

JPRS: 26,474

TT: 64-41732

21 September 1964

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No. 8, August 1964, Part 2 of 2

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

OFFICE OF TECHNICAL SERVICES

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

Building Tempo E

East Adams Drive, 4th & 6th Streets, S.W.

Washington, D. C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

F O R E W O R D

This publication was prepared under contract for the Joint Publications Research Service as a translation or foreign-language research service to the various federal government departments.

The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U. S. Government or of the parties to any distribution arrangement.

PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

All JPRS reports may be ordered from the Office of Technical Services. Reports published prior to 1 February 1963 can be provided, for the most part, only in photocopy (xerox). Those published after 1 February 1963 will be provided in printed form.

Details on special subscription arrangements for any JPRS report will be provided upon request.

No cumulative subject index or catalog of all JPRS reports has been compiled.

All current JPRS reports are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications, available on subscription at \$4.50 per year (\$6.00 foreign), including an annual index, from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

All current JPRS reports are cataloged and subject-indexed in Technical Translations, published semimonthly by the Office of Technical Services, and also available on subscription (\$12.00 per year domestic, \$16.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents. Semiannual indexes to Technical Translations are available at additional cost.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)
No. 8, August 1964, Part 2 of 2

[Following are translations of selected article from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 8, Hanoi, August 1964. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.]

Table of Contents

<u>Article</u>	<u>Page</u>
Education in the Mountain Areas	1
Application of Marriage and Family Laws	18
Shameful Defeat of American Imperialism	33



EDUCATION IN THE MOUNTAIN AREAS

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Khanh Toan in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 8, 1964, pp 46-51.]

Vietnam is a country with many nationalities. This is an important characteristic that our Party always pays attention to in deciding the lines and policies to follow. For a long time now the Party has had correct policies for the nationalities. Starting from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has always raised the slogan that all nationalities are equal, that they are to assist one another in order to progress towards freedom and welfare.

During the period of resistance against the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists, all the nationalities of Vietnam participated in the revolutionary activities. During the resistance, all of the nationalities took part in the armed struggle.

Since the restoration of peace in North Vietnam, the nationalities have all worked at constructing socialism. In the South, in the high plateaus as well as in the delta regions of the Mekong River, all of the nationalities are united in fighting against American imperialism and its lackeys.

In applying the nationalities policies of the Party, the various nationalities in the North have used their autonomy to reform the production relationships and boost up production in accordance with the agreed upon plans. But we must strongly develop culture and education in the mountain areas in order to be able to help the nationalities to promote their best efforts, to help them grasp science and technology, to build a new life, and to train their own ranks of cadres. This very important method is intended to help us realize the guidelines set forth by the Third Party Congress:

"We must help the mountain areas catch up with the delta are, help the highlands and border regions catch up with the midlands, help the nationalities catch up with the Vietnamese nationalities, and help the nationalities promote their revolutionary spirit and their great capabilities to become united closely together in order to progress towards socialism." ([Note:] Documents of the Congress, published by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Labor Party, 1960, Vol I, p 125)

These correct guidelines represent the concrete expressions of the Marxist-Leninist spirit with regard to the nationalities problem in the context of Vietnam. Not one of the capitalist states dares have such a guideline. On the contrary, the realities have proven that the bourgeois class, the old colonialists, and the neocolonialists have looked for every method to take advantage of the backward conditions of the nationalities in order to exploit them, divide them, and rule them. They always hold the underdeveloped nationalities in contempt and discriminate against them, going even so far, in some instances and localities, as to even plot to eliminate and wipe out all nationalities that happen to have a different color of skin.

The minority nationalities in our country have undergone the bitter experience of the cruel French rule and, now, they have come to realize what their American "friends" are like. This is why all of the nationalities have positively responded to the nationalities policies of the Party, and they have arisen and awakened, and are still rising up to overthrow the colonialists and feudalists, smashing to bits their plots to divide and cheat us. They have started to build the new life and achieve unprecedented exploits in the history of the various nationalities in our country,

feats which are unparalleled also in the history of nationalities of any capitalist country.

In the North of our country, the mountain areas occupy over two-thirds of the land area, including over one-fifth of the total population and comprising 30 different nationalities. The mountain areas occupy a very important political, economic, and national defense position. The immense mountain and forest areas of our country lie for the most part near the borders with neighboring countries. The commando and bandit units organized by the American imperialists usually take advantage of this topography to slink into the North of our country. Although they are more united now-a-days, the various nationalities have not been able to obliterate all the prejudices that have been fostered in them since years back.

The mountain areas afford many natural possibilities which are very favorable to the exploitation of forest products, animal husbandry, industrial plants cultures, and to the development of industry. For this reason, the mountain areas will contribute greatly to socialist industrialization. If we continue to build up the mountain areas into a rich region of the Fatherland, the political repercussions of that fact will spread throughout Southeast Asia. This is because the nationalities living in the mountain areas of our country all have race relationships with many other nationalities living on the territory of neighboring countries. Once we have set the example of a new relationship based on complete equality among the nationalities under socialism, based on their unity and mutual help, it will greatly stimulate them.

We are facing, at present, great tasks in connection with the mountain areas. We have to realize these great tasks before we can complete the great mission of socialist edification in North Vietnam. We must strengthen and build the autonomous zones, we must strengthen the unity of various nationalities, develop productive power, and improve and raise ceaselessly the material and spiritual life of the people of various nationalities.

The strengthening of the armed forces of the people in mountain areas will not only serve to insure the security in the mountain areas, but also serve to protect the borders of the Fatherland. Seventy to 90 percent of the total number

of households, depending on the various localities, have joined the cooperatives. This constitutes for us a favorable condition to strengthen and develop the new production relationship so that gradually we may eliminate monoculture and progress towards polyculture, transforming the mountain areas from a self-sufficient economy to a developed agricultural economy having many commodities.

On the cultural front, we must continue with the work of elimination of illiteracy in the higher altitude regions, and the building and perfecting of writing systems of the various nationalities; and we must continue to raise the cultural level of the people, positively train cadres belonging to various minority nationalities, develop the arts and literature of the minority nationalities, and widely propagate common sense science and technology among the various nationalities.

The educational work plays an important role in the realization of these same missions. In raising the cultural and technical level of the laboring people in the mountain areas, the educational work has helped them acquire the knowledge necessary to improve upon their techniques, their business practices, and even their daily way of life; it also has provided them with the light of science so that they may eliminate their bad customs and superstitions. Only this educational work can solve the key question of the nationalities policy which is the training for the minority nationalities of a large outfit of cadres. The younger generations also must be trained in the schools to become workers with revolutionary consciousness and culture. The influence of the new culture will spread wherever the school network reaches.

Should we neglect the educational work and pay attention to production only, the economy will be confronted with difficulties surpassing itself, and the building of material and technical bases of socialism will undoubtedly encounter obstacles. In the mountain areas just as in the delta areas, the realities of the last few years have proved that the guideline claiming that we should proceed in parallel with the three revolutions having to do with the production relationships, involving technology, culture, and ideology, is completely correct. Education constitutes the essential factor of the cultural and ideological revolution. This is why we should give great attention to it,

especially in localities where the cultural level of the masses is still low, as in the mountain areas.

*

*

*

The First Five-Year Plan assigned to the educational branch in the mountain areas the task of "proceeding towards basically eliminating illiteracy for the compatriots living of from 12 to 40 years old in those areas, developing general education (especially in Cycles I and II), professional education, and cultural complementation for the cadres. They are to combine the teaching of the universal language with the national language. The special writing system of each nationality language should be put to good use so as to raise the culture of that nationality. They must strive and train local national cadres, especially in the fields of plant cultures, animal husbandry, forestry, medicine, education, and geology. They should pay attention to the training of smiths, carpenters, and masons, etc. for the minority nationalities areas." ([Note:] Resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee Concerning the First-Year Plan for Development of the People's Economy, Su that Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, pp 63-64.)

The educational activities in the last three years in the mountain areas have all been directed into that task and have reached important achievements.

The elimination of illiteracy and the cultural complementation of cadres have made progress. Over 100,000 people, including 25,000 cadres, Party members, and positive youths, have been liberated from illiteracy. Five mountain provinces, Hoa Binh, Thai Nguyen, Cao Bang, Bac Can, and Lang Son, have by now basically solved the problem of illiteracy. Especially three townships of the Meo people belonging to the provinces of Lao Kay and Ha Giang have eliminated illiteracy through the teaching of their own language. Eighty thousand to 150,000 people have attended cultural complementation classes Cycles I and II. For this reason, quite a number of key cadres in the townships and cooperatives in the lower areas has reached the level of classes 2 and 3. Schools for national youths have been developed in many localities.

At the end of 1963, there are already 61 schools with 5,155 students. These schools have trained for the localities 1,135 youths with Cycles I and II cultural levels who can help strengthen the cooperatives or go on receiving training to become technical cadres.

General education schools for youths and younger children have also developed quite rapidly. At present, there are more than 250,000 students coming from the minority nationalities. If we are to count also the 140,000 students attending kindergartens, the total number of students accounts for 15 percent of the total population. This is a relatively high proportion. Thanks to this, many localities have had enough students with the required cultural level to follow vocational programs.

Besides, there are also a number of students who have graduated from Cycle II that are complementing the laboring forces in the cooperatives. The quality of education has also been raised in accordance with the maxim of linking studies with practice. The schools have started to guide the students in the application of modern techniques. In the regions of higher altitude, a number of localities has organized dormitories for the children, which would help them live in groups, save them from shuttling back and forth, and at the same time, permit the organizing of these children into food-producing units.

