persons who have reached grade 7) there was unanimous agreement by all of the villagers that: the best method was to take cultural education activities as the foundation for attacking poverty and backwardness.

At present, Hung Yen Province has had more than 6,000 intermediate and low level technical cadre, and more than 5,000 teachers trained through cultural education activities.

Many provinces in the North do not have discussions on the problem of whether or not cooperatives are carrying out cultural education activities, but they only discuss the possible benefits of those activities. Cooperatives have administered the time and labor of villagers, and administered production technology, but they have not administered cultural education activities because it is hard to satisfy the goals of production program and of cultural education programs at the same time.

Many other reports on the results manifested by cultural education program of 1963 have led us to believe the following: Yen Cuong village (Nam Dinh) completed the five year plan regarding cultural education; (13) Kim Dong township (Hung Yen) has filled 64% of the goals of the 1963 plan; Phu Tho province has exceeded the plan by 22%; Nam Dinh province - 5%; Ninh Dinh province - 2.8%.

Reports of these successes reaffirm once again that the doctrines and methods of the party regarding cultural education are correct. If party leaders attend even more to the field or organizing activities, to the field of supervising and controlling administrative activities in all levels and all organization, to the field of developing the content and teaching and training methods for true suitability to the demands and special problems of every locality and every student, then we will decidedly have an overflowing harvest of successful results for every branch of cultural activities.

When our people won back their rights from the hands of the imperialist gang, then at the same time our people also continued a serious cultural heritage which was repressed by the mass policies of the dominating gang: 95% of the people were illiterate. During the

(13) The Ministry of Education is preparing to investigate and confirm this.

advance of the democratic people's revolution, our people concentrated their strength on "eliminating ignorance, eliminating hunger, eliminating the foreign devils". Since the reestablishment of peace and during the period of economic recovery and development of production relations, the task of filling the cultural void for working people was emphasized as a central responsibility of the education branch, after the fundamental completion of the task of eliminating illiteracy. Stepping into the first five year plan, the task of organizing on the job training was expanded and was composed of training in the various fields of law, culture, science and technology and business.

Throughout all stages of history, the training responsibilities of the cadre and our people have been closely united with the responsibilities of each phase of the revolution. But it is clear that along side the advantages, on the job training still has many weak points. The content of our training in each aspect does not yet fulfill the demands, training organization is still not up to date, training methods lack vitality, the quality of teaching and training is low. Moreover, a few cadre, workers and laboring people still have an incorrect attitude toward training. Therefore, training results are still limited. The party has shown us the way to control science and technology, and to take science and technology as effective weapons in the attack against poverty and backwardness. In order to construct socialism, to construct a full and happy life, it is evident that cadre and our people aside from their revolutionary enthusiasm for relying on Marxist-Leninist doctrines, still must have a high, cultural, scientific and technological level. Under current conditions of age, activity and production, the cadre, workers and farmers only have the most suitable road to follow, which is work and study at the same time, slowly advancing to occupy the highest peaks of culture, science and technology. The tasks of economic construction and development and the construction of socialism in the North will certainly demand many cadre with high cultural and technological levels with high legal and leadership levels, and will demand many specialized workers, and scientific farmers. Whether or not these demands are filled, depends on whether the strengthening and creating of people through the work-study program reduces quantity as well as quality or not.

We must clearly perceive the demands of the revolution, taking another look at the level of current cadre, workers and farmers, in order to consider and to correctly solve the problems of content as well as of organization and of leadership of the work-study movement. It is evident that the methods of examining this problem and the organizational methods in this phase must be different from those of the previous phase. Recognizing the problem as simply as when overcoming illiteracy, and repeating the same ridiculous experiences regarding organization and leadership during that time, is not only not suitable with the current situation but also falls into the trap of reacting by situation, without bringing out benefit to the movement but which could make the movement develop in an uneven manner. Because of that, the creation and strengthening of a body of high quality leadership and administrative cadre, and a large body of workers and farmers having the essential culture and technology to strengthen production

and to fulfill the general goals of the revolution, will be decidedly slow. The development of on the job and work-study training is a complex and difficult problem having essential relationships with many aspects, and must therefore be performed cautiously from preparation through organization, to implementation. However, under the leadership of the part, if all of us, in every position, are students, teachers, or the responsible cadre from production branches, and we positively establish the movement using all of our own capacities and responsibilities then we could believe that the work-study movement will be sufficiently manifested for application to the task of constructing socialism in the north and to the general revolution throughout our country.

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