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No 8, 1964

- North Vietnam -

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**STRIVE TO FIGHT AMERICANS, SAVE THE COUNTRY, PROTECT
RESULTS OF REVOLUTION AND LEAD REVOLUTIONARY
UNDERTAKING TO COMPLETE SUCCESS**

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 8, August 1965.]

It was exactly 20 years ago on 19 August 1945 that our people in both north and south, under the leadership of our party headed by President Ho, carried out successfully an armed general uprising, overthrew the Japanese fascist yoke and the imperial court of the Nguyen dynasty, and founded the DRV. The August revolution opened a new era in our nation's history--the era of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, achieving independence for the nation and democracy for the people, and gradually taking the country toward socialism.

The August revolution raised the laboring people in our country to the position of owners of the country. For the first time in our national history, the ordinary laboring people had the right to decide their own destiny and that of their fatherland. The foundation of the DRV marked the emergence--for the first time in southeast Asia and also for the first time among the colonies and dependent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America--of a government of the laboring people, especially of workers and peasants, and led by the working class.

The August revolution elevated the Vietnamese people to the level of assault unit of the oppressed peoples of the world. With the successful August revolution, the Vietnamese people pierced the imperialist frontline across the world and moved forward together with people in the colonies and dependent countries to launch a continuous attack on imperialism, bringing about the continuous disintegration and collapse of the imperialist colonial system.

The Vietnamese August revolution has demonstrated to people throughout the world that a nation, though small and weak, will surely defeat aggressive imperialism if it knows how to unite closely under the leadership of the working class and the latter's party and if it

follows the Marxism-Leninist road exactly and uses revolutionary violence against counterrevolutionary violence.

Some 20 years have passed since the success of the August revolution. During the past 20 years, great changes have taken place in the situation in our country and the world. During the past 20 years a sweeping, new revolutionary movement has developed continuously across the world and induced billions of people to rise up to the struggle and ceaselessly attack imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. This new, full-blown revolutionary movement caused considerable change: the world socialist system has been shaped, consolidated, and strongly developed; the imperialist colonial system has collapsed rapidly under the strong blows dealt by the national liberation movement; and the world capitalist system -- the bulwark of which is imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism -- entered a period of weakness and serious crisis. These great changes completely changed the face of the world and caused worldwide changes in the balance between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces that are favorable to the working class, the oppressed peoples, peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The success of socialist construction in the USSR and East European countries has consolidated and strengthened the socialist battleground in the West. After the success of the Russian October Revolution, the success of the Chinese revolution had an extremely great significance for the world. The success of socialist construction in China, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam has consolidated and strengthened the socialist battleground in the east. Near our country, the Laotian revolution has obtained great success, and Cambodia has progressed steadily along the road of peace and neutrality. The success of the Cuban revolution and the Algerian resistance cut into the colonial system of imperialism in Latin America and Africa. The national liberation movement is mounting strongly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and has achieved huge success. More than 50 countries that are independent nations have emerged from the ruins of the imperialist colonial system.

In the capitalist countries, the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people against capitalist monopoly and for democracy and socialism is developing strongly every day. Throughout the world, the movement to protect peace -- which has a broad mass character -- is checking the warmongering plots of the U.S. imperialists and other warlike aggressors. At present the struggle movement for socialism and national liberation movement are two great trends of the world revolution which are promoting the development of human society.

In the past 20 years, the situation in our Vietnamese nation has also been subject to great changes. Our people's resistance against the French colonialists was crowned by a huge success. The historic

Dien Bien Phu victory resulted in the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements recognizing our country's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. In the completely liberated north, a land reform was accomplished which eliminated the feudal system of land ownership and gave land to the tillers. Completed in late 1957, the economic recovery three-year plan lifted the economy of the north approximately to the same level as in the pre-war period (1939).

Successfully completed in late 1960, the three-year plan for economic reform and development and cultural development resulted in basically eliminating the exploiting classes in the northern part of our country and basically transforming along socialist lines the agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and trade, and small trade in the north -- thus causing the north's economy to move a new step forward. The five-year (1961-1965) plan for initial construction of socialist material and technical bases in the north is being carried out effectively and will be soon completed successfully. With the aid of friendly countries in the socialist camp, the people in North Vietnam have gradually transformed the northern economy -- which formerly depended on imperialism -- into an independent economy advancing gradually toward socialism. Socialist production relations have been improved step by step and the construction of socialist material and technical bases has been initiated.

Simultaneously with economic changes, the social aspect of the northern part of our country has changed. Strengthened in quantity and quality, the working class has daily developed its leading role with regard to all facets of social life. The collective peasant class has taken shape and been gradually consolidated. The socialist intelligentsia is growing vigorously. The former exploiting classes are steadily being transformed. Political and moral unity of mind has become a basic facet of the northern society. The cultural, scientific, and technical standards of the people are raised every day. New ideas and feelings are blossoming. New -- communist -- ethics are taking shape on the basis of developing the good traditions of our people.

The success of the socialist revolutionary undertaking and the socialist construction in the northern part of our country has consolidated and strengthened the north from all viewpoints and made it a solid and strong revolutionary base for our entire country. Under party leadership, the northern people are striving to build and defend the north while at the same time striving to support the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots to achieve national unification and to carry out the tasks of the national democratic people's revolution throughout the country.

In the southern part of our country since the victorious resistance against the French, the southern compatriots have struggled patiently and courageously against the U.S. imperialists and their

lackeys to liberate the south, protect the north, and advance toward national unification. After replacing the French colonialists in occupying the south, the U.S. imperialists planned to turn the southern part of our country into a new-style colony and a military base, but they have met with strong opposition from our southern compatriots. Unable to deceive the southern people with deceitful political tricks such as slogans about fake independence and freedom, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have brazenly resorted to fascist and terrorist measures to repress the patriotic movement in the south. Faced with the savage massacres of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the southern compatriots since 1959 have risen up and taken up weapons to defend themselves. In a short period, local uprisings and regional guerrilla activities have developed into a wide revolutionary struggle throughout the south, causing the bankruptcy of the political tricks of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism.

To save their ruling regime, which has been shaken, since 1961 the U.S. imperialists have waged the "special war" with the aim of quenching the patriotic movement of the southern compatriots. They enforced the Staley-Taylor plan with the aim of pacifying the south within 18 months (from June 1961 to December 1962). Struggling resolutely, the people of the heroic south defeated the Staley-Taylor plan. The 2 January 1963 Ap Bac victory marked a new step in the development of the national liberation movement in the south. The 1 November 1963 collapse of Ngo Dinh Diem was the natural result of the failure of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in the Staley-Taylor plan as well as a natural result of the continuous victories of the southern armed forces and people.

Since Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown and killed, the southern puppet authorities have undergone a serious and protracted crisis. Coups d'etat broke out one after another in Saigon and further weakened the puppet authorities. To remedy the situation, the U.S. imperialists applied the McNamara plan for two years (1964-1965) with a view to "pacifying with major points" and trying to "maintain the status quo" in the south. The valiant struggle of the southern people has caused the McNamara plan to go bankrupt ahead of schedule. The Binh Gia victory (28 December 1964-2 January 1965) of the southern armed forces and people warned the U.S. imperialists that a complete defeat is waiting for them in the south.

The patriotic struggle of the southern compatriots is progressing rapidly and obtaining great successes while the U.S. imperialist "special war" in the south meets with ever more serious failures. The southern armed forces and people's successes and the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen's failures have caused the puppet armed forces, puppet authorities, strategic hamlet system, and cities -- which are the main vantage points for the U.S. imperialists in their aggressive war in the south -- to crumble and shake to the roots. While the areas

controlled by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are increasingly narrowed, the liberated areas become ever larger and at present represent four-fifths of the territory with more than 10 million people.

To improve their dangerous situation, the U.S. imperialists have sent U.S. Armed Forces combat units to directly participate in the war in the south and launched an offensive -- continuously by air force and partly by naval force -- against the northern region of our country. The Johnson plan, aimed at stopping the collapse of the southern puppet authorities and put in force as a replacement for the McNamara plan, is also experiencing serious failure. The resounding victories of the southern armed forces and people in Ba Gia, Dong Xoai, and so forth have dealt thundering blows at the heads of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Additional U.S. troops are introduced daily into the southern part of our country and U.S. planes step up bombings and strafings ever more deeply into the territory of the north.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists have stepped up their aggressive war in the south and launched a sabotage war against the north does not demonstrate the U.S. imperialist strength, but only shows that they are getting bogged down ever more deeply in the south and are weakening rapidly and experiencing continuous failure.

The further the U.S. imperialists apply their "escalation" policy, the more painfully they will fall down. That more than 400 U.S. planes have been downed in the north has given the lie to the incredible story about the so-called "absolute supremacy of the U.S. Air Force." The sabotage war waged by the U.S. imperialists fails to depress the morale of the northern people but instead further embitters our people's hatred against them and causes our compatriots in both the north and south to close their ranks and stand beside each other to fight to the end to defeat them. The more the U.S. imperialists enlarge the war, the greater and more insurmountable difficulties they will meet. The Vietnamese people from north to south are not in the least moved, but are determined to defeat and annihilate them.

After glancing back at the domestic and world situation in the past 20 years since the August revolution, we realize all the more clearly that our era -- just as stated by the 1947 and 1960 Moscow conferences of delegates of communist and workers parties -- is an era of "transition from capitalism to socialism which was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, an era of struggle between two antagonistic social systems, an era of socialist and national liberation revolutions, an era of imperialist collapse and elimination of colonialism, an era when ever more peoples advance on the socialist road, and an era of socialist and communist success on a world scale."

Living in such an era and progressing according to the law of development of history and to the substance and nature of the era, our people have continuously achieved successes one after another and will certainly win complete success. Stubbornly refusing to change their behavior, the U.S. imperialists and their followers put forth their dwindling strength to stop the wheel of history, thus acting contrary to the law of social evolution and running toward certain destruction. The history-condemned forces do not resign themselves to death but writhe to the end. The nearer they approach the day of collapse, the more violent and cruel the U.S. imperialists become. But our people continue to heighten their vigilance and are determined to overcome all difficulties, to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, and to carry the revolutionary undertaking in our country to complete success.

Due to the U.S. imperialist plot of stepping up and enlarging the war, our people are now faced with a nationwide war situation of different degree in each region. Our entire people from north to south are confronted by a huge historic mission -- that of struggling against the Americans and saving the country.

President Ho said: "Faced with the danger of our country being invaded by U.S. aggressors, compatriots in the north and south are united in one mind and determined to fight; even if we have to fight for 5, 10, 20 years or more, we are always determined to fight till complete victory."

Our people throughout the country are warmly responding to President Ho's appeal: "Let compatriots throughout the country believe firmly in final success and in the brilliant future of our fatherland. Let us be determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships and to vanquish the U.S. aggressors."

Resisting the Americans and saving the country is a great revolutionary task of our entire people at the present time. To fulfill this task, the southern compatriots are striving to step up their armed and political struggle to annihilate as much of the enemy strength as possible while the northern compatriots are striving to perform production and combat, to build and defend the north, and to support the southern revolution. The northern people are exerting efforts to build and develop the socialist economy in accordance with the new situation; to strengthen national defense and to step up the task of maintaining public order and security in order to protect the north; to support positively and from all viewpoints the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots; to step up the ideological and organizational tasks; and to do their utmost to win the broad sympathy and support of people in the socialist camp and throughout the world. Believing firmly in their own strength, our people are displaying their self-sufficiency spirit and exerting every effort to emulate in "each works as two" in order rapidly to vanquish the U.S. aggressors.

Patriotic emulation movements -- such as the youth's "three ready" movement, the women's "three responsibility" movement, and the "determined to annihilate the U.S. aggressors" movement among the armed forces -- are being eagerly carried out everywhere and creating a boiling revolutionary impetus to kill the enemy to save the country. Our people are engaged in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation with the attitude of the victor and with an adamant belief in final success.

Twenty years ago under party leadership, our people rose up to successfully carry out the August revolution and to win back national independence. Ever since our people have resolutely followed the road indicated by the August revolution and they have achieved numerous great successes. The present aggressive war of the U.S. imperialist against our country is seriously endangering the August revolution's achievements and the successes scored by our people in the past 20 years. Our people are determined to fight to the end, to vanquish the U.S. aggressors, to protect the August revolution's achievements, and to defend and develop the revolutionary achievements scored by our people during the past 20 years. Our people are determined to move forward and to carry the revolutionary undertaking throughout our country to complete success.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the successful August revolution, more than 30 million compatriots throughout the country are confident, enthusiastic, united in one mind, and determined to vanquish the U.S. aggressors, to defend the north, to liberate the south, and to achieve at all costs a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and strong Vietnam.

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WE MUST MAKE GREAT EFFORTS IN
THE CULTURAL SUPPLEMENTATION WORK

[Following is a translation of an article by
Ton Duc Thang in the Vietnamese-language peri-
odical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8, August
1965, pages 24-29.]

The American imperialists are sending tens of thousands of combat troops to the South to participate directly in the fighting, and are crazily waging a war of destruction against the North, in hopes of saving their imperiled situation in the South of our country. That situation requires that our Party and our people in the North make great efforts in the work of building and defending the North, positively supporting the revolution to liberate the South, and progressing to the unification of the Fatherland.

That great and urgent mission requires that all cadres, Party members, soldiers, workers, State officials, and cooperatives grasp more firmly the lines and policies of the Party, develop more strongly than ever the spirit of revolutionary struggle, be resolved to defeat the American aggressors, strengthen their organization and discipline, improve their qualities and revolutionary virtues, endeavor to promote production, be prepared to fight, and fight more effectively. If we are to produce and fight well, everyone must also raise their cultural level, so that they can rapidly assimilate advanced production technology, economic management knowledge, and military science.

With regard to production, a seething wave of competition is rising in all factories and fields in an atmosphere of victory: workers "with a hammer in one hand and a weapon in the other" are working selflessly to achieve "high productivity, good quality, and good economy," and are working day and night to achieve "a

yearly productivity of five tons of paddy per hectare." In addition to enthusiasm and a strong revolutionary spirit, the workers and peasants must have a certain cultural level before they can study and grasp technology, improve technology, assure the constant increasing of labor productivity, and overfulfill the competitive plans.

The building of the material and technical bases of socialism in the new, urgent situation requires a great number of scientific and technical cadres, who are skilled politically as well as in their specialities. Economic construction and development require that in the next five years there be millions of people with an elementary technical level, scores of thousands of people with a middle technical level, and tens of thousands of people with a high technical level. The training and strengthening of skilled workers and agricultural cooperative members with technical knowledge must be expanded on a large scale. The great masses of youths who are completing second-level and third-level schools and are then going into enterprises or to the countryside to participate in production, or who are going to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain regions, must also be strengthened rapidly, so that they may become assault units on the production and fighting fronts at the present time, and reserve forces for the training of future cadres.

In order to defeat the war-mongering, cruel American imperialists, our entire army and our whole people must not only develop to a high degree their spiritual superiority and the heroic and unyielding tradition of our people, but must also equip themselves with knowledge of modern military science. We feel deeply that only if we have a certain amount of knowledge about politics, history, mathematics, physics, and chemistry can we learn and apply really well and precisely new scientific knowledge and military technology to the special conditions of our country. The new revolutionary situation requires that the work of cultural supplementation rapidly and strongly develop its use and cause the people who are now fighting and producing to have the cultural level needed to advance deeply into the domain of science and technology and make greater and greater accomplishments in all spheres of activity.

If we are to build socialism we must have stable material and technical bases. If we are to defend socialism we must have strong national defense forces. Our soldiers and people, especially our cadres, must have a stable level of political consciousness and a high level of culture and technology. During the past several years we have done much to overcome the serious backwardness of the economy left to us by the colonialists and feudalists. We have made much progress in this respect. But in comparison to

the needs of building the material and technical bases of socialism and the needs of strengthening our national defense forces so that we can defeat the American aggressors, a great deficiency which must be rapidly overcome is the excessively low cultural and technical level of the cadres and workers.

For a long time in the past, and for a long time in the future, our Party has placed and will continue to place the work of cultural supplementation at the forefront of the education work, in order to raise the cultural level of cadres and workers, create favorable conditions for political education and education in science and technology, promote the work of training cadres on a large scale, contribute to the promotion of production, and strengthen national defense.

The cultural supplementation work plays an important role in raising the political, professional, and technical levels of the cadres and increasing the efficiency of their work, so that they can fulfil their responsibilities well and be worthy of the confidence of the Party and the people. For the past several years the cultural level of the cadres has, because of the cultural supplementation movement, been raised a step further, and their leadership has been made more efficient. But at present, nearly 50% of the cadres from the first level on up have less than a seventh-grade education, and 40% of the middle-level and high-level cadres have not completed the second level. Most provincial and district cadres have less than a sixth-grade education. The cadres of the cooperatives and production teams in the lowlands have a third-grade to fourth-grade level. If we do not endeavor to bring about a strong transformation in the cultural supplementation work, the existing cadres of the Party and State will find it difficult to lead the people in achieving the urgent fighting and production missions of the present time, and the need for cadres to serve the building of socialism during the coming years will also be difficult to meet fully.

Since 1960 the cultural supplementation work has raised the cultural level of the workers, the peasants, and the working people in general. Nearly three million people completed the classes of Level I, nearly 220,000 people have completed the classes of Level II, and more than 37,000 people have completed the classes of Level III. Those accomplishments have contributed importantly to raising the political and the economic management levels of the workers, promoting the movement to improve technology, developing production, and creating conditions for the creation of a new army of intellectuals of worker-peasant origins. But that cultural level is too low to meet the needs of the new mission. Because the cultural level of the workers is, generally speaking, too low, the organization of elementary technical study on a wide scale in the factories is still seriously hindered.

In the "propose schemes and develop innovations" movement at the enterprises, work sites, and forestry sites, the workers, although daring to think and do, are often obstructed by technical matters. Because the cultural level of peasants is still low, the application of new agricultural technology is still proceeding slowly. In the campaign to achieve intensive cultivation and increase productivity, with the goal of a yearly average of five tons of paddy per hectare, the peasants in many areas are confused and faltering; and because they cannot grasp basic scientific knowledge, they do not have confidence in, or boldly apply, the new agricultural technology, and cannot analyze the reasons for success or failure in its application. And in part because of the above-mentioned reasons, a number of schools which train specialized cadres have a hard time selecting enough students who meet their standards.

In general, our labor force is still plentiful, and the spirit of working for socialism is still firm. But because of the changes created by the new situation created by the new situation, class awareness has been developed to a high degree, and has brought about a will to win; on the other hand, the agricultural labor situation has become serious in a number of localities, and requires that we invest many more hours and make great efforts. That contradiction can be resolved only by positively achieving the improvement of technology and the improvement of tools, so that we can increase labor productivity and reduce the intensity of labor. The increasing of the labor productivity of women must be especially stressed. With the "three responsibilities" movement women have undertaken more and more of the production work, especially in agriculture, so that the men can go to fulfil their national defense and other missions. Therefore, the campaign to improve technology and tools must not only be promoted, but must also be appropriate to their particular capabilities and conditions. Only by promoting the cultural supplementation work and by rapidly raising the cultural level of the workers can we help them achieve the improvement of technology and tools, and achieve a new division of labor on the production and fighting fronts.

In addition to the work of political education to develop the people's spirit of self-mastery, the work of cultural supplementation also contributes to strengthening the people's democratic State. By raising the cultural levels of cadres and of the people, it helps our State to have more favorable conditions for achieving victory in its historic mission of achieving socialist industrialization; completing the socialist reform; and promoting the socialist revolution with regard to culture, ideology, and technology, while contributing positively to the common revolution of the entire nation. As Chairman Ho has said, "Raising the cultural level of the people is essential if we are to build our country into a peaceful, united, independent, democratic,

rich, and powerful country."

In the new situation of the present time, the work of cultural supplementation is certain to play an important role in promoting our people's struggle to resist America and save the nation to a glorious victory.

If the work of cultural supplementation is to meet the needs of the new situation, we must make great efforts, and must employ such concrete professional methods as simplifying study contents, strengthening the organization and management of the movement, and especially, strengthening the army of cultural supplementation teachers.

a) The study contents must be very clear, simple, and practical; must closely unite culture, technology, and politics; must assure the essential basic scientific knowledge; and must be closely bound to the actualities of production, combat, work, and life. To achieve that study content would be to achieve the slogan of socialist education: theory united with reality, study combined with practice. The study content must not only meet the immediate needs of the struggle to resist America and save the nation, but must also meet the long-range needs of the building of socialism. Such a study content will have a practical use with regard to the student's job and life, and the student can immediately apply what he has learned to production, other work, and combat. Furthermore, it will assure that the student retains for a long time the basic scientific knowledge he needs to study scientific and technical matters on his own, and will contribute to the enlarging of the still-small army of worker-peasant intellectuals.

The present circumstances of producing while fighting requires that all students use all the time they can find for study. The experiences of cultural supplementation during the anti-French resistance proved that the clearer and simpler, and the more practical, the study contents, the more effective is study. That is also a condition for assuring that the class rooms are always tempting, crowded, and happy, although fighting and production are urgent. The students will study enthusiastically if their lessons help resolve the difficulties in their work and help them systematically to store up basic knowledge. But in making the study contents clear, simple, and practical, we should not lower the quality of study. We must make certain that the cultural supplementation lessons deal with more than cultural knowledge. It must include political awareness, knowledge of the events of the revolution, and especially, production technology and national defense technology. The most important matter in study is the increasing of socialist awareness. The feats of our army and our people's accomplishments in production are the most practical and

lively contents of the lessons regarding the class struggle, hatred for the enemy, the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, and revolutionary heroism. The cultural supplementation cadres must know how to select and use in their lessons the rich, valuable material related to the actualities of our people's production. By doing so they can accomplish two things at the same time: teaching culture while teaching politics. The best school for teaching basic scientific and technical knowledge is the school of production and combat. If the teacher knows how to make the fullest use of the existing schools -- of which there are now many -- in gaining experience and strengthening and improving the lesson contents, he will help the student to have fuller, more stable, and more enduring knowledge. For both the teacher and the student, there is no greater laboratory than our country at the present time, which is now bursting with a will to win in combat and in production, for constantly improving the quality of instruction and study. Therefore, if we are to improve the quality of cultural supplementation, the curricula must not only be appropriate to the levels and study needs of each type of student, but must also be appropriate to the characteristics of each economic region and each battleground of the fight against America. Textbooks must be improved, so that they may be appropriate to the new curricula. The basic matter is that we must assure correct viewpoints and the necessary basic scientific knowledge. The various sectors and localities must select more materials with which to meet the needs of the new situation.

b) The more urgent the production and fighting situations become, the more flexible must be the organization of the cultural supplementation work, so that we may assure sufficient time for students and teachers. Classes must be organized according to the slogan "Keep close to production and combat." We must continue to have the policy of making in-school training the main concern, while developing the various kinds of schools and giving adequate attention to the semi-concentrated and concentrated, short-term classes for key cadres and outstanding youths of worker-peasant origins who are unable to undertake regular, in-school training. The ethnic-group youth schools and the socialist youth schools are work-study schools which are the most appropriate to the actual conditions in the mountain regions, the countryside of the lowlands, and the industrial zones. In those schools the student, in addition to studying cultural subjects, also studies economic management, production technology, and national defense technology. Studying while directly producing material wealth is beneficial because it helps the students to strengthen the basic scientific knowledge they have learned and reduces the cost to the State. In leading the movement and organizing the various kinds of schools, we must stress the correct achievement of the class viewpoints of the Party in the policy of cultural supplementation; we must be of real service to the workers and peasants,

especially the key cadres and the people who are the most loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the most resolute in their achievement of the production and combat missions.

c) A method which must be the backbone of all tasks is the strengthening of the army of cultural supplementation teachers into an army with close organization and a high sense of responsibility. At present, there are many different kinds of cultural supplementation teachers: leadership cadres, general education teachers, specialized teachers, cadres of the various sectors, and workers and cadres with certain cultural levels who both work and teach. Everyone who is a member of the cultural supplementation army must clearly affirm that his position is on the front lines of the cultural and technological revolution; that his role is that of a leadership cadre of the production and combat forces; and that he must devote all of his revolutionary enthusiasm and strengthen his sense of responsibility with regard to cadres, workers, the Fatherland, and socialism. Only if the leadership echelons constantly raise the political, cultural, and professional levels of the teachers can they be undisturbed in the face of difficulties created by the new situation, develop the tradition of self-reliance, and be heroic and stubborn in teaching and fighting. Furthermore, the leadership echelons must pay attention to the full achievement of the regulations that have been set, in order to assure the material and spiritual rights of the teachers, so that they may be content and enthusiastic in their work. In the present situation, all teaching teams must go all out in following the leadership of the Party echelons directly responsible for leading them, cooperate closely with scientific and technical teams, cooperate with the nearest guerrilla units or army units, study the production technology and military technology, etc., in order to achieve clarity and simplicity and improve the quality of instruction.