Owing to the raising of the cultural level of the people and of the younger generation, the training of cadres for the various minority nationalities becomes all the more easy. The number of nationality youths attending universities and secondary vocational schools increases day by day. In 1963-64 almost 500 persons from the nationalities attended the Agricultural College, the All-Faculty University, the Teachers' College, and the Medical School. Close to 100 persons studied abroad and 3,000 persons attended secondary vocational schools. The various Teachers' Colleges alone have 1,700 students coming from the minority nationalities. The number of teachers coming from the nationalities has accounted for 40 percent of the total number of teachers working in the mountain areas.

The actual significance of the educational achievements we have accomplished is that they have contributed to strengthening the autonomy of the minority nationalities

and to improving upon the economic and cultural backwardness long with us in the mountain regions. The mountain villages have now acquired a new face. Books and magazines have reached even into remote villages and hamlets. These achievements are the expressions of the ever-rising revolutionary movement of the minority nationalities. The people and cadres in the mountain areas must endure many difficulties in order to be able to develop education to that stage. This point alone is enough to prove the very high spirit of sacrifice and struggle of the mountain nationalities.

The educational work in the mountain areas must serve the economic, political, and cultural missions, but its immediate task is to be closely linked to the building of the economy and the strengthening of national defense. To develop agriculture in the mountain areas, the resolution of the Politburo in February 1963 has concretely pointed out to the needs concerning agricultural cooperativization and production in the mountain areas in the First Five-Year Plan. The educational work must realistically contribute to the realization of that resolution. We must with all speed eliminate the illiteracy problem for the people, especially for the key cadres and youths, in order to raise their capacity for managing work exchange brigades and cooperatives.

The contents of the training of cadres, just as the contents of the educational work in the schools, must aim at solving the urgent problems of the economy of the mountain areas, such as how to increase the production of rice, corn and other secondary crops; how to vigorously develop animal breeding, forestry, and industrial plant cultures. The important technical questions encountered in the mountain areas, such as irrigation, geological investigations, cultivation on hill lands, the struggle against erosion, the improvement of implements, experimentation with mechanical implements, the choice of seeds, the prevention and fight against insects and pests, etc. should not only be subjects of investigation for the agricultural cadres, but they should also become the substance of studies and investigation topics for the teachers and students in the various cultural schools.

To mobilize the people, youth, and children to boost production and positively strengthen national defense, we must pay full attention to educational and ideological work. The directives of the Secretariat concerning the propaganda and training work in the mountain areas for January this

year have set forth the following needs: We need to train people with regard to their awareness of national unity and clearly delineate the class content of that awareness. We must intensify our training in socialist ideology. We must cultivate patriotism and the will to fight for the reunification of the land and raise the spirit of revolutionary awareness. The teacher living in remote villages and far-away highlands not only brings knowledge every day to the minority nationalities, but he also brings to them the whole love of the Party. This is why the good teacher also has to be the good cadre for the masses.

Set against the needs of the revolution and the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan, the educational work still has a number of shortcomings that we should overcome as soon as possible.

The elimination of illiteracy and the cultural complementation work have progressed slowly, especially in the higher altitude regions and in the border areas. Besides, the movement has not yet concentrated on the main objectives. Universal education Cycle I has not yet been positively implemented. Many new school formulas have not yet been reviewed so that conclusions may be drawn for further complementation and application. The training of cadres coming from minority nationalities has not yet been planned in the long run and in accordance with appropriate formulas. The study and application of writing systems of the various nationalities are also encountering many complications. The teachers' treatment policy also has not been adequately carried out. The contents of the training program of teachers are not yet consistent with the work in the mountain areas.

Another important shortcoming lies in the quality of the education programs of adults as well as of children not yet being consistent with the revolutionary needs of the mountain areas and with the national characteristics of the people. The programs still blindly follow those of the delta areas, and the contents of the study programs do not as yet realistically serve production in the mountain areas.

The causes for these shortcomings partly lie in the fact that the mountain conditions present many difficulties and therefore give rise to too many new problems, but mainly it is because we have not yet realized the full importance

of the mountain areas and of the educational work in these regions. For this reason we have not yet gone in depth into the investigations and solutions of the problems that present themselves, under actual and real situations, the experiences we have gained have not yet been reviewed, and we have not yet put all our zeal into the realization of the nationalities policy of the Party. For the most part, the teachers from the delta regions have positively and zealously served the compatriots of various minority nationalities, but there are still a number of them who do not work in all tranquility, and although they do not say it out loud, deep inside them they only wish for the day when they could come back after their "assignment period."

These teachers do not seek to understand the realities of the mountain areas, and they have not yet given their full devotion to the guidance of the children of the minority nationalities. For this reason, they cannot possibly create revolutionary methods such as that of labor hero Nguyen Van Bon.

To overcome these shortcomings and to fulfill the tasks of the First Five-Year Plan, the conference dealing with the educational work in the mountain areas called by the Party Central Committee Secretariat at the end of last May has set forth the following:

"To proceed towards the basic elimination of illiteracy for the compatriots of ages 12 to 40 living in the lower altitude regions, and for all key cadres, Party members, union members, and youths in the higher altitude regions. At the same time, to boost up the movement of cultural complementation for key cadres and positive youths, to strongly develop national youth schools where the students would be studying and working at the same time. Also, to pay attention to the cultural complementation of national youths who are working in the farms, forestry stations, enterprises, various organs, and in the army.

"To enlarge the kindergarten movement wherever we have the conditions to do so, to continue developing vigorously and to strive to raise the quality of the elementary classes, to continue developing vigorously Cycle I and to proceed towards universalizing Cycle I in the lower altitude regions, to develop Cycles II and III in a planned manner and with special emphases, and to create all favorable con-

ditions for attracting the children of various nationalities, especially of those with few people left, into the schools.

"In particular, to pay attention to training local cadres, to develop vocational secondary schools in the mountain areas, to get more students from the nationalities to go into the universities, to enlarge the ranks of the intellectuals and workers coming from the minority nationalities, to train cadres to be specialized in various branches like farming, animal husbandry, forestry, medicine, education, and geological investigations. Also, to pay attention to training smiths, carpenters, and workers in the building industries.

"To firmly grasp the objectives of education, to master and creatively put into practice the principles and maxims of the educational programs, taking into account also the concrete environment and realities of each region, each nationality; to improve upon the contents of the study programs; to propagate more widely the writing systems of the various nationalities, and, at the same time, to encourage people to study the universal language [i.e. Vietnamese. - Translator's note]; to struggle to raise gradually the quality of the educational programs especially in the general schools; to infuse into the youths and children of various nationalities the ardor for studying and the awareness of the need to struggle and erase the backwardness of their homes; to imbue them with the readiness to participate in productive labor and in the fight to protect the Fatherland; to get them to have a solid amount of cultural knowledge and to understand a number of necessary questions related to the technical fields, so that they can have the strength and capacity of applying that knowledge to reality.

"On the basis of achievements which have been reached, to master better the nationalities policy of the Party as well as its educational policy line, to raise the spirit of self-sufficiency to overcome difficulties, promote creativeness, and to determinately fulfill well the educational tasks proposed in the First Five-Year Plan."

We must firmly grasp the characteristics of the mountain areas before we can discover the methods and organizational forms necessary for the realization of the above tasks.

The mountain areas have the following characteristics which bear on the development of the educational work:

The economy of the mountain areas is very backward, it is a self-supplying, self-sufficient economy which is gradually evolving towards an economy with many products and commodities.

The mountain areas include many different regions and many different nationalities. In spite of the fact that the various nationalities share the same historical development, they have different languages, customs, traditions, and cultures. The distribution of these nationalities is also very complicated. Here, a nationality may live in villages and hamlets apart from others, but there, two, three nationalities may live in mixed groups. The economy of each region also has its special aspects.

The geographical conditions also create many difficulties. The land is large but very sparsely populated, with the dwellings of people scattered all over. The mountain paths are difficult to traverse while new communication roads have not yet been opened for easy access.

The cultural level of the nationalities in general is still low. The number of illiterate people is still large. Many older children have not gone to school. The old customs and habits have not yet been abandoned. Many a nationality does not have any writing system at all.

The number of cadres coming from the nationalities is still relatively small. Not only are the cultural and educational cadres few in number, but they are also not trained in accordance with the needs of the revolution in the mountain areas. Their knowledge, generally speaking, is not yet realistically fitted to the needs of economic and cultural development of the mountain areas.

The urgent question which presents itself immediately to us is the need for studying carefully these characteristics in order to discover the direction for developing education and for determining the contents of education appropriate to each category of objects and each economic region. To blindly follow the delta regions as a consistent maxim to be applied to all kinds of different nationalities and economic regions, as we have at the present time been doing,

constitutes an important cause of the main shortcomings we are experiencing in the educational work in the mountain area.

The characteristics of the mountain areas require that we define the contents of the educational programs in such a way that they follow closely the realities of each region and of each nationality. Besides systematized basic cultural knowledge, we must impart knowledge having to do with the economy and political setup of the mountain areas. Even the basic cultural knowledge imparted also must be selected in accordance with the dictates of the realities. Only in that way can the students be able to help their own nationalities to understand themselves better so as to promote the better aspects and eliminate the worse ones, and, also to understand nature better so as to boost up production. For instance, the general education schools must pay full attention to the teaching of forestry science, so that each student, whether old or young, could contribute positively to the protection and creation of forests.

In the case of adult laborers and youths, the contents of the studies must closely combine the acquisition of basic cultural and technical knowledge with that of political and economic management knowledge so that, day after day, they can improve upon their work, increase their labor productivity, and raise the level of their life. After each study term, we can promote immediately the function of the knowledge acquired. The timing and scheduling of the school year also must be reorganized so that it may be consistent with the production seasons and fit in with the weather and climate of the mountain areas.

