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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No 10, October 1964

- North Vietnam-

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This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 10, October 1964. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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the pace of mechanization and electrification of the rural areas. A total of 40 percent of the people's communes throughout the country possess mechanized and semi-mechanized communication and transport means. In 1963, the volume of electricity supplied to the rural areas increased by 1.3 percent compared with 1962 and 19-fold compared with 1957. Electric power has been used for many rural chores, such as watering rice fields, draining, mechanizing agriculture, operating small generators, and lighting lamps. During the past few years, thanks to the existence of water pumps operated by either electricity or diesel engines in vast cultivated areas, the peasants have reaped abundant crops and advanced toward stabilizing production.

Following self determination trends, various industrial branches have also developed strongly. If, before its liberation, China was a consumption market, especially in heavy industry goods, today, it has been able to supply for itself 85 percent of the necessary machinery and equipment. China has produced perfected equipment for hundreds of factories and enterprises belonging to some twenty different industrial branches, including such important projects as modern coal mines whose yearly production reaches 1 million tons; iron-steel factories whose yearly production reaches 1.5 million tons; 650,000-kilowatt power plants; mechanical engineering factories; chemical factories; and so forth. China has built many new industrial branches, such as for the manufacturing of tractors and automobiles, building ships, and producing planes, heavy machinery, precision instruments, synthetic raw materials, and so forth.

During the first half of this year, thanks to new agricultural successes, the industrial branches used agricultural products to produce raw materials. The production of these raw materials has increased by 25 percent the production of milk powder and butter, and condensed milk has increased by more than 70 percent. The production of tobacco, canned meat, soap, leather, and paper has also increased considerably. The demand in food throughout the country is guaranteed. Meat, vegetables, and other foodstuffs are abundant.

The Fourth Session of the Second Chinese National People's Congress held in December 1963 asserted: "The forces for building socialism in China in an independent and self-sufficient manner have grown stronger than ever before." This illustrates China's very great capabilities in overcoming difficulties caused by serious natural calamities.

The victory of the Chinese people is the success of Marxism-Leninism, the success of the CCP in carrying out leadership, the success of the Mao Tse-tung's ideology, the success of China in applying in a creative manner the basic rules of socialist revolution and construction to the Chinese situation.

During the first years following the victory of the revolution throughout the country, although the Chinese people had to settle the tasks left by the democratic revolution, namely, the land reform tasks

in many vast areas, the CCP, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, led the Chinese people in fulfilling successfully the tasks of the period of transition to socialism. The people's government eliminated all privileges of imperialism, wiped out all imperialistic economic influences in China, confiscated the wealth of the bureaucratic capitalists, and built a steady, strong socialist economic section and placed it in the leading position of the entire national economy.

In 1952, after recovering the economy, the CCP set forth the common line for the transitional period which was simultaneously to carry out the socialist revolution and build socialism. It specified the duty to carry out gradually throughout the country socialist reforms in the areas of agriculture, handicrafts, industry, and trade, and to achieve socialist industrialization gradually. This common line rejected all erroneous rightist viewpoints and smashed all plots to maintain the capitalist economy along with the socialist economy. It also rejected all erroneous "leftist" viewpoints tending to eliminate the entire capitalist economy immediately. Although at that moment they had to conduct an heroic war to help Korea fight the Americans, the Chinese people never slackened their steps in socialist reforms and construction.

With regard to socialist reform in agriculture, following the land reform, the CCP held fast to the situation, used experimental methods, and gradually developed the land reform movement in order to achieve agricultural cooperativization--going from low to high levels through various steps, such as labor exchange cells, lower level cooperatives, and higher level cooperatives.

The CCP rejected all erroneous views saying that cooperativization should not be promptly achieved because agricultural mechanization was still impossible, that prompt cooperativization would cause a decrease in production, that prompt cooperativization would impede the promotion of rural unity, and so forth.

The achievements scored in agricultural production prove that the CCP cooperativization line is completely correct. It is clear that if following the land reform, the working class had failed to educate and lead the peasants to follow the cooperativization path, the power of spontaneous capitalism would develop in the rural areas and the peasants would be divided into two camps, thereby causing many difficulties and obstacles to cooperativization in the future.

With regard to capitalist industry and trade, the CCP implemented a policy of "using, restricting, and reforming capitalism peacefully" and approved various state capitalist forms in order to attain the goal of socialist nationalization. To settle the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the party carried out a policy of simultaneous promotion and unity and struggle and gradual reform of the

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national bourgeoisie into laborers. The party rejected the erroneous rightist views desiring to maintain the capitalist regime for a long period of time. It also rejected the erroneous "leftist" views branding as "exaggerated reconciliation" the policy of reforming the bourgeoisie gradually, of buying back production materials, and of allowing the reformed bourgeoisie to enjoy the election right and their representatives to assume definite political positions.

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The CCP's policy of peaceful reform of capitalist industry and trade is a Marxist-Leninist policy suitable not only for the Chinese situation but for the situations in all other people's democratic countries having conditions similar to China's. This is an outstanding invention of the CCP which enriches further the treasure of experiences of the world proletarian revolution.

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This policy was instrumental in reducing the opposition of the national bourgeoisie to socialist reforms. It used capitalism to a definite degree to serve socialism, and benefited socialist construction. Its result was the complete elimination of the capitalist system of private ownership of production means. This truth rejected the reactionary and false accusation by modern revisionism that the CCP carried out such policies as "class reconciliation," "sharing by the proletariat of leadership with the bourgeoisie," and so forth.

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The CCP's gradual transition policy does not mean the prolongation of socialist reforms. In fact, these reforms were achieved very swiftly. By the end of 1955, China had completed high level agricultural cooperativization. In 1956, it completed the transformation of all capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises into joint state-private enterprises and achieved handicraft cooperativization. All this shows that in only seven years, China basically achieved socialist reforms in a favorable manner, or the problem of "who wins over whom" was basically settled.

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However, the CCP has asserted very correctly that the problem of "who wins over whom" has not been completely settled. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the political and ideological spheres is still protracted and complex and may sometimes become intense. In fact, the political influence of the bourgeoisie and the strength of habits of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will exist for a long period of time. The proletariat reformed society according to its conception of universe; but the overthrown bourgeoisie has not renounced its plot to recover its rights of exploitation and of the dominating position. In particular, the rightist bourgeoisie have always awaited the opportunity to counterattack socialism and restore capitalism.

To bring the socialist revolution to a successful end, the CCP has regarded very highly the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front. In 1957, the CCP launched a movement for the improvement of attitudes and manners in the entire party and among all the people. On

the basis of the success of this movement and the struggle against the rightist bourgeoisie, the party set forth the slogan "politics is omnipotent" and strengthened party leadership in all fields of activity.

To carry out the class struggle correctly, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed to the need to distinguish between two kinds of contradictions among the people. He added that different methods must be adopted to settle each of these two kinds of contradictions. This line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is of very important significance in both theory and practice. A clear distinction between these two kinds of contradictions and the correct adoption of different methods to settle them have greatly helped strengthen the unity among the people, eliminate hostile powers, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and step up socialist construction.

In the literary, artistic, and scientific domains, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth the "let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred families contend" slogan aimed at pushing science, arts, and culture to develop strongly and copiously and a developing the socialist and communist ideologies. This slogan had a very great effect. It made everyone know where the perfumed flowers are and where the weeds are and to draw a line between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology, thereby making positive contributions to the development of the proletarian ideology and to the elimination of the bourgeois ideological influence. This slogan also contributed to the correct settlement of the contradictions among the people. In the process of presenting differing views and reasons and of discussing them thoroughly, correct views were developed while erroneous views were overcome, and the problems were settled in a truly steady and firm manner.

It is thanks to the implementation of these revolutionary measures that there now exists in Chinese society what Comrade Mao Tse-tung has called "a healthy and positive political situation in which there is both centralization and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both the uniformity of will and the joyful and liberal spirit of each."

In building socialism, the CCP considered socialist industrialization a great main historic task during the transition period in China. As the CCP has often pointed out, only industrialization is able to overcome the contradictions between the advanced government and the present backward economy of China and to transform poor China into a truly prosperous and powerful China; only on the basis of large mechanical production will socialism and communism be built, will labor output higher than that of capitalism be achieved, and will capitalism be completely eliminated. Meanwhile, in setting forth the socialist industrialization line, the CCP asserted that industrial development must go along with agricultural development, pointing out that only thus will industry be provided with raw materials and a market and will it be able to accumulate as much funds as possible for the building of a powerful heavy industry.

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On the basis of this spirit, the CCP set forth such slogans as "agriculture is basic and plays a leading role" and "parallel development" or "walking on two feet." To avoid deviations in practical tasks, the CCP paid constant attention to educating cadres so they understood correctly the relationships among heavy industry, light industry, and agriculture and opposed the tendency to consider industry as important and essential while slighting agriculture or to attach importance to heavy industry only while paying little attention to light industry.

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Along with continuing to achieve the socialist revolution on the economic, political, and ideological front, the CCP specified tasks for the cultural and technical revolution. The party asserted that, though under definite historic conditions and faced with the lack of modern technical production bases, China can still complete socialist economic system and gradually consolidate these systems. The party stressed that in order to build a steady, strong socialist economic system and basically to achieve socialism, there must be relatively sufficient material bases.

The Second Session of the Eighth Party Congress pointed out that the continuous revolution of the China of today should enter a new phase during which the main task of the technical revolution will be "to lead step-by-step and according to plan the economy of our country--also agriculture and handicrafts--to a new technical basis, that is, the technical basis of great modernized production which consists of carrying out automation of all labor enterprises and the electrification of cities and rural areas throughout the country along with striving to apply the latest technical inventions in the world, it is necessary to launch a wide mass movement to replace old tools with new ones and to improve techniques in all cities and rural areas throughout the country. Generally speaking, the party has set forth the task of increasing the labor output in China in order to surpass quickly the capitalist countries and to enable China's techniques and science to catch up quickly with the most advanced standards in the world on the basis of implementing China's "12-year plan of scientific development."

To carry out the tasks set forth, the CCP has devised a common line of "arousing enthusiasm, striving to be in the lead, and building socialism extensively, quickly, satisfactorily, and thriftily." This line has urged the people throughout the country to embark on socialist construction with the unprecedented spirit of passionate struggle. The 650 million Chinese people have become an extremely great creative force and have created a situation of strong development in the national economy. This force is capable of "forcing mountains to bow and rivers to retreat."

Tens of millions of persons have participated in socialist construction without asking for pay, thereby displaying their true communist spirit. Countless small and medium irrigation projects and hundreds of thousands

of small and medium enterprises built by the people have appeared throughout the country. The production force and the labor output of many enterprises have increased rapidly. In many basic construction projects, considerable funds have been saved and the building time limit has been shortened.