We affirm that the accomplishments of the cultural supplementation work are basic and are worthy of pride, but we must not forget the deficiencies and distortions which are pulling at our sleeves. We must endeavor to rapidly overcome those deficiencies and distortions, so that the cultural supplementation work can make great progress and, in the near future, surpass (qualitatively and quantitatively) before the deadline the first five-year plan for cultural supplementation. That is the basis for advancing to the achievement of the popularization of Level I among the whole people, thus creating a basis for further promoting the technological revolution and rapidly increasing the results of combat and production.

For a long time now the cultural supplementation movement has developed unevenly and unstably. Unity with the central and

impromptu tasks, especially with production and fighting, is not yet close, so the classes are easily broken up. The curricula are not yet really clear, simple, and practical. The army of cultural supplementation teachers is not yet stable, and a number of key cadres are not doing well in their studies and are making slow progress. The direct causes for that situation are that many local echelons make the education sector responsible for all cultural supplementation work. But the education sector itself does not fully understand the urgent significance of the cultural supplementation work and does not correctly fulfil its role as the leader of the movement. The other sectors and the various organizations, especially labor unions, youth organizations, and women's organizations, have also failed to fully meet their responsibilities in cooperating with the education sector in order to promote the work of cultural supplementation. Those deficiencies arise from the mistaken viewpoints that "the cultural supplementation work is not of practical service to production, fighting, the strengthening of national defense, etc., so it can be done slowly," that "the cultural supplementation work is not as urgent as the production and combat work," or that "under the circumstances of urgent production and combat, the cultural study is beset with many insurmountable difficulties."

The study and teaching of cultural supplementation, of course, are not easy matters. We must resolutely and constantly overcome fear of difficulty if they are to be done well. It is certainly important that we realize fully and profoundly that cultural supplementation study and teaching is a precious right brought about by the revolution for everyone, but that it is also a glorious, difficult mission which we must make great efforts to achieve well. We cadres, party members, and workers -- people who have just escaped from the darkness of the colonial and feudal regime, have the mission of endeavoring to advance to the scaling of the peaks of science and technology, so that we can be the masters of our own destiny, of the Fatherland, of nature, and of society, in order to contribute to the winning of a glorious victory in the struggle to resist America and save the nation. If we do not have a high degree of resolution, we cannot achieve those rights and missions. Study and teaching under the present conditions of producing while fighting are more difficult than in the past. But because of that, we must urgently study and teach cultural supplementation, so that we can promote more strongly the technological revolution in the economic and national defense spheres. If everyone has correct knowledge of the missions of cultural supplementation, every difficulty, no matter how great, can be overcome. As Chairman Ho said, "The education work is also struggle. When we encounter difficulties we must struggle. In struggling, we must go all out and be resolute. If we make efforts and are resolute, we can overcome all difficulties."

At present, our advantages are greater than the temporary difficulties caused by the enemy. Those advantages are that our people have always had a tradition of diligent study; that since the success of the August Revolution the Party's political and ideological work has increased everyone's spirit of being masters; that our Party always pays attention to the cultural supplementation work and regards this work as a tool for promoting the socialist revolution in the special circumstances of our country; and that the leadership cadres and the army of cultural supplementation workers have the experience of the resistance against France, have a spirit of self-reliance, rely on the masses, and develop the victory of the previous public education movement.

The American bandits are endeavoring to destroy our work of building socialism. In order to show them even more clearly the unyielding spirit of our people, and to strike them with a mortal blow, we must be more resolved than ever to promote the work of cultural supplementation, so that we can have better conditions for defeating the American bandits, increase the rate of socialist construction, and prepare to make great progress in all aspects. Although the production and combat situations are urgent, the cadres and people in the North of our country are making many accomplishments, and are fulfilling and surpassing the first five-year plan for cultural supplementation.

As of Chairman Ho's birthday (19 May) this year, 850 villages, 23 districts, and many towns, enterprises, and companies have fulfilled the first five-year cultural supplementation plan before the deadline. Hung Yen Province was recently proclaimed the first province to fulfil the first five-year plan. In the provinces which are engaged directly in fighting the American bandits, our cadres and people, despite the harassment of enemy planes and warships, "with a plow in one hand and a weapon in the other," and "with a hammer in one hand and a weapon in the other," joined the armed forces in winning brilliant victories, but did not lay down their pens, made great efforts to study, and came up with many innovations for promoting the struggle. Nghe An launched a seething cultural supplementation operation, in the course of which more than 140 villages and most of Nam Dan District fulfilled the first five year plan. Thirteen villages in Vinh Linh and 16 villages in Quang Binh fulfilled the first five-year cultural supplementation plan. Of Ninh Binh's 125 villages, 122 fulfilled the first five-year cultural supplementation plan.

In the mountain region, Hoa Binh in January 1965 became the first province to eliminate illiteracy.

In many areas the cultural supplementation cadres, in a situation of producing, fighting, and preparing to fight, relied on the masses in applying many valuable methods. Binh Tieu Co-

operative (Cam Xuyen, Ha Tinh), after fulfilling the first five-year cultural supplementation plan, held a congress of students in order to review the process of achieving the plan and the development of results which have been achieved, in order to constantly raise the cultural level of the cadres and cooperative members. The villages of Nghi Huong and Nghi Thiet (Nghi Loc, Nghe An) brought forth the slogans "Cultural supplementation work must be really close to production and fighting," and "The classes should be organized according to the circumstances of production and combat." Thuong Tho Cooperative (Binh Luc, Nam Ha) regarded cultural supplementation as a norm for competition. Nhan My village (Ly Nhan, Nam Ha) campaigned for women to take over the instructional work, in order to replace the male teachers who went to fight. The teachers of the city of Ha Dong followed the self-defense troops to the drill fields in order to guide their study and teach them subjects related to military technology.

Although the above results are only the first blossoms of the cultural supplementation crop which is entering into a new period of development, they give promise of a great harvest in the future.

The Government's report at the second session of the Third National Assembly stated that "The mission of producing and fighting is a strong source of stimulation and encouragement for the economic sector as well as for the cultural, education, medical aid, and artistic sectors. All sectors must promote their activity at a faster rate and with more force, and must make clear progress."

In the face of the new situation and the new mission, all cadres and all workers, no matter where they are or what positions they hold, must make great efforts in the mission of leading, teaching, and studying cultural supplementation, and of raising cultural, technical, and professional levels, so that we can do a good job of the production and combat missions. Our cadres and Party members must always be in the vanguard, be exemplary in all activities of the cultural supplementation work; enable our people to have a high cultural level so that they can easily assimilate modern science and technology; contribute to the promotion of the ideological revolution and the technological revolution; contribute positively to the building and protecting of the North; go all out in supporting the revolution to liberate the South, and advance to the achievement of a peaceful and unified homeland.

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PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF
OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIAL SCIENCE

[Following is a translation of an article
by Tran Huy Lieu in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8,
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Science must serve the revolution. Vietnamese science must serve the Vietnamese revolution, under the leadership of the Vietnamese Labor Party. For the past several years we have made the building of socialism in the North the backbone of the struggle to achieve the unification of the homeland. The American imperialists are promoting their war of aggression in the South and are expanding their war to the North; the defense of the North has become bound to the liberation of the South. Scientific cadres, as well as the cadres of the other sectors, are contributing to the production and fighting to resist America and save the nation. The question is, how should the scientific cadres serve in their capacity? As we all know, in scientific work there is both short-term service and long-term projects; there are short-term plans, but there must also be long-term plans. The scientific cadres, of course, do not research for the sake of researching, or do scientific work for the sake of science; if they do not pay attention to giving really close, really sharp service to the immediate missions, they will unintentionally stand on the sidelines of life; and if they do not pay attention to basic construction, they cannot escape temporariness and will lack depth.

Here we are concerned only with the social science sector. After reviewing the work which has been done and will be done, and comparing it with the new situation and mission, we must define clearly the direction and missions of the social science sectors in the present state, so that we may be of stronger service to the revolution.

During the past several years, philosophy has concentrated its research and discussion on the subject of contradictions: the basic contradictions and main contradictions in the North and in the South, and the basic contradictions in a socialist system. This will be the basic problem of the revolution while our country is temporarily divided into two parts with two different revolutionary strategies. But the problem arises not from its pacifity, but from its activity. At present, in the face of the new situation, our country is undergoing strong transformations, and the revolutions of the two parts are more closely united than ever. In the struggle to resist America and save the nation, only if we defeat the American imperialists in the South can we assure the success of socialism in the North; in the struggle to liberate the South, the socialist elements are blossoming more and more. In the North, there are many subjects which must be investigated thoroughly, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the productive force and the production relationships, the development of a backward economy into a socialist economy, and the changing of the class composition of our country. But the main task of the philosophy cadres is still to study the problems of the ideological revolution in our country, first of all to study the formation of new virtues and qualities in the revolutionary struggle which is taking place. As everyone knows, in the anti-French resistance and the present war to oppose America and save the nation, the spiritual element has played and is playing an important role. Our philosophy cadres must enter into this matter deeply. The philosophy work must not only be concerned with Vietnamese philosophic thought of the past, and study the impact of Marxist-Leninist thought and its special characteristics, but must also criticize and materially obstruct the reactionary thought of philosophic trends in the South, which is under the steel heel of the American imperialists and their lackeys. The "weakness" of philosophy during the past several years has been that it has not struggled on a basis of profound study. It is certain that if we enter deeply into the masses, study the philosophy of the workers as manifested in our rich people's literature, and assimilate the elements of dialectical materialism of our country, we will gain further understanding of our people. In the struggle to resist America and save the nation, especially, "new men" are constantly appearing. The fullest use of the sharp weapon of philosophy will contribute to the defeat of the enemy on the ideological front as well as on the military front.

Political economy has, during the past several years, concentrated on various major economic problems of the North, and has stressed the study of the development of heavy industry and the proportional relationships between heavy industry and light industry, and between industry and agriculture; the raw materials of industry; the direction and developmental methods of regional industry and commerce; socialist production relationships in

agriculture; methods of increasing the quantity of food and food products; the principles and application of the determination of agricultural prices and the prices of industrial products; and the proportional relationships between agricultural prices and industrial products. But of those important and complicated subjects, the central problem with which our economists must concern themselves is still the building of socialist industry in the circumstances of our country being a backward agricultural country and our technology undergoing a revolution. In the building of socialism in the North, it is certain that our economic cadres must grasp the rule of planned and balanced economic development, the direction of development and the composition of industry during the stage of building the material and technical bases of socialism, and the direction of agricultural development. Therefore, the economic cadres must be closer to actualities than anyone else, and their research must be of direct service to the State economic organs.

Law, during the past several years, has studied and popularized the basic theories of the State and laws which follow the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, and has struggled against capitalist legal viewpoints. Capitalist laws and socialist laws differ from each other in theory; Vietnamese lawyers, when contributing to the building of the legal system of the new regime, must base themselves on our legal viewpoints, must serve the workers, and must serve our people's democratic dictatorship, the essence of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, the legal work centers on building a system of civil law, studying theoretical matters concerning the State and legal rights, criticizes the viewpoints of modern revisionism in this sphere, studying a number of legal matters directly related to the building of socialism, strengthening the State of the people's democratic dictatorship, and improving and building the socialist economy, especially industrialization and cooperativization. The task set for the legal sector is still to combine study with reality and to recapitulate reality, in order to systematize law.

History has for the past several years stressed the research and popularization of Marxist-Leninist theory with regard to history, has sought out and translated the writings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism regarding theories of history, methods of historical study, and a number of historical subjects. It has also translated and published old historical works dating from the feudal period. In accordance with the slogan of making recent and modern history the central concern, but of not neglecting ancient history, the historical cadres have participated in the recapitulation of the August Revolution, recapitulated the matters brought out during the long resistance, criticized a number of recent historians, discussed various aspects of the peasant uprisings and the peasants' wars in Vietnam, sought the foundation

of capitalism in Vietnam and the formation of the Vietnamese nation, promoted the building of history in enterprises, the various sectors, the localities, etc. At present, at a time when hatred for the American imperialists is seething in our country, such great subjects as people's war, guerrilla war, combining armed struggle with political struggle, combining struggle in the countryside with struggle in the cities, the advancement of limited uprisings to general uprisings, the new heroism, the position of the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle in the world national liberation movement, etc., are "eternal" subjects which the historians should freely exploit and penetrate. The words "We are certain to win, and the enemy is certain to be defeated" must, with regard to those engaged in historical work, not only be a desire, but must be proved by historical laws.

Archaeology, a very young science of a country with a very old civilization has, during the past several years, discovered a number of important ruins and artifacts, such as the Old Stone Age artifacts at Nui Do (Thanh Hoa), New Stone Age artifacts at Phung Nguyen and Van Dien, and ancient human teeth at Hang Hun (Yen Bai) and Tan Van (Langson). It is time that we officially announce the items which have been discovered, along with presenting conclusions brought out in the studies and discussions of historians and pre-historians.

Ethnology in our country, with its many ethnic groups, is not only rich in materials, but also has a great deal to study. The ethnology cadres during the past several years have introduced a number of ethnic groups in the North and have studied the economies and primitive religions of the minority peoples. The important matter is the defining of ethnic groups. If we do a good job of this, the variegated lives of hundreds of tribes and ethnic peoples of the mountain regions of Vietnam may contribute to the illumination and enrichment of the opinions of Engels regarding ancient societies. Furthermore, we can study the advance to socialism of the ethnic peoples still at the clan and tribal levels. Something with which our ethnology cadres have not been concerned during the past several years is, in addition to concentrating on studying the lives of the minority peoples in Vietnam, to study the lives of the Vietnamese people, the majority people in Vietnam, who have changed very much since the August Revolution and since the people gained political power, in the course of the land reform, the reform of industry and commerce, and the workers' management of enterprises and their building of socialism. At present, in the ever-changing lives of the ethnic peoples, the ethnologists must keep timely records; if not, the vestiges of the past will be buried irrevocably.

Literature during the past several years has re-evaluated a number of works and authors of the period of French rule, have

drawn up a draft outline of recent and modern history, have paid much attention to ideology, art, socialist realism, etc. The subjects that have been brought to the fore are literary history, people's literature, and aesthetics. In the sphere of literary research, we must build a stable theoretical base for Vietnamese literature. If we do this well, we can contribute considerably to enriching the world's literary treasury, especially by exploiting Vietnam's rich, highly ideological people's literature.

The main task of linguistics at the present time is to propose improvements in the Vietnamese language.

The specialists in linguistic science have set up a system of basic and generalized principles, and are preparing the publication of a Vietnamese Scientific Dictionary and dictionaries for the specialized sectors. This shows the superiority of our system: we use our native language in teaching science at a level equal to world standards.

The central concern of pedagogy is still the study of the theories, slogans, and basic methods of education, in order to serve the improvement of education.

Along with serving the building of socialism in the North, the cadres of the social science sector have endeavored and are endeavoring to contribute to the revolutionary struggle in the South. During the past several years the philosophy, economic, history, literature, and legal cadres have closely followed the social changes in the South, have exposed the reactionary nature of the comprador capitalists and the landlords, who serve as lackeys of the bandits, and have exposed the deceptive tricks of the "land reform" policy of the puppet administration, the fallacies in philosophy, and the currents of the reactionary, obscure, and historically distorted culture. More than 10 books and nearly 80 research papers dealing with the South prove the presence of the social science workers of the North on ideological and political struggle front of the liberation of the South. This work must be continued and promoted.

In order to do a good job of the above work we must overcome various weaknesses and deficiencies in the social science sector.

Our social science cadres are now being formed into an army with a certain level of knowledge and a certain level of theory. During the past several years they have complained that they are short on theory. Recently, they have read many classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is not easy, however, to apply the theories learned in books to the actualities of Vietnam. The economic cadres can contribute directly to the building of socialism, but the

opinions brought forth must be "living" opinions, and must be applied and tested in reality. Philosophy, law, and literature cadres are entering more and more into reality. Is it true that a lack of practicality is a common deficiency of our scientific cadres? The historical cadres are still beset with two weaknesses: first of all, the general theories of the research they undertake to illuminate general viewpoints are only those studied in the classics, and are not concerned with what is distinctive to Vietnam; secondly, the piling up of material, failure to make profound analyses and form theories, and failure to resolve problems creatively. In the research stage, many important problems have not been recapitulated or have been recapitulated superficially. Our scientific meetings have reflected the fact that our scientific research, in part, is still at a low level. There have been quite a few works on social science, but not one has been evaluated by a responsible organization. In the textbooks used in schools, there is a lack of unanimity on some matters, which vary according to the interpretation of the author. Such important and essential books as The History of Vietnam, Literary History, Economic History, and Ideological History have still not been completed.

The above situation is due to the fact that the cadres are still lacking quantitatively, and especially, qualitatively. Actually, the social science cadres have been able to study only since the restoration of peace. In addition to cadres from all sectors, there are a number of college graduates. Our present army of cadres is too small to do increasing amounts of research in the essential specialities.

The characteristic of our cadres is that most have experienced revolutionary struggle; some have been revolutionary specialized cadres for a long time, and some have lived during the August Revolution, the nine years of resistance, and the years of socialist construction in the North. Therefore, they have been educated, trained, and tested to some degree with regard to stands and viewpoints. Although some individuals were caught up in the Humanism-Masterpiece affair, or follow modern revisionism, our social science cadres, generally speaking, are extremely loyal to the revolution, are imbued with the teachings of the Party, and are stable ideologically and politically. The scientific cadres, however, are not like the political cadres. The scientific cadres must be both "red" and "expert," which means that they must be correct in their viewpoints and skilled in their professions. Our social science cadres at the present time are, generally speaking, still weak with regard to being "red," as well as to being "expert." With regard to being "red," our cadres, as we said above, are, generally speaking, good. But when researching, they must not merely determine for whom they are writing or what they are serving, but must also grasp the general laws as well as the

special characteristics. It is not enough to memorize the classics; we must quickly recognize the changes that are taking place. In brief, we must be keen ideologically and politically. The cadres who are researching things of the past must apply the viewpoints of today, but must not regard the past as being the same as the present. The cadres researching recent or modern subjects must not only have stable stands, but must also be keen with regard to day-by-day political matters. In the course of studying or discussing political or specialized matters, a considerable number of our cadres have worked very hard at their specialties, but have been unskilled politically. If they are lacking politically, they cannot advance in their specialties.

Specialized cadres must be skilled in their specialities and "red" politically, principally in order to assure that they are expert in their specialities. If we look at the titles of books or the table of contents of the magazines and journals of the social science sector during the past several years, we will note that they deal with a large number of subjects, all of which are important; but, generally speaking, quality is still uneven: some articles are good, and some are not.

Furthermore, for a long time now our cadres have placed great emphasis on theory, but have neglected methodology. When beginning the research of a subject, such common methods as searching out and examining materials, outlining, analyzing, and synthesizing are not grasped by everyone. In a recent article by a history cadre, it was recommended that methods of logic be distinguished from methods of historical research. For more than ten years our research cadres have done a great deal of work, but have never perfectly combined their methods and work experiences, and have thus not contributed to the building of methodology.

In addition to political consciousness, the spirit of service, and diligent study, the scientific cadres must have scientific viewpoints and work scientifically. At present, such diseases as lack of concentration, lack of profundity, hastiness, subjectivity, etc., are still present in quite a few people. Collectivism and socialist cooperation are not very keen or strong. If in the natural sciences we must stimulate the spirit of daring to think and do, in the social sciences we must fight the disease of wanting to undertake large projects and complete them immediately, subjectivism, and conceit. In addition to the failure to digest books, there is the disease of regarding theory lightly. Some people read many books in order to extract large amounts of material, and think in terms of books, but close their eyes to reality. On the other hand, others rely on a little political knowledge or a little knowledge of life, and neglect the study of theory. They follow the school of experience, and believe that in revolutionary activity it is sufficient only to hold up

slogans. Actually, the scientific cadre must not only be "red" and "expert," but must also contribute positively to the scientific endeavor. Science must not only be correct with regard to Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, but must also be creative and make new discoveries: in other words, it must have scientific value. We often speak of the party spirit, but the party spirit in scientific work is not an abstraction, but must be manifested by a scientific spirit, for our Party is a Marxist-Leninist party, a revolutionary party that follows a scientific line.

Therefore, the most important matter is still the training and strengthening of a large army of scientific cadres which is not only "skilled professionally, but also with good political qualities, who serve the building of socialism and communism; they must not only be capable of researching independently, but must also be able to cooperate with the working masses in the scientific work."

In the training of social science cadres, we must first of all affirm that most of the training is to be done in our country. Because the stands and viewpoints of social science cadres are based on Marxism-Leninism, the objectives of their research must be the problems of Vietnam, and they must serve the Vietnamese revolution. In addition to training in our country, we can send a number of people to further their studies in foreign countries, so that they learn more about matters they have studied in Vietnam. The actualities of the past several years have proved that if in research students do not grasp the basic matters pertaining to their specialties in our country, and if the researcher has not "lived" with his subject for a while, it is very difficult for them to take in what is good when studying in foreign countries. For example, if a Vietnamese does not know the history of Vietnam he cannot relate his study of another nation's history to that of his own, and so he cannot contribute strongly to building his country's history. The same is true in philosophy, literature, and economics. The training of social science cadres in our country is closely related to the determination of curricula in colleges. Students who leave school and enter research institutes must not only take along systemized knowledge of culture, but must also know foreign languages, and must have attained a certain level in the specialty he is pursuing. While studying and working in research institutes, the cadres must constantly strengthen themselves, for the horizon of knowledge is expanding more every day.

At present, some cadres in the army of social science cadres are gradually becoming old and weak, and are losing their usefulness. Some young cadres are still somewhat unqualified, especially because they are inexperienced in life. The system of study-research has become an urgent need, and is appropriate to the conditions of our country and to the level of our cadres.

At the present time, the cadres of the scientific sector, as well as those of the other sectors, are concentrating their efforts on the struggle to resist America and save the nation, but the training of cadres is still a basic and permanent work. If we do not stress rapid training, we cannot escape a critical shortage of cadres. Our beloved country has a brilliant future, and must be united. A great deal of work awaits us.

Finally, there is organization. For the past six years we have had a scientific organization, the State Science Committee. When we speak of organization we must speak of leadership and of the content of leadership. There are, under the leadership of the Party, various organizations within the Party and various organizations within the sphere of the State; we must, therefore, organize them in the most appropriate way, so that they are both appropriate to their titles and closely led by the Party.

The social science cadres must reach the masses through the mass organizations. There are at present no mass associations in the various sectors. Such specialized subjects as history, literature, etc., are reaching cadres and the people in schools and at the local level. It is time that we expand our organization, so that we can train cadres and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses.

Our social science is intimately related to the revolution and to the developmental stage of the revolution in our country. Since the August Revolution in 1945, our people have been faced with various questions of survival: We cannot allow imperialism to rule us, and we must defeat it and win independence for our Fatherland. We must not allow the feudal landlord class to exist, with its system of land ownership; we must abolish it and its system of land ownership. We cannot follow the path of capitalism, but must follow the path of socialism. We cannot allow our nation to be permanently divided and suffer aggression, but must fight America and save our nation.

Those earth-shaking transformations are a great school in which the social science cadres can study the contradictions within society, the laws of history, the favorable conditions of revolution, etc., and make science of service to the revolution. The continual victories of the revolution during the past several years have been victories of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, of socialist science, and of historical materialism. The present people's war against the American imperialists in the South has become a revolutionary model for the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The social scientists of the world in general, and the Vietnamese social scientists specifically, are faced with major problems which must be studied, analyzed, and resolved.

How can a small, weak nation defeat the strongest imperialist aggressor nation of the capitalist world?

How can a small, backward nation advance to socialism?

These are theoretical questions for the glorious Vietnamese revolution, under the leadership of the party of the working class, the Vietnamese Labor Party. If the social science cadres are not revolutionary cadres or have little revolutionary enthusiasm, they cannot resolve those great questions.

From the first question there arise a whole series of important scientific subjects: the worker-peasant alliance and the united popular front, the armed struggle and the political struggle, people's war, ideological education, the combining of patriotism with internationalism proletarianism, etc.

From the second question there arise a series of other important subjects: the relationships between backward production forces and advanced production relations, between advanced politics and backward economics, between the ideological and cultural revolution and the technological revolution, etc. There are various questions which have not arisen in the Soviet Union or the socialist nations of Eastern Europe, but which are being posed in Vietnam and which will be posed in the Asian, African, and Latin American nations.