The same goes for the teaching of writing systems of the various languages of nationalities. It must be aimed at creating more favorable conditions for the various nationalities in their daily dealings and in their understanding of policies and science. Parallel with the teaching of writing systems of those languages in the schools, we also must widely use these writing systems in everyday life.

The forms of development of education must be convenient for the studies of the students, fitting with the local conditions. The maxim for opening up new schools is that the teachers should go to the students, that the schools should go to the people, that they should be small-scale and

convenient from the point of view of communications. For younger children, especially in the higher regions, we should have combined classes in which one teacher teaches two or three forms at the same time.

In areas where the dwellings of people are much too far apart, we should organize dormitories for the students so that they may live in groups and study and produce at the same time. For the key cadres, we should emphasize the short-term, concentrated classes running from a few months to a year. The closer these classes are to the production centers and working locales of the cadres, the better. In the case of superior youths, we should get them into national youth schools where they may work and study at the same time. This kind of school has by now proved to be a very good education formula for the younger people. Not only do they help reduce the expenditures that the localities have to devote to education, but also, essentially, they train the younger people in the context of reality, they help to relate science with production, giving rise to a new way of life in a healthy community.

The teachers' colleagues also must change the contents and their educational methods. The trained teachers must have a certain level of knowledge in many respects. Besides their educational profession, they must have a full understanding of political, technical, and medical matters, so that they may help the people in these areas of life. The new teachers must be trained in mass activities so that they may become revolutionary cadres living close to the nationalities that they are serving. For these cadres, it is indispensable that they learn the writing systems and languages of the nationalities they are to serve.

In the situation where the mountain areas have so many characteristics different from those of the delta area, the people in charge of education in the mountain areas, from the ministry down to the schools, must firmly grasp the economic and political needs of these regions in order to go deeply into many questions and recapitulate the experiences so as to guide the masses in their creation of new methods. One should absolutely refrain from relying solely on general directives and bookish knowledge in order to check the creative ideas of the masses of teachers in these areas.

The revolution is the work of the masses. So is the educational work in the mountain areas. This work must be the direct doings of the people of the various nationalities themselves, of teachers and students in the mountain areas. Only if the people have been activated and imbued with a high revolutionary zeal can they find revolutionary methods, overcome their difficulties, and achieve great deeds.

The experiences of the last three years, just as the history of educational development in our country in the last twenty years, have proved that point. With regard to the mountain areas, especially with regard to the higher altitude regions, the State allocates appropriate amounts of budgetary subsidies and allows a certain free hand in the organization, but these are not yet the conditions necessary for determining success. The factor which will determine success will be the thousands of educational cadres working in the mountain areas, who are fired with revolutionary zeal, and who have a firm grasp of the nationalities policy of the Party, who activate and organize the people of various nationalities so that they all may participate in building education in the mountain areas.

During the last three years, a great many good examples have occurred in the educational work in the mountain areas. It is precisely owing to these shining examples that we have been able to overcome the many difficulties and gradually solve the most difficult problems.

To banish illiteracy in the higher altitude regions, especially through the teaching of writing systems of the various languages of nationalities in the situation where the masses of the people are not yet used to the new writing system and where we still do not have enough cadres, is a difficult task. The district of Mu Cang Chai, province of Nghia Lo, and the two provinces of Lao Kay and Ha Giang, however, have been able to universally propagate the Meo language writing system. The experience of these localities has been that if the various Party committees are determined to bolster the educational work, taking it as the lever for all other activities, and therefore carefully prepare their cadres, the propaganda and activation movement fighting against the arguments of the enemy and of the other reactionary forces meant to sabotage our work has been

carried out on a permanent basis, and the guidance of pilot points to build the first units has been closely combined with the enlargement of the movement. Here, the elimination of illiteracy has been solved relatively fast. For instance, in the township of Ban Pho, district of Bac Ha, province of Lao Kay, the plan for wiping out illiteracy was accomplished in less than a year. Many other localities have managed well the movement for cultural complementation. This is the case of the township of Vinh Truong, zone of Vinh Linh, and the township of Hong Ngan, district of Bach Thong, province, of Bac Can, etc. The key cadres of these localities attend the cultural complementation classes at the rate of 100 percent attendance.

The key problem to be dealt with in boosting up the educational program in the mountain areas is the need for good cadres who are determined to devote all their capabilities to the service and the interests of the minority nationalities. Not only are they to teach writing and reading to the national compatriots, but they are also to help them with production and assist the local authorities in other necessary business. Among these devoted teachers, we could count labor hero Nguyen Van Bon, teacher at the Mu Ca Cycle I school, district of Muong Te, province of Lai Chau, who has been able to set up various classes from elementary levels to Cycle I classes and cultural complementation classes. He has also been able to build relatively adequate material bases in a place where formerly there was not a single literate person, where people had to break little twigs to make their calculations, and where they did not even know the common language.

There is also comrade Do Tien Thuc, teacher at the Trung Khanh Cycle II school in Cao Bang, who has been elected progressive laborer during three consecutive years, and who is beloved by all the people and students. Also, there is Nguyen Thi Loan, a Tay woman of Cao Bang, who has been elected teacher by the people. She has volunteered to go up into the higher altitude regions where the Man compatriots live to take charge of the task of wiping out illiteracy and teaching cultural complementation.

The two provinces of Lao Kay and Ha Giang have also been able to appeal to the Meo youths to volunteer out of their families in order to go to other townships and try to

propagate the Meo language script. Hundreds and thousands of other teachers are at present living with the people, sharing their food and their difficulties, in order to develop the educational mission. Without a large army of teachers fired with such revolutionary awareness, it would be impossible to achieve great deeds in the field of education as we have done at the present time. All of the creative ideas concerning the educational work in the mountain areas, such as the formation of the Hoa Binh socialist labor youth school, are the results of many sacrifices in the struggle, of the spirit of self-held, and of the will to overcome all difficulties on the part of the educational cadres.

The various Party committees must wield control of the body of teachers, and they must pay attention to their living and working conditions, emphasizing their political cultivation and forcefully developing Youth League groups and building the Party within the schools. The Party committees at the township level should especially attend to the material and spiritual life of the teachers, engendering in the masses the correct feelings concerning the glorious responsibilities of the teachers.

At present, we are producing very many examples of struggling sacrifice and good experience. To recapitulate on these good experiences and boost up the educational mission in the mountain areas, the organs helping the Party in this respect should be strengthened. The various educational organs from the ministry down to the provincial services must have special cadres in charge of watching the situation in the mountain areas and reporting on it. Owing to the wide expanse of these areas, the guiding role of the district echelons is of great importance.

At present, we should not do away with the offices of education at the districts. At the township level, we should also have education committees. In the teachers' colleges, one should establish a department for studying the necessary questions concerning national characteristics and the development of writing systems for the minority nationalities. At the same time, that department will study the science of education in the minority nationalities' zones.

The educational work in the mountain areas plays a very important role in the realization of the nationalities policy of the Party and in the realization of the First Five-Year Plan in the mountain areas so that the guideline of "the mountain areas catching up with the delta areas" might be realized. The Party organizations in the mountain areas must take charge of that work, directing it in accordance with the needs of economic construction, the needs of building a new life, and the needs of a stronger national defense. In determining the methods of realization, we must base ourselves on the characteristics of the mountain areas, of each economic area, and of each nationality. These methods cannot be realized unless the cadres have a high revolutionary zeal. To boost even further the educational work in the mountain areas constitutes the correct realization of the nationalities policy of the Party, and it would also represent a correct estimation of the important position of the mountain areas with regard to the future and strength of our Fatherland.

1751
CSO: 3520-N

11

APPLICATION OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LAWS

[Following is a translation of an article by Huy Uu in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 8, 1964, pages 66-71.]

The marriage and family system in our country formerly was that of a feudal society where men are dominate over the women and where the interests of the children are neglected. The children did not have the right to choose their own mates formerly. In the feudal family, the women are in a totally dependent position. They are hampered by law and bound by public opinion, having nothing left but the duty to "serve" their husbands, to bring up the children, and to endure it all their lives even if they are despised and cruelly treated by their husbands. During thousands of years, the feudal marriage and family system has caused innumerable sufferings to our people, and especially to women, and it has greatly hampered the development of the productive power and checked the development of our society.

After the victory of the August Revolution, the Party and our people's government have always paid attention to creating the economic, political, and cultural bases necessary for the women to gain real equality with the men in society as well as within the family. The propaganda and training programs were intended to raise the awareness

of freedom and democracy and to do away with the obsolete feudal customs and habits, and these programs have been bolstered. At the same time, on the legal side, the first constitution of our country, together with various State laws and ordinances, has recognized the equality between husband and wife, between men and women. A number of older laws have been invalidated. Thanks to this, the inequality between men and women in society, and between husband and wife in the family, has been overcome to a great extent.

Nonetheless, there still remain many feudal influences, hampering greatly the production and work. For this reason, basing itself on socialist production relationships, the new marriage and family laws are meant to eliminate the remains of the old system, to bring the rightful interests of both sexes to men and women, and to completely liberate our people from the various shackles of feudalist thoughts.

It goes without saying that the new marriage and family system pays a great deal of attention to the interests of the women; this is because they are the ones having to undergo the heavier pressures of feudalist thinking. At present, the women occupy an important proportion in the labor force of our society. According to the statistics of the Vietnamese Women's Federation, at the beginning of 1963, the women's labor force accounts for 60 percent in agriculture, 43 percent in light industries, and 40 percent in handicrafts, etc. If we do not set the women's minds at peace concerning marriage and the family, the promotion of the capabilities of women in the development of production will be greatly hampered. On the importance of this question, President Ho has said: "At present, the whole of our people wants to build socialism. What are we to do if we want to build socialism?"