The earnest desire and the iron-hard determination of the 650 million Chinese people is to change quickly the poor and backward face of their country. Under the correct CCP leadership, socialist construction has become a voluntary movement of the masses. That the emulation movements are active everywhere is a constant, positive factor that enables China's economy to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and develop continually and strongly.

In leadership, the party has always implemented the mass line; all party policies are based on the masses' aspirations and are implemented by the masses themselves. Correct party leadership has been reflected in the party's attention to the improvement of relations between men and man in enterprises; in the implementation of the system of participation of workers in management and of participation of cadres in labor, the system of close cooperation, and the system of the unification of "three into one" among leading cadres, workers, engineers, and technical personnel under the leadership of party committees; in the continual improvement of production relations and the supra-structure in consonance with the demand for development of the production force of society; and so forth.

Correct party leadership has also been reflected in the fact that the party has constantly raised high the spirit of self-sufficiency. Only with the spirit of self-sufficiency will we be able to develop the great strength of the masses of people, to exploit the rich natural resources in the country, and to use to the utmost our potential in order to build steady and firm material and technical bases for the country and improve the living standards of the people.

An independent country can never develop its economy with foreign aid, even though this aid is disinterested. A socialist country, all the more, must implement a self-sufficient line. Aid from fraternal countries is very precious and the international cooperation among fraternal countries is necessary; but self-sufficiency cannot be replaced by international aid. Only on the basis of self-sufficiency will a socialist country be able to carry out international cooperation with fraternal countries according to the principle of equality and mutual profits and to contribute to strengthening the socialist camp, opposing imperialism, and protecting world peace effectively.

Guided by the three red flags--socialism, the great leap forward, and people's communes--the Chinese people are advancing soundly on the path of successful socialist construction despite the provocations and



the revolution to maintain forever its position of victory and to develop continually. They are also a firm guarantee for the proletariat to unite with the laboring masses in fulfilling thoroughly the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship.

Aiming at serving class education and the struggle, the entire literary and artistic branch in China is undergoing a great change in content. The present motto of China's literature and arts is "to give literature and arts a national, popular, and revolutionary character" and "to decant and purify" (to sort out the vestiges of imperialist feudalism and to promote the purity of socialism and communism). A great revolution is now taking place in the theatrical branch in China, especially in classical plays. This branch is undergoing a great change in content: It is switching to modern plays reflecting the revolutionary struggle and praising heroes in socialist construction.

The socialist revolution and construction line of the CCP headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese situation. The great achievements of the Chinese people during the past 15 years have proven that this line is correct. The achievements scored by the CPR have completely rejected the arguments of the enemies of the Chinese people that a half-feudal, half-backward country like China cannot build socialism or that a country in which the majority of the population are peasants cannot have a correct proletarian standpoint and, therefore, cannot build socialism.

The great success of the Chinese people in socialist reforms and construction is a great encouragement for the people in fraternal socialist countries and the revolutionary people throughout the world, especially the people in colonial, semi-colonial, and dependent countries and nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which are struggling for the restoration or completion of their national independence.

The resolute struggle of the CPR against modern revisionism has strongly encouraged the Marxist-Leninist parties and the true communists the world over to rise up and struggle for the protection of the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the two Moscow declarations and for the firm preservation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism. This constitutes an important factor guaranteeing the success of the world revolutionary undertaking.

The foreign policy of the CPR which has strictly and faithfully conformed to the principles of international proletarianism has won the sympathy of the peoples of various countries in the world. Since its founding, the CPR has exerted unceasing efforts to strengthen the unity and friendly relations among the peoples of countries in the socialist camp. The CPR has always given wholehearted assistance to the oppressed

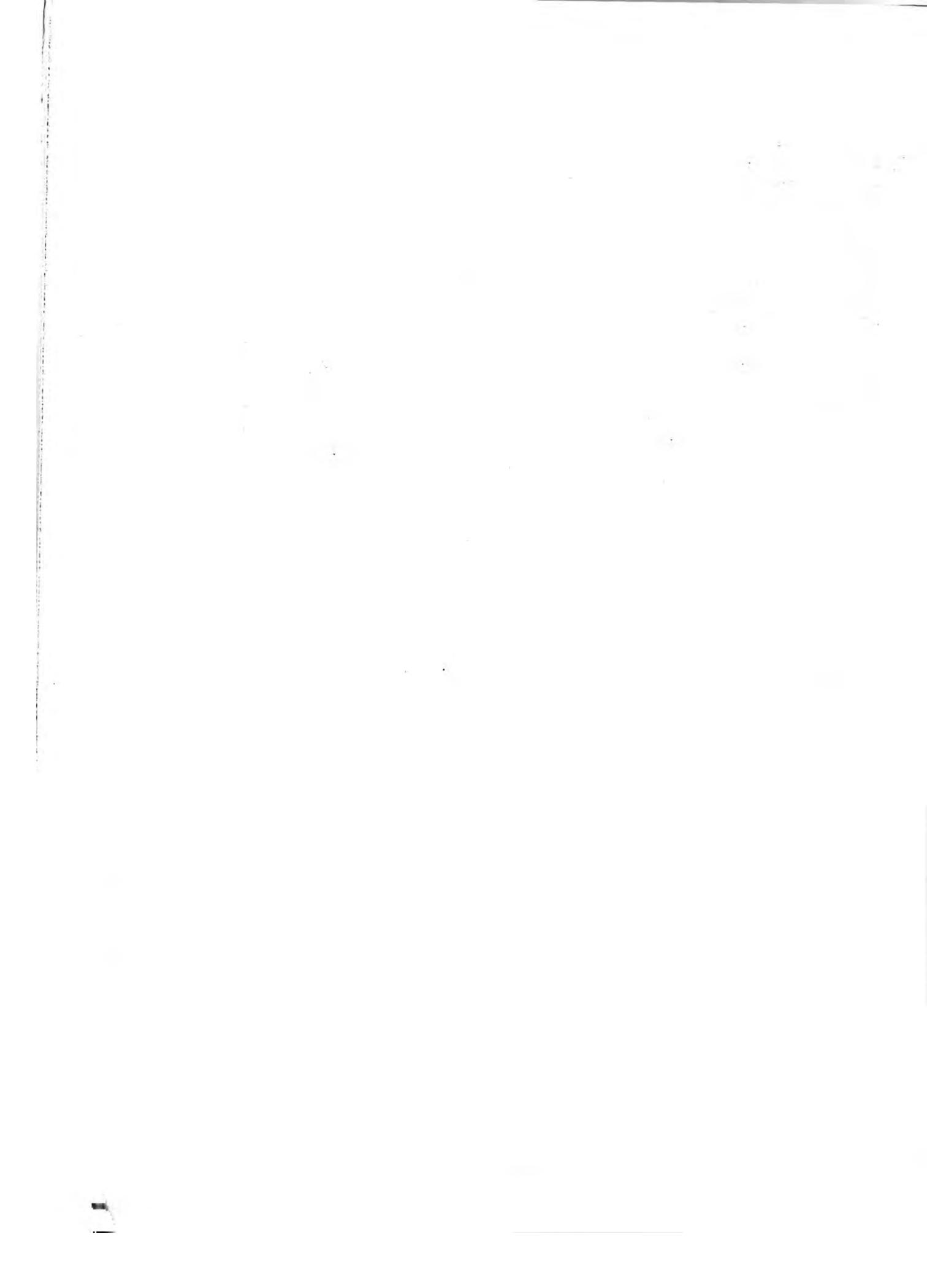
peoples who are struggling for self-liberation and regards this assistance as her sacred international obligation. The CPR constantly raises high the banner of struggle against imperialism and for the defense of world peace and, at the same time, struggles persistently for the application of the five principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and is ready to establish friendly relations with all peace-loving countries in the world. The CPR government has taken the initiative in reaching a satisfactory settlement of the frontier problems, which were products of history, with neighboring countries, such as Mongolia, Burma, Pakistan, Afganistan, and so forth.

With regard to imperialism, particularly the United States, the leading imperialist and the most wicked enemy of the people of the world, the Chinese people and government always heighten their valiant determination to wage a firm and persistent struggle to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to help the peoples of various countries in their struggle for the protection of their own national independence against all schemes of aggression carried out by U.S. Imperialiam and its clique.

All of these factors have increasingly enhanced the CPR's prestige in the world and the decisiveness of her role in the settlement of problems related to Asia and the world.

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## REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM AND FIGHTING SPIRIT IN ARTS

[Following is a translation of the text of an address by To Huu in the Vietnamese - language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 10, October 1964, pp. 1-23.]

### I. REALITY AND ARTS

After having repeatedly considered the situation and the party resolutions, many artists recently went to cooperatives and factories; some comrades went to the highland, the coastal areas, etc. Every comrade has succeeded in realizing the many problems that were emerging from the economic, political, ideological, and cultural life. However, to realize the usually complicated reality is not an easy thing to do. There can be many observations, hence different conclusions, regarding a single problem, a single phenomenon.

To exchange ideas about the problems of life is therefore very useful for everybody's thinking. In this spirit, I would like to bring you comrades a few ideas:

#### New Things, New Men Are Eagerly Waiting for New Artistic Works

We have considered Resolution 8, which combines many preceding resolutions of our party Central Committee and also contains new, more detailed things. For our cadres and people, this resolution of the Central Committee is greatly significant and has an over-all educational value. It helps us to evaluate more accurately our true situation and to concentrate our thinking upon the problems that are emerging from our socialist industrialization, and equips us with a new revolutionary spirit in conformity with the needs of the Vietnamese revolution.

The events that took place in the last six or seven months in the economic, political, and cultural fields are the immediate results of Resolution 8. But it can be said that the most outstanding result has been the greater understanding and unity of mind among cadres, party members, and an important section of the working population in all fields, particularly in agriculture. The successful winter-spring crop was the first success of Resolution 8. The greatness of this success was not only found in larger quantities of rice, sweet potatoes, etc., but also reflected in a big change

in the understanding and struggling spirit of the people. 1963 witnessed a bitter fight against nature. In spite of seven months of drought and five months of rain, we still obtained a very successful winter-spring crop, which was the result of a new revolutionary spirit and a new line of struggle on the part of the party and the people as a whole. It was also the result of the new production relation being further reinforced, particularly the result of the three phases of the campaign for management improvement in agricultural cooperatives.

For the last three years, there have been fast progresses in our agriculture and in our cooperative members' capabilities. However, many artists did not find much interest in the countryside; some of them did go there but failed to realize the matter as a whole. Is it true that the countryside and agriculture are not the soil for arts to flourish? No, on the contrary, they constitute the main reality and our richest source of inspiration. The soil for us to stand on now and for a long time to come still is the countryside that is building socialism. As we deal with life, man, national character, and socialist realistic method, how can we make such matters understood and solve them if we separate ourselves from the biggest reality of our country--agriculture and the countryside? Without understanding the countryside and the problems that are emerging from agriculture, nor the farmers themselves, who account for more than 80 percent of our population, how can we understand the life and the man as they really are in Vietnam today?