The study and recapitulation of the important problems mentioned above will be a great contribution to the reform of society and its progress, and will be of immediate and strong service to our people's struggle to resist America and save the nation, as well as serving to promote the progress of the social sciences in our country.

We are entirely capable of accomplishing this, first of all because social science consists of knowledge of man in social struggle; it is a recapitulation of the knowledge and experiences of social struggle. In a society of classes, class struggle is the thread connecting all struggles, so it is also the motive force of the development of social struggle. If the development of the social sciences depends on the needs of production and on the level of production (actually, on the level of the economy), the development of social science is determined by the situation of social contradictions, the degree of class struggle in society, and the course of the revolution. It is not surprising that a country with a backward economy should be advanced in philosophy and social science. Germany was the poorest and most backward European nation in the first half of the 19th Century but it was the homeland of social science; and Russia, the most backward European nation in the last half of the 19th Century and at the

beginning of the 20th Century, was the birthplace of Leninism, a new stage of Marxism and a new stage of the development of mankind's young social science. Our social science has its roots in the history of our people, which includes various long struggles against foreign aggression, various uprisings, and various anti-feudal wars. The revolution, under the leadership of the party of the working class, has been taking place for the past 35 years, and the current revolutionary situation and the ferocity of the class struggle to oppose America and save the nation are creating bases for the strong development of social science.

Secondly, our people have always had a heroic tradition, heroic not only in resisting continuous foreign aggression, but also heroic in preserving our people's feeling of independence and maintaining their Vietnamese nature, their refusal to be assimilated. We have a separate language and literature, and have our own customs and conventions. The specialties of the social science sector blossomed early in Vietnamese history, and have developed with our special characteristics. The heritage left by our fathers is very rich. Our people long ago produced such great thinkers as Nguyen Trai such outstanding military men as Nguyen Hue, Tran Quoc Tuan, Ly Truong Kiet, etc. With regard to philosophy, in addition to Nguyen Binh Khiem and his primitive elements of dialectics, and Le Quy Don and his many elements of primitive materialism, there are many other practical philosophies contained in songs, proverbs, and ancient tales. With regard to history, Le Van Huu's Dai Viet Su Ky (History of Dai Viet) appeared in the 13th Century; and after that, the dynastic histories provided very valuable research material. Under the illumination of the viewpoints of historical materialism, therefore, we can study thousands of years of our national history. With regard to law, in addition to customs which became "laws," there were written books of law as early as the Ly Dynasty, and then there were the laws of Hong Duc of the Le Dynasty and the laws of Gia Long of the Nguyen Dynasty, which dealt with the viewpoints and rights of the contemporary ruling classes. The laws of Hong Duc were in some ways progressive. With regard to literature, our people's literature is abundant, rich in ideological content, etc.

Third, and most important, we have the leadership of the party of the working class, with its correct scientific line. The scientific line of Vietnam has been officially delineated since the formation of the State Scientific Committee, and especially since the Third Party Congress. It is the scientific line of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific line of socialism. It is a compass for our actions.

Under the leadership of the Party, with a correct line, with the heroic tradition and the rich heritage of our people, and bound to the revolution, our social science is certain to make great progress. But it requires that all people engaged in social science work first of all be revolutionists.

LET US DO A BETTER WORK FOR OUR WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND WAR DEAD

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Van Ngoc in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8, August 1965, pp. 36-38 & 62.]

In the struggle to defeat the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys for liberation and defense of the fatherland and for liberation of the class, our people have been very heroic and determined. Some people have offered their lives; some people now carry the effect of war wounds for the rest of their lives; still some others have poor health because of the hardship they had to go through. In order to compensate for part of such a glorious sacrifice, the party and Government have adopted a realistic policy in regard to wounded soldiers, sick soldiers, and families of war dead.

We all know that in the struggle for national liberation and for liberation of the class, so many heroes and soldiers were fighting so hard that they never thought of themselves. In the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors in the past, and in the current fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, millions of our elite youth have been fighting very heroically to bring brilliant gains to our fatherland and people. It is very clear that in our people's great revolutionary work, the armed force in general, and the war dead and wounded soldiers in particular, are those to be given the most credit. As we eat a fruit, we should remember the person who planted the tree. That is the moral principle of our people and the proletariat. President Ho said: "Our war dead have sacrificed themselves, but their great work has been deeply engraved in the hearts of all our people and of the country.

"Our war dead have sacrificed themselves, but their brave spirit has impregnated the soul of all our army and people in the resolute fight for peace, reunification, independence, and democracy for all our country.

"The warm blood of our war dead has given our glorious national flag a brighter red. The good deed of our war dead will last forever with history." (Ho Chi Minh: "Speech Delivered on the Occasion of the Wreath-Laying Ceremony at the War Dead Tomb, 31-12-1954," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 510.)

President Ho also said: "Our wounded soldiers have sacrificed part of their bodies for the safeguard of our fatherland and protection of our compatriots; they have shown their loyalty to the country, and piety to the people. They have fulfilled their task; now they demand nothing.

"However, for those loyal and pious sons, what must the Government and you do in return to deserve what they have done?" (Ho Chi Minh: "About Taking Wounded Soldiers back to Their Villages," same book cited above, page 378.)

The full implementation of the party and Government policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead not only reflects our people's gratefulness to those having served the fatherland well, but also serves as an effective means to teach our people how to have a revolutionary spirit, for our war dead and wounded soldiers had been fighting with a high revolutionary spirit; their acts of sacrifice and bravery will help our people to understand the high value of the revolutionary achievements already obtained and will make our people love the country more, hate the aggressors more, and struggle harder to safeguard the revolutionary work.

The full implementation of the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead is also a means to teach the love for the class and for one's companions and to tighten the fine relations between the army and the people, thus making our soldiers unite better and fight more bravely. The people are also encouraged and proud of their sons, and are ready to encourage the latter to fight enthusiastically for the revolutionary work.

The full implementation of the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead still has an important significance regarding the speeding of all our work. Because our army is a revolutionary one, its members are the sons of the working people and voluntarily join in the fight and make sacrifices for the interests of the fatherland and of the working people. When they are healthy, they stand on the front line to fight the enemy directly; when they are wounded and disabled, they still enthusiastically do all the revolutionary work they can do to help drive the revolution to victory faster. There was comrade Le Van Manh who, despite the loss of his two eyes, further developed the army tradition of fighting to win, overcame the difficulties caused by his wounds, and contributed to the organization of a cooperative selling soldering irons; he himself succeeded in devising a new technique to make good-quality soldering irons; in two years, 1962-1963, he was elected an emulation-movement fighter of the Hanoi handicraft branch. Comrade Nguyen Van Thai, wounded soldier, special class (loss of both eyes), of Chi Yen Village, Yen Dung District, Ha Bac Province, volunteered to take part in the common work; served as director of the agricultural cooperative, chief of the popular-education committee, and a member of the command of the village militia group; was elected an emulation-movement fighter of the province in 1960; and is now actively doing the same work. Comrade Tran Quoc Tich, with fifth degree wound, of Tien Yen Village, Duy Tien District, Nam Ha Province, was actively taking part in laboring work, was elected an emulation-movement fighter for seven consecutive years, and was awarded a Labor Medal, Second Class, in 1953. Comrade Nguyen Thi Ngoc, a wounded soldier from the south, with third degree wound, served as the head of the Women's Association chapter at Con Cuong District, Nghe An Province; worked closely with the base-level establishments in spite of the loss of one leg; and was awarded by President Ho a special title in 1964. Comrade Le Van Toan of Yen Bang Village, Y Yen District, Nam Ha Province

served as secretary of the village party chapter; was given the title of agricultural labor hero in 1961; and was elected a member of the provincial party committee in 1962 and a member of the National Assembly, Session 3, in 1964. Many families of war dead continued to develop the fine tradition of their sons; always remained enthusiastic and active in doing regular work, in speeding production, and in implementing policies; and were praised and awarded by local authorities and groups.

At present, the U.S. imperialists, our people's mortal enemy, are intensifying the aggressive war in the south and madly waging the war of destruction in the north. Wounded soldiers, sick soldiers, discharged military personnel, and families of war dead--all are making an active contribution to our people's production, regular work, and combat work. Those comrades who can still fight have set good examples by joining in the fight. Those comrades who have lost their fighting ability have voluntarily accepted other work in the rear in order to make those who fight feel assured and encouraged. Many comrades have closely followed this party teaching: on the front line, bravely kill the enemy; while in the rear, actively set examples in doing regular and productive work.

Since 1954, the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead has been revised many times to conform with the new situation and task of the revolution. This proves that our party and Government are very concerned with the material and moral living of our wounded soldiers and families of war dead and with teaching them and developing their revolutionary abilities. Recently the Council of Ministers issued an order aimed at reinforcing the implementation of the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead. The order outlines the ways to solve the problems in connection with our wounded soldiers and families of war dead; puts an emphasis on the way to solve their job problem and to stabilize their living, as well as that of our sick soldiers; and at the same time updates some systems of special privileges granted the wounded soldiers and families of war dead, such as the system of allowances for hardship; the system of supply of food, cotton material, and sugar; and the system of medical care given to wounded soldiers, sick soldiers, and families of war dead. The order also regulates the systems of special privileges to be granted the militiamen, guerrillas, and vanguard youths wounded in combat during the war of resistance; and the reserve military personnel, militiamen, and self-defense corpsmen wounded in combat action against the enemy since the restoration of peace. There are two major points in the order that deserve our attention: one, those wounded and sick soldiers being unable to go to local areas to take part in agricultural production are to be accepted into government organs; two, depending on individual capabilities and the organization of each production establishment, suitable jobs are to be given wounded and sick soldiers and families of war dead. This is a new situation arising from a correct recognition of the spirit and abilities of the wounded and sick soldiers and families of war dead, from rational labor organization and distribution of society for increase of labor productivity, and from a deep gratefulness to those who have sacrificed part of their bodies

for the revolution. Since the day the party and Government made public the policy dealing with wounded soldiers, sick soldiers, discharged military personnel, and families of war dead, state organs and the people have been correctly implementing all the policies and systems of special privileges. Most wounded and sick soldiers, discharged military personnel, and families of war dead have enthusiastically taken part in production, regular work, and studies; stabilized their living; further developed the revolutionary tradition; and set brilliant examples which would deserve being learned by others. However, in some places, the policy was not correctly implemented; there still were wounded and sick soldiers who were too worried about their handicaps and sickness to develop the brave revolutionary tradition and to take part in local work; some of them became passive because of their tendency to compare their positions, the way they were treated, etc. That situation was partly due to the fact that those wounded and sick soldiers failed to reinforce their sentiments and revolutionary will to keep struggling under any circumstances. It was partly due to the fact that local party echelons and responsible organs did not attach enough importance to the work to be done for wounded soldiers and families of war dead, nor did they fully understand the revolutionary spirit of the party and government policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead; as a result, they assigned some specialized cadres to implement that policy, without even a checking, nor any plan to coordinate this implementation with other kinds of work. In some places, wounded soldiers and families of war dead were assisted only materially, but not morally; their combat achievements and the brave sacrifices of the war dead were not used to educate the people while they themselves were not encouraged to develop further their revolutionary tradition.

In order to implement correctly the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead, first of all we must recognize the important significance of that policy in regard to the revolutionary work so that, as we are implementing it, we would try to show the love and care of the party, Government, and people for our wounded soldiers and families of war dead and at the same time to create favorable conditions for the latter to continue the revolutionary work, and for the families of the war dead to develop further the brave struggling tradition and self-sacrifice of their sons for the fatherland and the revolution. The party Central Committee and the Government many times indicated that, in the implementing of the policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead, we must rely on the people's force as something vitally important, for the revolutionary work is the people's work. As our people voluntarily let our sons and brothers enroll in the army to shoot at the enemy for national salvation, our people have a deep love for the army and do care for our wounded soldiers and families of war dead. If we are taught that policy very carefully, we will further love and respect our wounded soldiers and families of war dead and will implement it more correctly. The relations between the people and the wounded soldiers and families of war dead are those among members of the same social class, among brothers; therefore, if we know how to rely on the people, we will undoubtedly surmount the complicated difficulties related to the sentiments as well as the living of our wounded soldiers and families of war dead, thus making them feel assured, en-

couraged and willing to develop their revolutionary abilities to contribute to the common work. Our experiences tell us that no matter how much productive work we have to do, and how difficult it is for us to provide our wounded soldiers and families of war dead with jobs, we can still overcome any difficulties if we know how to rely on the people and to let the people express their ideas and suggest the measures to solve our problems. That is the people's way to implement our party policy dealing with wounded soldiers and families of war dead.

In implementing that policy, while relying on the people is the major necessity, we must at the same time combine this with the assistance of state organs. At present, if any state organs are capable of sparing some jobs for our wounded soldiers and families of war dead, we must try to arrange so that they would get the jobs. Despite their wounds and handicaps, if they are given the right jobs, they will be able to do them. This is a way to create favorable conditions for our wounded and sick soldiers to continue serving the people and the revolution. Only with our love for the class, our confidence in the revolutionary quality and abilities of our wounded and sick soldiers, and our understanding of their sickness, can each of us see our responsibility to them, be glad to accept them and to create favorable conditions for them to find joy and happiness in a work that suits their remaining abilities, to find the meaning of life, and to have more confidence in the leadership of our party and in our regime. However, it is necessary to recognize the fact that the assistance of the state is aimed at lightening part of the people's contribution to stabilizing our wounded soldiers' living. Because of a failure to see the political significance of such a fact, some local areas depend too much on state assistance and do not develop the people's revolutionary quality in implementing that policy. That is not a correct way.

Although the care and help extended to our wounded and sick soldiers and families of war dead are necessary, what is more important is to help them to have revolutionary ideals through education, to make them recognize the common situation and task, to give them appropriate jobs, to respect their combat feats and brave sacrifices, and to mobilize them for a continuous struggle for the revolutionary work. Our own experiences have proved that if our wounded soldiers and families of war dead have steady revolutionary concepts and views, they will not be so pessimistic about their wounds and handicaps, nor will they worry and demand a better treatment, but on the contrary they will actively work and make deserving contributions to the realization of all local standpoints and work.

Despite the fact that, because all our country is at war, we have a definite quantity of difficulties, with a correct concept of the work for wounded soldiers and families of war dead, with the permanent concern of party echelons and local authorities, with the revolutionary quality and usual abilities of our wounded soldiers and families of war dead, we will surely do a better work for the latter and help everybody to move toward completion of our current revolutionary work.

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LET US DEVELOP FORESTRY AND LUMBER INDUSTRY

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Tao in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No.8, August 1965, pages 39-44.]

Respect Our "Golden Forests"

In a speech on socialist industrialization in the northern part of our country, President Ho said: "Our country lies in the tropical zone, with good climate, golden forests, silver sea, fertile land." That brief sentence points to the fact that our people have extremely favorable natural conditions to develop our economy and to build a life of plenty and happiness.

By thinking of our "golden forests" alone we already find that our country is rich. According to incomplete data, our forests and forest land occupy up to 11,180,000 hectares, or 70.4 percent of the area of the north. In the highland and middle region, the percentage is even higher. Tropical natural conditions like high humidity percentage, plenty of rain, year-round sunshine are very favorable for the growth of plants and animals. Our forests provide us with plenty of wood, with about 300 million cubic meters available and more than 10,000 kinds of trees, including those that supply such precious and rare wood as ironwood, nghien, and lat. We have bamboo and nua forests large enough to provide us with construction materials and the paper mills with raw material. Our forests have thousands of plants yielding various kinds of medicines, oil, sweet-smelling substances; many kinds of mushrooms and spices; and many special products having great export values, such as ba kich, bastard cardamom, thao qua, nux vomica, etc.

Not only are our forests economically highly valuable, but they also have a protecting effect. They regulate the climate, protect us from typhoon and erosion, and create favorable conditions for agriculture to develop smoothly. The highland and forest areas are also the strong base of our country's revolution.

It is just because of the big economic values and importance of forests that our party and Government have been paying utmost attention to developing forestry and the lumber industrial branch.

In the past ten years, our forestry and lumber industry were developing quite fast. In the last four years particularly, there were remarkable progresses in those branches. From being our farmers' secondary occupation, forestry gradually became an independent production branch playing a more and more

important role in the people's economy. The annual timber output kept increasing: 361,380 cu. m. in 1955 and 1,108,693 cu. m. in 1964. Total timber output in the last ten years increased to 7 million cubic meters. Forest cultivation also drew a lot of attention. From 1955 to 1959, we planted 50 million timber-yielding and fruit trees, and 60 million salt water-tolerating trees. The suggestion by President Ho to celebrate the Tet (Vietnamese New Year) by planting trees has become our people's habit. From the first Tet devoted to tree-planting (1960) to the 1964 Tet, we already planted 375 million trees of all kinds; moreover, 200 million trees were planted to help reinforce our dikes along the coast. In many provinces, the movement for forest cultivation and elimination of bare hills has acquired a popular character and the participation of many cooperatives and the people, both old and young.

Although the achievements of our forestry and lumber industry in the last ten years were big, they still failed to satisfy all our needs for development of the economy, culture, and national defense of the north.

In the new situation, the need for lumber of all economic and national defense branches becomes greater. In order to satisfy this need, we must further develop forestry and struggle hard to make the lumber industry become one of the most important branches of the people's economy.

Good Balance between Exploitation and Restoration of Forests

In order to develop fast our forestry and lumber industry, the basic thing is to make our people in general, and forestry cadres and workers in particular realize the importance of forests, recognize the characteristics of forest production, and fully understand the principle of achieving a good balance between exploitation and restoration of forests.

We need to criticize sternly the wrong views and deeds of some people who think that forests are a source of natural wealth and an inexhaustible treasure and that they can fell trees freely, set fire to forests indiscriminately, cause great damages to state properties, and thus double the destructive effects of drought, typhoon, and flood. Some branches, organs, and units have not yet seriously observed the state regulations dealing with forest protection.

Forests are public properties owned by the people and placed under unified state management. The Government has issued regulations dealing with forest cultivation, prevention and fight against forest fire, timber exploitation, saving of timber, hunting of birds and animals, etc. Every citizen must have the duty to observe those regulations and cannot without permission destroy forests, exploit timber, etc. While the state cannot directly manage all our forests, we need to guide our cooperatives toward dealing with forests in a well-organized and well-planned manner. The party and President Ho have often told us to raise our sense of collective ownership for the purpose of building socialism in the north and supporting the liberation struggle in the south. Truly respecting our "golden forests," actively carrying out all pol-

olicies, systems, regulations, and technical requirements in regard to forest management and protection--that is one way to demonstrate that sense of collective ownership. We need to struggle so that every village in the highland would have its own forest-protection rules and organize its semi-professional forest-protecting force; on the other hand, we must speed the building of a professional forest-protecting force, which will organize, guide, and control the execution of state systems and regulations dealing with forest management and protection. The management and protection of forests touch many big complicated matters, which are in turn related to many production branches, the people's living, and the highland people's customs and habits of slashing-and-burning to make terrace fields. Therefore, on the one hand we must enforce the application of the existing systems and regulations, and on the other actively study the ways to improve them by adopting other policies aimed at creating favorable conditions for the people to develop production and at the same time to manage and to protect fully our forests, the public properties of the state.

When we say our forest resources are very rich and we have "golden forests," we should at the same time remember that our forests are not an inexhaustible treasure. The initial results of our investigation and study of the nation's forests indicated that most of them are natural ones, with a big problem of insects and diseases. Those forests that are near rivers, streams, and roads have been excessively exploited and have become exhausted. The good forests having a large volume of timber available are mostly on high mountains and are difficult to exploit because of lack of accessible roads and transportation means. Generally speaking, our forest resources are not yet surveyed, planned, or divided into zones for effective exploitation; consequently, the latter still shows many illogical and unscientific aspects. Forest fires are common; the habit of slashing-and-burning to make terrace fields still exists; reclamation measures are far from logical; the exploitations of timber and other forest products are not done in accordance with technical regulations; there is a lack of close coordination among the exploitation, protection, and restoration of forests. Those are the main reasons for the present situation of our destroyed forests. Our forests now cover only about 35 percent of the total land area in the north. Our effort to develop the economy and to strengthen national defense now demands more and more timber--a volume much larger than our current timber output; on the other hand, if our forests continue to be destroyed as they are today, they will soon become exhausted and fail to yield the timber we need. Therefore, we must pay enough attention to forest protection, correctly carry out the order to maintain a good balance between forest exploitation and forest restoration, and make our forest resources richer and richer, thus satisfying not only the immediate needs, but also the long-lasting needs of our country's socialism-building work.

The true relationship between forest exploitation and forest restoration is a basic characteristic of the forestry branch. In the industrial branches involving exploitation like mining, the aim of labor is natural minerals, with the deposits being exhausted as they are exploited. On the contrary, the aim of labor in forestry is forests and trees; man therefore can speed the process

of natural forest restoration and cultivate forests. Cultivating forests does not require as much care and labor as growing short-lived industrially-useful plants. In our country, the trees in tropical forests grow fast. If we do a good job in forest cultivation and protection, we can assure a long-lasting source of raw material supply for our forestry and lumber industry. Forest exploitation serves the immediate interests while forest restoration serves the long-range interests of our country. The two works must be closely linked with each other. The aim of our struggle now is to make forest restoration catch up with and surpass the speed of forest exploitation.

To achieve the balance between forest exploitation and restoration is a manifestation of our socialist-enterprise view. The aim of the capitalist businessmen is to exploit and to take advantage in order to get the most profit. They never pay attention to the effect of forest destruction upon agricultural production and other economic branches. For them, after having seized the forests, the question is how to invest the least capital and to get the most timber and other forest products, and to get them in the shortest time possible so as to get rich fast.

Our view about forest business is entirely different. Having the concept of being the collective owners of the properties of society, we do not worry solely about getting the most timber to serve our immediate construction need, but we have to think of the protecting effect of the forests and to worry about future forest development.

In order to achieve the balance considered appropriate between forest exploitation and forest restoration, as an immediate goal, we must struggle to have more or less 7 million hectares of forests having large volumes of timber available and a high economic value; have definite plans according to which our forests are divided into areas for rotational exploitation, coupled with a great deal of care given the forests, forest cultivation through tree-planting, and forest restoration, which must catch up with and surpass the speed of forest exploitation so as to increase the volume of our forest resources; gradually adjust the area of our forests, with logical degree of covering and with the three needs for timber supply, soil protection, and soil reconditioning being satisfied; and launch a wider popular movement for forest cultivation and protection. Those are the decisively meaningful problems that will affect the development of our forestry and lumber industry today.

To Make the Lumber Industry Become One of the Most Important Economic Branches

Our forestry and lumber industry are now at their early construction stage. The forestry and lumber industry of other countries in the world have gone or are going through four development stages: the first stage is that of utilizing firewood, that is, the timber extracted is mostly used as firewood; the second stage is that of exploiting timber for wider and wider use in such branches as mining, railroad, architecture, ship-building, etc., with less and less wood used as firewood, although the latter remains one of the main pro-

ducts; the third stage is that of over-all development of the lumber industry, the main work of which has switched from exploiting to processing, thanks to scientific methods of processing that widen the scope of utilizing of timber; the fourth stage is that of combined enterprise, with forest exploitation being closely combined with forest cultivation, for the purpose of achieving continuous and permanent exploitation, eliminating the big gap between forest exploitation and forest restoration, and solving the problem of lumber shortage by attacking the roots of the problem. Our forestry and lumber industry, generally speaking, have not finished the first stage of development: only 50 percent of the timber we get is utilized, the other 50 percent is used as firewood. We do not take into consideration the fact that in many places people just go to the forest to get firewood by chopping down some trees and thus create a serious waste. Therefore, in order to raise our lumber industry to the level of the most important economic branches, we must make even greater efforts.

First of all, we must speed up an investigation of our forest resources, have logical plans and division of forests, gradually adjust the area of our forests, adopt a logical degree of covering for each area, and make sure that the needs for timber supply and soil protection and reconditioning are satisfied. For the highland the development of forestry is particularly important and significant. The reason is that 80-90 percent of the land in the highland consists of woodland and hills. The highland population of over 3 million earns an income coming from various occupations dealing with forests that accounts for 61 percent of the total annual income. In the last few years, the campaign to encourage the people in the delta to take part in the economic development in the highland brought about good results, and thus created more favorable conditions for promoting the forestry-based economy. What deserves our attention is the fact that in some local areas, the cadres and people coming from the delta did not fully recognize their tasks; as they thought they would do only reclaiming work, they did not pay appropriate attention to developing forestry and animal husbandry, but rather concentrated on food-producing. In some places, they destroyed our forests and cut down trees indiscriminately, with no respect for the forest-protection systems and regulations issued by the state. We need to correct that situation. We must make everybody taking part in the development of the highland economy recognize the close relationship between forestry and agricultural development, and clearly see the fact that to build the highland economy is not solely to grow rice and secondary crops in order to solve the food problem, but to pay attention also to developing forestry, animal husbandry, and local handicraft and industry so as to keep up with the delta economy in every way. We must have definite plans for each area; clearly point to what part of the forests that can be cleared for cultivation; guide those people taking part in the development of the highland economy toward cultivating more forests and exploiting forest products and local products, and closely combining the development of the highland agriculture with that of forestry.