"Definitely we must increase production as much as possible. To produce a great deal, we must have a great deal of labor force. To have a great deal of labor force, we must liberate the labor of women.

"To speak of women is to speak of half of the society... If we are to build socialism without speaking of the women we would only be half-building it... The marriage laws are meant to liberate the women, and, therefore, to liberate half of the society." ([Note:] President Ho

and the Women's Question, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, pp 15-16.)

The Resolution of the last Third All-Party Congress also emphasized: "The women in our country constitute an important force in the revolution and in production. Our Party has great responsibilities with regard to the liberation of women and the promotion of their abundant capabilities to build the new society. We must cultivate their ideology, raise their level of political awareness and their culture, and help them alleviate their family burdens so that they may participate in production and social activities, rationally utilize their labor power, and therefore ceaselessly raise their role in production and in the management of the State." ([Note:] Documents of the Congress, published by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Labor Party, 1960, Vol I, p 192.)

The marriage and family law code was officially promulgated in January 1960. In three years of application, the code has started to gather good results. The majority of the young men and women of marriageable age have been able to freely find out about one another and to freely contract marriage. Some women who have earlier been forced to marry or got married at a tender age have bravely struggled to liberate themselves from the fetters of families holding oppressive and feudalistic thoughts.

After divorce, these women have been able to build new families and find happiness, which is why they have enthusiastically participated in productive labor and various other social activities. Many families have also striven to reform their heavily feudalistic thinking and to influence conjugal relationships into becoming democratic and progressive conjugal ones. In general, progressive and freely contracted marriages and democratic, egalitarian, harmonious, and happy relationships between husbands and wives have blossomed and are growing more and more numerous every day. This situation is an encouragement to everybody in productive labor. For this reason, many couples have become progressive laborers or competition heroes.

Besides these shining examples, there remain of course in the society of North Vietnam many erroneous phenomena such as young couples who rush into marriage without finding

out about each other carefully enough, and who are forced to divorce each other after a while, or again a husband seeking unrightful pretexts to divorce his wife after a long period of harmonious relationship, etc. Confronted with these marriages and divorces, a number of people have been unable to distinguish between the correct and the incorrect, and they have considered it to be the very freedom to contract marriages and to divorce, then require that the laws support them. This situation clearly indicates that many people have not yet recognized the correct spirit of the marriage and family code of our society.

The forced marriage of the feudal system which reflects the ruling relationship of the pater familias, an undemocratic relationship, runs counter to the nature of our system. Progressive and freely contracted marriages constitute one of the very great principles of our new marriage institution. Freedom of marriage includes two aspects: the freedom to contract marriages and the freedom to divorce. The freedom to contract marriages means that both sides, the young man and the young woman, are totally free to decide on their getting married, that nobody could possibly force their hands or hamper their marriage, and that neither side could force the other to marry him or her. But the freedom to contract marriages does not mean the "freedom" to be a libertine.

As for the freedom to divorce, it is meant to be the rational and human solution to the situation where two people cannot possibly live any longer with each other, and it would give both parties another chance to rebuild their family happiness so as to positively produce and work. But the freedom of divorce also does not mean the freedom to divorce at random.

On the question of freedom of marriage, the freedom to contract marriage is the main link, and it should be given full attention so that it may be fully realized. This is because the more this freedom is guaranteed, the more divorce could be avoided. The basis for the freedom to contract marriage is true love. In that case, what is true love? The capitalist class builds the family on the basis of money. To them, interest is what counts more than anything, love just as all other beautiful sentiments of man, does not mean anything next to the interests. Marriages, therefore, also becomes based on bargainings. The relation-

ship between husband and wife also becomes a monetary one. This is why the capitalist marriage system does not have a beautiful sentimental basis. In the socialist system, owing to the fact that the main capital goods belong to everyone, each citizen has all the conditions necessary for an independent and autonomous life. For this reason, the conjugal relationship is built on true love, on the basis of cooperation, mutual help, equality and mutual respect, on that of struggling companionship and on comradeship. This love is closely linked to the passionate love for and unlimited loyalty to, the Fatherland, and it is linked to the aspirations to contribute all of our strength to the building of socialism and communism. This true love fires the people with enthusiasm and makes them become noble; it bears good influences on the productive and social activities of people. The freedom to contract marriages, therefore, not only aims at building happy families but also at building a good society.

Lenin has stressed discipline in love: "Extremism in sexual love belongs to the nature of the capitalist society. It is a sign of depravity. The proletarian class, on the other hand, is a rising class. It needs no inebriation to make them dizzy or to stimulate them. They do not have to be drunken in sexual love or wines. They do not have the right to, nor do they wish to, forget the shame, the lowliness, and cruelty of capitalism. Its class position, its communist ideology have precisely brought to the proletarian class the most vigorous stimulation needed for struggle. It needs to be enlightened, even more so than at present, always enlightened. For this reason, I wish to repeat: we cannot afford to be weak or to waste our energy. To control oneself and to discipline oneself do not mean that we are slaves of anything, all these qualities are also necessary in regard to love." ([Note:] See Clara Zetkin, "Notebook Excerpts," in How Did Lenin Live? French edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, Vol II, p 636.) Lenin went on to criticize very severely the kind of love at random: "In the case of women who mix love with politics and of men who are easily attracted by women or fall in love with them at every step, I do not guarantee their loyalty and firmness in the struggle. No, by all means, that does not fit with the revolution." ([Note:] Clara Zetkin, op. cit., page 635.)

With regard to the freedom to divorce, there are at present still a number of people with an incorrect understanding of this question. There are couples who have built their relationship on the voluntary basis of both partners. These relationships are developing very beautifully when suddenly the husbands on the pretext of "irreconcilable temperaments" seek all manners to emphasize the contradictions with their wives to finally claim that "the objectives of marriage have not been reached" in order to demand divorce from their wives. What do irreconcilable temperaments and the inability to reach the objectives of marriage mean? The feelings between husband and wife are not "secrets" that cannot be understood.

There are no such things as general love without class character. The feelings of the exploiting classes are those only concerned with individual happiness, with building one's happiness on the suffering of others. People with such feelings usually do not care a single bit for the opinion of society and for the laws of the State, they even sin in order to satisfy the mad animal needs found in them. The feelings of the proletarian class are virtuous ones. They are born out of the interest of the collective body, and they are always concerned with the common happiness of both husband and wife, and in consideration of the building and cultivation of that happiness to be the life responsibilities of both husband and wife. These two kinds of feelings are at odds with each other just as fire with water.

We must take the standpoint of the proletarian class to be able to clearly distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate feelings. As for talking about the "subtlety of sentiments" and the general "irreconcilable temperaments," this would mean only to advance false arguments to cover up one's unrightful acts in marriage.

That the objectives of marriage are not reached means that the building of a democratic, harmonious, happy and united, family for purposes of production has not been realized. But if it is not realized, one also must find out about the reasons for its failure. That the objectives of marriage are not reached is usually due to the weight of forcing pressures in marriage. It can also be due to the lack of awareness on the part of one partner of the needs to build a common happiness. We all know that at the

beginning, no matter how careful they are, the young men and women cannot possibly fully understand each other. For this reason, in going through the process of living together afterwards, they cannot always escape from contradictions born out of a difference of temperaments. This occurs very often. This is why both husband and wife should base themselves on equality and cooperation, and they should strive to help each other overcome the shortcomings on both sides so that the temporarily irreconcilable temperaments might get to fit each other better.

Only on such a basis of ceaselessly solving the contradictions, can the true love between husband and wife be actually strengthened and the marriage be rendered firm. Such a correct solution would fit in with the viewpoints of our system with regard to the new ethics. As for digging further into the contradictions, on account of some individual motivation, and thus pushing basically reconcilable temperaments or temperaments which have the capacity to agree to the point where they could not be reconciled any more so that one would have a pretext for divorce, it would run totally counter to the viewpoints of the new ethics, and it is totally disapproved by the people and unrecognized by the laws.

At present, practically all of the divorce cases having rightful causes have been correctly solved by the tribunals. With regard to those without rightful causes, the tribunals have closely combined their work with the various youth and women's organizations to persistently educate and persuade those who have filed for divorce to fight mercilessly against feudalist thoughts and the influence of capitalist thinking that is still obsessing them, to wholeheartedly help them build the new marriage ethics, and to determinately refuse to consider their divorce applications, so that the "irreconcilable" feelings may become more reconcilable and that the threatened conjugal relationships shall be resumed in a better way. This correct way of solving the cases has been welcomed by the population at large.

Nonetheless, there remain individual cadres in the tribunals who simply imagine that once one of the two parties has filed for divorce, no feelings of attachment are left between the two, and that even if we are to strive to persuade them to resume their relationship, that would

only work temporarily, at the most, and that eventually their families would break up anew. This is why some cadres in various localities have advocated that if the first time, we get a reconciliation and it does not work, the second time, we should grant them the divorce. These concepts and solutions are not in accordance with the spirit of the new marriage and family law code.

With regard to the divorce cases, the responsibility of the tribunals is to carefully find out about the concrete situation of the case, to get a firm grasp of the causes of the contradictions within the family, to see how far these contradictions have gone, and to seek the necessary methods to solve these contradictions, etc. Only after having the confirmation that the family in question has in fact been broken and that, if maintained, socialist virtue cannot be guaranteed in it, neither is happiness guaranteed or is it beneficial for the upbringing of the children, to the labor and work of both parties, can the tribunals allow the divorce to be effected.