Our farmers, under the leadership of the workers' class, bravely fought and defeated imperialism, carried out land reforms, destroyed the class of landlords, and made fast progress in establishing agricultural cooperatives. How are they, along with the workers' class, continuing the revolutionary work and marching toward socialism? That is a very new and big matter. You comrades need to walk around for a short while in order to see how much our countryside has changed. Wherever you go in the countryside, including the still backward places, you will be able to see big changes if you are honest to yourselves. Let me give you a few examples. Whoever has been at Vinh Phuc should have heard of Ngoc Long Cooperative. I very much like Vinh Phuc, which is becoming an area of fertile land and green hills, in spite of the fact that its soil used to be very poor and as hard as stone. Ngoc Long used to be an impoverished hamlet, the inhabitants of which were but peasants and tenant farmers. At the time of the land reforms, each inhabitant was given a sao of land; however, not everybody possessed a hut to live in. The peasants there then established a cooperative to begin exploiting the tract of land on the bank of the river, which, like all other pieces of land on both sides of the Red River, is always muddy. They were struggling hard for three years. And now, we may say that Ngoc Long is one of the finest cooperatives in the north. Everywhere, there are signs of prosperity: corn and mulberries grow everywhere, rice crop is good, cows are fat, tidy paths wind through rows of clean, well-lit houses. What a pleasure to see such a place.

If you comrades come to Hoa Loan Cooperative, you will also see new signs of prosperity in the homes and out in the field. There, the only sign of industry is the oil pump; all tools are those "traditional" ones that have been further improved and developed. They do a lot of irrigation work and are very good in selecting seeds. They raise a large number of pigs-- as many as 300 of the Muong Khuong breed--with the best kind of duckweed and with little bran and potato, but this does not mean that their pigs are not fat. The road taken by Ngoc Long and Hoa Loan is also the road of progress of other cooperatives. If you comrades go to Quang Binh, Nghe An, Thai Binh, Hung Yen, Hai Duong, Ha Dong, etc., you will find everywhere fine new things. The new things of today can be seen from a long distance, instead of being little buds hidden under the leaves. There are thousands of cooperatives of the Ngoc Long type. Fine symbols exist everywhere and represent the uprising force of our countryside along the party line of fast steady over-all development of agriculture. Our farmers now have great confidence in this working method. It is more than certain that we will be able to solve our food problem, to raise more industrially-useful plants and animals, and to make agriculture become a foundation for industrial development.

In the industrial field, under very limited conditions, every year for the last ten years we tried hard to build new installations. We now have more than 1,000 important factories, as against 100 factories at the time peace had just been restored. We are able to manufacture a number of tools and most consumer goods for our daily needs. That is a big step forward. But our success does not lie there alone, but also in the large scale projects under construction, in the ever-increasing army of technical cadres and workers.

You comrades certainly know the value of coal in our economy. In the near future we shall make more efforts, but coal-exploiting will be more difficult because we must get coal from underground pits. In power production, two large projects are under construction: the Uong Bi thermo-electric plant and the Thac Ba hydroelectric plant. We are building and enlarging a power distribution network to serve industry and agriculture. As we go from Thac Ba to Viet Tri and Thai Nguyen, or from Uong Bi to Hai Duong, Hung Yen, Thai Binh, etc., we can see high-tension lines. That is a new sight in our country. Our steel-cast iron center is being completed, and we shall exploit other minerals like aluminum to enrich our fatherland. In addition to the Lam Thao phosphorous fertilizer plant, we shall have the Bac Giang nitrogenous fertilizer plant. We shall have enough insecticides for use in agriculture. In addition to the weaving factories we already have, we intend to build a nylon factory to help provide our people with better clothing materials. We are building large pump stations in the Ha-Nam-Ninh region to turn hundreds of thousands of hectares of one-crop land into two-crop one. We shall fast develop the mechanical engineering branch, build a diesel-engine manufacturing plant, and expand our river, land, and sea transportation.

That is the general picture of our economy today and in the coming

years. For such a poor backward agricultural country as ours, that many projects can already create a new look in the north of our country. Within a very near future, we shall succeed in our effort to guarantee enough food and clothing for 20 million people, and try to solve properly the housing problem for our people. The northern society is moving along the line drawn by the Third Party Congress, which is further described in the resolutions 5, 7, and 8 of the Central Committee. Through the three big campaigns which are progressing, we have the right conditions under which our movement will be placed on a larger scale. This objective situation of the revolution is naturally very significant for our artistic work. New things, new men, and an entire sizzling revolutionary movement are waiting for us to create new artistic works worthy of the revolution.

#### About the Basic Problem of the Reality in the North

So many new problems are there for us to face. But of all those problems, what is the basic one? This is the struggle between two paths: socialism and capitalism. In what forms is this struggle going on? This is the matter which I like to bring to your attention. Only by properly recognizing this matter can we understand the new reality and describe it honestly and accurately. Without seeing the true nature and the forms of the current complicated struggle, no matter where we stand and when we deal with the matter, we are unable to understand any problem in life.

The struggle between the two paths is going on in three forms.

The most important and fundamental form is the struggle between collectivism and individualism, between the common and the private. As we have set up the new production relation, and as the working people have been, basically speaking, organized, the major question is to struggle for collective work or for individual interests. This question is all the more pressing because at the present time the material and technical foundation of collectivism is still weak, and the force that attracts the individualist producers to collectivism is still very limited.

In this situation, ideological work is even more important. As difficulties still exist, the people must show a high degree of revolutionary understanding in order to have enough power to make the base of collectivism grow more and more. We must understand that our working people, for decades under the leadership and education of the party, have a strong revolutionary spirit and deeply trust the new system and the party leadership. This is a big advantage which must be used to push educational work ahead and to make our working people contribute more to our socialism-building task. While the state is poor, collectivism, as well as individual family, is still poor, we have no other way to go than to save little by little and to accumulate capital for the building of socialism. And we can build socialism only by ceaselessly raising the people's revolutionary struggle spirit. Our people have had a lot of personal experiences in everyday struggle. Facing foreign invasion and natural calamities, in both cases they realize that they could survive only if they united with one another in a collective whole ready to

combat. And while they do not have machinery, manpower could "turn pebbles into rice." It has been clearly seen that, ever since the effort to establish agricultural cooperatives was basically made, our farmers, one crop after another, have come to realize the power of collectivism.

While there still exist problems in our cooperatives now, our farmers clearly understand that without their cooperatives they could not fight natural calamities. At the time of drought or storm, their confidence in their cooperatives, in the state grows bigger. After any natural calamity, the more successful their cooperatives solve the production problem, and the faster their living returns to normal, the deeper their confidence in the cooperatives. That is the common attitude of peasants and lower and intermediate middle class farmers. The attitude of upper middle class farmers is rather different. As natural calamity strikes, they admit the superiority of collectivism; however, when natural calamity is gone, they seem not to recognize such a superiority. They are not bad, nor do they want to oppose to the trend. But under the present conditions, if our cooperatives did not adopt a new line for production, if our cooperatives did not have new managerial methods and stricter measures for technical improvement, they would remain indifferent to persuasion. Only by patiently fighting for the establishment of agricultural cooperatives, encouraging all agricultural workers to join cooperatives, steadily raising cooperatives to higher levels, and ceaselessly strengthening collectivism can we hope to improve the living of every family, every individual. Any tendency to solve problems by individual effort alone would lead to poverty and mean a return to the old road. Therefore, much attention must be paid to teaching a sense of collectivism to the people, as well as to cadres and party members. Cadres must think of every possible way to build a foundation of collectivism and to teach the people to do the same. But among our cadres, not all of them have such a thinking. Some cadres still underestimate the power of collectivism and still overemphasize private interests. As a result, the struggle between collectivism and individualism, between the common and the private, is to last for quite a while. This is a struggle in the ranks of the working people, the true nature of which is extensive education, for the nature of our working people does not require them to resist socialism. Under conditions of want, they fail to see the right path; reality does not persuade them to be confident, and therefore they are drifted into acting in an individualist manner. That is a habit to go back to the old way of living. If collectivism gains strength, they are happy again. For such cadres, the necessary attitude is to persuade, to persuade patiently not only by words but also by deeds. In the struggle between the common and the private, the current phenomenon is to get something, from a bunch of straw to a piece of firewood, from the collective properties to make it as one's own...just like in a story told by Nguyen Khai in the book, Hay Di Xa Hon Nua ("Let Us Go Even Farther"). That is the habit of those who are still familiar with individualist productive work and who believe in getting, as much as possible, things for their own benefit. As a result, individualism still exists. In some places, it is even quite strong. This phenomenon usually exists where land is not yet managed well. In some places, even the secretaries and unit chiefs are in-

dividualistic. Where this individualist tendency is strong, many state properties, collective properties, are used to make this tendency even stronger. They live on such properties first, and think of the work of their cooperatives later. Consequently, work of common interest usually breaks down. For phenomena of this sort, there must be a firm struggle. We must watch those individualistic people. They pretend to have a lot of ideas about cooperatives. They need to belittle the latter to prove that their individualistic tendency is right. Sometimes, they hide their individualism, or laugh things off. But actually they feel they have nothing to bind them with their cooperatives, which they think only bother them and prevent them from doing their own work. Although this situation does not exist everywhere, it is not scarce, either. It usually occurs in the middle region and the highland, or in those delta areas where there are special products, and industrially-useful plants of various kinds; where the movement is still weak; where local party committees are ineffective, or reactionaries are still operating.

The second form of the class struggle in the countryside is the struggle between us and the enemy. This is the struggle between the working people and the counterrevolutionaries, who are the lacqueys of imperialism still at large, the reactionaries under religious cover, landlords, the traitors who refuse to be reformed. Where the reactionaries do not reveal themselves or still enjoy some kind of influence, the struggle between us and the enemy is still bitter. As long as this reactionary force is not broken, it is still dangerously active. We must bear in mind that, in our system, among a revolutionary population, the reactionaries operate under all sorts of disguises, with elaborate activities. Therefore, we must always maintain our vigilance and fight them hard with all the measures of the proletarian dictatorial state and of the revolutionary people's force.

The third form is the struggle between the new and the old. This is the struggle between advanced and backward working methods, between big collective working and small scale working. This has a lot to do with managerial and technical capabilities. As the new production relation has been established, collective force is the basic source of new wealth. To continue to do small work as when individualist methods were still applicable is now simply impossible. It is also impossible to maintain, in the technical domain, the old working method. In all fields like determining the types of crops and animal-raising, and in all works, such as working the soil, irrigation, use of fertilizers, selection of seeds, etc., there currently exists a struggle between socialist management and small scale individualist working method, between the working method that leads to technical improvement and revolution and the conservative working method that prizes the old experiences.

Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh said: "An advanced cooperative is where socialist ideas rule." This observation is very correct. There still are places where the race between socialist ideas and nonsocialist ideas is still undecided. We must do our best to make socialist ideas win and become the ruling ideas in society.

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Comrades, I have just brought you a few observations about the current forms of class struggle in the countryside. In industry, the struggle between two paths proves itself to be not entirely similar to that in the countryside because most factories belong to the people and are directly managed by the state, and because the character of the workers is different from that of the farmers, but the struggle also takes place between collectivism and individualism, between the advanced and the backward, between the enemy and us.

As our arts get into reality, they are engaged in this struggle. New factors must be recognized in order to praise and to confirm. And efforts must be made to eliminate passive factors. There lies the role of arts to educate and to conceive things. Without this role to serve as a basis, arts cannot have any aesthetic value. A letter sent from the party Central Committee to the Third National Congress of Arts reads in part: "Our socialist arts reflect the new and struggle for a victory of the latter. Not only do arts depict the new life and the new man, but also they actively contribute to helping the new life to develop, doing creative work, and educating the new man. Every artistic work must throw new light on ideological and emotional matters of society and encourage the people to march forward, to take an active part in the emulative effort to implement state plans, and to struggle for the victory of socialism and for reunification of the country." We socialist artists and writers should not wait until our movement becomes as strong as today and stronger to develop our effectiveness. The noble role of arts require that we offer as much as possible to drive the movement from nothing to full, from small to large, from narrow to wide, from weak to strong. And yet our movement has become very widespread now. If arts were unable to depict this lively and widely-known truth--the heroic work of millions of working people, we should all feel guilty! Only with this concept in mind can we ponder over this self-criticism that has been brought forth at this meeting: in spite of definite efforts and achievements, arts are still lagging behind life. In a report of the Standing Committee of the Association of Literature and Arts, there is this self-criticism, "life has left us too far behind," which I think is very true.

Today we can easily see common problems and typical matters emerge from the reality of the north and get richer and richer. Along the party line, we can clearly see what are the new factors and what are the new values. We must grasp such typical matters, such factors and values, and depict in the best style and accuracy the struggle between two paths with all its forms. We must see to it that our artistic works, not matter what categories they belong to, bear a strong educational significance. Only by doing so can we say that our arts have a direct bearing upon the revolutionary work in the north today. To grasp the whole matter, with its rich content, of reality is to grasp one-half of success. Who are supposed to grasp it? We ourselves must grasp it. Of course we have party resolutions and reports, but all these things are valuable only when they become concepts in each and everyone of us. In every field, to borrow is difficult, but in arts to

borrow is definitely impossible, for we must provide our own capital. Party resolutions and reports are there only to suggest and to guide our thinking; however, to create thoughts, feelings, and artistic creativity is something nobody but we can do. In arts, what we see must be transformed into feelings which must be deeper than those of normal people. We must keep pace with the needs of the revolution and the understanding and enthusiasm of the people. If you comrades frequently deal with directors, unit chiefs, cooperative members, and pioneering youths, you will find how much understanding and enthusiasm these cadres and youths have. If we failed to understand what they are doing, if we did not have a high degree of enthusiasm and a love for these new people and their new struggle line, we would not be able to understand their inner feelings. In this case, we would be lucky enough to be able to describe the drops of sweat at the tip of some eyebrows or the light on a brown dress; however, as to the true nature of the life of such people, their thinking, worries, dreams, and the purpose of their struggle, I do not think we could understand. Books are necessary, but they cannot replace the big ledger of life, particularly that of the present sizzling revolutionary life in the north.

#### The South in the Heart of the North

At our meeting today, as we bring forth some features of the reality of the north, we cannot help mentioning this truth: there always is the south in the heart of the north. In our everyday life, our compatriots in the south and the revolution for the liberation of the south are the truth that we always bear in our mind and that are reflected in the feelings of each and everyone of us. While we depict the reality of the north, we must include the presence of the south. We indeed live for both parts, for our fatherland, and not solely for the north. The true meaning of the slogan, "each person works as hard as two," lies in that fact. The south is ever present in our feelings, in all the problems of the north. If we do not see this reality in the whole of the larger reality, we shall fail to realize whatever reality we are living in. We may say that a large number of our artistic works have not yet reflected this truth. No fact nor any serious act in the north excludes the factors of the south. I want to say that all branches of activities in the north and everywhere in the north, including such remote areas as Muong Te and Phong Tho, show a strong support of the north for the south and feelings that are connected with both parts, and at the same time enjoy an encouragement from the south. As we get more deeply into reality and firmly maintain the major role of arts--to educate, our works must enhance the feelings and understanding of our readers and audiences in such a way as to eliminate entirely the concept of separation between north and south in our everyday life.

Our literature and arts in the north must be a source of encouragement for the revolution in the south to move ahead. We must combine our efforts to educate and to urge our compatriots in the south to overcome all difficulties and to gain final victory. The book, Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc (From the Frontline of the Fatherland), published by Van Hoc Publishing House, is

greatly significant from the standpoint of ideological education and feelings. Our party highly evaluates this book of letters, which is also liked by our brother countries, particularly China, not only because of its ideological and political value, but also because of its noble character and artistic value. Our compatriots in the south did not intend to deal with art in their writing such letters, but because of the great reality of the revolution in the south, their noble thoughts and feelings were unintentionally expressed in images and words full of aesthetic value. And that is by itself a great art.

Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc offers us a lot of problems and stories, which can be exploited to make motion pictures; to write music, plays, essays, and poems; and to create artistic works. We only need to cherish those ingredients of the great life in the south and to try to absorb them in order to create fine artistic works, although we may always remain in the north. A few comrades think that there is no way of "living" the life of struggle of the south because we live far from it. It is of course difficult to understand the new reality, but there is no 17th parallel in our mind, nor anything that separates us from our brothers in the south. The big difficulty is not the fact that we live far from the south; what counts here is our mutual understanding, enthusiasm, and assets of life. With enthusiasm and some assets of life, Nguyen Van Thong produced the movie, Chim Vanh Khuven (The Bird), based on a true story. It was because of enthusiasm and some assets of life that Bui Duc Ai was able to write the renowned book, Mot Chuyen Chap O Benh Vien (A Story Told at the Hospital), which was turned by a good producer and some fine players into a good movie, Chi Tu Hau (Miss Tu Hau).

We also should pay greater attention to depicting the efforts and contributions of our southern compatriots who were "regrouped" in the north to the building of the north. This is highly significant in the political sense. Our southern compatriots eagerly wish to know what their sons, friends, or husbands are doing for the revolution in the north and to know if they are a student going to school, a soldier in the armed forces, a worker operating a machine, a factory engineer, or a cadre at some workshop. All these sons of the south must be portrayed in a lively manner and "reported" to their relatives in the south.

Dear comrades, we all have the privilege of living in a great age and on the soil of our fatherland, where are taking place two biggest revolutions of our times. We may say that on both fronts we are at the frontline: the frontline of the fight against American imperialism, and the frontline of socialist construction in south east Asia. We must fully understand this position. Our brothers and friends throughout the world pay more and more attention to and love our people more and more. The world wants to know how our people and our party are struggling. In the future, when our country will have a big industry, our children will want to know their parents' life and struggle. We are in the midst of the very problems which thirty years from now our sons and grandsons will be asking about. We must do our best

to create more finer artistic works for our people today, for peoples in the world, and for our next generations to understand this great reality of the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of our party and President Ho. I want to emphasize the special significance of the five coming years. We have more or less wasted our time; now we have to engage in a race with time during the next five years in order to maintain youth in our arts. Our readers and viewers are progressing fast. They are working people having greater and greater revolutionary qualities and mind. Within five years, our young people will have better ideological and cultural capacities than today; a large number of them will have finished level-II education; there will be tens of thousands of technical workers having university and intermediate levels of education, who will prove to be wiser than those secondary school graduates of the past. Our readers of today and tomorrow are workers, farmers, and soldiers of socialism, who have both virtues and culture.

These people of the revolution would be in need of artistic works of high value; they are critics and also participants in the creation of new arts. Have we carefully thought of these people and such a new force? It seems to me that some of us have not yet realized these great needs, this urgent pace of life, and the progress of millions of people who live around us and for us. Can it be that, in our heart, we do not have enough gratitude toward the working people, those who are creating the new life? Is there anything that is holding back our artistic creativity and makes some comrades feel they are "deprived of freedom?" If so, neither the revolutionary people nor the proletarian dictatorship is binding the two wings of arts. On the contrary, both are the "midwives" of the revolutionary arts. If some people feel "deprived of freedom," it is just because individualism is holding them back and does not allow them to reach and to understand the greatness, the beauty, and the happiness of collective life, of revolutionary life. They feel they do not have freedom because they fail to understand that revolution moves toward socialism. They themselves are responsible for the loss of their own freedom. Therefore, the road we must take is the road on which we serve the revolution, be absorbed by the revolution, by the people, and the party.

I am confident that we have creative talents. But the immediate problem is to shorten, and later to eliminate, the bridge connecting artists and life. Whom do we live with, if we do not live with workers, farmers, and soldiers and with the revolution? Therefore, our slogan must always be this: to live with the revolutionary people and to try to serve the people's revolutionary work under the leadership of the party.

## II. SOME PRACTICAL GUIDELINES

### Go to Advanced Areas, Live among Pioneering People

We must go into the reality of the revolution in a normal way as we eat, drink, and breathe. Those writers and artists who do not live amidst

the revolutionary reality are like the fish taken out of water. Some of them, shielded by the so-called "opposition to dogmatism and to making arts tasteless," strongly defend the unrealistic living and go against the writers and artists who share hardships with the people. None of us listens to them because, by experiences in artistic creativity, we know that we must really communicate with the masses in order to create fine works, and that, to do so, we must live among the masses, help them, and also learn from them. Many of us have known quite well where the old way of living would lead us to.

Then why many of us do not find pleasure in going into reality? Or why do they fail to find it enjoyable after getting into reality? The reasons are complicated. However, strictly speaking, the fault is all ours.

Our arts must be those of the working people; we artists must be those who depict the life and feelings of workers and farmers and are able to find answers to the problems created by our revolutionary life. We are the intellectuals of the workers and farmers, with whom we should live so closely as to wipe off the dividing line between artists and workers-farmers, between "us" and "them", and to leave only the common word, "us," to designate all working people. We must satisfy that need, that is, we must stand in the ranks of workers-farmers, whose thoughts and feelings must be faithfully interpreted by us. To do so, we must first of all and always live their life. Not three months, nor three years, but for all our lifetime.