We also must pay appropriate attention to building the foundation of forestry through basic construction work, for although the capital invested in forestry kept increasing every year, it still lagged behind the big need for

construction. In regard to the building of roads exclusively used for timber exploitation, in the last few years, we built nearly 1,200 km. of motor roads and 1,500 km. of oxcart roads. That was a remarkable achievement. However, with the need for opening more roads leading to remote forests, our roads are too few and of poor quality.

In the last few years, although we equipped forestry with mechanical equipment at a relatively fast pace, particularly in the road transportation branch, the rate of mechanization in the entire branch was still low; most of the work was done with rudimentary means, hence, labor productivity was low. In order to solve the contradictions between the ever increasing need for timber and the limited manpower supply in forestry, particularly in the present state of war against the U.S. imperialists, we must pay attention to improving techniques, providing forestry with more semi-mechanized and mechanized equipment, and so on.

While in the more advanced industrial countries, the rate of utilizing of timber ranges from 90 to 93 percent, this rate in our country is not even 40 percent; the branches, end pieces, and small trunks are generally left unused in the forests; due to transportation difficulties and poor management, timber is left rotten in large quantities in forests and at river ports. Raising the rate of utilizing of timber is a very important task of our lumber industry today. This rate tells the degree of development of a country's lumber industry. Our lumber industry must overcome the present wasting of timber and must move from supplying only round timber to supplying timber that has been sawed and processed in accordance with exact specifications and sizes and qualities as required by the consuming branch. We need to process timber right in our forest farms and main warehouses into semi-finished wood; to build timber-processing factories, veneered wood manufacturing plants, etc.

In order to fulfill successfully those tasks, one of the decisive problems is to have definite plans for good use and management of manpower in forestry and to try to establish a body of science-technology cadres serving forestry. So far our forestry has had difficulties in manpower; as a result, it has been passive and unable to follow closely all its plans. We must actively build state-operated factories to exploit and to process timber and other forest products, set up cooperatives specializing in forest business, and fully use the force of people from the delta taking part in the development of the highland economy so as to have the initiative in solving the manpower problem. At present, our training of cadres and technical workers to work in forestry and our research work dealing with forestry are still weak and fail to satisfy the ever increasing production need. We must be more interested in learning from the masses' experiences in production, attach importance to learning from the experiences of the fraternal countries, and apply the scientific and technical achievements of other countries in forestry to the actual conditions of our country so as to develop a set of theories about tropical forestry and to promote faster development of our forestry and lumber industry.

Building the socialist economic forestry branch under the conditions of

an agriculturally backward country like ours is a very difficult and complicated job. It is a job which forestry alone cannot do; it requires a sound coordination of other branches and the concern of all the party and people. Therefore, we must avail ourselves of all opportunities and abilities to make our cadres and people have a correct understanding of and concern with forestry and the lumber industry. Only by doing so can we make forestry and the lumber industry develop faster and more steadily and truly become one of the most important branches of the people's economy.

Develop Further the Success of the Spring 1965 Forestry Campaign

To speed forestry work in 1965, the Government had decided to launch a spring forestry campaign aimed at concentrating all the efforts of the forestry branch and of all related ministries and branches upon speeding the exploitation, transportation, and distribution of wood, firewood, bamboo, nua, and luong; speeding basic construction work in forestry; and encouraging faster forest cultivation and better forest management and protection.

The spring 1965 forestry campaign recently came to a successful end. The biggest and most basic gain of the campaign was the biggest change brought about by the campaign in ideological understanding of forest production, an understanding being demonstrated by revolutionary actions in production and combat work.

Forestry work has actually become the work of all the party and people; every effort of all branches and echelons, and the revolutionary zest and big force of the masses were concentrated on carrying out the campaign tasks. Local party committees and authorities attached importance to leadership over the campaign; various branches and groups actively contributed to the success of the campaign; cooperatives and the people enthusiastically took part in the movement for forest cultivation, in forest protection, etc. Many branches and individuals showed a big change in their understanding of the role and importance of forestry work. In the forestry branch, there already was an atmosphere of emulation being felt everywhere, in all production sections and work. The movement for new ideas aimed at rationalizing production and improving techniques was expanding fast. The situation in which production at the beginning of the year was always poor has now been settled. The number of productive workdays increased remarkably. Many provinces having a lot of forests and many big forest farms overfulfilled the goals of the campaign. In general, in the first quarter, most sections of the forestry branch either fulfilled or overfulfilled the goals of the plan. Compared with the first quarter of 1964, production of the forestry branch of the first quarter this year showed a clear progress: forest cultivation done by the state showed a 37 percent increase; forest cultivation done by the people, 40 percent; forest exploitation, 22.2 percent.

In the campaign, forestry cadres and workers greatly proved their spirit of self-sufficiency and took initiative to overcome many difficulties that had always existed in forestry and many new difficulties caused by the enemy's destructive acts, with an aim at successfully carrying out the production plan

under any circumstances. Determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, the forestry cadres and workers have been taking part in the "each person works as hard as two" emulation movement, speeding production, and at the same time remaining ready to fight; in many places like the Nghia Dan, Quynh Luu (Nghe An), Co Trang (Quang Binh), and Bai Ha (Vinh Linh) forest farms and the Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Binh, and Vinh Linh forestry offices, the forest-survey teams have been speeding production and regular work, have bravely fought against U.S. planes, and have contributed to the glorious victory of our army and people; after the fierce combat hours, with the hatred for the U.S. aggressors still sizzling, the forestry cadres and workers again continued to speed production with a strong emulative spirit and higher productivity.

In order to get a complete success for the campaign, in the time to come, we must continue raising further the revolutionary enthusiasm, the spirit of collective ownership, and the spirit of self-sufficiency. In regard to leadership work, it must be concentrated upon transportation and must help to obtain a balance between the number of trees to be cut down and the ability to bring the timber out and to transport it and a balance between forest cultivation and protection and exploitation; it must also lead to strong organizational and technical measures and help to fight the tendency to wait for orders from superior authorities, to depend on mechanical means and tools, and to underestimate the effects of using rudimentary means and improved tools. In ideological teaching work, attention must be paid to further raising the concept of discipline; strengthening the spirit of socialist cooperation; and fighting the phenomena of excessive freedom and lack of discipline, localist and monistic ideas, which hamper the correct implementation of all party and Government directives related to forestry, particularly in the current urgent situation.

Our people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys is moving toward a new period, the period of decision, which is also the most tense and violent one. The U.S. aggressors are intensifying the aggressive war in the south and madly waging the war of destruction in the north. With a high degree of hatred for the aggressors, with a determination to fight and to win, all the cadres, workers, and officials of the forestry branch are resolved to achieve "each person works as hard as two," to do good productive work, and to remain ready to fight and to fight hard in order to build and to defend the north, to support the revolution in the south, and to move toward the reunification of the country.

The cadres, workers, and officials of the forestry branch are an important force in the emulation movement aimed at fighting the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, a movement that is fast rising. Where they have not had a chance to fight the United States directly, they must always remain ready, undergo continual military training, do a good defense work, and at the same time overcome all difficulties in order to speed production and to fulfill successfully the 1965 forestry production plan.

In the forestry establishments, the "three readinesses," "three respon-

sibilities," and "determined to follow President Ho's teachings" movements are pushing and encouraging one another to become a rising patriotic movement for fighting the U.S. aggressors.

On the basis of the rising patriotic anti-U.S. movement, the cadres, workers, and officials of the forestry branch must be determined to struggle hard to develop further the over-all brilliant victory of the spring 1965 forestry campaign. We must try to fulfill the common guidelines and tasks of the forestry branch today: in addition to speeding production in an urgent manner so as to satisfy the immediate needs and to fulfill successfully the 1965 forestry production plan, we must step by step surmount all difficulties; develop to the highest extent the gains already obtained; fully understand and speed the fulfillment of the major tasks of the branch (propaganda and teaching, training of cadres, forest protection, investigation and planning, forest cultivation, basic construction, and particularly road-making, supply of machinery, processing, maintenance, storage, building of a network of main warehouses), with an aim at fast building a socialist forestry to contribute actively to the work of building up the middle region and the highland.

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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IN THE NORTH

Following is a translation of an article by Lam Quang Huyen in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies) Hanoi, No. 8, August 1965, p.p. 45-507

In the process of building socialism in the North, agriculture must be rapidly developed to supply needed agricultural commodities for socialist industrialization and for the improvement of the people's living standards. An underdeveloped, single-crop, heavily self-supplied and self-sufficient agriculture can neither meet these needs nor serve as a solid base for industrial development. It cannot even solve the people's common needs.

If it does not serve industrial development, agriculture itself will not have the necessary conditions to escape from backwardness and poverty. In its many resolutions, our Party has repeatedly and clearly pointed out the mutually stimulating relationship between agriculture and industry. Without developing agriculture, the peasants will have no, or very few, agricultural commodities to sell to the state. Consequently, factories will be short of raw materials, exportation of agricultural products will be reduced, thus greatly affecting the import of machinery, equipment and materials for industry and for other economic branches. If they have no, or very few, agricultural products to sell to the state, the peasants will have no money to purchase tools, equipment and other production materials needed for expanded agricultural production, and other consumer goods manufactured by industry to improve their living standards.

Under a tropical climate, our agriculture today, though encountering certain difficulties, has very favorable conditions for a strong, overall and stable development and for producing abundant agricultural commodities. Such favorable conditions are: year-round cultivation and all-season harvest, a new production relationship, a recognition of socialism in agriculture, a strengthened management and an improved technology in cooperatives, and a heightened socialist consciousness among cooperative members.

Over the past few years, our agricultural development in the North has been relatively all-sided, and as a result has been able to supply the state with large volumes of agricultural commodities. Among agricultural products

the state has been able to purchase and collect there are such rapidly increasing products as jute, peanut, tobacco, molasses, meat, etc. The volume of food the state has in hands is also increasing.

In general, the value of agricultural commodities concentrated in the state's hands has a tendency to increase. This is a very important achievement. It proved that our agriculture in the North is moving upwards to become the real base for industrial development.

The Food Problem Must Be Solved First

Eating is one of the most basic human needs. The composition of a meal can vary from different economic and social conditions, but food always plays a very important role. In the North, our population in general and non-agricultural population in particular (1) are both increasing. Moreover, the people's living standards must be constantly improved in line with the requirements of socialist economic laws. As a result, food requirements must increase both in quantity and in quality.

In addition to meeting fully the needs of the people and industry, we must have food reserves to meet with any possible emergency, particularly in this period when the U.S. imperialists are attempting to expand their war of aggression to the North. As our country's economy is still backward and our production still underdeveloped, we do not yet have enough commodities for export and our foreign currency is also limited. If large quantities of food should be imported every year, this will affect our import of machinery and equipment needed for our industrialization, and will also affect the development of an independent and self-controlled economy. So in this sense, the food problem is not simply an economic problem. It is also a very important political problem.

Every year, the people in the North consume millions of tons of food. This requires us to pay attention to two problems. First, we must develop to the highest extent our self-reliance in solving local food problem so as to limit food transportation, especially when we are having many difficulties in communication-transportation. Second, we must step up production, increase the density of foodstuffs to meet the demands of areas that do not produce food (such as industrial areas, industrial crop growing areas, livestock breeding areas...)

Relying upon one's own strength to solve the food problem is of great importance to the entire nation as well as to individual areas. Food production is the principal task of agricultural production. Only when food output

(1) Non-agricultural population situation in the North:

	1961	1962	1963
Actual figures (in thousands)	2,915	3,209	3,495
Percentage of population	17.4	18.9	19.5

increases rapidly will we have the base to step up livestock breeding and to develop industrial crops and fruit trees, etc. Experiences in the past few years showed that where the food problem is effectively solved the people will feel assured to develop other branches and occupations. If in a certain year food production decreases, the following year industrial crop acreage will certainly be reduced. In areas where there is a shortage of food, the people have to grow food crops along with industrial crops (for instance, corn is grown in jute fields), thus affecting the productivity of industrial crops. If the economy is to be developed favorably, each locality and production establishment (except those that produce special products to serve the state's needs) must thoroughly understand the political meaning of striving to increase food production to the highest level. The purpose is to, on one hand, take initiative in planning an overall agricultural development and, on the other hand, reduce the state's burden in supplying food, particularly in this period when the entire nation is fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression.

Striving to become self-sufficient in food is of a greater importance to localities and production establishments in mountainous regions where there are difficulties in communication-transportation. In reclamation cooperatives, food production is only a secondary task and not the principal production course, for according to the Party's policy mountainous regions must primarily develop forestry, livestock breeding and industrial crops growing. But experiences in the past years showed that where a number of ricefields were set up (by restoring old fields and making rice terraces) and additional subsidiary crops were grown to solve the food problem, the people felt assured to develop production and various branches and occupations.

In the delta, many advanced cooperatives have small per-capita acreage. But thanks to their efforts to carry out intensive cultivation, they have been able not only to produce enough food for themselves but also to supply substantial amounts of food and industrial crops to the state. The Tan-Phong cooperative (Thai Binh) is a lively example.

Thus, after studying our country's conditions the Party Central Committee has set forth the direction for agricultural development, with food production as the central task. Because only by solving effectively the food problem will we have the necessary conditions to attain an overall, steady and strong agricultural development, and at the same time to have enough food to supply to the troops, workers and people living in the cities, in fishing and salt production areas, and also to meet other increasing needs. So, aside from striving for self-sufficiency in food we must constantly increase production of foodstuffs to solve the above needs. What should we do to raise food output and to increase the volume of foodstuffs?

We must first select areas that have favorable conditions, then invest capital and technology in these areas with the purpose of increasing crop productivity and developing production of food and other agricultural

products , and on that basis increasing the volume of foodstuffs. As our technology and materials are still limited we must set up key production areas in order to avoid scattered investment, slow development, lack of efficiency, and inability to supply the state with large amounts of foodstuffs. We must direct our efforts to building key rice growing areas in the Northern delta and in a number of provinces of the former fourth zone such as Thanh Hoa, Nghe An...and also in the great plains of the North-western, Northeastern and Viet Bac regions. Especially regarding the plains in the mountainous regions where our investment cannot bring as much result as in the delta but is of great significance to national defense, to the economic development of the mountainous regions and to limiting communication-transportation costs, we can and must set up key rice growing areas.

In addition to key rice growing areas, we must set up areas specialized in growing corn, manioc and sweet potatoes in order to meet domestic demands for such products and to meet export needs, because these subsidiary crops are also part of our people's basic food. Only by developing the production of such crops will we be able to increase rapidly our food output and the volume of our foodstuffs.

At present, the selection of key corn growing areas is somewhat contrary to the building of a number of areas specialized in growing such industrial crops as mulberry and jute. Therefore it is necessary to make a careful study of the state's needs for corn and of the natural and economic conditions in corn growing areas so as to set up key corn growing areas in the most profitable manner. In addition to setting up key corn growing areas for the central government, we must set up key corn growing areas for localities which grow corn. Regarding sweet potatoes we can select a number of areas in the provinces of Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Ha Bac, Vinh Phuc... -- which have long been growing and selling large quantities of sweet potatoes -- to build both central and local sweet potato growing areas. In the provinces of Hoa Binh, Phu Tho...we can build key manioc growing areas. In 1963, these two provinces alone represented 21 percent of the total manioc acreage and 30 percent of the total manioc output of the North. The state can invest in the building of manioc processing plants in concentrated manioc production areas and teach the cooperatives how to process manioc to sell to the state for domestic consumption and for export.

With such areas specialized in growing rice, corn, sweet potatoes and manioc, we will be able to rapidly increase food output and the volume of foodstuffs. Increasing the volume of foodstuffs and striving for self-sufficiency in food in localities and production establishments are the correct way to solve the food problem in the North and to create stable conditions for an overall agricultural development.

Building Key Agricultural Production Areas

At present, as the organization of cooperatives and the building of a series of state-controlled farms are basically completed, agricultural

production in the North has entered the socialist economic orbit, gradually moving from a heavily self-supplied and self-sustained stage to a merchandising stage. "In a society where products in general are under the form of merchandises, the difference among useful types of labor develops into an economic system having various branches and having social labor division." (1) Without social labor division there will be no production of goods. In other words, social labor division is the basis of a barter economy. In agriculture, the barter economy can develop strongly only when there is labor division among production areas in the country as well as in each locality.

At present, many concentrated agricultural production areas have been or are being formed in the North, such as rice areas, jute areas, cotton areas, peanut areas, sugar cane areas, etc. Generally speaking, in areas where main efforts are concentrated on growing industrial crops, livestock breeding or forestry development...only a very small amount of products are used there while the rest is supplied to the state. That is why in such areas the percentage of goods is always high. As regards areas concentrating on growing food crops, the story is different. There are many concentrated rice growing areas having large rice acreage and high rice output; but their percentage of goods is low because they have large population and not enough rice for consumption. For instance, Nghe An is second in rice acreage and fifth in rice output in the North, but it often runs into a shortage of rice and has to receive rice supplies from the state. On the contrary, there are areas where rice acreage is not as large and rice output not as high but the percentage of goods is much higher. For instance, Hai duong is much smaller than Nghe An but it is one of the provinces which have the largest amounts of grains in the North.

From the above situation we see that if we want to have an overall agricultural development in the North, an agriculture which can supply more and more products, we must build both, on central and local level, key areas specialized in growing food crops, industrial crops, etc. They are concentrated production areas having high percentage of products. This is a primary condition to determine key agricultural production areas, and it depends on historic, economic, natural and leadership factors... and also on local soil conditions, productivity and production level.

A correct determination of key agricultural production areas is of a great importance to investment and to the implementation of the state's policies on production, creating favorable conditions for achieving a strong production and a high productivity and thus insuring the supply of an increasing volume of products to the state. We do not advocate the elimination of concentrated production areas which nature had brought us. We can restore, adjust and develop such areas into key agricultural production areas which meet such socialist requirements as high productivity,

(1) Karl Marx: Capitalism, Vietnamese edition, Su That Publisher, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Volume I, page 65.

high output and high percentage of products. At the same time, we can gradually change the cultivation and livestock breeding in a number of unsuitable areas, with the purpose of building these areas into new concentrated production areas that meet the requirements of our national economy.

A number of key agricultural areas are being formed in the North. There are specifically concentrated areas such as the tea growing area of Phu Tho, the sugar cane area of Ha Nam, the jute area of Hung Yen, etc. There are also small and dispersed areas such as the peanut areas of Nghe An and Ha Bac, the mulberry areas in Ha Dong, Hanoi suburbs, Thanh Hoa, Nghe An. Food production areas are being formed around many cities. In the mountainous regions, a number of new economic areas are appearing such as the Mai Son cotton area (Son La) which includes the To Hieu collective farm, and a number of local reclamation cooperatives; the jute area in Hoa Binh, etc. There are areas that grow crops to serve both domestic needs and export. And there are areas that grow only jute to serve export.

As in agriculture we do not have much land but need different kinds of agricultural products, we must study and determine a concrete direction for agricultural production before carrying out and perfecting the task of agricultural zoning. In food for instance, apart from rice we must determine what subsidiary crops are the most important; as regards raw materials to solve clothing problem we must determine what kind of plant is the main one; as regards other agricultural products we must select those which are most popular in world markets and of a high economic value but need little land (for instance, we must compare among such crops as jute, banana, orange...which require the same soil conditions.) Only on the basis of determining a concrete production direction and by following the policy of the Party Central Committee and considering each locality's natural and economic characteristics and its production habits will we be able to come up with a correct determination of key agricultural production areas.

In the mountainous regions, in order to set up a rational direction for land reclamation work and to have a rational labor distribution between the delta and the highlands, we must work out plans to build key agricultural production areas. Each area will specialize its production and supply a specific volume of industrial crops and livestock to the whole country or to individual locality. On that basis, when we know exactly the requirements in manpower, land, material-technical bases (such as communication-transportation means and water-conservancy works), in food supply, etc.; and after preparations are made, we will bring people there to carry out production for a specific period as the plan calls for. Only through this will agricultural areas in the mountainous regions be formed in a correct manner. These areas will be new economic areas in the highlands, with farming stations and forestry camps serving as nucleus, and will coordinate closely with local cooperative members and with the delta people who are sent there to develop the highlands' economy. Organizing land reclamation in a dispersed

manner without objective, long term production direction, close coordination among economic forces, and correct zoning plans, will lead to bad consequences.

Apart from key agricultural production areas aimed at solving domestic needs, it is necessary to study and work out plans to set up a number of areas specialized in serving export, based on the concrete agricultural production direction recognized as correct by the foreign trade agency. In principle, areas producing vegetables, fruits and meat for export (fresh products for export) must be set up close to sea ports in order to make easier the task of preserving products and to limit transportation costs.

In addition to key areas concentrating on industrial crops and livestock breeding, we must establish key areas specialized in fishery, fish raising, forestry and reforestation aimed at solving national needs. At the same time individual provinces must also set up small local specialized areas.

Because our needs for agricultural products are both great and complex we must have all types of key areas (central-level area, local-level area, area serving domestic needs, area serving export...). In our tropical climate we have many crops and animal species that can be grown and raised year round, with several crops that can be grown together or rotated, therefore our agricultural production areas can be interinvolved while still maintaining their specialization. In reality, there cannot be any single specialized area that is too large or too concentrated, therefore practically no province, district, even collective farm and cooperative can produce and supply only one kind of product. On the contrary, each locality, each production establishment can supply many kinds of agricultural products to the state, including both principal and secondary products, depending on the production direction of each area. For example, Hai Duong produces rice, hogs, vegetables, etc. but its main products are rice and hogs. In Hung Yen, longan, orange, etc. are grown in key rice growing areas; corn, sugar cane, banana, etc. are grown in key jute growing areas...

We also know that specialization in our agricultural production can only be achieved on the basis of an overall development, and that an overall development should insure the success of specialization. This is the common principle applied to all cooperatives and collective farms as well as to all crops and animals. To develop rice production we cannot only grow rice but we must also raise oxen and buffaloes to have draft power and pigs to have manure. To raise pigs we must have vegetables, duckweed, etc. to feed them. This is also true to other kinds of crops. Every cooperative (and collective farm as well) must have a number of principal production branches and a number of secondary ones. The principal branches create main products (which often are main commodities) as the state's plans call for. The secondary branches are also very important to developing cooperative's production and to improving cooperative members' living standards. Regarding secondary branches, it is necessary to concentrate

efforts on the ones that stimulate the development of the main branches. These secondary or supplementary branches usually are: raising cows, oxen and buffaloes, raising pigs, producing fodder, producing and processing manure, manufacturing and repairing farm tools, producing construction materials...At the same time attention must also be given to those branches that can fully use land potentials and the labor of cooperative members, especially the ones that can bring quick and high economic results, so as to increase the cooperative's capital and cooperative members' income.

The establishment of key agricultural production areas must become a mass movement carried out under the guidance and with the help of the state. Moving from a heavily self-supplied, self-sustained and narrow production of a half-colonial half-feudal country to a new and comprehensive socialist production is really a difficult and complex process. This is also one of the most important things we must pay attention to in the process of modernizing our agriculture. This task is not only an administrative one (vertical zoning), nor a single technical one limited in the implementation of technical measures. It must cover all political, economic and technical fields which are closely related to one another and supplement one another in a long time. Like all other works, the establishment of key agricultural areas must reflect the mass aspect of our Party's policies especially in economic management. It cannot be achieved if it does not become a mass movement and if it does not receive support from the cooperative members and workers in collective farms. Each area must have material and technical bases which meet the requirements in the production of essential commodities. At present, the state has limited capital used primarily for heavy industry; moreover our agricultural areas occupy most of the country. If the state makes investment in about 30,000 cooperatives, the amount of money each cooperative receives will be very small. Therefore, mobilizing cooperative members to contribute their labor and money to build material and technical bases for the cooperatives is the essential and decisive factor. Assistance from the state is also an important factor, but cooperatives should not have the idea of relying entirely on the state. To insure a strong production development in key areas, it is necessary to first build a number of material and technical bases serving the main production branches. There are certain material and technical bases that can be used for an entire region, but there are those that should be used only for individual cooperatives or collective farms. Cooperatives should study and work out plans to concentrate on building material and technical bases that are the most essential and important for a specific key area. The immediate task of the cooperatives is to use lots of capital (capital of the cooperative itself and capital contributed by cooperative members) and great amounts of labor to build projects serving production. As regards projects serving collective welfare, the cooperative should try to avoid putting too much capital in them.