Commenting on the draft of the divorce law, Marx has said: "No one is forced to get married, but once they are married, everyone has to submit to the marriage laws. The person who gets married does not create, nor does he or she invent marriage. This is just as in the case of the swimmer: Neither does he create nor invent nature of and laws regulating water or gravity. This is why in marriage, we cannot follow the will of the already married person, on the contrary the already married person has to submit himself or herself to the nature of marriage. Those who arbitrarily choose divorce have chosen to affirm the arbitrariness of divorce, considering these illegitimate acts to be the very laws regulating marriage, for nobody who possesses some judgment could consider himself extraordinary and think that he has the special privilege of doing this or that act." ([Note:] Marxism and the Liberation of Women, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, pp 117-118.)

Our beautiful social system constitutes the objective condition for our families to blossom and develop more and more. Nonetheless, the building of the happy family still depends on a very important subjective condition, which is that the husband and wife both have to be aware of the need to build the family into a democratic, egalitarian, harmoni-

ous and happy one. Without this awareness the love between the husband and wife will be greatly damaged and when the damage is serious enough, there would be no more family happiness. It is precisely for this reason that, next to the principles of freedom of marriage, there is another very important principle, the "equality between the sexes." "Within the family, both husband and wife have equal voices in every respect." This is one of the basic principles of the marriage and family code. It is meant to do away with the injustices of the feudal system, according to which the decisions are all up to the husband while the wife can only blindly follow him. The equality principle is based on the postulate that unless there is equality in the family between the two parties, there can not be a deep-felt love between husband and wife, harmony and happiness within the family.

Equality between husband and wife means equality of both rights and duties. As far as the rights are concerned, both husband and wife have a totally equal position in every respect, political, economic, cultural and social. With regard to the duties, both husband and wife have to love each other, respect and help each other, so as to labor together and bring up the children together. We have to fully understand the spirit and content of the equality principle in every thought and act before we can practice actual equality between husband and wife.

Since the promulgation of the marriage and family code, many families in which formerly there were not enough democratic practices and equality have now acquired a democratic, equalitarian, and harmonious atmosphere. Many couples have made efforts to overcome their difficulties and create all favorable conditions for helping each other to progress in every respect. They have discussed together the good ways to solve various problems such as the family budget, the upbringing of the children, etc. In their family life, they have bravely proceeded to criticize and self-criticize in order to find out about the causes of various shortcomings and the ways to solve them. It is precisely for this reason that they have scored much many progress in their work as well as in their family life.

These results have in turn encouraged many other efforts so that their love becomes all the deeper and the family becomes more cheerful and happy. Besides these good

expressions, there are at present still many erroneous phenomena such as some husbands not wishing their wives to participate in cultural and social activities or wishing to let their wives run the whole family, considering it to be the "natural function" of women. In the case where the cooking, care, and upbringing of children are not well done, the husbands usually put all the blame on the wives without fully seeing their own responsibilities in that connection.

Should the wife dare to struggle to clearly delineate the correct from the incorrect, the husband promptly dismisses her as "obstinate," some even go so far as to hit their wives. This situation has made many families lose their unity, harmony, and happiness, bearing greatly on the promotion of the capabilities of the wife in the building of the new society. The reasons why there are still such erroneous phenomena is that in many situations, the husband still thinks: "Well, the work of the wife is not as important as the work of the husband. It does not matter whether the wife sacrifices a little to serve the work of the husband." This view is of course, clearly incorrect.

It is born out of the overdoing respect of the feudalist system given to the husbands. The realities of the revolution in our country have proven and are proving that the women have a very important role to play in society, that they can take charge of all social activities just as men can. For this reason, the husbands have the responsibility for creating more favorable conditions for the wives to participate more often in the building of the new society. In participating in production and social activities, the women not only will contribute to the general interest of the society, but they will also raise their political, ideological, and cultural levels so as to contribute more positively to the building of happy families.

*

*

*

Our old society has undergone thousands of years under the feudal system and hundreds of years under colonialism. Feudalist and capitalist patterns of thought have all

influenced the members of our families, even though the degree of influence does differ somewhat. For this reason, in the North at the present time, the people are proceeding with the building of socialism, but the feudalist and capitalist property system has given rise to the inequalities found in the marriage and family system of our society. These, however, have been gradually eliminated, and socialist patterns of thought are being formed and are developing, yet the influences of the older patterns of thought cannot be said to have been erased altogether.

On the other hand, since the promulgation of the marriage and family code, the propaganda and training programs that we have carried out in this respect have not been vigorous and adequate enough. In such a situation, the remains of feudalist and capitalist patterns of thought and of the older way of life could still influence a number of people. This constitutes the main reason for the erroneous phenomena and the violations of the marriage and family laws. To overcome this situation, the essential and immediate task is to strive to educate the people so that they will have a correct viewpoint of the freedom of marriage and of the democratic, egalitarian, and harmonious family life.

"In general, under socialism, within the family or out in society, the fact that the women still have to undergo injustices is due to the remains of the feudalist and capitalist systems. This is not a question of relationship between the two sexes, but rather it is a question of class." ([Note] Le Duan, We Must Stand on the Class Viewpoint to Consider the Women's Question, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 5.) This is then a class struggle concerning ideology, which is meant to overcome non-proletarian viewpoints and to build a new and progressive viewpoint of marriage and the family. We must continue to fight against the granting of overdue respect to men at the expense of women because this very pattern of thought is what is determining the thoughts and actions of a great deal of people as they try to contract marriages and get divorces at random, building undemocratic and non-harmonious families, etc. The process of mobilizing the people to realize well the new marriage and family system is one of progressing further in the realization of actual equality between the two sexes and in the complete liberation of women whether it be economical, political, or ideological.

One of the main maxims of the propaganda and training program we need to carry out in this connection is that we should proceed with it on a permanent basis and count on the long run, and, at the same time, we must be positive and far-reaching in our thinking. Marriage and the family are questions which concern the masses very intimately. The struggle against the older ideas on marriage and the family cannot be neglected and left to drift at random. We do not just attack the old and redress the erroneous phenomena in the marriage and family system, but also we must permanently complement the already progressive and democratic marriages and families so that they may advance all the more to become really good cells in the new society. For this reason, the propaganda and training programs with regard to the new viewpoints of the marriage and family system have to be closely linked to production and to study.

Generally speaking, the new marriage and family system is greatly welcomed by the people. But, owing to the fact that it is intimately related to the long-standing sentiments, psychology, customs, and habits of the people also, in its realization, we cannot avoid encountering the reactions of backward thinking. We must be patient, we should refrain from being too impatient, trying to do away all at once with all of the old, backward elements which have been there for centuries and build the new and good things at once. Also, we should not think that two or three waves of propaganda will be enough, but we should instead count on a long-range, persistent program.

To say this, does not mean that we have to wait until the final victory of socialism before we start realizing the family and marriage system of the new society. On the contrary, we must be positive and actively educate the people with regard to the new viewpoint on marriage and the family, so that everyone could help build the new democratic, egalitarian, united, and harmonious family. Only in that way can we contribute to boosting production, developing it, and also contribute to building the victory of socialism.

To deal with conjugal love is to deal with the profoundest and most subtle sentiments of man. These sentiments, however, are related to the class standpoint and viewpoint. If we do not clearly delineate the correct from the incorrect, the class origins of these sentiments in the family system, the people's understanding will still

harbor vague ideas on this or that point, and thus they will be liable to commit errors. This is the reason why the educational work must be carried out in a profound manner, that is, it must be born out of the viewpoints of the liberation of women, of equality between the sexes, between husband and wife, out of the need for unity to build harmonious and happy families, so that the husbands and wives can help each other in a friendly manner to patiently fight against erroneous patterns of thought. When we see erroneous phenomena in regard to marriage and the family system, we must discover their causes so as to propose appropriate measures to take and to determinately correct them.

The two permanent and long-range aspects, together with the positiveness and profound character of the maxim for propaganda and education referred to above, are closely interrelated: none of these aspects can be neglected. Recently, in a number of localities, the various Party committees and the various union organs permanently combined the education of cadres, Party members, and the masses of the population, with production and work, with regard to the spirit and the basic principles of the code. They paid special attention to the review of ideological and ethical behavior of each one of the cadres and Party members with regard to the question of freedom of marriage and of democratic, harmonious, and happy families. For that reason, they were able to stop all of the negative factors, to promote the positive ones in the question of marriage and family system, and to mobilize everyone to enthusiastically compete in producing and working well. This is the strong point that must be promoted.

To get a correct execution of the marriage and family law code, the important thing is to make everyone realize that the new system expressed in the law represents a progressive system, that there is a need to erase all ugly customs, and that they should be ready to stand up and defend the new laws. The laws have a great function with regard to the elimination of old remains in the marriage relationships, but they cannot possibly reform the whole way of living of the people. For this reason, we must activate a wide mass opinion movement so that the people come to hate the remains of the old society and to support the progress attained in freedom of marriage. We must also overcome in

time the situation in which a number of people are still indifferent to the unseemly happenings in the relationships between the two sexes, still clinging to the idea that it is the business of others, and still lacking in the awareness of the need to struggle and guarantee the good execution of the marriage and family code.

Another very important question is the need to overcome the idea of separating the marriage and family from society. Some people think that marriages and the family are the personal business of each individual and that the group should not intervene in it. This attitude sometimes goes so far that in regard to the erroneous doings of a number of people in the realization of the new marriage and family code, some people have come to think: "That does not matter, as long as he or she works and produces well." Such a viewpoint is totally incorrect.

Marriages and the family are social phenomena. They are closely related to society. The family constitutes a cell of the society, a small unit responsible for educating people, first of all responsible for the education of the new generations who in turn would become the members of future societies. The more strengthened the marriage and family system's, the more capacity the society will have to ceaselessly develop. Thus, the responsibility of each member to his family and his responsibility to society are one. It is for this reason that the group has the responsibility of guiding, educating, and helping everybody to realize correctly and well the marriage system and to build democratic, harmonious, and united families so as to serve well the interests of the family and of society. It is precisely because of this that the individual themselves also should seek the advice of the group in this matter.