Where do we go to to get into reality? I think we primarily need to go to the advanced productive and struggling establishments; to live among the masses means primarily to live among pioneering people. Why? Because the big question being asked is how to escape difficulties and how to go from poverty to wealth, from weakness to strength, from bad to good. As evils and failures exist everywhere, the question is how to overcome them and to move the movement ahead. The advanced establishments and the pioneering people are the places and the people having successfully overcome such difficulties. To go to advanced places and pioneering people is to come to some test sites where they have successfully solved their problems. Moreover, as I said before, in the reality of the north today, we have more and more typical examples in production. In the countryside and cities, there are so many typical aspects and pioneering people; perhaps we do not have enough time and energy to deal with and describe them all. "Go to advanced places, live among pioneering people" should become the slogan of writers and artists. Let us go there fast, let us get hold of the typical aspects of the new life. We are a few hundred creative workers of various branches; we must choose 100 different places. By going to these 100 places, we shall be able to find and to think of 1,000 good things. In a revolutionary atmosphere, the revolutionary character of man becomes richer. We cannot help loving revolutionary people. We go there, in a simple ordinary way with a fraternal spirit, to live their simple life. We go there with the hope that we can do something useful, without hesitation nor calculations. The work which we can do to help our brothers is found everywhere. We must accept actual responsibilities and agree to devote some of our time to doing manual labor work in order

to come closer to them more easily. If we are not determined to do so, we will be disappointed even after getting into reality. This is not a new matter, but so far we have not been determined enough; now I think we must try to achieve that determination. For each and everyone of us, this is both our duty and our interest. I would like to suggest that you comrades pay particular attention to helping the more talented artists to get deeply into reality and the revolutionary masses in order to create very good and fine works. We must become the friends of cooperatives, factories, open-air workshops, and advanced farms. Each of us must choose a few establishments where he will live and do creative work. In this case, within a few years, we will undoubtedly have many fine works.

Always Improve Our Marxist-Leninist Concept of the World. Fully Understand Party Line and Policies

The talk of Nguyen Khai at this conference, which deals with the experiences of those who got into reality, made us think seriously of the modesty and spirit of responsibility of some writer. He told the story of a fine cooperative director who worked all by himself for twenty days in the field to fight flood. The spirit of responsibility of that comrade is very commendable. But on the other hand, one should ask why did the cooperative director have to work "all by himself" like that. Perhaps in that cooperative, the party commissar, the party committee, and the management were all too weak? What did they do at such a crucial time? Under such circumstances, who were to be praised, or blamed? What should deserve support or protest? All this relates to an understanding of the line, policies, and working method of the party and requires a revolutionary concept of the world. I think that any cooperative director who works that hard must certainly have courage. The latter is a very important condition for success; however, if the person who has courage just suffers from hardship all by himself without knowing how to mobilize and organize the masses to work with him in a collective display of courage, he will not create good results.

Today, if we go to the countryside or anywhere, we shall find a lot of good things, and a lot of bad things as well. Even in a good thing, there is something bad. Arts require a knowledge of all these good and bad things, which helps the artists to have a correct attitude of either support or criticism. Artists must either support or criticize, depending on both time and situation and on the basis of party line, policies, and views.

Does that mean "arts are too tightly bound to politics?" Those who oppose to writers and artists living among workers-farmers-soldiers, arts serving politics and the revolution, and revolutionary arts oppose to this original Leninist principle: arts must be "a small screw" in the revolutionary machinery; artistic work must be "a necessary part of the well-organized uniformly planned work of the party." They use the label, "protection of the special character" and respect for the "freedom" of arts, to urge other artists and writers to run away from the great ideal and work of the revolution, to escape from the rich life of workers-farmers-soldiers, and to lead arts

to the dark alleys of the mean, narrow-minded individualism. Is it really "freedom?" It is only the selfish false "freedom" of the bourgeoisie. That is the false assumption which the modern revisionists are spreading among artists. I believe that they will fail because nobody listens to them. We are concerned with only our ideals and revolutionary work. Our artistic achievements are first due to the correct party line, then to the close ties between arts and the revolution and the masses and to the fact that we have more or less acquired the Marxist-Leninist concept of the world.

Arts depict life through the artists' concept of the world. The latter can be formed only through learning the original principles of Marxism-Leninism, party line and policies, and the way to get into the realistic revolutionary life. We must have both theory and practice, which must be combined in our thinking. We emphasize the need for getting into reality and living among the masses; however, if we do not understand the original Marxist-Leninist principles and the line and policies adopted by the party, we may not find truth although we have gotten into reality. The major weakness of the play, Tau Dem (Night Train), is the fact that its playwright did not understand the party racial policy. Our party always respects all racial groups, highly evaluates, and cherishes the contribution of each racial group to the revolutionary work. But the ideological content of Tau Dem goes against all such things. Just because its author did not understand the party racial policy, nor the value of each racial group, there are regrettable errors in the play. Many comrades fail to see the real nature of different problems, and often get confused when facing phenomena, just because they do not understand the original Marxist-Leninist principles and the party line although they are much experienced in both life and work. Here I would like to suggest to you how to study. We must, seriously and in a creative manner, study the basic Marxist-Leninist principles and the party policies. We have been studying them, but without much depth, and sometimes we spent too much time without having much result. To study is not to say prayer. Marxism-Leninism is not something to be said as a prayer, nor is it an item to be utilized to deceive people, as the modern revisionists are doing. Marx and Lenin are not wooden statues having readily all answers to any question in life. We need to study with a revolutionary concept and to fully understand the original principles and thinking method in order to try to understand, to explain, and to solve, correctly and in a creative manner, the problems of life. I want to repeat: we must study with a revolutionary spirit, with a sense of serving the revolution. What do we study for, if not to do revolutionary work? If not for the sake of the revolution, we cannot, through our studies, acquire the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism; we shall, in that case, be slaves to our books. And only with a revolutionary spirit shall we try to think, to utilize, to create. Like other occupations, our writing occupation strictly rejects laziness in thinking. Everybody says to create is painful, but sometimes people are afraid of pain and would create nothing but very poor artistic works.

#### An Urgent Need: Good Plays and Screenplays

We need to speed creative work in all branches: literature, fine arts,

music, motion pictures, theater, etc. At present, however, motion pictures and theater are two large artistic branches which attract everyday hundreds of thousands of viewers and presently need good plays and screenplays. Our motion picture art is much younger than our theater, but both are progressing and show remarkable achievements. However, like other branches, our motion pictures and theater are very backward, compared with the progress and needs of the revolution and of the people. The problem of shortage of good plays is very urgent, and must be solved fast.

Why do we have this situation? There are many reasons. But the main reason is the fact that we still have too few playwrights who do not seriously try to get to know the revolutionary life of workers-farmers-soldiers, nor to study politics. The common concern of various branches, particularly writing, is not sufficient; the cooperation among artists and writers is still based on individualistic work. Guidance is poor regarding ideological contents, but quite strict regarding techniques and forms.

We have a number of ideologically and artistically good films and plays. However, in the last few years, there appeared some unhealthy tendencies: under the influence of bourgeois views and modern revisionism, some people were fond of the character of "middle-of-the-road people," longed for personal happiness, and avoided the class struggle. "Love" was mainly considered carnal pleasure, and was handled as a precious ingredient of man, and arts. In the name of humanism, they wanted to defend those counterrevolutionaries and those who destroyed revolutionary virtues and created a fear even for national liberation revolutionary war and for class struggle. Such ingredients were adorned with forms and skills, which were borrowed somewhere, said to be creative, but actually they were just imitations.

Recently, there was an opinion that the key problem today of theatrical art was about the theme, "past and present," "inside and outside." I think that opinion is somewhat correct, but we need to deal further with the true nature of the problem. We emphasize: it is necessary to concentrate our attention upon the present problems of the revolutionary life in both parts of our country. Revolutionary arts cannot turn their back to the present and look at the past, nor fail to play their noble role of depicting the new and driving the latter to success. The arts of a country cannot substitute their own works with foreign ones, thus turning themselves into a kind of "translated" arts. However, we never think that things of the past are not worth remembering or being used to educate the present. To teach the fine traditions of the people, particularly the traditions of the anti-aggressive Resistance and the struggle against oppression and exploitation, is a very necessary work of the present generation. What is important is to know how to choose any old stories that would be useful for the present, to understand such stories through historical materialistic views, and to describe or to revise them in a correct manner. This is what we must pay attention to: while using old stories to educate, we must distinguish between good and bad; as we speak of the good of the old-time people, we also must make the present-time people realize that the old-time people's

thoughts and virtues, being placed under the restrictions of the past, could not become as noble and fine as they can be today. Do not make the present-time people think that the people of the past were "perfect," and do not make the latter think and speak in a "modern" manner as we do today. We welcome all those who like to write about historical subjects; we just hope that they would write well.

The use of the old forms of theatrical art must be carefully considered; do not hastily believe that those old forms are old-fashioned and backward and cannot be used to express new thoughts, new reality, new feelings. The present is not to be completely severed from the past; to be modern does not mean to throw away traditions, but rather to continue, to develop traditions. Do not simply think that any form is appropriate for a modern content or any style is suitable to any subject whatsoever. Each type of art is a product of history and bears the characteristics of the society and the time it flourishes in. All tunes, rhythms, movements in each type of art have their own meaning and definite character; do not "modernize" them too freely. For instance, in my opinion, we are familiar with using the classical theater to depict old stories and people; now we can make good adaptations of classical plays. We have had some experimenting with using this classical theatrical form to depict new reality and people; now we ought to encourage further experiments along that line. Classical comedy is an old art that has deeply penetrated into the rural population in the north and can very well be used to express new subjects and new faces in the countryside. And in both classical play and comedy, we should not be satisfied with the existing patterns, but rather try to develop their usefulness in depicting various subjects, both new and old.

In trying to solve our new problems, as we are not satisfied with the works and stories of the past, we cannot be satisfied with foreign works, either. Many brother countries are building socialism, but under conditions and in a situation different from ours. Therefore, no matter how good the foreign works may be, they cannot replace our thinking and our own way of solving our problems. We must emphasize and put above everything else our responsibility for solving the problems that are emerging from our life of today, for such problems can be seen and correctly solved only by us. However, we do not want to overlook the good works of other countries (both modern and classical), nor to neglect the studying and acquiring of the cream of world culture, particularly that of the brother socialist countries. In the recent time, some of our agencies committed an error by showing on stage or screen a number of plays and movies, and publishing a number of books, which popularized modern revisionist ideas. Such an error must be sternly criticized and firmly corrected. On the other hand, we did not introduce enough foreign artistic works to the masses and artistic circles of our country. In this regard, we must have definite plans for a better job. If we have a theatrical group specially in charge of introducing outstanding plays of other countries to our people, this will serve our purpose very well.