The state assists the cooperative in building material and technical bases in many ways: giving advice and guidance in planning, supplying construction materials, making necessary loans...Regarding projects that serve

an entire key production area and cannot be undertaken by the cooperatives (irrigation systems, scientific-technical research stations...) the people can contribute manpower while the state provides capital, materials, and technical advices. In making investment in agriculture (investment in building industries that serve agriculture, investment in scientific-technical research, etc.) the state should concentrate on key agricultural production areas.

Parallel to supplying materials to build material and technical bases in key production areas, the state should provide certain amounts of consumer goods and construction materials to the people in these areas. This is very important for the state purchases and collects most agricultural products from these areas. The relationship between the state and key production areas is actually an exchange of goods between the two industrial and agricultural sectors, and this is also one of the basic contents of the worker-peasant alliance in this period of building socialism.

In stepping up the establishment of key agricultural production areas, zoning is only the first step. It is important to set up a number of policies aimed at guiding and mobilizing cooperative members and workers in collective farms to participate enthusiastically in establishing and consolidating key production areas. These policies are: making investment, supplying materials for construction and production, supplying consumer goods; purchasing-collecting products, processing products, setting product prices; training specialized cadres, directing the application of techniques in accordance with each area's requirements; making scientific studies in accordance with each area's requirements; giving awards and encouraging those cooperatives and collective farms that have a good production and supply great amounts of products to the state, etc.

In order to make our agriculture a solid base for our industrial development, we must develop agriculture in an overall manner, with the most basic requirement being to increase the production of all kinds of agricultural commodities for domestic use and for export. The barter economy in our agriculture can only be developed on the basis of building and strengthening key production areas specialized in growing food crops and industrial crops, livestock breeding, forestry, etc. But first of all we must effectively solve the food problem, use it as the jumping board to develop an overall agriculture producing all kinds of commodities.

To achieve all this, it is necessary to set up good policies, strengthen guidance in key production areas, transforming them into a solid base for our socialist agricultural economy. On the other hand, we must help cooperatives and collective farms determine a correct production course, having appropriate secondary branches. And only through this will our key agricultural production areas have a really active purpose and be able to supply more and more agricultural products to the state.

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LIFE AND DEATH OF THE COMMUNISTS

[Following is a translation of an article by Vu Khieu in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), No.8, August 1965, pp.51-54.]

How does one live? That question has been asked mankind one generation after another. That question has been answered differently with different ways of living.

How does one live? Nguyen Du, in "Van Te Thap Loai Chung Sinh" (Funeral Oration for All Living Creatures), gave many examples of despicable ways of living and dying very typical of those kings and lords and high-ranking personalities taking advantage of their power to do the people harm, of those generals responsible for wanton killing of the people, and of those people running after fame and wealth. Nguyen Du also wrote about the ways of living and dying of the poor people which deserved pity, should not be followed, and reflected a society in darkness and without a chance of escape.

In the most degenerate times of the exploiting and ruling class, the concept of life of the latter was often reflected in poetry and literature, the theme of which was "was life worth living or not."

Nowadays, imperialism has become so rotten; in the capitalist society extremely disgusting things that induce nausea ("The Nausea," a book of Jean Paul Sartre) take place everyday. The authors of existentialism, Jean Paul Sartre and his friends, again ask whether life is worth living or not. Sartre writes: "All activities of man are equal... All activities in principle are to become failure." (Jean Paul Sartre: "Being and Nothingness," French edition, page 721.) According to Camus, life is entirely meaningless, and all activities of man, no matter how good or bad, are equally illogical. The fate of man is like that of Sisyphus in mythology. He was to roll uphill a big stone which kept rolling down. Life is just as illogical. All great endeavors of mankind are just like rolling a stone uphill and finding the stone rolling down again and again. That is the feeling of tiredness and of no-escape on the part of the bourgeois intellectuals facing the annihilation of their class. Their reaction to the capitalist society is still beneficial to that society, rather than harmful. For the "weapon of criticism" is no longer sufficient for that society, but rather one should "criticize with weapons."

We know why the above-mentioned concepts were widely popular in Saigon in the last few years; those concepts are aimed at sowing pessimistic feelings and creating a group of people keeping themselves out of the people's fight or

lending a hand to the enemy.

How does one live? Nguyen Van Troi lived the finest life. "I always like to live and to fight like a communist," he once said; those words had become his blood and flesh, and had been affecting all his thoughts and deeds.

How does one live? Living as a lackey of the aggressors to do harm to one's compatriots like foremen Giap and Luc and Tam Hieu? No! He openly scolded them: "Living a life like yours, I can't. I'd rather die. You're so disgusting."

Living a life in which one enjoys pleasures, seeks security, pretends to be blind before the sufferings of one's compatriots and the aggressors' cruelty in order to be satisfied with "brand-new blankets and pillows, and a fine family?" No! He shook his head scornfully: "I am different from all of you. I cannot bow my head and remain inactive while the Americans bring bombs and ammunitions here to kill my people."

They asked him: "What else do you want?" Touching his hair that covered part of his face, he answered: "What do I want? I want to kill all the Americans. I want the south to be liberated."

"To live and to fight the Americans for national salvation!" That was his iron will. No temptations, no force could conquer that will.

Marx, at his younger age, greatly liked Prometheus, a character in mythology. That character reflected a prediction of the fine qualities of the workers' class and symbolized the hero that fought for the freedom and happiness of mankind. Nguyen Van Troi's way of living suggested an extremely beautiful symbol, a Prometheus of modern times.

Like Prometheus who gave mankind fire that he had stolen from heaven, Nguyen Van Troi was fighting all his life for the fire of freedom of his class and people.

By order of God, Prometheus was nailed at the top of the Caucasus, where everyday a vulture came to eat away his liver. Nguyen Van Troi was everyday beaten and tortured by the aggressors who, however, were unable to destroy the will of that communist youth.

Like Prometheus who scornfully said to Hermes, "I would rather be nailed all my life at the top of the mountain than serve as a lackey of God," Nguyen Van Troi repeatedly scolded the aggressors' lackeys who came to persuade him.

That Promethean will power in Nguyen Van Troi was not something that came all by itself. That was the fine quality of his class and his people.

That worker-electrician deserved his class, the class that is breaking all the chains of oppression and liberating itself and all mankind.

That worker also deserved his people, the people of Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung, Ho Chi Minh, and the glorious party--the Vietnam Lao Dong Party.

How does one live? Nguyen Van Troi answered that question the way the communists did. Marx, the father of the workers' class and of communism, suggested at his early age the ideal that he had been struggling for all his life: "The happiness of man is to make many people happy." Later Marx told his daughter: "Happiness is to struggle."

Nguyen Van Troi had been living up to that communist ideal. He had been struggling until his death for the happiness of his class and his people. He placed his personal happiness behind the common happiness of his people: "As long as the American aggressors remain, nobody can have happiness."

The communists' ideal is not a religious one. That ideal does not come from the bible of the church, nor from the empty preaching of the men of "virtues." That ideal was born in the process of the workers' class's actual struggle. It reflected the historical need of that struggle.

The communists are not the first having talked about the people's happiness. For generations and generations, people have talked about it. Jesus and Buddha both told men to love one another, not to hate one's enemy, to offer the other side of the face after this side has been slapped. Lenin protested against such virtues that "come from the concepts that are strange to mankind, to the classes of society." (Lenin, Stalin: "About the Role and Task of the Youth," Vietnamese edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, page 21.)

There are virtues that do not originate from the bible, but have a religious character suggesting that they come from the latter. From Confucius, the outstanding idealist of the East, to Feuerbach, the last materialist of the West before Marx, all men of virtues did teach benevolence and love for others. However, such teachings did not liberate men, but rather chained them down. Lenin taught us that "those are deceit and lies to workers and farmers, and indoctrination of workers-farmers for the interests of landlords and capitalists." (See note above.)

In the thousands of years under the feudal rule, such teachings of virtues greatly deceived our people. Those feudal landlords, who lived on our people's bodies and blood, were those who talked the most about virtues. The words they said were not a guide for their action, but a means to get money, land, and positions.

They had been talking about loyalty, piety, chastity, and righteousness, but it was just for the purpose of teaching people how to serve the feudalists called the emperor, the fathers, the husbands.

They also suggested altruistic and egoistic ideas, but it was just for the purpose of publicizing the altruism that served the egoism of one man, the egoism of a king or a lord.

They claimed that people should be austere, but austerity was to be observed by the common people only as the feudalists were free to spend money without restraint and to enjoy pleasures.

In such an awful society of classes, speaking of "love for each other" was "ten times as bad as (speaking of) betraying each other."

The love of the communists is not that kind of deceiving love. It inherits the true love among the working people in combat and in production.

Nguyen Van Troi loved his country and his compatriots, those being as poor as he was, with all the zest of youth. Nguyen Van Troi had pity for his elder brother, worried about his wife, helped the elderly, took care of orphans, with the same amount of zeal and enthusiasm as ever.

He did not have that love under God's teaching, nor did he learn it from empty advices. That love life in society itself had brought to him; that love he acquired through his own concepts and through what actually happened.

In the book, "Song Nhu Anh" (Let Us Live as You Did), Miss Quyen gave clear details about Troi. Troi lived in poverty at the beginning of his childhood; his mother died and his father was jailed because of the imperialists' cruelty. His elder brother was too poor to support him; he had to leave his native village and did everything to earn a living. Like other working people around him, Troi worked hard day and night without earning enough to feed himself. It was that way of living that bound him to the working people and created in his heart an immense love for the poor.

In his boyhood, he saw with his own eyes "groups and groups of people, tightly bound and attached to one another, after the Duoc Market, Vinh Trinh, incident, being led to an unknown place; later none of them came back." As he grew up, he witnessed more and more ruthless acts of oppression. "He saw with his own eyes tanks running over bodies, headless bodies or bodies blown to pieces by cannon balls." Such sights further nurtured his deep hatred for the enemy--the aggressors and the traitors.

Nguyen Van Troi did not have that abstract love for human beings. His love was based on class. That was the love for the oppressed masses, closely linked with the deep hatred for the people's enemy. Only by hating the enemy does one know how to love the people truthfully. The more one loves the people, the more one cannot live with the enemy. The communist sentiments in him were formed by the imperialists and their lackeys, by the people's sufferings, and by his own experiences. Lenin thoroughly analyzed the forming of those communist qualities that resulted from all three factors. Lenin said: "Teaching the communist youth is not inviting them to listen to soft speeches

or moral principles. That is not teaching. When people saw that their parents had been living all their lives under the rule of landlords and capitalists, when people suffered from the same miseries of those taking part in the fight against the exploiters, when people found the sacrifices in the continued struggle for protecting what had been achieved and that the landlords and capitalists were cruel enemies, they would learn to become communists." (See preceding note. Pages 24-25.)

The social situation and revolutionary struggle not only hardened Nguyen Van Troi's finest feelings about his fatherland and his people, but also nurtured his deep collectivistic spirit. Accepted into the Youth Union, having gone through training courses and the guidance of well-experienced cadres, and having learned from the brilliant feats of senior communist fighters, he saw more and more clearly the growth of his class and his people. He lived amidst a class of heroes. So many of his elders had fallen, but so many of his contemporaries have stood up. Before him there had been Tran Phu, Nguyen Van Cu, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, Ly Tu Trong, Vo Thi Sau. At his side there were Le Quang Vinh, Le Hong Tu, Miss X, Miss Y, Loi, Hua, and tens of thousands of those invincible people being detained by the U.S. aggressors; 30 million people now bravely doing productive and combat work; and all the workers in the world movement. The confidence in and love for that large collectivity provided him with an invincible force to face the enemy's attacks and threats. In him, the individual and the collective were mingled into one. He worried about the worries of the collectivity, and enjoyed the joy of the collectivity. He cherished the collectivity better than he did his own self. He found his happiness in the collectivity, and the strength of the latter in him.

The collectivistic spirit based on strong sentiments and an iron confidence in the revolutionary work of his people and class was actually Nguyen Van Troi's finest quality.

The communists live to work. Their ideal is a realistic one, reflecting the vitality of history. It becomes realistic through the communists' actual struggle. The communists are totally strange to saying empty words. President Ho taught us so often: "Words must go hand in hand with deeds." For the communists, to have good motivation is not enough; one must have good results of one's work.

The communists both object to practicalism, which calls for devotion only to the results of an action, and protest against idealism, which stops at man's motivations. Practicalism serves the superficial interests of the bourgeoisie, with disregard for the people's interests. Idealism lowers man's historic responsibility and limits man's subjective efforts aimed at fulfilling his tasks.

History has recorded a great deal of big hopes and fine words referring to man's happiness and virtues. But those are empty words uttered, for in-

stance, by Tseng Tse who urged that everyday one should "correct oneself three times," but who actually tried to avoid work and not to fight; that was the way of living of Cheng Tse who all day long did nothing but meditated on his good and his bad by counting black and white beans. The communists are totally different. Their qualities are found at the tip of the class-struggle spear. As Stalin wrote about Lenin, the communists are eagles in the storm.

Nguyen Van Troi was such a man. Although he was young, his life was that of struggle. As he was unable to live in his native village, he went to Da Nang; there when life was again unbearable, he left for Saigon. As one occupation did not suit him, he switched to another occupation. Having found that he could not live with the traitors and aggressors, he made up his mind to do revolutionary work till the end. Whatever he did, accepting the task of killing McNamara, or helping to fight a fire that was burning his compatriots' houses, or doing any revolutionary tasks while in jail, he did it with the utmost strength and courage of a communist. Being tortured to near death and being brought back to life again many times, he still never lost heart. He jumped from a high floor not to escape or to commit suicide, but to continue fighting, to continue doing the revolutionary work, to continue killing McNamara and his clique. His patriotism and hate for the aggressors were not locked inside his heart. Such sentiments were always sizzling and frequently expressed by very courageous and realistic acts, which were aimed at achieving the most practical results.

Like other communists, Nguyen Van Troi not only devoted all his life to doing revolutionary work, but also did the latter with a very brilliant concept. He never gave up the concept that his class and his people would be completely victorious and that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, no matter how violent they might be, could never avoid the defeat that was approaching. He accepted every revolutionary work, assumed all difficult tasks, and gladly accepted death with perfect understanding. He had known very well that blowing up the Cong Ly Bridge could mean being arrested, jailed, or killed by the enemy; but he never hesitated to accept the assignment, nor regretted what he had done. He had a clear concept that the revolution could be successful only with the brave sacrificing spirit of the masses and with the dare-to-die-for-one's-ideal spirit of the communists. When all such sacrifices became part of the revolution, one would bravely accept all the responsibilities and would honestly feel that sacrificing for one's fatherland and compatriots was honor and happiness.

Nguyen Van Troi is dead! He offered his youth--his finest age--to his fatherland and compatriots. That young man had lived a life full of love for living and an extremely powerful energy. However, the revolution needed him: he gave up the life he cherished, thus considering death as light as a feather!

He had hoped to have freedom and happiness. He had loved most passionately. But when the revolution needed him, all personal interests became secondary to the great interests of his people!

The enemy killed him, but they could not extinguish his invincible fighting spirit. His death has become a stormy force striking at the enemy's head.

Nguyen Van Troi was only 24. Death came to him too early. But that short life was hundreds and thousands of times finer than the dragged-on life of those having no ideal to pursue, and whose light of struggle and hope had long burned out in their hearts and eyes!

Nguyen Van Troi is dead, but the example he set will forever remain brilliant in the hearts of thousands and thousands of people.

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LIFE IN THE PARTY

[Following is a translation of two articles by Truong Van Kien and Le Trieu, respectively, in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8, August 1965, pages 55-62.]

Quynh Luu Is Determined to Do Good Productive and Combat Work to Help Defeat the U.S. Piratical Aggressors

Quynh Luu is a district north of Nghe An Province, having an area of 430 sq. km. and nearly 30 km. of coast line. Its population is over 160,000; two-thirds are specialized in agricultural production, and the rest in salt-making, fishing, and other occupations. Nearly 90 percent of its working population have joined its various cooperatives.

Quynh Luu has many roads, waterways, river mouths, and all the communication-transportation conveniences, which help economic and cultural development a great deal, for national route 1 and a railroad run across it. With such characteristics, Quynh Luu occupies an important location, both economically and in terms of national defense.

Carrying out their plot to widen the war of destruction in the north of our country, during the night of 17 February 1965, the U.S. imperialists used their warships to shell Quynh Lap, a coastal village of our district. Then many times their airplanes came to bomb and to strafe many places in our district. They came both during the day and at night. They did not spare even churches and the statues of Jesus (at Quynh Tam Village); more terrible was the fact that many times they bombed and strafed the Quynh Lap leprosarium, killing and injuring many patients.

Along with their war of destruction, the U.S. imperialists also actively waged their psychological war. In their bombings that killed our compatriots ruthlessly, they also dropped leaflets to publicize what was called Johnson's "peaceful goodwill!" In a coordination of action with their American masters, the internal reactionaries secretly spread false rumors to confuse our people or to disrupt their vigilance.

Recognizing the enemy's plot, and having an immense hatred for the U.S. aggressors who came to destroy our hamlets and villages, and to kill our

people, the army and people of Quynh Luu dealt decisive blows against them; in the first battles in April 1965 alone, the local militiamen, self-defense corpsmen, and troops, in coordination with the action of the antiaircraft troops, shot down ten U.S. planes and damaged many others. In combat many examples of gallantry were set. Some comrades used their bodies as gun stands for their friends to shoot at U.S. aircraft. Many women applied bandages to the wounded troops and people despite the enemy's planes flying overhead. Some youths crossed the enemy's fire line to save the properties of the state and the people. Many cadres and staff members of public health and other branches voluntarily gave blood to their wounded compatriots. There were some children who secretly followed the self-defense corpsmen to the combat positions and offered their help by carrying refreshments and ammunitions; as they found that somebody needed a rag to clean the gun barrels and that none was available, one of them even offered his shirt, for he wanted to do anything just to hope that more U.S. planes would be downed. Such fine deeds on the part of the common people in our district were too numerous to be recounted here.

Where the U.S. airplanes had come to bomb and to strafe, the party committeemen took many appropriate measures to solve the situation in time: they urged the people to help one another to clean up, to repair, to rebuild houses, and to stabilize the living; at the same time, they mobilized the people, through ideological teaching, to speed production and to stay ready to fight the Americans. As a result, after the U.S. bombings and strafings, the masses' hatred for the U.S. aggressors became deeper; the love and solidarity among the people became stronger; the determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors was raised higher; and production was further speeded up.

By now the movement to hunt U.S. planes, to undergo military training, to do the people's antiaircraft work, and to maintain security has become a wide popular movement. The "three readinesses" and "three responsibilities" movement is also being extended everywhere. All cadres, party members, and people in our district have realized that in order to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, they should not only organize good combat work, but also do their productive work effectively.

In the emulation movement aimed at defeating the U.S. piratical aggressors, in addition to organizing the people to become combat ready and to fight well, the party echelons also led and organized the people to speed intensive cultivation aimed at raising productivity. Where the enemy's planes came to threaten and to strafe regularly, for instance Quynh Hong Village, the party committeemen still maintained good leadership over production, ranging from plowing and harrowing to caring for the plants and harvesting, with productivity being raised to among the highest in the district. The party committee of Quynh Hau launched the movement for intensive cultivation of sweet potato, encouraged collective animal-raising, thus making the village be able to boast of having the highest sweet potato productivity and doing the best animal-raising work in the district. The Quynh Long, Quynh Lap, Quynh Nghia, and Quynh Thuan villages, which had to face the enemy so frequently, still reached

the highest production of fish and salt.

Under difficult conditions created by the U.S. imperialists' war acts, some party chapter committees still succeeded in leading the masses toward building the cooperatives typically well known for their application of new techniques, for practicing intensive cultivation to raise rice productivity (Hong Phong Cooperative), for obtaining all-time high sweet potato productivity (Phu Thanh, Hong Long, and Ai Quoc cooperatives at Quynh Hau), for increasing the size of their collectively-raised pigs' flock (Ai Quoc Cooperative), for being the number-one cooperative to do the best irrigation work in the province and being given the "Hong Thai" title in Nghe An (Thong Nhat Cooperative), and for achieving high fish and salt outputs (Dai Lien and Ai Quoc cooperatives).

Our district started the winter-spring crop with a task quite big: to increase the acreage cultivable by 1,500 hectares and at the same time to assure good production techniques. But with the spirit of fighting the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, the cooperatives in our district completed their work for the winter-spring crop 15-20 days ahead of schedule and struggled to increase the total food output by 3,000 tons over the one obtained in the winter-spring crop of the preceding year. After their harvest, the farmers competed with one another to sell their products to the state in greater quantities than required to. The wide over-all movement for doing irrigation work continued to develop, and our district still kept the banner for being the leading district in the province in regard to doing irrigation work. In the first few months this year, our fish and salt production was also greater than that in the same period of the previous years. Our district also basically completed the first five-year plan for advanced cultural programs on the occasion of President Ho's 75th birthday.

The above-mentioned victories were the results of the clear-sighted leadership of the party Central Committee and the correct guidance of the Nghe An provincial party committee. They were also the results of a series of big efforts on the part of our own district party committee and people.

From such victories, we initially drew the following experiences:

1. Fully recognizing the new situation and tasks, and the position and responsibilities of one's local area in the new situation is a very important matter. To make leadership conform with the new situation and tasks as we go from peacetime to wartime is not so simple a problem. In order to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, we must organize the people to be combat ready and to fight well, and also attach importance to the task of developing the economy. That way we shall be able to satisfy the needs of socialist construction and at the same time our war needs. As Quynh Luu is a district holding an important economic position and a vital defense role, the responsibilities of our party committee are even heavier. With the help of the resolutions issued by the party Central Committee and our provincial committee, we have recognized

the above facts early enough and, through our own resolutions and directives, made all our committeemen fully understand that spirit. We also made each local area in our district fully recognize its position and responsibility to the common movement. The party committees in our district considered the work of preparing for combat, fighting, and producing as their actual political tasks. On that basis, we boldly suggested such big works as doing irrigation work and redistribution of manpower in order to create favorable conditions for exploiting new economic areas and to provide our socialist construction and anti-U.S. fight with more material means.

2. By building up the party organization and the Youth Union into a backbone force in production and combat and at the same time developing the masses' force, we can overcome any difficulties and fulfill any tasks. This is a matter of important significance. Through actual work, particularly the key work which a party committee had to do at a given time, we built up and consolidated party chapters and the Youth Union chapters. We clearly explained to all party committees that if they only fulfilled the production and combat tasks without widening the ranks of the party and without consolidating the party organizations in ideological and organizational matters, nor strengthening the cadres of all branches, their tasks would then be considered unfinished. Our experiences indicated that those matters were closely related to one another. In production and combat work, if there were a lot of difficulties and hardships and yet if they were all overcome, the party organizations would be considered fully developed in every way; on the other hand, the more the party organizations were developed, the more the production and combat work would be done, and the greater the achievements would be. By now most party chapter committees and party committees in our district have registered in the contest to build "four good" party chapter committees and party committees, and showed a great deal of progress in their leadership work.

We also attached special importance to the Youth Union work. Recently, the youths of our district played an important role in production and combat; they enthusiastically supported the "three readinesses" movement. However, in building the Union, we did not solely aim at making our youths play the leading role in production and combat and satisfy the "three readinesses" requirement, but we also tried to build a strong reserve force to complement the party ranks. In the past few years the fact that more and more youths were accepted into the party did help to increase the fighting power of our party committee. In the work for the youth, we considered the mobilizing and organizing of young women as something that could not be underestimated. At the same time, we also paid attention to the work to be done by women, particularly in the present situation. The fact that the "three responsibilities" movement had the active support of our women pointed to that concern of all the party committees in our district. At present, our women are enthusiastically learning how to plow and to do the jobs that only men used to do, and how to manage a cooperative, so that they would be able to replace their husbands or sons while the latter are in the army or are doing other kind of work elsewhere.

3. Fully understanding the party people's war line, organizing people

to be combat ready and to fight well, and doing well the people's antiaircraft work--these are what must be urgently done to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors. The party committees in our district have recognized the fact that in order to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, all the people must take part in the fight against the enemy and at the same time protect themselves, the lives and properties of the people and the state, and production. As a result, they paid particular attention to building up and consolidating the militia and self-defense forces and speeding the antiaircraft work. In this work, they succeeded in doing the key work--the ideological work--by strengthening the hatred for the U.S. aggressors, overcoming the subjective thinking that prevented people from seeing all the U.S. imperialists' evil ambitions, and stopping the tendency to overestimate the effects of the U.S. technical weapons in such an extent as to develop confusion and fear. The party committees also paid attention to making people have confidence in our people's force, be determined to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, and fear no sacrifices or losses. They also made initial steps toward heightening their own military knowledge and understanding of the people's war, and were more concerned with the implementation of the policies dealing with militiamen, troops, wounded soldiers, and families of the war dead. It was because of the party leadership and education that the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen in our district already scored big victories in the recent battles, helped shoot down U.S. planes, and limited the enemy's strafings and our people's losses.