The basic ethical principles regarding the behavior of the individuals in their lives and in their social life are the same, which is why we cannot say that as long as people work and produce well, it is of no concern to anyone if they do not have the correct attitude regarding marriage and the family system. On this question of the intimate relationship between marriage, the family and society in our socialist system, President Ho has this to say: "It is correct to be extremely concerned with the family. We need many families to make a society, a society can be good only

when the families are good, and the better the society the better the families become. The nucleus of society is the family. It is precisely because we wish to build socialism that we have to pay full attention to getting good nuclei. We have a saying that 'If there is harmony between husband and wife, one can achieve even gigantic jobs such as draining the Eastern Sea.' To get harmonious couples, we have to have true love." ([Note:] President Ho and the Women's Question, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, pp 15-16.) It is precisely because of this that we can say that the marriage and family question is in every sense an expression of the standpoint and viewpoint of each one of us, and we should not neglect it or have totally arbitrary attitudes about it.

1751
CSO: 3520-N

SHAMEFUL DEFEAT OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

[Following is a translation of an article by Thai Ha in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 8, 1964, pages 72-79.]

Right after the conclusion of World War II, the ruling clique of the United States, headed by Truman, relied on the monopoly they had then on atomic weapons and dreamt of inflicting a "forceful atomic blow" on the Soviet Union so that they might wipe the Soviet Union out of the picture and become the rulers of the world. Soon after, though, the Soviet Union also came to possess atomic weapons, depriving the United States of their monopoly. Then followed the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The world socialist system thus formed has changed the balance of power in a way favorable to the world revolution and unfavorable to American imperialism and its gang. Not only that, the American economy also suffered first the crisis following on the footsteps of the war (1948-49) and the total industrial production of the United States dropped sharply. Faced with that critical juncture in politics and economics, the Truman administration, representative of the American monopolistic bourgeois class, dashed into the road of the cold war, carrying out a mad policy of anti-communism and anti-socialist bloc, forming the NATO bloc, and launching the aggressive war in Korea, and using it as

headstart for the realization of the arms race and for the militarization of the internal economy.

When the Eisenhower-Dulles team succeeded the Truman group, they did their best to carry on the warmongering and aggressive policies of the earlier ruling clique. They urgently intensified the cold war, made open preparations for a new world war, and officially propounded the military strategy of "massive retaliation" as they planned to use their atomic weapons to attack in a "concentrated and surprise" manner, hoping thereby to destroy the Soviet Union and socialism and to stem the revolutionary movement of the people of the world.

To realize this strategy, the Eisenhower-Dulles group continued to maintain the large military budget initiated by the Truman administration during their aggressive war in Korea. In eight years of power, the Eisenhower administration spent on the average 44.2 billion dollars every year for military purposes. They concentrated an important part of their production capacity on the development of various nuclear weapons and on the building of nuclear strike air power.

Confronted with the ever-growing forces of socialism and the vigorous development of the movement for national liberation, however, the "massive retaliation" strategy of the Eisenhower-Dulles has proved to be totally inefficient a complete failure. Contrary to their mad cries of war, the American imperialists have not been able or to dare to launch a nuclear world war. On the contrary, they have been severe defeated on the Korean battlefield and were forced to sign the cease-fire agreements of June 1953 ending their aggressive war in Korea. At the same time, even though they did their best to intervene in the Indochina war, they were unable to save the French from defeat, for which reason they had to pledge the recognition of all articles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements concerning Indochina.

In spite of the fact that they had nuclear weapons in hand, the American imperialists have not been able to stop the vigorous development of socialism in the world or to prevent the 650 million Chinese from strengthening the victory of their people's democratic revolution and from proceeding to build socialism. They have also been unable to prevent the peoples of Korea and Vietnam from winning

over professional aggressive imperialist armies and from strengthening the Eastern outposts of socialism. They have also been unable to prevent the Cuban people from standing up and succeeding in their revolution right next to the American shores or the Algerian people as well as the peoples of various other lands from wresting victories in their national liberation.

With the bankruptcy of the "massive retaliation" strategy, the Kennedy group which came to replace the Eisenhower-Dulles team has proposed the "prompt reaction" strategy. In actuality this strategy has been proposed by Taylor, general commander of the American ground forces, since the days when Eisenhower was still President, but, at that time, this strategy was not accepted because it would lead to structural changes in the army that would in their turn lead to changes in the equipment -- and changes in the equipment would hurt the interests of the monopolistic capitalist groups. Since the "new" strategy was rejected, its author also must resign. We had to wait until Kennedy, who was considered to represent the "new, young, and daring" outlook, came to replace Eisenhower before Taylor could come back into favor together with his "new" strategy.

Just as the former "massive retaliation" strategy, the "prompt reaction" strategy was meant to realize the neverchanging dream of American imperialism, which is to destroy the socialist bloc, to stem the world revolutionary movement, to wield full control of its "allies," and to bring the United States to the position of unquestioned leader of the world. This means that the new strategy is still designed to serve the reactionary aggressive political line of American imperialism.

The mainstay of this "new" strategy still remains nuclear strength and the threat of nuclear war. Differing from the "massive retaliation" strategy, however, the "prompt reaction" strategy does not concentrate on the preparations for one kind of nuclear warfare, but it points to all three kinds of war that must be countered: global nuclear war, limited war, and special war. At the beginning, this last kind of war is mixed together with the limited war categories, and it has been made into one special kind only after the American imperialists realized that it must be differentiated from a limited war from the point of

view of scale and that it must be given more attention so that it might serve to fight the intensely developing movement for national liberation.

Thus, if the immediate objective of the "massive retaliation" strategy is directed towards the socialist bloc, the objective of the new strategy is directed towards the national liberation movements. Taylor has advanced this image for comparison purposes: In the "massive retaliation" strategy, the nuclear force is the "sword meant for chopping, killing, and attacking," while the army is merely meant to be a "deterrent." In the new "prompt reaction" strategy, however, the army is "the sword meant for chopping, killing, and attacking" while the nuclear force is meant to be the "deterrent." To put it bluntly, the "deterrent" is meant to fight the socialist bloc and the "sword" to suppress the national liberation movements.

Besides, there is another important point that require consideration, and that is that Kennedy, the dangerous gang leader of American imperialism, does not merely accept the "prompt reaction" strategy of Taylor, he has also combined it with the so-called "peace" strategy, an extremely cunning and devilish political strategy. As he was unable to attack the socialist countries by military means, Kennedy plotted a political, cultural, and ideological offensive on these countries so as to get a "peaceful evolution" in these countries. It is precisely owing to this fact that the American imperialists came to pay more attention to political and ideological approaches in their attacks on the socialist bloc, that there has been born the appellation of "grand strategy" that is sometimes unofficially used by the American press.

To realize this "prompt reaction" strategy, the Kennedy administration has raised the military budget to unprecedented heights. If during the Eisenhower administration, the largest military budget reached 50 billion dollars in 1952, Kennedy has raised it to 53 billion in 1962 and then 56 billion in 1963. After having put up the mystifying trick of the partial nuclear test ban treaty which was meant to cheat the people of the world, the American imperialists multiplied their underground testings, they continued to improve upon the existing weapons and create those they have not yet possessed, including tactical and strategic

weapons. Recently the Americans advanced one more step on their way to cheating the world's opinion by signing with the Soviet Union the treaty for stopping the production of fissionable materials for military purposes while their reserves of fissionable materials remained extremely abundant, sufficient for at least ten more years.

To have ready "replies" to every form of war, the American imperialists, besides increasing and improving upon the equipment of their nuclear force, have paid special attention to increasing the strength of their regular army. They have divided the world into four zones of military occupation and activities: The first zone is Asia, with their strength concentrated in Okinawa; the second zone is Europe, with their strength massed in West Germany; the third zone is the Middle East and Africa; and the fourth zone is Latin America. Two of their great fleets, the Sixth and the Seventh, are permanently cruising the Mediterranean Sea and the Pacific.

Recently the Seventh Fleet has expanded its sphere of activity to India. At present, the American imperialists have a standing army of over one million soldiers, or nearly 40 percent of the total forces of the US Army, stationed in 41 foreign countries. These forces are divided into 2,200 bases in which there are 150 of great strategic importance and the majority of which surround the socialist countries as they are meant to hamper the communications lines between the socialist bloc and those areas where the movement of national liberation is rising rapidly. Recently the American Army also paid attention to increasing its mobility by using a large force of transport air carriers to transfer whole divisions from one battlefield to another in record time.

Coupled with the building of such a gigantic military machine, the American imperialists also have organized a great "psychological warfare" machinery meant to guide and organize various activities such as thought activation, espionage, provocations, sabotage, assassinations, political overthrows, etc. In this machinery there is one organization that American imperialism especially tries to develop, and that is the "Peace Corps" whose teams travel and work in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Besides, the American imperialists also strive

to make use of the Titoist revisionists and others to sabotage the socialist bloc, the international communist movement, and various other democratic and progressive movements in the world.

In conclusion, with their strategy of "prompt reactions," the Kennedy group hoped to salvage the searing defeats incurred during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and they especially hoped to be able to recover the positions they have lost in the zones belonging to the Asian, African, and Latin American nations. In spite of the fact that they have done their best to realize the new strategy, however, they have not been able to garner any more results than before, in fact they had to swallow even more telling setbacks.