The problem of choosing the theme, "past and present" and "inside and

outside," actually is a problem of attitude toward the present revolutionary work in our country. In order to solve this problem properly, in order to have good artistic works that deserve our people and party, members of all literary and artistic branches must, as their major need, live among the masses and in accordance with party line. There is no other solution. Revolutionary arts require a revolutionary way of living, a revolutionary spirit. Try not to make movies or to perform plays in as a hurried manner as we are looking for rice to cook our meals today. On the basis of revolutionary needs and party line, we must set forth clear-cut subjects and themes and, depending on material and technical capabilities, as well as on our cadres' capacities, draft practical plans for the making of how many movies and the performing of how many plays in five years and in each year. Encourage collective work among playwrights, producers, and players. We must study, live, and work together in an effort to develop the mind and talent of each person; and with hard-working spirit, carefulness, and determination, create very fine works of arts, which must have the educational power to urge the masses to advance to the frontline of the revolution.

We must also avoid the tendency to go after unrealistic "greatness," which is simply beyond our means. Our playwrights usually go for five acts; our movie makers often prefer to make eleven or twelve movies, for they think that they must live up to "international standards." Naturally, viewers would like very much to see a long and also good motion picture. But a good motion picture does not need to be long. For a bad movie, its length only aggravates its failure. With our presently available abilities (assets of life, artistic capacity, and material conditions), while the masses' needs are both urgent and great, I think we should pay attention to making short or medium but meaningful works. Many movies like Chim Vanh Khuyen (The Bird) and plays like Mot Mang Nguoi (A Man's Life) are good. Their quality is not their length, but depth. The stature of an artistic work is not found in the time it is presented on stage or on screen, nor in the number of pages, but in the points it makes and in its ideological and artistic values. Arts require a certain rich mixture or concentration. It is not without any good reason that the people like the book of letters, Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc (From the Frontline of the Fatherland). Our people are not only talented, but also extremely courageous, for they know how to retain their actions and thoughts through honest, rich, and lively words.

#### We Are Determined to Improve and to Train a Powerful Army of Socialist Writers and Artists

In the field of literature and arts, one of the major concerns of the party is to improve and to train an army of writers and artists having a firm position and outstanding abilities. So far this army is not big, but it constitutes a precious asset of the revolution and the people. However, in order to build a rich socialist artistic structure, we know we do not have enough artists and knowhow. We must make a lot of efforts in regard to ideological value, asset of life, and professional capacity. We are encouraged by achievements, which do not amount to anything very remarkable

as compared with the needs of the revolution. We must attach more importance and make a good contribution from each of us to the improving and training of a young force of writers and artists.

By now there has been formed in the north of our country a new army of intellectuals who come from and live among workers-farmers, and are deeply attached to production and revolutionary struggle. Not only are they the viewers of artistic works, but also they are very capable of creating outstanding artistic works. We expect a great deal of artistic creativity from that batch of new intellectuals. If we have a plan by which we shall wholeheartedly aid them, we shall, within a near future, have a great creative force of socialist arts. Nothing is more encouraging for arts than the fact that those who are building the new society write about their own life.

Arts involve sweating. Art workers must have not only some talent but also a definite occupation. Therefore, it is necessary to open schools for their training. In the last few years, we trained hundreds of young producers and players in the art schools of the Ministry of Culture. This young well-trained force has improved the artistic movement. The youths, members of this force, prove that they are talented and intelligent. But we have to admit that there are weaknesses to be overcome in those art schools: the teaching of politics, ideology, virtues, and party artistic line has not drawn proper attention; the basic knowledge of arts and the people's fine heritage is still limited; the schools are still separated from society and the reality of the revolution. As a result, some graduates show that they are under influence of such bad habits as love for fame, greediness, poor spirit of serving the people, corrupt living.

The question of improving the virtues of revolutionary artists is very important. Among us, almost all have been more or less under the influence of bourgeois living. Do not overlook the need for self-improvement and mutual help in the field of virtues. Do not use the "special character" of arts as an excuse for a way of living unsuitable for revolutionary virtues. The absorption of modern revisionist ideas in a number of people usually originates from a free individualistic living which, starting from a corrupt living, generates a downfall of moral values.

We live with one another in a spirit of comradeship. We need to help one another to move forward, to criticize one another honestly, to encourage what is good, and to reject what is bad. Do not flatter one another, nor separate yourselves from one another because of personal character or private interests. For the sake of the greatness of the revolution, the people, and the party, closely unite with one another, help one another to move forward!

### III. PREVENTION OF REVISIONIST INFLUENCE IN ARTS

Modern revisionism in arts does not come accidentally, but rather reflects the class struggle on the political front. Marxists-Leninists do not

deny the rules of ideology, the special character of arts, a form of social concept being very subtle and complicated. However, let us not forget, never, a popular Marxist truth: "the fundamental form of class struggle is political struggle," and the latter affects all other activities of society. To look for modern revisionism in arts only among the special character and characteristics of arts themselves is never to find the light. We must throw upon it the Marxist-Leninist political light. That is what was said at our Third Party Congress. That is what is mentioned in Resolution 9 of our party Central Committee.

In the political field, modern revisionism stands for class agreement, peaceful coexistence, elimination of proletarian dictatorship, replacement of revolutionary struggle with reforms, replacement of dialectic materialism with theory of evolution.

In the cultural field, modern revisionism underlines "humanitarianism," which is totally strange to Marxism-Leninism. This is a type of humanitarianism common for all people in a society which still has classes and class struggle. It is against the principle of party character, strikes the method of socialist reality, defames national traditions, deletes the dividing line between socialist realism and formalism, and stands for "an only culture of the time."

Modern revisionism expresses itself in many aspects, the true nature of which is the same--bourgeois ideas covered with a Marxist-Leninist cloak. Lenin's analysis of the reasons for the appearance of revisionism in the international communist movement still retains its value. The reason from within is the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas, while the reason from without is the offensive of the bourgeoisie. In our country, many artists are still caught by bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas in their thinking, living, and art. If we do not take a serious attitude toward ourselves, if we do not know the true nature and threat of modern revisionism and its manifestations, we shall by ourselves create conditions under which revisionism could attack us from without in many ways.

Let us look back to see if, in the field of politics and arts, we artists have adopted any wrong views. It is understood that everybody likes socialism, but there still are those who think that socialism just comes naturally, without any hard struggle against the exploiting classes and their remnants and against the habits of millions of small individualistic producers, or, in short, without a long class struggle in all political, economic, and cultural forms. They want socialism, but will shudder as they think of class struggle. In favor of socialism, they are afraid of proletarian dictatorship and fear that they will lose individual freedom, particularly petty bourgeois and bourgeois freedom.

For us, arts are the weapons of social classes and must serve the politics of the proletariat and the party. But there still are people who are convinced that arts belong to everybody, stand above classes, and constitute

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an "absolute" beauty; that writers and artists are completely "independent" and "free" and can create at their own will, without anything to do with the needs of the revolution and of the classes--a way they think being very unique. That "pride" of such an "independent" character, one of the characteristics of bourgeois intellectuals, is in fact a self-deception. There still are those who believe in the middle-of-the-road man in a class-minded society having class struggle. That abstract man of theirs is, they think, more "noble" than the man of the actual classes. They still believe in the innocent "humanitarianism" which they think can convert the enemy class, make the human race suffer less, and avoid the death of war. In the name of protecting human happiness, they are so intoxicated by tragic love stories and sexual desires that they consider the latter the biggest and only need of man. They do not have any interest in the political, economic, and ideological problems of society in artistic creations, but are very much interested in personal emotions that have nothing to do with the revolution and the people. To be honest, we admit that they sometimes insert in their works some workers, farmers, soldiers, open-air workshops, farms, cooperatives, the highland, the coastal areas; however, all these are but covers for their expressing personal thoughts and emotions, which are completely strange to the masses and contrary to Marxist-Leninist views and party line. To them, the victories of the revolution have nothing to be enthused about; the shortcomings and difficulties of the revolution are the reasons for them to criticize, to jeer. Party line and policies, they think, are high wires which artists cannot fly away from, and party leadership, like the masses' criticisms, are as dreadful as lightning and thunder.

Being Marxist artists, we cannot avoid responsibility by staying away from the struggle against such wrong tendencies; we must help one another to reach self-understanding for the search of truth. However, as arts are a subtle form, we must correctly and carefully consider each case and each problem. Try to avoid groundless judgments and irresponsible conclusions. We firmly denounce mistakes, but should not deny or restrict creative discoveries. As we do not recognize too simple an artistic creative work, we should not accept any carelessly formed criticism and evaluation. An artistic work, like a human being, usually has certain weakness or failure, for nothing can be absolutely free from weakness or shortcoming. Try to look at the main line followed by an artistic work and its basic content. The motion picture, Chim Vanh Khuyen (The Bird), is a good one. The death of the little girl, Nga, is not a passive death, but a sacrifice that stirs hatred and serves the resistance. We cannot refuse to say it is a good movie just because of its few weaknesses. We cannot reject the good basic ideological content and artistic value of the movie, Chi Tu Hau (Miss Tu Hau), just because of its few sequences in which some mean desires are expressed. The movie, Hai Nguoi Linh (Two Soldiers), has a failure in that it has a touch of the middle-of-the-road humanitarianism that the modern revisionists are spreading, and in the fact that it reflects too poorly the hatred for the enemy of our people and soldiers. The too soft, and sometimes lack of understanding-showing, attitude of our soldier (in the movie) actually results from the scenario writer's misunderstanding of our Government's prisoner-of-war policy and from his thinking that such an attitude would be, politically speaking, effective. However, that movie

has something else. To a definite extent, the movie itself is successful in showing the big difference between the revolutionary soldier, who lives and fights for an ideal, and the colonialists' soldier of fortune.

Recently we presented on our stage a foreign play, Nila, which depicts the heroic acts of a youth league member, who was taught by the party since her childhood and works in the enemy-occupied zone. Many of us appreciated, in a right manner, the fine symbol in the heroine and the talent of the player so much that they did not see the playwright's incorrect views in a number of problems. The playwright is wrong when he criticizes the right revolutionary spirit of understanding of a cadre. In some dialogues, he obliterates the dividing line between patriotic war and aggressive war and confuses viewers about the enemy and our side. For instance, a lady doctor and Russian mother, on the basis of a false objectivism, says: "Either a Russian bullet or a German bullet ultimately leaves behind the same scar!" We sternly criticize such incorrect views, but we appreciate the successful part of the play and the acting talent of the players, which is focused on the heroine, a symbol of the revolutionary spirit and brave sacrifices of the great Russian people.

Here I would like to draw your attention to this point: while modern revisionism is being extended to the political and cultural and artistic fronts, we cannot help being very alert.

In the recent time, some literary and artistic branches, particularly the motion picture branch, popularized a large number of foreign films, plays, and literary works which contain revisionist ideas and therefore are very harmful to our teaching politics, ideology, and revolutionary virtues.