4. Leadership behavior must be greatly improved to suit the new situation. In order to make sure that our tasks would be fulfilled in the new situation, the leading cadres in our district firmly overcame any tendency to fear difficulties and hardships, to hesitate, to expect no difficulties nor the unforeseen, to do leadership work in an unconvincing manner, to lack serious thinking, to dare not suggest any strong and bold stands and measures, to fail to urge the people to act. Thanks to that effort, we succeeded in limiting the losses caused by the enemy's destructive acts, stabilizing in time the masses' thinking and living, and doing the things that in normal times could not be done, such as building the big An-Ngai aquacultural project and other smaller projects, bringing people to the new economic areas to help develop them, etc. We also made the party commissars in the district realize the relationship between centralized leadership and distributed work, fully recognize their responsibilities, further develop their creative initiative and spirit of self-sufficiency, and assure fulfilment of their tasks under any circumstances.

In the recent months, the army and people in our district scored many achievements in production and combat work. Had the leadership of the party committee in our district been better, our achievements could have been even bigger and the losses caused by the enemy could have been cut down much more.

With an understanding of our own responsibility for the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation, we are resolved to develop our strong points, to overcome our shortcomings and weaknesses in our regular work, to fight rightist

ideas and the tendencies to fear hardships and sacrifices, to stop subjective ideas and the failure to evaluate all the enemy's plots, to foresee difficulties so as to have all the preparations necessary to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors; on that basis, we are resolved to lead the people toward overcoming all difficulties; to build Quynh Luu into a district well known for being economically rich, politically sound, and powerful in defense work; to make a deserving contribution to the work of building and defending the north, supporting the revolution in the south, and moving toward reunification of the country.

Some Experiences of Dong Phuong Hong Party Chapter Committee in Party-Building and Leadership over Production

Dong Phuong Hong, which used to be called Huong Village, belongs to Tho Hai, Tho Xuan District, Thanh Hoa Province. The Dong Phuong Hong Cooperative now has 251 families, totalling 1,178 people, including 380 principal laborers and 117 secondary laborers. It does not own much land; in average each of its members has 1 sao 12 thuoc Trung bo. It has the advantage of being watered by a river and having a tract of land enriched by Chu River and a silkworm-raising industry; as to other cultivation conditions, it has no other advantages over the rest of the cooperatives in the province.

Dong Phuong Hong had a party cell as early as in 1949 and a lower-level cooperative with twenty-four member families back in 1958. By 1960, a party chapter was established, and its cooperative was raised to a higher level covering the entire hamlet. However, in the years 1960-1961, it had a lot of difficulties. Of the 234 families, sixty including some families being party members were ready to withdraw; the productivity of what it cultivated was low; it lost money in collective animal-raising; although mulberries were available, silkworm-raising was not developed, and actually it chopped down the mulberries to leave room for sweet potato; in the cooperative, there was serious corruption as some production teams hid away some rice to divide among themselves. The living of its members was plagued with shortages: in 1960, ninety-two families suffered food shortages for 3-5 months; near the harvest time in 1961, as many as 170 families did not have enough food to eat, and the state had to give them 45 quintals of rice. The duty to sell food to the state was not fulfilled; the party chapter had to meet dozens of times to do some internal struggling and to seek some ways to solve the problem. The policy that required leaving 5 percent of land to cooperative members was not correctly implemented; food distribution was not carried out fairly enough, with many cases of injustice and personal sentiments involved, and even with food distributed to landlords and rich farmers alike. Free slaughtering of pigs and illegal alcohol-making were quite widespread. People's groups were not very active.

Why did the Dong Phuong Hong Cooperative had such a bad situation in those two years? First of all it was because the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter did not fulfill all its responsibilities. Of its eighteen party members, eight were considered poor, five average, including those who never properly implemented party and state policies; some comrades even abused their position to do harm to the cooperative members' interests. How could a party chapter of that kind succeed in leading the movement ahead?

Toward the end of 1961 and early in 1962, after having studied the resolutions of the Fifth Party Central Committee Conference and the Thanh Hoa provincial committee dealing with the campaign to "strengthen the party organization in the countryside to consolidate the cooperatives and to speed over-all production," the Dong Phuong Hong comrades began recognizing their own failures and shortcomings and confirming the role and responsibilities of party chapters regarding local movements. Since then, the party chapter has never ceased struggling hard to move ahead in building itself, leading the people's organizations, and speeding production.

As a result, at the beginning of 1963, the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter was considered a "four good" one; the people's groups in connection with it were developed, and so was production. The total value of products increased from \$112,803 (1961) to \$158,820 (1963); in 1964, despite crop damages caused by diseases and storms, it was \$152,420; the 1965 fifth-month rice crop alone was valued at \$98,299. As production was developed, the cooperative accumulation fund increased from \$6,252 (1961) to \$8,218 (1963). In 1964, despite crop losses, \$5,000 was added to the fund; in the 1965 fifth-month rice crop alone, the amount was \$6,705. The material and technical foundation was further built: since 1962, the cooperative has built twenty-seven brick houses used for unwinding silk from cocoons, two warehouses, two yards for drying purposes, ten small huts used to store manure, twenty sties and stables; bought sixty improved rakes, ten disc harrows, 130 model 51 plows, two compressors, one winnow, nine rice threshers, one grinder, ten three-wheelers, five ball bearing two-wheel vehicles; and equipped itself with a system of speakers which cost \$92,217. Recently, it used money in the temporary fund to lend its members who bought thirty-seven ball bearing two-wheel vehicles, at the price of nearly \$100. each. The people's living was undeniably improved. Now only 5 percent of all the cooperative member families, as against 70 percent in the past, having difficulties with the problem of food; in the cooperative, there are now seventy-seven brick houses, sixty-six tiled yards, and forty-three people owning bicycles. In 1961, only eighty children of the cooperative members went to schools, but now 148 children go to level I classes, forty-two to level II classes, and six to level III classes; these figures do not include those attending night classes and the children in kindergarten and beginners' classes. All policies were properly implemented. The quantity of rice sold to the state at either fixed or encouraging prices and of the rice taken as tax payments increased from 78,304 kg. (1961) to 115,600 kg. (1963); in 1964, despite crop losses, the figure was 113,500 kg.; with the 1965 fifth-month rice crop alone, it was 74,000 kg. The cooperative borrowed money from the state to buy farm implements, fertilizers, insecticides, but has later paid back every single piaster. The problem of food distribution, with 5 percent of the land put aside for cooperative members, was correctly solved as the old, the handicapped, the families of wounded soldiers and war dead were all taken into consideration. The cooperative also sent people to other friendly cooperatives to assist them in growing mulberries and raising silkworms, supplied hundreds of establishments with breeding duckweed, selected 300 quintals of rice seeds to distribute to all cooperatives in the province, and encouraged the masses to spare rice and clothing in order to help those cooperatives that faced with difficulties (over 3 tons of rice supplied in 1963).

Having led the movement to progress in all aspects and having won the "four good" title for the party chapter, the Dong Phuong Hong comrades made a great effort.

1. The party chapter attached importance to political and ideological work and linked ideological education with struggling to implement party lines and policies.

In the past, because of the little attention paid to ideological education, there were deviations among party members and the masses; and the movement was too poorly developed. Having recognized its shortcomings, through the studying of the resolutions adopted at the fifth and eighth party Central Committee conferences and of the provincial party committee resolution dealing with the campaign to "strengthen party organizations in the countryside in order to consolidate our cooperatives and to speed production in general," through the campaign for improvement of cooperative management, combined with a struggle for implementing all party policies, the party chapter taught socialist ideas to party members and the masses and fought hard against their deviations.

In addition to patiently teaching ideological ideas, the party chapter showed a firm attitude toward wrong acts that did harm to the movement: purging comrade D for having been corrupt and comrade B for having many times refused to execute the food-duty policy, created difficulties in party-developing activities, and encouraged the people to battle with members of a friendly cooperative for a few hectares of land on the river bank; firing comrade Ng. from the position of secretary for having shown a soft attitude toward the mistakes of party members. As a result, the party chapter was consolidated in regard to the ideological and organizational aspects and enjoyed fresh prestige among the people.

Thanks to those efforts, the party chapter made all party members and the masses have confidence in and definitely choose the collective working method, and show their spirit of justice and self-sufficiency; built the material and technical foundation of the cooperative through hard-working; promoted the spirit of party members and the masses in applying new techniques to production; and built correct relations between the cooperative and the state, between the cooperative and its members, and among friendly cooperatives.

2. The Dong Phuong Hong party chapter attached importance to both educating party members and helping the party to grow in order to consolidate and to strengthen the party ranks in both quantity and quality.

In addition to educating the party members and eliminating from the party those who have lost all the revolutionary qualities, the party chapter actively did all the party-developing work.

First of all the party chapter reaffirmed the need for strengthening the party ranks, as well as the responsibilities of all party members to the work

of doing propaganda for the party; made them admit the fact that it was a long-lasting work which must be done continually and resolutely, and in which we must build up the men to turn them into party members; and pointed to the fact that there was no room for any tendency to just wait and enjoy the fruit of other people's labor. At the same time, the party chapter commissar suggested that the work of the chapter be constantly reviewed to reveal good experiences and to introduce the latter to all members, who must be improved and encouraged to do propaganda work for party development work.

In doing party-developing work, the party chapter succeeded in determining early enough the correct guidelines and took appropriate measures. In actual combat and productive work, the young men and women proved themselves to be the backbone force and enthusiastic pioneers. Knowing that getting the elite elements of that young force to join the party would increase its own fighting power, the party chapter paid particular attention to the most active youths coming from the classes of poor farmers and lower middle-class farmers to choose the best to accept into the party. It did not forget the elite elements of other strata of the working people. It attached importance to building a strong youth union chapter, which would serve as a basis for educating and training the youths in having clear struggling ideals and correct social-class sentiments. As a result, of sixty-three union members, forty-eight were accepted as "four good" ones. The enthusiastic hard-working spirit of the youths and their leading role in productive work had in their turn an effect upon the party chapter: many comrades tried to move ahead after having compared and recognized their shortcomings; many other comrades had to change their thinking and concept regarding the youths.

After three years' struggling, the party chapter accepted into the party nineteen persons, including fifteen youths. In the process of its propaganda for the sake of the party's development, it tried to set up the class-conscious stand and viewpoint, made them have a pioneering spirit, and after their becoming party members continued to improve them; consequently, of the nineteen new party members accepted since 1962, seventeen were "four good" party members. If we include all new and old party members, we shall find that of thirty-three comrades, twenty-six were accepted to be "four good" members, six excellent, and only one belonging to the middle category.

3. The Dong Phuong Hong party chapter used the young men's and women's organizations in speeding production and in doing other kinds of work.

As we said earlier, because it was able to conceive the role of the young force, the party chapter was directing the party-developing work toward serving the youth labor union chapter. Because of this concept, the party chapter commissars took turn assisting the youth union chapter and making the latter become the truly leading force and combat power in both production and regular work. The party chapter organized the "youth-overcoming-difficulties" cells in production teams for the purpose of having people to do the most difficult and heaviest work, and twelve-day camping in which the participants turned a tract of sandy land into an area suitable for cultivation of mulberries. Under

the party chapter leadership, the youths became not only the leading force in production but also the hard core in the militia movement (in military training, more than 90 percent of militiamen were either good or outstanding, and the rest satisfactorily accepted). The fact that the youth labor union chapter here was accepted as a "four good" one proved the efforts of the youths and also the concern and leadership of the party chapter.

The party chapter also paid attention to women whose force accounted for 62 percent of the cooperative labor force, and who played a key role in cultivation and silkworm-raising work. Aimed at carrying out the slogan, "liberate women," the party chapter showed its concern with organizing children and kindergarten classes, and at the same time allowed women to take part in all political, productive, and social activities. The following figures reflect the interest of the party chapter in women: eighty women were voted outstanding in production; sixty-three women were accepted as "five-good women"; women accounted for one-third of the party chapter membership, one-third of the members of the cooperative management board, and more than 50 percent of production-team cadres. The "three readinesses" and "three responsibilities" movements were getting the enthusiastic response from everybody. All the youths already registered in the "three readinesses" movement. Many youths, having been selected to do military duty, while waiting for the day of departure, still actively took part in productive work and enthusiastically did some unexpected work in local areas. Most women were capable of replacing men to do all productive work; and the number of women taking part in cooperative management work and production leadership increased everyday.

4. The Dong Phuong Hong party chapter knew how to apply the party line on agricultural development to local conditions, followed correct lines on production, did a good realistic leadership work in the people's way; as a result, it succeeded in speeding production and getting bigger and bigger economic results.

To consolidate and to develop party chapters and the people's organizations in ideological and organizational aspects is a very important condition for increase of production and improvement of the people's living standard. However that is not enough. In order to get good results out of productive work, we must have correct lines on production and know how to apply boldly the advanced technical measures, combined with the people's experiences, to production. However, being able to conceive and to realize it is not so simple. In the past, while seeking a way to enrich the cooperative and the state, the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter once stood for chopping down the mulberries to grow secondary crops in their place and stopping the collective raising of pigs in the cooperative. The process of building the line on production at Dong Phuong Hong was also the process of a struggle against wrong ideas which accompanied a tendency to see only immediate interests and to fear difficulties.

Finally the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter reaffirmed that, considering the fact that most of the land there is low and that there is a tract of land enriched by the river, the best line would be to concentrate efforts on doing

intensive cultivation to raise productivity, to grow more food-yielding secondary crops and more industrially-useful plants, and to attach importance to animal husbandry.

The realistic, close, and conforming-with-the-people's-way leadership practiced by the party chapter, the high sense of responsibility and spirit of respect for justice on the part of the party committeemen, the example-setting role of party members, the masses' enthusiasm--those were the factors that determined the success of the line on production as applied to increasing productivity through intensive cultivation.

The Dong Phuong Hong Cooperative did its best to practice thrift for the sake of construction, to strengthen the material and technical foundation for itself, and to apply boldly the advanced technical measures. In the last two years, it invested more than 20,000 workdays and over \$3,000 in the building of a relatively perfected irrigation network, already was able to take initiative in watering and drainage, and actively fought against drought and waterlogging. It began building ricefield dividers all over its land. In regard to using fertilizers, in the 1965 fifth-month rice crop, in average 9 tons of fertilizer were used per hectare and duckweed was grown in almost all the acreage devoted to rice-growing; the cooperative now tries to double the quantity of fertilizer used in this tenth-month rice crop. The selection and using of seeds also drew much attention. The cooperative increased from 531 (1961) to 622 (1963) workdays the amount of labor invested in a hectare of land; in the 1965 fifth-month rice crop alone, 360 workdays were invested in a hectare. It used improved rakes; transplanted rice in straight rows of 22 x 12 intervals, with thicker rows along the edges of the ricefields so that some of the plants here would be used to replace any dead ones in the middle of the ricefields; prevented damages caused to the riceplants to be transplanted by using straws, instead of strings, to tie. In order to make sure that leadership over production was appropriate and realistic, in order to introduce science-technology to production in a systematic way, experimenting with intensive cultivation on a given surface area to get higher productivity was carried out. Moreover, the cooperative had a cultivation calendar being adjusted to every crop and carried out technical measures in a coordinated way so as to make everybody aware of the scientific method of doing things.

Thanks to the above factors, the average rice productivity per hectare increased from 4,660 kg. (1962) to 5,280 kg. (1963); for the 1965 fifth-month rice crop alone, the figure was 3,000 kg. The total output of food-yielding secondary crops increased from 393,600 kg. (1962) to 454,600 kg. (1963); in 1964, despite heavy damages caused by serious natural calamities, the figure was 351,900 kg.; for the fifth-month rice crop this year alone, the figure was 238,000 kg.

The development of silkworm-raising also brought about a large income for the cooperative and used up the extra labor provided by students and the elderly people. In 1964, the total value of silk was \$35,452, an increase of \$16,199 over the 1961 figure; in the first five months this year, the coopera-

tive earned \$22,000.

The results obtained permitted the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter to draw this conclusion: under conditions of limited material and technical abilities, if we boldly invested labor in a unit area, particularly in irrigation, fertilizer, soil-conditioning, care for the ricefields, and improvement of cultivating techniques, we could raise productivity and would limit the effects of natural calamities if they took place.

With a spirit of fighting the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter already set a goal for this tenth-month rice crop--4 tons per hectare--and wanted to raise the average productivity per hectare of 1965 to 7 tons; it is also launching campaigns aimed at doing irrigation work, making fertilizers, caring for the ricefields, and developing animal husbandry for the purpose of achieving the above goals.

Faced with the war of destruction which the US imperialists are waging in the north, and recognizing the new situation, the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter and cooperative, while speeding production, attach importance to making people combat ready and to the people's antiaircraft work, and already have plans for coping with the worst situation possible, with an aim at contributing to the defeat of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

In building their own party chapter, particularly in doing leadership work in production, the Dong Phuong Hong comrades could have made bigger achievements had they not had such weaknesses and shortcomings as low cultural and technical capacities, confusion in the coordination of new techniques with the masses' experiences, poor collective animal-raising, lack of scientific aspect in their work, the cooperative-management ability being quite limited, and so on.

However, the Dong Phuong Hong party chapter obtained the above achievements just because it understood that, being a base-level party organization, it could only implement all party lines and policies if it were strong; because it knew how to associate party chapter-building work with implementing party lines and policies; because in doing leadership work in production it knew how to develop the masses' great abilities; because it directed all the cooperative business toward improving the living of all its members, enriching the cooperative, and contributing more and more to the building and defense of the north and the support of the liberation revolution in the south.

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THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS ARE
CERTAIN TO BE COMPLETELY DEFEATED

Following is a translation of an article by
Ha Van Lau in the Vietnamese-language period-
ical Hoc Tap, Hanoi, No. 8, August 1965, pages
63-68.

In 1945 the American imperialists, having produced an atomic bomb, thought that now they had the "ultimate" weapon, and thought that by brandishing it they could intimidate everyone and force the whole world to obey their wishes, so that they could eventually achieve their counter-revolutionary "global strategy" and make themselves masters of the world. Thenceforth, the policy of nuclear intimidation became the foundation of the American imperialists' foreign policy. Militarily, the strategy of "massive retaliation," based on the threat of using atomic weapons, became the appropriate strategy for that American policy.

But today the American imperialists, although they have produced and stockpiled a considerable quantity of nuclear weapons and have constantly shouted threats, have proved powerless to stop the development of world revolution. The socialist revolutionary movement and the national liberation movement, two great waves of the modern era, are on the offensive and are constantly striking mortal blows against imperialism, thus causing the world balance of power to change more and more rapidly in favor of the revolutionary forces. The American imperialists have also started a number of limited wars. Although they once held a monopoly on nuclear weapons, the American imperialists dared not use them, and had to endure many defeats, were gradually pushed back, and were being overthrown bit by bit.

That situation proved that the American imperialists' strategy of "massive retaliation" had become bankrupt, especially after imperialist America lost its monopoly in nuclear weapons and its position as the power with the strongest nuclear force in the world. Imperialist America, in desperate straits and with a stagnant strategy, was forced to openly admit this bankruptcy and seek a way out of its stagnation by studying and changing its military strategy.

Maxwell Taylor, formerly Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and later the recently-recalled American "Ambassador" in Saigon, was the person who came up with the strategy of "flexible response" to replace the bankrupt strategy of "massive retaliation."

The content of the American imperialists' new strategy is different from that of "massive retaliation" in that in addition to threatening the use of nuclear weapons and preparing for an all-out nuclear war, the American imperialists also carry out plots to overthrow governments and intervene step-by-step, and even prepare to wage limited wars, using conventional weapons, to suppress the national liberation movements in one part of the world or another.

The American imperialists' changing of their military strategy on the one hand proved the extremely reactionary and cunning nature of the international military policeman, the chief of international imperialism, and the implacable common enemy of independence and world peace. On the other hand, it was a public admission of the stagnant defensive position of the American imperialists before the continuous and strong attacks of the world revolution, and especially of the liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The American "strategists" divide "limited war" into several categories -- "sub-limited war," "anti-subversion war," and "counter insurgency war," -- which are referred to together under the term "special warfare." If in the past the American imperialists, with their strategy of "massive retaliation," when waging limited wars threatened to use atomic weapons, when waging "special," conventional war they deny that such wars are "American wars"; but when they meet defeat and are in a dilemma, they bring up the spectre of atomic weapons to intimidate the weak spirited.

"Special warfare" is a type of warfare the American imperialists use to suppress the patriotic movements and the uprisings of the oppressed masses, and to stop the liberation wars of the people of countries they have enslaved. "Special warfare" is the necessary extension of the policy of neocolonialism in the form of war in the places where deceptive tricks, demagoguery, and terror are no longer effective. If the basic requirement of neocolonialism is to cleverly camouflage colonial rule under a puppet regime by painting on coats of false "independence" and "sovereignty," the basic requirement

of "special warfare" is that when it must be waged to preserve that rule, it must use the puppet army as the main tool and cleverly limit the participation of the "metropolitan" army; aggressive war must be camouflaged by being painted with hues of "civil war."

When the clique of American generals delineated the strategy of "special warfare," they foresaw the need for varying levels of this kind of warfare. In the South of our country, the standard they used to determine the level of "special warfare," as well as to determine the border between "special warfare" and "limited warfare," was based on the degree and nature of participation by the American Army. When the principal force used to wage war is the puppet army and not the American Army (although this gang can participate to a certain degree), the war basically lies within the sphere of the strategy of "special warfare"; when the situation is reversed, it is "limited warfare." The degree of participation by American troops in "special warfare" can rise gradually, from a few thousand military personnel called "advisers" to the bringing in of large combat units (brigades and divisions), which a change in mission from "advising" (actually, commanding), to supporting the puppet army and providing it with logistic support, and ultimately to occupation and direct participation in the fighting. Between high-level "special warfare" and limited war, of course, there is no clear-cut border. When "special warfare" reaches a high level, it includes elements of limited war.

When the strategy of "flexible response" was adopted by the American ruling circles -- then the Kennedy administration -- at the end of 1960, the American imperialists were suffering their first defeat of a strategic nature in the southern part of Vietnam. America's lackey regime was beset with a serious crisis and was about to fall before the strong political and armed struggle of the people of the South. The temporary period of stability of the American-supported Diem regime had ended forever. In order to save the "foundation" they had endeavored to build in the South of our country, the American imperialists in mid-1961 began an "undeclared" war of aggression in the form of "special warfare." This was also an opportunity for the American imperialists to test their new military strategy on the battlefield of South Vietnam.

Actually, if we understand "special warfare" according to the above-mentioned significance and contents, the suppression and terrorization by the soldiers and police of the puppet regime in the South, under the command of the American "advisers," against our compatriots in the South from the time peace was restored to 1959, fall within the sphere of the "special warfare" strategy of the American imperialists. But this was unilateral war on the part of the America-Diem clique, which used armed counter-revolutionary violence to suppress the political struggle movement of our compatriots in the South which demanded the observance and strict

enforcement of the 1954 Geneva Treaty regarding Vietnam.

After studying the various aspects of guerrilla war and utilizing the experiences of the past wars of suppression of the imperialist cliques in Malaya, Greece, and the Philippines, the American military clique came up with a number of doctrines to serve as the bases of the "special warfare" with which they are experimenting in South Vietnam.

The first conclusion they arrived at arose from the basic requirement of "special warfare" -- that they must hide its aggressive nature under the facade of civil war. Therefore, they have constantly claimed that this is a "war of the Vietnamese." They stress the principal role of the puppet army in the war; the American troops participate only by "advising," giving combat support to the puppet army, and providing it with logistic support.

The second point brought up in the doctrine of "special warfare" is the troop strength ratio between the puppet army and the guerrilla forces. They believe that war is a conflict between armed men. To be victorious, they believe, they must only gain a numerical superiority over the enemy. They have not been able to reach agreement on this matter: one person will claim that the ratio must be at least 10 to 1, while others say 15 to 1 or even 20 to 1, before victory can be assured. On the basis of this doctrine, the American aggressors have especially stressed strengthening the puppet army numerically, and have regarded that as the primary means of winning the war.