The most telling setback of the "prompt reactions" strategy of American imperialism lies in the fact that the the movement for national liberation has not only not been suppressed, instead it has developed more forcefully than ever. For more than four years, American imperialism has done its best to proceed with the "special war" in South Vietnam, hoping to crush the movement for liberation struggle of the people of South Vietnam and thereby learning the way to proceed in crushing the national liberation movements of other lands. But contrary to the intentions of American imperialism, the liberation movement of the people of South Vietnam has not only not been crushed, but instead is developing vigorously day by day so that the aggressive and enslaving policies of American imperialism are encountering pitiful defeats.

Even in the case of little Cuba which lies right next to the shores of the United States, the Kennedy administration has for so many times pledged to swallow it whole, using economic quarantine, then getting its lackey army to land, bombing the interior of Cuba from the air and from destroyers, then getting an important part of its military forces to surround the island and threaten nuclear warfare, yet it never succeeded in bringing Cuba down on its knees. At the present time, the leading banner of the revolution in Latin America still proudly flies in front of American imperialism.

In the Congo, after having taken advantage of the flag of the United Nations to suppress the patriotic move-

ment in the country, the American imperialists thought that they could sit down quietly and start collecting, but they were soon up for disillusion. The heroic Congolese people have stood up and taken arms to struggle for their liberation and they have scored their initial successes in the provinces of Kwilu, Kivu, North Katanga, etc. They have forced the American imperialists to withdraw the so-called "UN force" from the Congo, thus marking a new turn in the national liberation movement of the peoples of Africa.

Besides, there are many other places in the world, such as Laos, Zanzibar, and Venezuela, etc. where the American imperialists are incurring repeated defeats and are sinking more and more into impasses. Even a small neutral country like Cambodia, furious at the insolent and brazen threats of the Americans and their reactionary lackey cliques, has been able to deal a shameful political and diplomatic blow to both master and lackeys.

The repeated defeats of the American imperialists in the last few years proved that owing to the fact that they follow an aggressive and reactionary political line, they have to scatter their armed forces all over so as to invade other lands and counter the revolutionary movements of the people of various lands. This is why, in spite of the fact that the American armed forces are large in number, they are not very strong. On the contrary, in the present high tide of the revolutionary movement in the world, no matter in which country the people might be oppressed, as long as they are supported by the revolutionary people of the world and determined to stand up to fight against imperialism to liberate themselves, in the final analysis they will be able to overthrow the yoke of the colonialist imperialists, including American imperialism and its reactionary lackeys within the country. The essential determinant factor will be the determination to fight on the part of the people and the correct revolutionary policies, and not the weapons at one's disposal.

After the crisis in the Caribbean in October 1962 and faced with the determination of the heroic Cuban people to fight, Alsop, a military commentator of the American bourgeois press, has calculated that to invade and occupy Cuba, the Americans would have to mobilize a great part of the American armed forces and that these forces would have

to stay there a very long time to fight a very fierce people's war (Saturday Evening Post issue of 3 March 1963). And here is the conclusion he drew: "Thus one-third or one-half of the American armed forces will be immobilized on just a little island." Even McNamara has given expression to the concern that even if the Americans were to double and triple its armed forces, they would not be able to win over the world revolutionary movement. This is truly so and though the American imperialists may increase the number as well as the mobility of its armed forces, they would not be able to prevent the oppressed people all over the world from standing up and attacking the strongholds of imperialism. This is the essential factor causing the "prompt reaction" strategy of the Kennedy group to incur shameful defeats in the last few years.

The second failure of the "prompt reaction" strategy is to be found in the fact that it still relies of nuclear weapons, which is the reason why it cannot get out of the vicious circle of the older strategy. Not only does it serve no purpose at all to use nuclear weapons to suppress the national liberation movements, but it also goads the oppressed people the world over to stand up and completely do away with imperialism.

As for using nuclear weapons to fight with another country also having nuclear weapons, it would mean committing "nuclear suicide." This is why the threat of nuclear war of the American imperialists not only has not been able to prevent the oppressed peoples from standing up and carrying out the revolution against imperialism, but it has only served to isolate American imperialism more and more from the opinion of the general public in the world.

In the case of the Americans themselves, this line of propaganda has only had a negative effect on their minds. During the Caribbean crisis, the people trembling in front of the nuclear war threat of American imperialism were not at all the people of Cuba but rather the broad masses of American people, and especially the American capitalists. To reassure the American people, the American military experts discussed a great deal about how to use nuclear weapons without hitting the cities and people's lives, but up to now all these things are no more than utopian dreams. Even during Kennedy's lifetime, he had to recognize in a press conference given on 14 January 1963 that the Americans

did not as yet have any means of fighting against a series of ICBM containing diversionary devices and flying into the US at top speed.

This confusion is precisely what has forced the ruling group in the United States to change their tactics. From the stage where they only know how to threaten nuclear warfare, the Kennedy administration has moved to a position where they would threaten nuclear warfare and negotiate peace at the same time. The peace negotiations include, for instance, the disarmament conference and the partial nuclear test ban treaty. In these instances, the communists should strive to unmask the two cunning faces of the American ruling clique and positively mobilize the people of the world to determinately fight against imperialism headed by American imperialism.

Instead, the revisionists have given credit to the American imperialists, they have advocated negotiations, cooperation and chiming with them in the propaganda threatening nuclear warfare, going so far as to make concessions and surrender to them, helping them in their plot to stay the peoples of various countries from fighting against American imperialism, from protecting world peace and wresting back the liberation of their land.

Nonetheless, in spite of the fact that modern revisionism has created definite damage to the socialist camp, to the international communist movement and to the world revolutionary movement, it cannot possibly stay the developmental direction of history. The more it associates itself with imperialism to sabotage the revolution, the more modern revisionism shows its ugly face in front of the people of the world. Sooner or later, it will have to prove itself bankrupt.

At present, the great majority of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are still being oppressed and exploited by imperialism, as headed by American imperialism, in a very cruel manner and under every possible form, whether it be the old or new colonialism. This situation, when added to the positive struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and the true revolutionaries of every country, will help the oppressed masses to awaken rapidly and to stand up to fight all the shackles of slavery to liberate themselves. The ever-growing revolutionary movement for national libera-

tion and the telling defeat of the "prompt reaction" strategy in the recent past have been the reflections of that objective law of history.

The third failure of the "prompt reaction" strategy of American imperialism lies in the fact that it emphasizes the already existing contradictions between the Americans and their allies. This strategy advocates the maintaining of the nuclear monopoly in Americans' hands, the increase in the number of American military bases in the "allied" countries, and the continuation of the traditional American policy of pushing their "allies" to the frontline so that these would do the actual fighting, bearing the brunt of the attacks, while the Americans would be given the comfortable role of supplying dollars and armament. Besides, the American imperialists also want to get the allies to agree to this new strategy so that they may practice their neo-colonialism, carrying out the "loophole filling" policy as they wish to steal the colonies and lands belonging to the spheres of influence of their allies.

Now-a-days, however, the "allies" of the United States such as France, Great Britain, West Germany, and Japan, etc. are no longer weak empires that would have to bow down and nicely follow the orders of the Americans just because they receive "aid" from them as was the case after the war. All of these countries have not only shown more and more independence fighting against the heavy hand and grasping policies of the US but they have even taken an active role in fighting with the Americans for markets and spheres of influence in the world. Especially after the repeated defeats and failures of the Americans, these countries have come to learn the lesson, and they do not wish to follow the adventurous policies of the Americans so as to share their eventual failures.

Of recent date, among the contradictions arising between the Americans and their allies, the French-American contradictions have proved to be the most acute. The French are determined to build their own independent nuclear fire power against the plan to form a "multinational mixed nuclear force" to be controlled by the Americans. The French have pulled their naval forces and air command out of NATO. They have proposed a plan for a "Little Europe Alliance" in contradistinction to the American plan

of an "Atlantic Community." The French have refused to sign together with the Americans and British the partial nuclear test ban treaty. Taking no account of the American protests, France has established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

France has also openly criticized the military solution that the Americans are applying in South Vietnam and Laos, and it has propounded the "neutralization" of all of Indochina and even of all of Southeast Asia. The French newspapers compete with one another to warn the Americans that if they are to continue their military intervention in South Vietnam, they will inevitably meet with severe defeat just as the French met with defeat earlier at Dien Bien Phu.

Besides, the contradictions between the US and Great Britain, between the US and West Germany, between the US and Japan, as well as between the US and other "allied" imperialisms, are also getting acute day after day.

With regard to the internal situation of the NATO bloc, the American news agency AP has recently reported: "The last conference of the North Atlantic Alliance has been concluded with the most severe disagreements left unsolved. With regard to many great questions concerning Europe, America, and Asia, the foreign ministers have been able to do only one thing, and that is, to voice their disagreement only." It then observed that the conference "has revealed many signs of disunity among the member parties more than in any other sessions of the history of the alliance in the last fifteen years." The New York Times, in its issue of 10 February 1964, has sighed: "The dream of unity in the North Atlantic Alliance has vanished."

As far as the internal situation of the SEATO bloc is concerned, in commenting on the results of the meeting held in mid-April 1964 in Manila, the AP also made the following observation: "This constitutes the most profound split registered since the formation of the bloc." In spite of the furious reactions of the Americans, the French representative has openly refused to sign the paragraphs found in the general report concerning South Vietnam. In spite of the fact that the British have accepted to support of the Americans on the condition that the Americans would

support them on the question of Malaysia, they nonetheless do not fully agree with the Americans on their general assessment of the situation in Southeast Asia. Even Pakistan, a satellite of the Americans, also refused to come to the meeting to show its disagreement with the Americans and British in their military "aid" to India.

The situation of the Middle East bloc is not much better. This bloc has been reformed on the basis of the disintegrated Baghdad pact, after the revolution in Iraq was victorious. At the meeting of the Middle East bloc held in Washington at the end of April 1964 by the Americans, British, and other members, there have occurred severe disagreements right from the start concerning the very definition of the tasks of the bloc. The French news agency AFP thinks that this meeting only has a "symbolic" meaning.