This situation has begun being put under control, but efforts are still not sufficient. We need to have a tighter control, to check and to eliminate the harmful effects of that type of revisionist arts.

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninist path and the revisionist path is a bitter and complicated one. Never does revisionism openly expose itself; it usually puts on a Marxist-Leninist cloak while spreading bourgeois views. And that is the difference between revisionist and bourgeois views, that is a difference in form. The same struggle in the literary field is even more complicated. There are pure revisionists, and there are those who are to some extent influenced by modern revisionism. There are literary works which completely serve modern revisionism while other works bear only a certain influence of the latter. Some people are followers of modern revisionism because of personal interests and reaction to class struggle, but there are other people who submit themselves to the influence of modern revisionism because they more or less like it.

As the struggle is quite complicated, our attitude is firmly to maintain our own principle, to criticize all wrong manifestations which endanger the development of our arts, and to be careful in judging what is right or

wrong. To our comrades and friends, our attitude is to be helpful with reason and affection. That is also the attitude of our party, as expressed by the Central Committee in Resolution 9. The way our party sees and thinks comes from the interests of the proletariat and our people, and from those of the international communist movement. In both politics and arts, our party has its own views. As we are proud of having a true Marxist-Leninist party to lead us, we must seriously consider the party resolution which is to be applied to our artistic reality in a correct and strict manner.

I have just dealt with the general aspect of the matter; now I would like to get into some problems which I think are basic in order to show clearly the dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in arts.

### About the "Humanitarianism" Problem

The human problem is, as always, the central one. To carry out the revolution is to solve the human problem. Man and all his complicated relations are the major object of arts. Today, in the decisive class struggle, the imperialists and their servants hide themselves behind "peaceful," "humanitarian" screens in order to conceal their despicable, dreadful faces. Therefore, in order to expose the true nature and maneuver of the imperialists in the ideological field, we must first explain the "humanitarianism" problem.

There are no abstract men; there are only actual men. In a society having classes, the problem of the actual men must be placed in the class relation if it is to be understood. When Marx said, "man is a union of social relations," he became a Marxist; it was when he thoroughly judged the theory of abstract man, advanced by Feuerbach, and directly dealt with the problems of social reforms and revolution.

Therefore, there is no middle-of-the-road humanitarianism, but actual humanitarianism only. It is true that Europe, from the 14th and 15th centuries on, has a humanitarian movement of the bourgeoisie, which is directed against feudal restrictions and ideas and for the benefit of individual freedom. In the Renaissance, humanitarianism has its definite value under the historic conditions of that time's Europe. However, the bourgeoisie throw away such humanitarian principles upon becoming the ruling power.

Communism, as a scientific ideology, right from the beginning after its creation, also opposes to excessive equality and the lack of respect for general development of the individual. Marx talked about "practical humanitarianism" (in German Ideology), and later Gorki talked about proletarian humanitarianism. However, Marxism never separates communist humanitarianism from communism. The nucleus of Marxism-Leninism is the theories of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. Communist humanitarianism is an organic part of communist concepts of the world and of life. Any misunderstanding of the matter is very dangerous because it will lead to modern

revisionism. The latter combines the two into one, or considers communism itself as lacking a humanitarian touch and being in need of humanitarianism as a "complement," and believes that, because of this, it loses the Marxist philosophical basis of communist humanitarianism, destroys its proletarian character, and turns it into bourgeois humanitarianism. Gorki said: "Humanitarianism of the revolutionary proletariat is an open one. It does not utter any empty sweet words about the love for man. Its purpose is to free the proletariat throughout the world from the mean, bloody, mad oppression of the capitalists, to teach people not to consider themselves goods to be sold or bought..."

"Humanitarianism of the proletariat requires a constant hatred for petty bourgeoisie and for the power of the capitalists and their servants, of the parasites, fascists, executioners, and the traitors of the workers' class..." (Gorki: About Literature, Russian edition, Soviet Writers publishing house, Moscow, 1953, pp.803-804.) And "if the enemy does not surrender, destroy him." Those are the typical words of the great Russian writer about revolutionary humanitarianism.

At the present time, the modern revisionists are using humanitarianism as a shield for their activities which betray social classes and Marxism-Leninism. They think that between the socialists and the American imperialists "a common language" has been found, which is humanitarianism. They say: "Humanitarianism unite us (the revisionists and the imperialists). They deliberately place the scientific communism inside that middle-of-the-road humanitarian bottle, after arguing that the appearance of nuclear weapons has changed the relations between the exploiting class and the exploited class and between capitalism and proletarianism and that any class must be interested in human problems and human happiness. Such slogans as "all for man's happiness," "man is a friend of man," and "men are brothers," instead of bearing a keen social-class content, have been turned by the revisionists into slogans applicable to all "humanity," to members of any class. And all the actions that betray Marxism-Leninism are now called "for the happiness of mankind." They carry loud propaganda for "complete development of the individual" (actually they do propaganda for bourgeois individualism). However, the fear for weapons immediately rejects the modern revisionists' views on "human values." The attitude of worshipping technology and weapons, by itself, denies the decisive effect of man, of the masses. "Nuclear sociology" is a very reactionary philosophy that is widely diffused in the United States and other countries. Its main theme is: the discovery of atomic energy has changed all the rules of social development, or caused their replacement with new rules(!). And the last conclusion of that evil philosophy is: Having atomic bombs, the United States must hold the destiny of the world and set up a "world-wide" state to be headed by itself. An American reactionary even called for the "establishment of a dictatorship modelled after the Roman Empire" of the past. This "nuclear sociology" is not new at all. At the beginning of this century, the bourgeois reactionary scholars, who availed themselves of the new discoveries in the field of natural science, launched an attack upon dialectic materialism. In his great book, Materialism and

Experientialism, Lenin unmasked the idealist reactionary arguments of this group of people. It is so ironic the way the modern revisionists of today, while advancing what was an American "ideology," say that they are "developing Marxism-Leninism(!)" Revisionism uses "economic race" as a "motive power for evolution of history" to replace class struggle and thinks that it agrees to the humanitarian character of Marxism, for, in the revisionists' opinion, there will not be atomic war and man will live a happy life on earth!

Such reactionary bourgeois arguments about humanitarianism have entered the domain of arts. Vitma, chairman of the Association of Yugoslav Writers, declared: "For literature, the importance is to make our life humanitarian." And he praised Yugoslavia as a "paradise" of literature, for the rules of the League of Yugoslav Communists specify that it will not interfere in literature, and that the party leadership role has come to an end after being nothing but an obstacle for the development of society, man, etc. How far has this "humanitarian life" concept in Yugoslav literature gone? Western modernism has become the "legacy" of the latter. According to him, modernism "achieves on a large scale important infiltration in the very nature of arts."

I invite you to read a poem, A Pedestrian in the Middle of the Atomic Century, written along this line in Yugoslavia and published in the magazine, People of this Age, June 1958. I quote here just a portion of that poem:

"In the middle of the atomic century, a pedestrian  
Meets another pedestrian.  
The latter asks him: 'Where do you go?'  
'I don't know.'  
'I don't know, either.'  
'Come with me. Let us go to some place.'  
And they walk together.

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A big noise, and a terrible roar follow them,  
And make the atomic century tremble.  
All argue  
To see  
Between two roads,  
Chosen by the two pedestrians,  
which is right.  
And before our first pedestrian has walked quite a long way  
To avoid massacres, and bloodletting  
Blood began flowing profusely like water of a big fall.  
In the reflection of light on the pool of blood,  
He stands at the end limit of time  
And looks down, upon the atomic century.  
And so sorrowful is he  
That sorrows have left him behind."

That is the way the Yugoslav revisionist arts are full of terror, pessimism, and despair.

Failing to see man in the social relations and in class struggle, the revisionist writers and artists in a number of socialist countries have no place to go but to fall into the swamp in which the Yugoslav revisionists are sinking.

What is called "humanitarian character" or "humanitarian life" or "human character" in modern revisionist arts is clearly expressed in many aspects.

In several foreign literary works, we find a lot of human physiological emotions. To these authors, it seems that only the relation between man and woman, which they call "love," is the most "human" thing that deserves a lot of talking about. A young poet in a brother country, who has been much praised by revisionist critics in that country, openly suggests that "love is the most revolutionary sentiment." He says, "when two people of different sexes fall in love with each other, this is the moment that opens the whole world," and "listen to the voice of love, (and find that) my poetry will be even newer." Along with some other poets, he is the author of many poems that openly describe sexual emotions.

There are love stories which are hidden behind the cause of defending freedom of love and opposing to feudal oppression practiced against women. If we read only their forewords, we shall think they are stories of high sociological value; however, as we read them through, we realize that the feelings they describe are sexual ones. In the past few years, movies of this type were brought into our country in a large number; they usually deal with war, describe the clash between love and class struggle, and attack revolutionary struggle.

To describe love in literary and artistic works is a normal thing that does not need any discussion. But how to describe love is where lies the difference between us and the modern revisionists. We believe that love becomes a noble human sentiment only when it is in harmony with revolutionary virtues and ideal. To us, no matter what an artistic work depicts, it must bring the audience, or viewers, something interesting for their heart and and raise their sentimental life a step higher.

Among us, we also have those who like to describe mean acts and desires. One of the shortcomings of Dong Rac Cu (The Old Garbage) comes from the many pages which its author fill with naturalistic descriptions of obscene scenes. Under the pen of Hoang Tien in Suong Tan (The Fog Dissipates), the dreams and uneasiness of the young girl, Thuy Lan, or of the woman farmer, Le, are none other than the sexual urge of their body; and physiological instinct is the very reason behind man-woman relation. This is very much like a Freudian manifestation in arts.

Another expression of that middle-of-the-road humanitarianism is in the description of individual happiness being separated from collective interest, and in opposing individual interests to collective interests and

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liberalism to proletarian dictatorship. By praising normal life and normal people, by saying they work "for man's life and happiness," they openly do propaganda work for selfish bourgeois individualism. Their works can only weaken the hearts of those who read or view their works, particularly the young people. In our country, there were people who thought they had the right, after several years' hard fighting, to relax as they liked and to take care of their own happiness; as the revolutionary life would not allow that, they became disappointed and confused, and went as far as to take a hostile attitude toward the new social order. The short story, Dem Khong Ngu (Night Without Sleep), by Vu Thu Hien and the novel, Vao Doi (Start of Life), by Ha Minh Tuan clearly show such an attitude. Other attitudes, to underestimate the effect of describing heroic people and action and to belittle the class struggle in the countryside and the struggle between two paths in literary and artistic works, have made a number of our writers be caught in too small problems of life and bring forth more personal feelings, which are not linked to our people's revolutionary work.