The third point brought out by the American imperialists concerned the popular and revolutionary nature of guerrilla wars, and they concluded that in order to be victorious, military means alone are insufficient. In the course of the war, some of them began to realize that the key to ultimate victory in South Vietnam lies in winning the sympathy and support of the peasants, the group that accounts for the great majority of the population of South Vietnam, in order to destroy the guerrillas' source of support. But unfortunately, because of the aggressive nature of the American imperialists and the traitorous nature of their puppet regime, although they could see the problem, they could not achieve their subjective wish -- to create opposition between the revolutionary armed forces in the South and the peasants, and to win the sympathy and support of the people for the American aggressors and their gang of traitorous lackeys. Therefore, the American specialists in "special warfare" had to use exclusively administrative and military methods to achieve what they called "scooping out all the water in order to catch the fish," to separate the guerrillas from the people so that they could easily be annihilated. That is the real nature of the "strategic hamlet" policy, the backbone of America's strategy of "special warfare" in the South.

On the basis of the principal "doctrinal" points mentioned above, the American aggressors came up with many plans to "pacify" South Vietnam. They poured in millions of dollars, employed various extremely barbarous methods in hopes of achieving their wish of smashing the revolution in the South, and prepared to attack the North and wage a war of aggression all over our nation. But with iron determination to fight the American imperialists to the end, with rich traditions and experiences of the struggle against aggression during the past quarter of a century, and with the skillful leadership of the Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, the people of the South promoted an all-out, long-term revolutionary war of all the people against the "special warfare" of the American imperialists, and constantly administered well-deserved blows against the aggressive plans of the American imperialists. From the Staley-Taylor Plan to "pacify" the South within 18 months; through the McNamara Plan at the beginning of 1964, with the goal of "selective pacification" on an increasingly restricted scale of first 10 provinces, then seven provinces, then two provinces, and then two districts surrounding Saigon; to the present Johnson Plan, the goal of which is merely to find a way to stop the deterioration of the puppet regime in the South and avoid further military defeats, in order to make efforts to gradually reverse the situation. Each time the American imperialists change their plan is a serious defeat for their strategy of "special warfare," and sinks the American aggressors and their lackeys deeper into their extremely critical position of stagnant defense.

The puppet army and the puppet regime, the principal tools of the American imperialists' "special warfare," are being brought down by the whirlwind of revolution in the South. The American rulers themselves have been forced to admit that the puppet army could no longer cope with the heroic Liberation Army of the South. Faced with that situation, the American imperialists had to increase the American Army's participation in the fighting. Thus the development of "special warfare" in the South went contrary to the original desires of the American imperialists and their efforts to preserve what they called "the entirely Vietnamese nature of the war." That war is becoming more and more an "American war," to the extent that Walter Lippmann, a famous American capitalist commentator, was forced to observe reproachingly that the war was tending to change from a situation of the Americans "helping" the South Vietnamese to a situation of the South Vietnamese "helping" the Americans. The American Army's increasing direct participation in the war is a great political defeat for the American imperialists. The more the aggressive role of the American Army is affirmed, the more the aggressive nature of the war is exposed, and the clearer becomes the lackey nature of the puppet army. That is a defeat of strategic significance for the American imperialists' "special warfare."

The plan for increasing the strength of the puppet army in order to create a numerical superiority over the guerrillas has shared that bad defeat. The American aggressors calculated subjectively, mechanically, and obtusely that by the end of 1962, with the increasing of the puppet army to 600,000 men, they would achieve a superiority of 20 to 1, or at least 15 to 1, a ratio, they thought, that would allow them to easily defeat the Liberation Army of the South. That deadline passed two years ago, but they not only have not achieved the troop strength they desired, but they have even been unable to preserve the original troop ratio. That is because they undervalued the development capabilities of the people's armed forces in the South and of the revolution in the South. The area controlled by the American imperialists and their lackeys has been reduced to a number of cities and a number of narrow strips along the principal lines of communication, comprising in all about one-fifth of the land area and about four million four million people. That situation has prevented them from resolving the army's numerical decline. At present, the problem of attaining a superior troop ratio is a difficult one for the American imperialists. Therefore, the American imperialists plan to bring in more American soldiers in order to make up for the drain on the puppet army, and in order to assure a numerical superiority for their side. But according to their most recent calculations, as disclosed in their press, on the basis of what they guess to be the strength of the Liberation Army of the South, they must, if they are to attain a ratio of 4 to 1, bring in 140,000 American soldiers; to attain a ratio of 5 to 1, they must bring in 400,000; to attain a ratio of 10 to 1, they must bring in 1,620,000; and to attain a ratio of 15 to 1, they must bring in 2,430,000, or more men than are now in America's standing army. And this does not include the increasing number of enemy dead and wounded and the increasing desertions of the puppet army in the face of the great victories of the Liberation Army and the people of South Vietnam. That is another defeat of strategic significance for America's "special warfare."

The "strategic hamlet" system, the backbone of the "special warfare," has been essentially destroyed by the people of the South. Of the approximately 8,000 "strategic hamlets" that have been built since the end of 1961, there remain only about 1,000, which are surrounded by the people of the South. Thus the method the American aggressors and their lackeys regard as the most basic and important -- their "national policy" -- has been smashed by the heroic people of the South. This is also a defeat of strategic significance for the "special warfare" of the American imperialists in the South.

In recapitulation, during several years' experimentation with "special warfare" in the South, the American aggressors have followed a course of ups and downs, and have gone from one defeat

to another. The very emergence of the strategy of "flexible response", of which "special warfare" is an important part, reflected the stagnant defensive position of the American imperialists at a time when the world balance of power is becoming more and more favorable for the revolutionary forces and more and more unfavorable for the imperialists. Therefore, that strategy cannot save the deteriorating position of America in the South. The bankruptcy of the "special warfare" strategy of the American imperialists in the South is a very serious defeat for them. The significance and profound influence of that strategic defeat will certainly spread beyond the sphere of South Vietnam.

In mid-1964, while the situation of the American aggressors in South Vietnam was becoming more and more tragic, the Johnson administration had to send Taylor, the Number One general of the American Army, and the person who had proposed the American imperialists' strategy of "flexible response" and their "special warfare," to Vietnam to replace Cabot Lodge as the American "Ambassador" in Saigon. With him went a new plan of aggression and powers more extensive than any ambassador from Washington ever had. With a new plan and a new man, the American imperialists thought that now they could reverse the situation and halt their unavoidable decline in the South of our country.

But Taylor's destiny was no less unfortunate than those of the American "ambassadors" who had preceded him. It may be said that the time when Taylor was doing such odd things in Saigon was the time when the American aggressors and their lackeys were running up against the heaviest defeats they had ever suffered. With strong attacks the Liberation Army of the South annihilated an important part of the puppet army's manpower and created for this gang a serious crisis which nearly caused their downfall. In the first six months of 1965 alone, the soldiers and people of the South completely annihilated 20 elite battalions of the puppet army. In July, 1965 that number increased to 25 battalions. The "political stability" of the lackey administration, one of Taylor's dreams, went up in smoke: 11 coups took place in less than a year, many of them contrary to Taylor's wishes, and reflected the rotten situation, the discord, and the infighting of the lackeys. The struggle movement of the people in the cities, the last hiding places of the invaders and the traitors, has undergone new, strong, and extensive developments.

In order to save the desperate situation of their war of aggression in South Vietnam, the American imperialists, after the beginning of August 1964, and especially since February 1965, have used two strategic methods: expanding the war to the North in the form of a war of destruction by air and sea, and the bringing in of many American Army units and mercenary soldiers from their vassal states to participate directly in the fighting in

South Vietnam. Just as the bringing in of many American troops to participate directly in the fighting in the South reflected the strategic stagnation of the American imperialists, so does their waging of an "escalating" war of destruction in the North, in order to alleviate their situation in the South, reflect a no less stagnant and confused situation. After more than five months of "escalation" in the North, they have lost more than 400 planes, and have been fiercely condemned by world opinion. The American imperialists are becoming more and more stagnant and confused.

Taylor's recent dismissal is further proof of the defeat of the American imperialists. That the Johnson administration had to send Cabot Lodge to Vietnam again to replace Taylor as "Ambassador" is further proof that the American imperialists are following a vicious circle in South Vietnam. In mid-1963, Cabot Lodge went to Vietnam to save the situation for the American imperialists after the defeat of the Staley-Taylor Plan. Cabot Lodge was recalled so that Taylor could go over to carry out the McNamara Plan and execute a plan of "escalation." The situation further deteriorated. Taylor was recalled so that Cabot Lodge could be sent again. This was an admission of the defeat of the strategy of "special warfare" and its tactics which were so industriously studied by Taylor. Finally, it represented the defeat of the American imperialists' policy of aggression in the face of the just patriotic struggle of the people of the South.

The American imperialists are now in a very difficult situation. "Special warfare" has been waged to a very high degree -- there have even been some methods which have been outside the framework which the American rulers originally intended for this kind of war -- but they have not been able to escape defeat. The war of "escalation" in the North has not proved to be the miracle drug the Americans sought to save them from their desperate situation. The results have been entirely contrary to the subjective desires of the American ruling circles: to inflict a little material damage on the people of the North, the American imperialists have had to pay a very stiff price, and have gained nothing but the hatred and anger of our people, isolation, and a serious political defeat before the opinion of the people of the world. Meanwhile, in South Vietnam the soldiers and people, with great heroism attacked them constantly on all battlefields, annihilated dozens of elite battalions and hundreds of the enemy's companies and platoons, and resolutely transformed into action the strict warning to the American aggressors and their lackeys: "If the American imperialists even touch the North of our Fatherland, the soldiers and people of the South will attack them two or three times more strongly and painfully."

Retreating without drums and bugles, the American imperialists are afraid of "losing face" and of losing the "confidence"

of their fellow nations in the "free world." But if they expand the war they will run up against many greater difficulties, and will have to bear even heavier defeats. Will the American imperialists in the end dare to give up their neocolonialism and recklessly transform their "special war" into a limited war, a war of aggerSSION of old-style colonialism, against the South, and even expand it to encompass the entire nation? That is a matter to which Johnson and his lackies should give the most careful situation before coming to a decision. But in history there have been instances of imperialists who have committed serious strategic errors, and who pushed themselves onto the path of suicidal adventurism.

Recently, when coming up with a deceptive trick of "peace" and "unconditional negotiations," Johnson, the number one thief of the American imperialists, declared cynically that "The situation in Vietnam will get worse before it gets better," and that "There will be new and more serious decisions." Those declarations exposed the intentions of the American aggressors to further strengthen their war of aggression in the South and their war of destruction against the North. McNamara's trip to the South in July 1965 was actually part of that mad plot of the American imperialists, and was undertaken so that he could study first hand the new methods to extricate themselves from their stagnant situation in the South. Johnson decided to increase the number of American troops in the South "immediately" to 125,000, and intends to increase that number to 150,000 or 200,000 in the coming months. Johnson's words and deeds have exposed the American imperialists' deceptive trick of "peace" and "unconditional negotiations."

But no matter what methods the Johnson-McNamara clique comes up with, and no matter what strategy the American imperialists use, they cannot escape defeat in Vietnam. The heroic people of Vietnam are determined to be the masters of their destiny. The mountains, jungles, and fields of Vietnam will be burial places for the American aggressors, even though they increase their numbers to 100,000, 200,000, or 300,000.

The people of our entire nation have clearly expressed their determination to pursue the struggle to oppose America and save the nation to the end. As Chairman Ho asserted in his appeal of 20 July of this year: "Even if we have to fight 5, 10, 20, or more years, we are resolved to fight on until we win a complete victory." Our people, with the warm sympathy and support of thousands of millions of peace-loving and justice-loving people of the world, with sufficient courage and capabilities to defeat any kind of aggressive war, and any strategy, of the American imperialists, are resolved to throw out the American aggressors, completely liberate the South, advance to achieving the unification of the Fatherland, and build a fully sovereign Vietnam stretching from Lang Son to the tip of Ca Mau.

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THE PATRIOTIC STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF THAILAND
AGAINST AMERICA IS CERTAIN TO BE VICTORIOUS

[Following is a translation of an article by
Duong Ngoc Ky in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8,
August 1965, pages 69-75.]

Recently, the American ruling circles have openly expressed their great concern over the situation in Thailand, which for many years the American imperialists have regarded as a "secure base," and as one of their "stable anti-communist bastions" in Southeast Asia. Faced with the new development of the patriotic movement of the people of Thailand, the American imperialists and their lackeys have come up with the familiar trick of denouncing that movement as being caused by "communist subversive activity," and as being created by "communists from the outside," in order to strengthen the suppression of the Thai patriotic forces.

What is the truth? Was the new development of the Thai patriotic movement caused by the aggressive neocolonial policy of America, or by "intervention by foreign communists?"

As everyone knows, the American imperialists and the other imperialist states (England, France, etc.) participated in a plan of intervention in Thailand, and made that country a semi-colony from the end of the 19th Century to the Second World War.

Thailand has always been a country with valuable exports (rice, tin, rubber, teak wood, etc.), and a very profitable market for industrial consumer goods. Lying in the midst of Southeast Asia, sharing borders with Laos, Cambodia, Burma, and Malaya, and very close to China, Vietnam, Indonesia, etc., Thailand occupies

a very important strategic position. After the Second World War, therefore, the American imperialists took advantage of the English and French colonialists, who had been weakened by the war, and of the fall of imperialist Japan, in achieving their long-term desire: exclusive control of Thailand.

Today, when the national liberation movement is tumultuously arising throughout Southeast Asia, and when the old-style imperialism has been condemned by everyone, the American imperialists have changed over to carrying out a policy of neocolonialism, putting on a "friend of Thailand" coat. Immediately after the surrender of Japan, the American imperialists brought in Seni Pramoj, the Thai Ambassador to America, whom the Americans had groomed throughout the war, to set up a lackey government. But that government was soon overthrown by democratic forces in Thailand and replaced by a government headed by Pridi Banamyong, and then by a government headed by Thamrong Nawasawat, two relatively progressive governments which carried out a number of positive measures to protect the country's independence and bring about democratic rights for the people.

In order to destroy the democratic movement in Thailand, the American imperialists made use of a clique of high-ranking reactionary officers led by Phibun Songgram, formerly a lackey of the Japanese fascists, in staging a military coup d'etat in November, 1947, which overthrew the democratic government, and which in April, 1948 formally set up a military dictatorship, thus opening the way for the blackest period in the history of Thailand, the period during which Thailand became a new-style colony of the American imperialists.

Immediately after coming to power, this clique of officers obeyed American orders and endeavored to destroy the popular movement by suppression, division, and bribery. In order to divide and rule the workers' movement, they had their lackeys establish a labor union organization which called itself the Workers' Alliance, which later became the National Labor Union Congress of Thailand, an organization with close ties to the American Congress of Industrial Organizations and the English United Industrial Unions organization. Economically, the putschist government relied on America to restore and develop the production sectors profitable for them, controlled the internal commerce and external commerce so that they enriched the capitalist class and the landlord class, the supporters of the American imperialists in Thailand, etc.

However, only after 1950, after they had been defeated and pushed off the Chinese mainland, did the American imperialists really begin to pay attention to Thailand, and to transform that country into an important link in the strategic encirclement of the People's Republic of China. In order to control the Phibun

Songgram government, the American imperialists in 1950 concluded with that government a "Treaty of Economic and Technical Cooperation" and a "Treaty of Defense Alliance." At that point, as was declared by the Communist Party of Thailand, "Thailand actually lost its independence." For the American imperialists, by using the snare of "aid" and a system of "specialists" and "advisers," determined all of the Thai government's internal and external stands and policies. About 75% of what was called American "technical aid" to Thailand was used to pay the American technical delegations in charge of planning the economic development of Thailand for the benefit of the American monopoly corporations. When these plans were drafted they were sent to Washington for approval, and only then was the Thai government allowed to see them. The treaty of "military aid" between America and Thailand called for the rapid improvement of the army according to the American Table of Organization and Equipment, and for increasing the army to 80,000 men, under the command of the American "advisers." The Phibun Songgram government, obeying American orders, provided military units and foodstuffs for America's war of aggression in Korea; allowed America to use Thai territory as a supply base for the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army which were creating a disturbance in northern Burma and along the southern border of China; participated in the policy of "containing" China and in America's aggressive policies toward Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia; cooperated with the English colonists in their plot to suppress the armed struggle of the Malayian people, etc.

But the democratic movement in Thailand continued to develop despite the policy of suppression by the reactionary regime, and the American imperialists had to order Phibun Songgram to stage a coup d'etat in November 1951, "purify" the government and the parliament, get rid of opposition elements in the other parties, set up a government consisting of representatives of the high-ranking officer clique and the reactionary police, and pursue a policy of "pulling communism out by the roots." Following American orders, the new Phibun Songgram government promulgated an "anti-communist law" which outlawed the Communist Party and other progressive organizations, drafted a "workers' law" which was aimed at the workers' right to strike, and put into effect such demagogic measures as preparing to achieve what was called a "land reform" and promulgating a "rent-reduction law," in hopes of deceiving the peasants and separating them from the democratic movement.

After the coup of November 1951, America's ruling position in Thailand was temporarily strengthened. The American press regarded Thailand as a "reliable friend in the midst of the unstable East." Thailand was used by the American espionage, diplomatic, and military organs as a major base for expanding their activities to the other nations of Southeast Asia. At the end of September 1954, after being defeated in Southeast Asia, America came up

with a plan to form an aggressive Southeast Asian military bloc. Thailand immediately became a member and Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, was made the headquarters of that bloc. The imperialist Americans also had a plot to form what they called the "Alliance of the Nations of the Mekong Basin," which was intended to draw in Cambodia and Laos and place them under the leadership of Thailand.

The Phibun Songgram government's policy of terrorization, however, could not annihilate the Thai democratic movement. Faced with the situation of their country being drawn more and more into the American imperialists' plan of aggression in Southeast Asia, and therefore encountering more and more economic and financial difficulties, the people of Thailand gradually re-united and struggled to defend their rights and to demand peace and democracy, especially in 1956 and 1957. In the meanwhile, there arose a contradiction between the Thai ruling circles and their American bosses. Thailand joined the Southeast Asian military bloc in order to get increased American economic "aid," but the American imperialists wanted only to increase its military "aid." Specifically, in 1955 the American imperialists, having increased its "aid" to Thailand, demanded that Thailand build many more military bases and increase its "volunteer army" to 120,000 men. In the end, the desires of the Thai ruling circles to use American "aid" to overcome the financial and economic difficulties created by their dependence on America went up in smoke. Therefore, a feeling of anti-Americanism, a desire for their country to follow a path of peace, neutrality, independence, and democracy not only developed extensively among the various classes of people, but also influenced even the political attitudes of some elements of the Thai ruling circles. That was the main reason why the American imperialists had to come up with a wily trick -- the organization of coups in September 1957 and October 1958 to replace Phibun Songgram, who was changing his behavior and who had lost his usefulness, with Sarit Thanarat, the Minister of Defense and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and the leader of the right wing of the Thai ruling circles, who was more loyal and effective. After the death of Sarit Thanarat, the American imperialists replaced him with another military dictator, Thanom Kitticachon, the vice-Premier.

The coups of 1957 and 1958 of Sarit Thanarat created many conditions for the Americans to intervene in and control Thailand even more closely. Thailand became a place for profitable and assured speculation for the American capitalists. Direct American investment increased rapidly. The American capitalists provided 80% of the foreign capital borrowed by Thailand. The companies of the Rockefeller cartel and the other American monopoly organizations, such as General Motors, General Electric, Ford, etc., had subsidiary companies in Thailand and exercised control over such important sectors as tin refining, oil exploitation, auto-

mobiles, automobile tires, etc. In addition, the Americans used the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to control the agricultural products wholesale and retail sector, the industrial sector, the construction sector, the banking sector, and the insurance sector of Thailand. One other fact is sufficient to show the real nature of America's "aid" to Thailand: from the beginning of 1958 to 1961, the profits the Americans stole from the people of Thailand reached 960 million dollars, a sum twice as great as America's "aid" to Thailand during this period.

Politically, the American imperialists, in addition to placing their most reliable lackeys in the key government posts, forced Thailand to sign a series of political treaties, so that America could have "legal rights" to intervene in the internal affairs of Thailand and directly suppress the struggle movement of the Thai people.

Militarily, by carrying out the treaties concluded with America and putting into effect the resolutions of the Southeast Asia military bloc, Thailand has been transformed into a vassal state and a base for America's military aggression. America now has about 500 military "advisers" commanding the Thai army. America has built in Thailand more than 30 military bases, 13 military airfields, and a system of strategic roads connecting the important areas of Thailand, and especially, connecting Bangkok with the Thailand-Laos, Thailand-Burma, and Thailand-Cambodia border areas. In 1962 the American imperialists, making the excuse of saving the situation of the Laotian reactionaries and defending Thailand from "the danger of communist aggression," cynically brought in more than 5,000 American troops to occupy Thailand. Since then, the number of American troops has not been reduced, but has increased from 7,000 to 10,000. Thailand is the most powerful lackey in the Southeast Asian aggressive military bloc, and carries out and supports all of America's aggressive policies. Thailand has participated positively in the military exercises of the American imperialists and their lackeys in Thailand, in Southeast Asia, and even in the Pacific. America has used Thai territory and the Thai army in its aggressive acts against the people of Laos and in its provocative activities on the Cambodian border. Thailand has also been used as a base for the Americans' bombing and strafing of the North of our country. Thailand also obeyed America's orders to foment provocations on the Thailand-Burma border. Furthermore, the Thai rulers joined the English colonialists and the reactionary "Malaysian" regime in setting up a joint command and in carrying out mopping-up operations in hopes of annihilating the Malayan Liberation Army.

The American imperialists' policy of enslaving the people of Thailand and the policy of "alliance" with America of the reactionary Thai ruling circles have pushed Thailand onto the most

strife-torn path it has ever followed. Because it must follow its American mentors' policy of increasing its armed strength, the budgetary difficulties of the Thai government increase every year. For example, from 1958 to 1965 the budgetary deficit of the Thai government was 8,685,000 bat; and in 1965 alone it was 2,100,000 bat. In order to make up for these budgetary deficiencies, the Thai government had to borrow 19 million bat.

The policy of the reactionary Thai ruling circles is to force the people to bear the increasing military expenditures by constantly increasing taxes, by printing currency, and by thus lowering the living standards of the people. Because of its policy of opening the door to foreign investment, the Thai government has allowed foreign capitalists (especially English and American capitalists) to control the country's key economic sectors. With the competition of the flood of foreign goods, especially the surplus goods of America, many of Thailand's national economic sectors, especially its handicraft sector, its light industry sector, and even its agricultural sector, became bankrupt or were unable to develop.

Thailand's income from foreign commerce depends on a number of valuable exports, such as rice, rubber, tin, etc., but because it follows America's policy of "containing" the socialist nations, and because it is squeezed by the American imperialists on the world market, Thailand's exports have declined during the past several years. Thailand has had an unfavorable balance of trade every year. For example, from 1956 to 1962 Thailand, in its trade with America, had a deficit of 8,600,000 bat; and in 1963 alone, the deficit was 1,500,000 bat.

All of the results of the traitorous policy of the reactionary Thai ruling circles fell on the shoulders of the people of Thailand.

First of all, the peasants of Thailand are in the great majority, and most of them must live under miserable conditions, are in debt, are subject to the rents of the landlords and rich peasants, and are heavily taxed by the government. Furthermore, they are severely suppressed by the police; they are swindled by the police, deceived by the merchants, and must sell cheaply and buy dearly; and they suffer natural disasters, droughts and floods, without ever getting help. More and more peasants are becoming bankrupt. According to a study made in 1962, in the past seven years the number of people who lost their land in Thailand increased by 20%.

The workers of such important sectors as mining, transportation, rubber plantations, etc., are heavily oppressed and exploited, must work very hard, and receive low wages; the cost

of living constantly increases, there are no labor laws, they are constantly threatened with unemployment, and they don't know where the next mean is coming from.

The poor people of the cities, the handicraft workers, and the small merchants, generally speaking, do not make enough to live on, their lives are unstable, they must pay excessively high taxes, must pay high rents, and are exploited by the local administrations.

Pupils, students, officials, and people engaged in free occupations, do not receive sufficient education (they lack schools, the costs of studying are very high, and the curricula concentrate on rote learning), and when they leave school they are not assured of a job, or do not make enough to live on.

Because of the policy of economic dependence on America and other imperialist states of the reactionary Thai government, the national capitalists of Thailand have suffered from the oppression and competition, cannot raise their heads, and are often heavily taxed by the rulers, who thus create difficulties for their businesses or bankrupt them.

Furthermore, the lower-ranking soldiers and policemen, although employed in the apparatus of suppression, are themselves oppressed, abused, and maltreated.