In conclusion, owing to the profound contradictions between the Americans and their allies, in particular France and Great Britain, the three aggressive blocs created and headed by the US are getting more and more paralyzed. The American paper Evening Star, in its issue of 15 February 1964, has been right in observing that "the three military alliances created by the US have become nothing but shadows."

The fourth failure of the "prompt reaction" strategy is to be found in the fact that not only it does not render the internal situation of the US any better, but it even makes it become more difficult.

To realize the new strategy, the ruling group in America has militarized the economy of the country to a high degree. With this, they hope to reduce or delay the effects of the economic crisis at the same time. The optimistic forecasts of Kennedy when he first came to power, however, were soon belied by the fourth post-war crisis of the American economy. This time, the total industrial production of the US has dropped by eight percent.

Only three years after the realization of the "prompt reaction" strategy, the national budget of the US accumulated a deficit of 21 billion dollars, an amount equivalent to the deficit incurred during eight years of realization of the "massive retaliation" strategy. The government bond debts at the beginning of 1961 come to over 290 billion dollars, increasing to 309 billion at the beginning of 1964. The gold reserves of the US do not cease to follow into foreign coun-

tries. Recently, the gold reserves in America only came to about 15 billion dollars, which represents a much lower level than the "critical" one defined at 25.4 billion dollars. This is why the dollar has severely devaluated: if we take the equivalence of one dollar to gold to be 100 in 1939, then it would drop to 47.3 in 1960 and 44 in 1963.

In the final analysis, all these crises only fall on the heads of the American people. The life of the laboring people in America, which is already very poor, becomes only all the more miserable. In 1929, on the average each American had to pay 81.92 dollars of taxes; in 1962 each person has to pay up to 666 dollars, and this tendency is even rising. Even Johnson has had to admit in Congress that about one-third of the American people live in dire poverty, "leading a hopeless life... below the simplest levels of human dignity." The report on the state of the union delivered at the beginning of the year by Johnson reveals that the permanent amount of unemployed laborers in the US pivots around the figure of four million people. In actuality, besides these completely unemployed people, we have to count about eight million half-unemployed and about four million people with a job running to less than 14 hours per week. If we are to count on the average four persons to a family, the total amount of people undergoing misery comes up to 60 million people.

The contradictions between the American people and the American monopolistic capitalists are becoming more acute every day. The American people are struggling more and more vigorously against the capitalists' arms race and warmongering policies. In their aggressive war on South Vietnam, one of the worries of the ruling American clique is the protest of the American people. In an editorial entitled "Dispersed Support," the New York Herald Tribune in its issue of 14 April 1964, has had to say: "There are disturbing, even dangerous, signs proving that the opinion of the American masses, an indispensable factor in the war in Vietnam, is being divided." The newspaper also foretells: "The support of the American people will continue to decrease as long as the cost in terms of money and blood that the American people have to incur in the war in South Vietnam has not been satisfactorily explained to them."

Besides the ever-growing acuteness of contradictions between the American monopolistic capitalist class and the absolute majority of the American people, the contradictions between the various American monopolistic capitalists are get-

ting more acute every day. Since the end of the Second World War, especially since the launching of the cold war and of the arms race, the American monopolistic capitalist groups mainly have relied on the military orders of the State so as to maintain a high rate of interest -- which is now twenty times higher than in 1939. Each time there is a change in the leaders of the State, however, accompanied by a change in the military strategy, there would be a redistribution of the interests among the monopolistic capitalist groups. For this reason, the two ruling capitalist parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, and the various groups within each party, have always been in conflict with one another over the policies and military strategies, especially when one is getting near to the presidential election days. Sometimes the conflict of interests goes so far that it becomes reflected within the national defense setup. This is because each military group, such as the ground forces, the air force, or the navy, etc., represents the interests of a number of monopolistic capitalist groups.

This rotten situation of the ruling classes in America has rendered its politics all the more confused. It explains why the important positions in the American government always get changed. This situation is carried so far that even the life of a president, the leader of such a large country, is not guaranteed in front of the conflict of interests among the various monopolistic capitalist groups. The Kennedy assassination in 1963 constitutes a typical case.

In the situation of impasse on every side, Kennedy, before dying, wrote right in the speech he was prepared to read out in Texas: "Overwhelming nuclear power does not have the capacity to stop a guerrilla war, the official alliance treaties cannot prevent an overthrow from within, and the flaunting of material wealth cannot prevent the despair of diplomats who receive discriminatory treatments." Johnson, after having succeeded to the "dark hours" of Kennedy, also has to cry out even though he tries his best to keep calm: "The world situation is unstable, every day we have war provocations knocking at our White House door."

Why is the "prompt reaction" strategy of the Kennedy group unable to escape bankruptcy just as in the case of the

"massive retaliation" strategy of the Eisenhower-Dulles group? Formerly, in criticizing the strategy of Eisenhower and Dulles people used to say that it was "too rigid," "not flexible enough." In actuality, although the "massive retaliation" strategy when first propounded was indeed rigid, the people who later applied it were far from rigid or lacking in flexibility. Although they were not able to carry out "massive retaliation" on the Soviet Union at that time, they have nonetheless proceeded with limited warfare in Korea, intervened in Indochina, plotting to even enlarge the war here. Yet they were unable to escape defeat, in fact even the most flexible actions met with the more shameful defeats, they had to sign cease-fire in Korea and Indochina. Nowadays, in proposing the "prompt reaction" strategy, the American ruling group have stressed its flexibility and in the execution, they try to be even more flexible. Besides, it is complemented by "peace tactics," an even more flexible political strategy. Yet why were they still defeated, and defeated even more so?

The following causes are the basic factors condemning all military strategies of the Americans to bankruptcy:

First is that no matter which strategy, whether that of "massive retaliation" or that of "prompt reaction," the Americans all mean it to serve their aggressive political line and their scheme to get the overlordship of the whole world. This is a reactionary and unrighteous political line. In trying to realize this, the American imperialists will inevitably run into the determined fighting power of the revolutionary people in various countries, run into the fierce opposition of the peace-loving people in the world. At the same time, they will lack even the support of their own people or even that of their own "allies." This reason explains why the more cruel American imperialism proves in its oppression, the more the oppressed people all over will stand up to fight them. The more pigheaded they are in protecting their dark interests, launching themselves into the dangerous road of adventure, the more isolated they will become, falling into hopeless impasses.

Secondly, once they are pursuing an unrighteous war, the military strategies of American imperialism cannot not rely

on their so-called military and armament "superiority." But at the present stage of history, in the era of socialist and national liberation revolutions, the theory of war of liberation and of people's wars has reached a very high degree and become universalized, and so every military strategy that still relies on military and armament "superiority" to suppress a people struggling for liberation will inevitably face defeat. This truth applies not only in the case of regular weapons, but in the case of nuclear weapons as well. The modern revisionists have chimed together with the imperialists to make use of the nuclear bogey to threaten the peoples struggling for liberation, hoping thereby to pressure them into submission, accepting the yoke of the old and new colonialisms. But the realities of the national liberation movements since the end of World War Two have proven that the threat of nuclear warfare and the so-called nuclear "superiority" of the imperialists do not bear any effect on the liberation wars, are unable to prevent the heroic peoples such as those of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Algeria, Congo, and Zanzibar, etc. from wresting victory to their side.

Thirdly, the aggressive military strategies of American imperialism have been carried out in the situation where there exists a strong socialist camp in the world. In spite of the fact that in the last few years, modern revisionism has caused a not unconsiderable damage to the power, prestige and influence of the socialist camp, it cannot possibly prevent the socialist camp from using its great power together with the various world revolutionary forces in order to stop all warmongering and aggressive plots of the American imperialists, no matter where in the world, thus contributing a great part to pushing the revolution of the people of the world to go from one victory to another.

Fourthly, the very structure of the economy and society of the US has become very rotten, carrying within itself incurable grave diseases such as continuous crises, permanent unemployment, budgetary deficits, ever-growing contradictions in the society, etc. Such a rotten economic and social structure cannot possibly serve as basis for the victorious realization of a correct military strategy. Yet the American im-

perialists have obstinately carried out an aggressive and reactionary military strategy. This only serves to make the above structure more rotten and more confused.

Fifth, owing to the accused contradictions between various imperialistic powers on account of their respective interests, the American imperialists cannot get the majority of their "allies" to positively execute their aggressive and reactionary military strategies. Because of the unlimited needs to develop their own power, the American monopolistic capitalist class cannot possibly fail to scheme to gain the overlordship of the world. On the contrary, their life interests dictate that the monopolistic capitalist class of other countries fight against the heavy hand of the Americans if they are not to follow in the dangerous path of the US. For this reason, the more the American imperialists seek to put their allies under their control, forcing them to follow their adventurous policies, the more profound the contradictions between the US and its "allies" will prove to be, and the more isolated the American imperialists will find themselves.

These are the basic causes for the inevitable defeat of all military strategies of the US. It goes without saying that the material power of the US still remains considerable, and that they still have many plots and schemes to fight the revolution. It is for this reason that the task of the people of every country is to directly oppose American imperialism by increasing their awareness, continuing to struggle persistently and arduously before they can reach final victory. But it is clear that at present American imperialism is getting weaker and weaker every day. They are falling deep into the mud of their "special wars" in South Vietnam, in Laos, in Venezuela, and in the Congo, etc. Their internal situation is getting all the more confused and rotten. The conditions for the people of every country to stand up and victoriously carry out their liberation revolution are clearly getting more and more favorable.

1751

CSO: 3520-N

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
OCT 1 1964
LIBRARY