Such are the lives of the various classes of people, and every day they must put up with the arrogant acts of the American "advisers," specialists, and soldiers, who are stomping around their country. Especially since 1962, after the direct occupation of their country by the American Army, they have seen more and more clearly the disgrace to their country, and have come to understand more and more clearly that their principal enemy, who have brought them disaster, are the American and English imperialists, especially the American imperialists and their reactionary, lackey administration.

The people of Thailand are a people with a tradition of unyielding struggle against foreign aggression. In the past 50 years before the Second World War, the people of Thailand struggled resolutely to defend their independence, demanded the abolition of the unequal treaties concluded between the the feudal Thai government and the English and French imperialists, etc. During the Second World War, when the Japanese fascists occupied Thailand, the rulers sided with Japan, but the people of Thailand arose to fight Japan and save their nation. The Communist Party of Thailand, founded in 1942, resolutely led the people in setting up a popular front and a guerrilla base against Japan. After the Second World War, a high tide of struggle on the part of the people arose

in the face of the American imperialists' plot of intervention and resulted in the overthrow of the pro-American government of Seni Pramoj and the setting up of a democratic regime. During the years in which the country was ruled by the Phibun Songgram clique of lackeys of the American imperialists, the people of Thailand, especially the workers and peasants, continued to struggle, despite the suppression of their reactionary rulers. In order to resist the labor union organization set up and controlled by the Phibun Songgram government, the Thai working class struggled to gain control of the National Alliance of Labor Unions, continued to promote the strike movement demanding increased wages, and struggled for such political slogans as demanding a neutral foreign policy, withdrawing from the Southeast Asian aggressive bloc, abolishing the "anti-communist law," establishing commercial relations with the People's Republic of China, etc. And in many rural areas, the peasants constantly expanded their struggle against the heavy exploitation of the landlords and usurers; in some places, indeed, there occurred spontaneous armed uprisings. Intellectuals, petty capitalists, and officials with capitalist inclinations joined together in the United Socialist Front and came forth with a program for general elections, demanded independence, democracy, and peace, etc. The movement to preserve peace developed quite strongly in this period and gained the participation of the masses of workers, peasants, youths, women, intellectuals, students, monks, etc.

After the American imperialists organized a coup d'etat to replace Phibun Songgram with the Sarit Thanarat-Thanom Kittichachon clique, and especially after 1962, when the Americans brought in troops to directly occupy Thailand, the patriotic anti-American movement of the Thai people developed strongly.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Thailand, which met in September 1961, took a stand of overthrowing the Sarit Thanarat government, running the American imperialists out of Thailand, and setting up a government to carry out a policy of independence, neutrality, peace, and democracy. The Congress also made important decisions regarding the changing of the method of struggle and the means of struggle to be employed in achieving that political program.

At the beginning of 1965, the appearance of the Voice of the Thai People radio station as a common spokesman for all Thai patriotic forces was another important event which proved the development of the revolutionary movement in Thailand.

On the basis of the ever-expanding patriotic, anti-American movement of the people, there recently appeared in Thailand two organizations of a front nature: the Thailand Independence Movement, established in November 1964, and the Thailand Patriotic

Front, founded on 1 January 1965. The Thailand Patriotic Movement is an organization which succeeds the United Socialist Front, consists largely of students and petty bourgeois intellectuals, and is active mainly in the cities; it is, therefore, an organization of a local nature. The Thailand Patriotic Front is a large, national organization which makes the masses its base, but which includes intellectuals and students. These are two separate movements, but they cooperate in their struggles and have the common goal of expelling the American imperialists; overthrowing the traitorous dictatorship; setting up an independent democratic government; carrying out a policy of peace and neutrality; developing the national economy; improving the lives of the people, especially of the workers; developing the national culture and education; and developing the social work, the medical aid work, etc.

It is certain that the correct goals of the Thailand Independence Movement and the Thailand Patriotic Front will further encourage and activate the broad masses of Thailand to unite in struggle and to build a foundation for a future unified democratic national front of all the people of Thailand.

While the patriotic forces of Thailand are uniting in the two above-mentioned organizations, the movement is developing ever more strongly at the local level. According to the Voice of the People of Thailand and to the formal admission of the Thai rulers, during the recent period the peasant masses in the countryside of the provinces in Northeast, Southern, and Central Thailand have arisen against the cruel rule of the local authorities and have supported the revolutionary organizations. And although the reactionary ruling clique has been forced to strengthen their police forces, they have obtained no results. In the Northeast, the Thai rulers have had to admit that there is a "serious situation." In the South, the popular forces have gained control of a number of towns, the cruel police have been punished, and the movement has influenced even the industrial-commercial circles. At Khorat, in Northeast Thailand, where three American F-105D jet fighter squadrons are stationed, the people have arisen to protest the presence of the American aggressors.

In the meanwhile, the struggle movement of the urban classes has been undergoing strong transformations. Since the end of January the workers have held many strikes to demand increased wages. Furthermore, the struggle of tens of thousands of teachers against lay-offs has also caused the ruling clique to become confused and worried.

That situation has caused the Thai ruling clique to decree the forbidding of the activities of political parties, to declare

martial law throughout the country, to strengthen their control over the people, to arrest many innocent people, to close up or threaten to close up the newspapers which dare to criticize the government's policies, to set up a Central Anti-Communist Committee;" to establish branches of this committee in the places in which the struggle movement is strong, to strengthen the mobile police and the rural police forces, and to organize the mopping up of areas they suspect of being guerrilla bases. Furthermore, they desperately carry out a policy of demagoguery, transform the American "Peace Corps" into "rural development" units and bring them into the localities to build what they call "model villages," but which are actually "strategic hamlets" and "concentration camps" such as exist in South Vietnam, in order to concentrate the peasants under their control. In addition, they plot to take advantage of religions, training hundreds of their lackeys to pretend to be monks and sending them to the localities to spread propaganda against communism and the patriotic movement in the name of Buddhism.

In recapitulation, it is not surprising that the Thai delegate himself had to bring up the subject of the "danger of communist subversive activities" in his country at a recent meeting of the Southeast Asia aggressive bloc, and that this conference had to express in its closing communique its "concern over the increasing communist subversive activity in Thailand." Something the American imperialists and their lackeys dared not say was that the danger that causes them to be so worried in Thailand is not caused by "communists brought in from outside," but is caused entirely by the thieving and traitorousness of the masters and their servants.

The patriotic struggle of the Thai people against the American imperialists and their lackeys is developing under very favorable conditions.

First of all, never before have the American imperialists been so heavily defeated or become so isolated as they have been recently in Southeast Asia. During the past 10 years, since the American imperialists set up the Southeast Asian aggressive bloc to achieve their plot to place all of this area under their yoke of neocolonial rule, they have suffered at least four heavy defeats: the first was the defeat in South Vietnam, the second was their defeat in Laos, the third was their defeat in Cambodia, and the fourth was their defeat in Indonesia. The American imperialists' policy toward Southeast Asia has been resisted by the people of all Southeast Asian countries, and even their "allies" and "vassals" have protested or have been unsympathetic.

The defeat and isolation of the American imperialists in the countries around Thailand have helped the Thai people to see

clearly the true nature of the American imperialists, and have caused them to increase their confidence in their ability to win and to resolutely struggle against the American imperialists.

Secondly, never before has the rotten, corrupt nature of the Thai ruling circles been exposed to the Thai people as clearly as during the recent period. Especially since the death of Sarit Thanarat, because there were contradictions within the ruling circles, all of the greed, abuses, and corruption of this chief traitor were exposed to light. For example, he controlled personally, or was a member of the board of directors of, 30 different capitalist companies, manipulated books so that he received millions of bat in profits, in seven years stole 29 million dollars from the workers, confiscated property worth three million bat, and expropriated 2,800 hectares of land. And when he died, he left behind 171 "concubines" to divide his estate. The crimes of Sarit Thanarat caused the Thai people to see clearly the extremely corrupt nature of the ruling clique and the necessity to overthrow them in order to open the way for their country to progress to true independence and democracy.

Thirdly, during the 20 years since the war, Thailand has lain in the midst of a region in which the hurricane of national liberation revolutions has been blowing constantly and attacking the ramparts of imperialism and colonialism. From the revolutions in neighboring countries, the people of Thailand have gained much valuable experience, which they can apply to the specific conditions of their country. In the meanwhile, because the revolutionary movements in the Southeast Asian nations have developed relatively uniformly, there has appeared among the people of the Southeast Asian countries a joint struggle front against the imperialists, which has served to encourage and support of the people of Thailand in their struggle to resist America and save the nation.

Fourth, the patriotic struggle of the Thai people is taking place at a time when the liberation movements of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are becoming stronger and stronger, and are becoming more and more united in the struggle against imperialism, old-style colonialism, and neocolonialism. The first Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955 served to promote further the democratic, patriotic movement of the Thai people in 1956 and 1957. Recently, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Congress, which met in Ghana, issued a special resolution condemning the present dictatorial, fascist regime of the American lackeys in Thailand, and supporting the patriotic forces of the Thai people. The support of the people of the Afro-Asian countries is a source of great assistance for the Thai people in their achieving of victory in their difficult struggle to liberate their nation.

Fifth, Thailand is situated near the socialist bloc, especially the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. With a line of resolute struggle against the imperialists led by America, and absolutely supporting the popular revolutionary movements and the national liberation movements, these two socialist countries are developing more and more their use and influence with regard to the liberation struggle of the Thai people.

It is not surprising that the American imperialists and their lackeys constantly search for ways to separate the people of Thailand from the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They distortedly denounce the patriotic movement of the Thai people as having been created by "agents of Peking and Hanoi," and claim that the support and friendship of the socialist nations for that patriotic struggle is "the intervention of foreign countries, of communists." But the people will not listen to their denunciations. Recently, a delegation of representatives of the Thailand Patriotic Front paid a friendship visit to China and was warmly greeted by the Chinese people. Many representatives of the Thai working class and people have visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and have participated in international conferences for unity with the Vietnamese people against the aggressive American imperialists which were held in Hanoi. The struggle movement demanding the establishment of relations, especially trading relations, with the socialist nations is growing ever stronger in Thailand. The Thai people clearly realize that the absolute support and friendship of the socialist nations, especially of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is an important objective condition for assuring the victory of their struggle for liberation.

For their part, the Vietnamese people make a clear distinction between the Thai people on the one hand, and the reactionary Thai clique of lackeys of the American imperialists. Our people highly appreciate the positive support of the Thai people for our struggle for liberation. During the past 50 years the people of Thailand have gone all out in assisting the Vietnamese revolutionists and patriots -- from Phan Dinh Phung and Phan Boi Chau to the members of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League -- in their long, hard struggle against the oppressive rule of the French colonialists. Recently, the Thailand Patriotic Front, the true representative of the Thai people, clearly expressed its resolute support for the five-point declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the four-point program of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By such practical activities as distributing pamphlets appealing for the people of Thailand to resist America, support Vietnam, etc., the Thailand Patriotic Front has given concrete support to our people in their struggle against the aggressive American imperialists. The Vietnamese

In contrast to the beautiful attitude of the Thai people, for many years the reactionary Thai clique has followed America's lead in carrying out a policy of spite and opposition toward the people of Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At the beginning of 1950, when the people of Vietnam were resolutely resisting the colonialism and aggression of France and the intervention of America, the reactionary ruling clique of Thailand obeyed America's order and recognized the Bao Dai puppet regime set up by the French and American imperialists to oppose the Vietnamese people. In 1952, the reactionary ruling clique of Thailand, in a meeting with representatives of the American imperialists at Bangkok, agreed to participate in military and political actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. For many years the Thai rulers, obeying the orders of the American imperialists, have carried out a policy of discrimination and maltreatment towards tens of thousands of Vietnamese residing in Thailand who have always obeyed the State laws and respected the customs and habits of the Thai people, and who are loved by the people of Thailand. After the American imperialists replaced the French imperialists in South Vietnam, and especially after they set up the aggressive Southeast Asia military bloc and dragged Thailand into it, the reactionary ruling clique of Thailand always positively supported the American imperialists and cooperated with them in their aggressive plot in South Vietnam. Obeying American orders, the reactionary Thai ruling clique officially recognized America's puppet government in South Vietnam and established diplomatic relations with it. Since August of last year they have positively supported America's plan to expand the war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. From participating in what was called an "organ of military cooperation" set up by America, the reactionary Thai rulers reached the point where they allowed America to use Thai territory to build bases from which the American Air Force attacks the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. According to the American AP news agency, American jets stationed in Thailand (at air bases at Khorat, Udorn, and other places) participated in the bombing and strafing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Indeed, recently the reactionary Thai rulers cynically announced their approval of the attacks by America's air force and navy on the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At the recent council meeting of the Southeast Asia aggression bloc in London, the Thai representative shouted his "resolution" to, along with the American imperialists, pursue the aggressive war in Vietnam to the end, and praised the Americans for "bearing the major burden" in South Vietnam, urging the other "allies" to follow America's "example."

The people of Vietnam, as well as the people of Thailand, were not surprised when the reactionary ruling clique of Thai-

land bound its destiny to that of its American masters. Let the American imperialists and their lackeys go around in circles trying to extricate themselves from their defeat -- the people of Vietnam and Thailand will increase their unity in struggle, and will resolutely defeat them. By their own efforts, and with the support of the people of the other countries in Southeast Asia and in the world, the people of Thailand, as well as the people of Vietnam, are certain to be ultimately victorious in their struggle for liberation.

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JOHNSON AGAIN PROMOTES HIS
AGGRESSIVE WAR ON OUR COUNTRY

[Following is a translation of an article by "Observer" in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 8, August 1965, pages 76-78.]

At his press conference at the White House on 28 July 1965, the American President Johnson announced what he called "new and important decisions concerning the situation in Vietnam." Johnson revealed that he had ordered to Vietnam "immediately" an additional 50,000 American combat troops, thus increasing the number of American troops in Vietnam to 125,000; was doubling the monthly draft call in America, from 17,000 men to 35,000; was setting aside hundreds of millions of dollars to meet the expenses of the war of aggression in Vietnam, etc. Johnson also said that, if necessary, he would send many more American soldiers to the South of our country, and would mobilize the American reserves. In addition to announcing cynical, aggressive measures against our country, Johnson repeated the worn-out slanders against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and brought forth again his unmarketable goods of "unconditional negotiations."

This is a new, serious "escalation" on the "ladder" of the American imperialists' war of aggression in our country. Why did the American imperialists, in achieving their policy of "escalating" aggression in our country, recklessly "escalate" to such serious heights? Because the American imperialists are being heavily defeated, especially in the South of our country. The American imperialists have brought into the South of our country about 80,000 troops. They have sent into the South the whole 3rd Marine Division, the 173rd Airborne Brigade, part of the 1st Marine Division, part of the 1st Infantry Division, part of the 101st Airborne Division, etc. The American imperialists have assembled a force of 1,750

airplanes to attack both parts of our country. They have established in the South of our country the 2nd Air Division. They have mobilized the American tactical air units stationed in Thailand and the 3rd Strategic Air Division stationed on the island of Guam, in order to attack the South and the North of our country. On the sea, the American imperialists have mobilized the Seventh Fleet, the strongest of their four fleets, in order to blockade and attack both parts of our country. And that does not include the army units of America's vassals which were sent to South Vietnam on America's orders, or the more than half a million puppet troops in the South. With such great forces, the American imperialists not only cannot subdue our people, but have been heavily defeated by our people, especially by our compatriots in the South. In the first six months of 1965 the soldiers and people of the South killed 106,000 of the enemy; shot down and destroyed 446 airplanes; annihilated, routed, or captured 223 positions; and completely annihilated 20 battalions, 120 companies, and 405 platoons of the enemy. The American imperialists were also heavily defeated in the North: more than 400 airplanes were shot down. The legend of the "absolute superiority of American air power" went up in smoke.

The American imperialists were also heavily defeated politically. America's efforts to create "political stability in Saigon" was simply wasted labor. The coups which took place constantly in the south seriously weakened the puppet government in Saigon. The "strategic hamlet" system, the backbone of America's "special warfare" in the South, was almost entirely destroyed. The political struggle movement of the people in the cities of the South grew rapidly and caused the last place of support for the American imperialists in the South to become very weak and unstable. The movement protesting the American imperialists' war of aggression in our country is seething all over the world, even in America.

The strong and rapid development of the patriotic forces in the South and the rapid weakening and dispersing of the puppet army and the puppet government in the South caused the balance of power in the South to change rapidly in favor of the people of the South and against the American imperialists. McNamara, the American Secretary of Defense, after his recent trip to inspect the situation of the American imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam, lamented that the situation was "very bad," that the puppet army in the South was "no longer capable of coping with the guerrillas," and that the ratio between the American and puppet troops on the one hand and the guerrillas in the South on the other hand, was "unacceptable." Therefore, the American imperialists had to send more troops to South Vietnam immediately in order to save their dangerous situation. Johnson's decision to send many additional American troops to Vietnam immediately not only exposed the obstinate, aggressive nature of the American imperialists, but also proved to the whole world that the American imperialists are being

heavily defeated and are in a desperate situation in the South of our country.

The American imperialists are fully aware that the sending of American divisions and brigades to the South of our country is a serious act of war and that that act is certain to be severely condemned by world opinion. Therefore, along with promoting the war of aggression against our country, Johnson launched a "peace offensive." He divulged that he is "ready to go from the battlefield to the conference table." that he "wants to begin unconditional negotiations with any government, any place, at any time." Johnson also sent a letter requesting the United Nations and its members to find ways to stop the national liberation movement in South Vietnam and "restore peace" in Vietnam.

Johnson spoke deceptively of "unconditional negotiations," but in his speech he stated time and time again that America "will not retreat," and that America "will stand firm in Vietnam." It is clear that Johnson has set conditions that give the opposition no choice but to bow and accept without argument America's main goal: the occupation of South Vietnam as a colony.

In order to further understand the stand of the American imperialists toward the Vietnamese problem, we must study the recent announcements of responsible American officials. On 22 June 1965 the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, announced that he completely approved the "four-point peace plan" brought forth on that day by what is called the "government of the Republic of Vietnam." So what is that "four-point peace plan?" On 22 June 1965, at a ceremony beginning the "International Aid Day," Tran Van Do, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the puppet government in Saigon, in accordance with American orders announced a "peace plan" consisting of the following four points:

1. The first condition is that in order to "restore peace," the patriots in the South "must abolish all organizations formed in the name of the National Liberation Front of the South, the Liberation Radio of the South, and the Revolutionary People's Party, and that the troops, political cadres, and military cadres now in the South be withdrawn to the North.
2. The second condition is that the lackeys of the Americans in the South must be allowed to "determine the affairs of the South."
3. The third condition is that once the patriotic movement of the people of the South has been completely extinguished, the lackey government in the South will be "ready to request its friends to withdraw their military forces from the South." The lackeys of the Americans, however, "also reserve the right to request its

friends to resume their aid" should the patriotic movement of the people of the South rise again.

4. The fourth condition is that the role of the lackey government in the South "must be effectively guaranteed," and that the lackey government "must be able to make use of the earnest assistance of friendly nations."

Those four conditions, drawn up by the lackey government and approved by its American masters, would not only force our people to lay down their arms and surrender to the American imperialists, thus allowing the American imperialists to transform the South of our country into a colony, but would also "effectively guarantee" that the colonial regime of the American imperialists in the South of our country would exist a very long time, if not forever. The American imperialists and their lackeys, by coming up with those insolent conditions, revealed themselves as being very greedy and unable to gauge their own strength: they want to gain at the conference table what they cannot gain on the battlefield. Those conditions of the American imperialists and their lackeys clearly revealed to everyone that Johnson's merchandise of "unconditional negotiations" on the outside appear to be bright and gaudy, but that on the inside they are very rotten. Therefore, they are refused by the customers and must share the fate of all unmarketable goods. In order to get rid of his unmarketable goods, Johnson searches for accomplices to advertise for him and deceive the customers. First the English Prime Minister Wilson, then the Indian Prime Minister Shastri, and then the Yugoslav President Tito, served as his accomplices in advertising the unmarketable "unconditional negotiations" merchandise of the American imperialists. Our people, with a strong spirit of vigilance, will not be deceived by the American imperialists and their accomplices. Now, Johnson is relying on the United Nations to advertise his unmarketable goods. But the United Nations is a worn-out playing card and can deceive no one. What could our people expect of the United Nations, which is controlled by America? The United Nations has been used by the American imperialists to wage wars of aggression in Korea and the Congo, to intervene in Hungary and Cuba, to serve their plots of aggression in Laos and Cambodia, etc. The American imperialists cannot use the United Nations card to deceive and intimidate our people.

The American imperialists understand that our people can never accept the conditions they have brought forth, so there can never be peaceful negotiations on the basis of their conditions. In order to attain their goal of enslaving our people, they must send many American soldiers to participate directly in the fighting in our country. America's real policy is not to negotiate, but to further their war of aggression. Cabot Lodge, who has twice been appointed the American Ambassador to South Vietnam, announced

on 15 February 1965 that "Negotiations now would be disastrous." He said, "There are no conditions for negotiations." Cabot Lodge added that America's lackeys in the South are not now "strong enough to negotiate." In truth, the American imperialists do not want to negotiate. They bring up the subject of "negotiations" in order to lay a smoke screen to hide their expansion of the war of aggression in our country.

The American imperialists, forced to send tens of thousands of American troops to the South of our country in order to save their critical situation, have admitted to the whole world that their "special warfare," based on the policy of relying principally on the puppet army in waging their war of aggression, has been defeated, and is nearing complete bankruptcy. By sending many infantry troops to fight on the Asian mainland, the American imperialists are also acting contrary to their experiences, and are descending a bottomless abyss. Many American leaders, from Eisenhower to Kennedy, declared that America should not madly send American ground forces to fight on the Asian mainland. Johnson himself declared in Ohio on 21 October 1964 that "We can become tied down in a war on the Asian mainland if we scatter our forces there." Johnson also revealed that he realized to some degree the great disaster awaiting the American imperialists should they send ground forces to the Asian mainland. Johnson, however, ordered the sending of an American expeditionary army to the South of our country. It is clear that the American imperialists were not able to remain faithful to their military and strategic decisions. They are committing a serious mistake by pursuing a course of military adventurism. Stagnant strategically, they are endeavoring to gain the initiative, so they are therefore becoming more bogged down and stagnant. That situation has caused them not only to lose the strategic initiative in our country, but also to gradually lose the strategic initiative in Southeast Asia and in the world. The American imperialists think that by sending large numbers of American troops to the South of our country they can preserve their colonial regime in the South of our country. But they have made a big mistake. The more troops they send to the South of our country, the more heavily the American imperialists will be defeated -- not only in our country, but in many other areas of the world as well.

Some people in the American ruling circles realize the heavy defeat awaiting them in the South of our country. The chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee said that "From a military point of view, America has committed nearly all mistakes... and must cope with the best guerrilla force in the history of mankind." The American Senator Morse said that "The more American soldiers are sent to Vietnam, the more coffins will come back to America." The American magazine U.S. News and World Report said in its 18 June 1965 issue that "To wage war on the mainland of Asia

and accept a guerrilla war is to fight on the enemy's terms." Murphy, in the 25 July 1965 issue of Fortune, wrote that "There is no justification for American infantry, carrying weapons and grenades, to go to dense jungles and muddy fields to fight an enemy indistinguishable in appearance and speech from the people they are supposed to defend. Seen from all angles -- disease, heat, rain, the language barrier -- the war is not worth the effort. It is time that the Pentagon stop making laughing stocks of our soldiers, and for it to stop deceiving itself." The American imperialists' bombing of the North in order to save their precarious position in the South has also not brought about the desired results. The American imperialists have had to admit that.

The American imperialists' promotion of their war of aggression in our country further reveals their aggression to our people and to the people of the world. The movement opposing the American imperialists' war of aggression in our country is seething in all countries of the world, including America. That aggression by the American imperialists has caused the officers and men in the puppet army in the South, and the officials of the puppet government in the South, to see more and more clearly the nation-robbing nature of the American imperialists and the traitorous nature of their lackeys, so they will desert their ranks and return to the people.

The American imperialists' sending of many more soldiers to the South of our country can never disturb our people; it can, indeed, serve only to cause our people to hate the American imperialists more and be more resolved to annihilate them. We say directly to the American imperialists that even 125,000 American troops cannot save their imperiled situation in South Vietnam. Even if they send 200,000-300,000 more troops to the South, they are still certain to be defeated by the people of the South and of all of Vietnam. No reactionary force on earth can stop the more than 30 million people of Vietnam from achieving their just aspirations -- to liberate the South and unify their homeland. The only way out for the American imperialists is to withdraw all American troops to their own country, so that the people of Vietnam can determine their own internal affairs. The people of Vietnam are determined to fight America to the end in order to completely liberate their Fatherland. Nothing on earth can shake that iron determination.

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