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The revolution does not deny, but actually protect, personal happiness. It is just because of the happiness of each and every working man that our party and people have to carry out revolutionary work for the liberation of the people and working class. However, personal happiness can be had only within the limit of common happiness; and both are not separable. We take revolutionary collectivism as the basis of our virtue, and the slogan, "I for everybody, everybody for me," as the target of our education. We firmly protest against and fight for the elimination of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and sentiments, which place the individual above everything else and oppose personal happiness to revolutionary ideal and to the class struggle which is taking place in our country and throughout the world. Arts are the voice of sentiments and the heart; and the purpose of revolutionary arts is to build revolutionary sentiments and hearts. We cannot accept weak voices of sentiments, nor empty hearts with no ideals whatsoever but full of selfishness and sadness.

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Under the same pretext of "getting deeply into people's hearts," the revisionist writers and artists particularly exploit the sorrows and pains of individuals. They think that arts would fail to be arts if they were unable to depict individual "tragedies." And usually the type of tragedies they depict is about those individuals who completely fail in their love adventures, or face "unfair" treatment in life, or are victims of war. In the last few years, such "unfair" grievances were said to be connected with the so-called "cult of personality period." The feelings of those individuals change and vary in a subtle manner, but they act without any ideal, as they are the only people in the world having such grievances and unlucky situations. The works written along this line can easily stir deep emotions and pity in their readers, who then forget the class struggle reality and forget that the big issues being raised are closely connected with the destiny of their people and mankind. In fact, what they depict, from the standpoint of the authors' character and tendencies, do not differ much from what the "modernized" writers and artists of the type of Francoise Sagan in the West

have written. These tendencies are completely different from those of the realistic writers and artists of the end of the last century. These writers and artists strongly denounced the exploitation of human beings by society and the loss of human dignity by describing the sufferings and near-death situation of individuals under the old regime. Nguyen Du's Truyen Kieu (The Story of Kieu) is a great tragedy, but at the same time it is a bitter denunciation against the decaying feudal system.

We do not object to the depicting of personal tragedies. But we understand that such tragedies, as well as man's personal problems, result from definite social situations in history, and in a class struggle setting. And an artistic work that depicts a tragedy, no matter what kind, of some individual in society is valuable only when it finds the relations between individuals and society, reflects the true nature of such relations, and contains correct observations and judgments in accordance with views based on revolutionary concept of the world. With a deep meaning, Marx referred to tragedies of history as follows: "Revolutions are the true subject of tragedies." Engels once confirmed the educational role and wide knowledge of artistic images in tragedies from the standpoint of revolutionary views. Revisionist writers and artists abandon such basic principles. The personal tragedies contained in their works finally become a propaganda for bourgeois individual freedom, a lost dream, and a regret for the things that the revolution already wiped out.

On the basis of revolutionary views, we praised and encouraged the historical play, Truong Dinh, and more recently Dao Hong Cam's Noi Gio (The Wind Starts Blowing). The former is a historical tragedy and depicts the life of national hero Truong Dinh, which is closely linked with the destiny of the people. Noi Gio is also a tragedy about two sisters having different political ideals (actually the younger sister is indoctrinated by the U.S.-Diemists) and is linked with our southern brothers' decisive bitter struggle against the Americans and their lacqueys. Although the play is far from perfect, we like the way the playwright boldly gets into the rather complicated sentiments and solves the problem rather correctly. It is a tragedy and also an epic song to show the courage and invincibility of the women of the south. With the same views, we have reviewed the play, Voong Din, and sternly criticized the novel, Vao Doi (Start Living). The author of Voong Din describes the constant suffering of a counterrevolutionary, with both sympathy and pity. Vao Doi truly is the angry words of a lost class of society, who are dissatisfied with the reality of the socialist system.

The modern revisionists in a number of socialist countries never admit that they are spreading bourgeois humanitarianism, but on the contrary they make statement "against" such bourgeois view. Unlike the Yugoslav revisionists who openly oppose to Marxism, they always pretend they are concerned with Marxist-Leninist original principles, but actually they distort such principles and give them the new modern revisionist shape. In fact, their works and arguments are spreading the free bourgeois individualism and the "human character" theory, which sounds very deep and "touching."

That is why we must be very alert and must point to the bourgeois nature of their harmful arguments and artistic works.

### Two Views about War, Two Ways to Describe War

You comrades have studied Resolution 9 of the party Central Committee. I do not want to repeat here our party position regarding the problem of war and peace. On one-half of our country, our compatriots in the south are gallantly fighting and suffering from a great deal of sacrifice and hardship to resist an extremely ruthless enemy in a more and more bitter aggressive war. The American imperialists and their lacqueys are secretly planning an extension of the war to the north, and everyday are sending spies and special forces to this part to destroy our socialist construction. Living for twenty years in a situation of war, our people know what war means and who create these hardships for our people to bear; and we know how to live and to fight in order to gain victory and for our people to live in the happiness of peace, independence, reunification, and freedom.

Our arts have quite a lot of works that dealt with our people's gallant resistance in the past; there are also artistic works that describe today's struggle of our compatriots in the south. The recently-published book of letters, Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc, and the war memoirs dealing with the Dien Bien Phu victory represent our views concerning the way to describe war. Revolutionary heroism is reflected in such works. The fighting spirit, gallant victories, and sense of sacrifice are beautifully depicted, along with painful losses. The atmosphere that surrounds those books is that of revolutionary power, optimistic fighting spirit, and a mutual trust among comrades and fellow countrymen, as well as a confidence in the good cause and the final victory of the revolution. With a revolutionary way of viewing the Soviet people's patriotic war, the great artists of the Soviet Union have left to the socialist realistic literature and arts great works that deal with the war for the defense of their fatherland. Some of those works, translated in our country, were greatly useful in raising our people's morale during the hard periods of the resistance, and are a current source of encouragement for our southern compatriots' patriotism.

Modern revisionists give up those revolutionary artistic traditions. From such views as "peaceful coexistence" and "the character of war in the present age has changed," they describe war with a clear intention of proving their revisionist views about war. Their works describe war in such a terrible manner as to create fear for war; for instance they write about the sadness of those mothers having lost their sons, the shame and feelings of loneliness of those wounded soldiers having lost all their families, the pains of those wives having lost their husbands, scenes of separation, the madness of those children having lost all their relatives, etc. In such works, we find nothing but losses that follow losses, one terror that follows another terror, in short all the terrible things that surround the human life. According to their way of seeing and thinking, the oppressed peoples and classes should only drop their heads and ask for a "peaceful

life." In such works, sometimes there still are the gallant struggles of those men who are determined to defend their fatherland, but such struggles are only some small lights in the dark and such people are still hidden behind those who lack confidence in the contests started by the imperialists, while defeatism is sketched in distorted "historical facts."

Because of lack of political understanding and vigilance, for the last few years, we allowed the translation and publication of many books and the import of many movies and pieces of music that are against party views and spread facifistic psychology among our people. On the other hand, we failed to criticize in time such incorrect tendencies in the works of some of us. In the novel, Pha Vay (Breaking the Besiegement), by Phu Thang, there is a passage in which the author is mad with war in a passive manner and sees nothing but sufferings and losses: "...War has created and will create so many other sufferings, hardships, shame, anger... war has nothing to be praised for, and a soldier's life is only a life of hard-working. If in the struggle a true glory is obtained, it is paid for at a very high price. The bloodshed and all its dreadful disastrous effects must be soon put to an end." In the story, Doi Mat (A Pair of Eyes), Huu Mai expresses his emotions as he stands in front of a blind wounded soldier: "... in front of me lies a very cruel image of war. Perhaps the most unfortunate thing for a wounded soldier is the loss of two eyes. For a soldier who loses an arm, or a leg, he may in his everyday life forget that he has ever been struck by the ruthless ax of the war. But for a blind soldier, this misfortune is there every hour, every minute. A step, or a movement of the hand, bespeaks his being blind... The war has dropped a mountain of sorrows onto the little shoulders of this young woman (the wounded soldier's wife)." In the poetry book, Tap Tho Tinh Yeu (Poems of Love), published by Thanh nien Publishing House, there is this poem, entitled Hanh Phuc Chua Tron (Incomplete Happiness):

"Holding you in my arms,  
I kiss your rosy lovely cheeks.  
Suddenly, at this late time of night, the radio station  
Announces the most dreadful news:  
'The United States exploded another nuclear bomb underground...!'  
The two of us falter  
The kiss is half-way finished!  
Happiness, darling,  
Is far from complete."

I gave you only a few examples. The sick, lost ideas which I mentioned above are found scattered in many other works. Our arts cannot hold any such feelings of fear, sadness, and shame. We have suffered some losses in our resistance and in the present struggle in the south, but these are not the losses of a passive life but rather the sacrifices of those who understand themselves and who gallantly fight for their survival and victory. In addition to sufferings, life holds so much greatness and optimism! The wounded soldiers do not complain about the revolutionary war, but feel they are proud of having gallantly fought for the independence of their fatherland. Our

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mothers suffer from the loss of their dear sons, but they feel proud of having contributed to the resistance. Let us listen to Mother Long Chau Sa, who says as follows, after having covered the face of her beloved daughter: "I know I am too old to bear any child now. I have no other son left to take vengeance for her death." Our youngsters, 18 or 19, compete with one another to get to the frontline or to be assigned the most difficult and dangerous tasks. Our people understand very well that happiness can be attained only through revolution and struggle and that everybody has a share of responsibility for the common struggle. That is the great reality of our country. If we artists do not think better than the common people, or if we have even poorer thinking than the normal people and soldiers, how can we hope to fulfill the task of being patriotic citizens, not even that of being the "engineers of the soul?" We should bring ourselves to a higher level, always, in order to fulfill our tasks and to deserve being part of our fatherland, our heroic people, and our great party!

### Modern Revisionism Attacks the Principle of Party Superiority and Distorts Socialist Realism

Socialist realistic method is formed in the course of the workers' class's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of its pioneering elements. Its basis is the Marxist-Leninist concept of the world. It is a method of those writers and artists who fight for socialism. The most important distinction between the socialist realistic method and other methods lies in the superiority of the proletarian party and of the proletarian concept of the world. It is the class dividing line in the field of literature and arts. That is why the modern revisionists in arts, we are not surprised to say this, always attack socialist realism and its achievements.

The (Hungarian) revisionist, Lucas, does not openly deny socialist realism, but his argument is wisely to deny the concept of the world and the party superiority in arts.

He writes that party superiority is "a driving power residing in reality itself; this driving power is recognized on the basis of reflecting honestly reality, dialectic, and practice in which it is placed... The creating of a true artistic work is directed toward turning party superiority into the quality of the world being described itself." This is to say that there is no need for improving this party character and that the only need is to reflect reality--and how to reflect reality is the concern of arts and depends on the artists themselves. Lucas does not recognize the decisive role of the concept of the world in creative work, and thinks that the decisive factor is the art and subjectiveness of the artists. At the same time, Lucas argues that, in our age, the struggling against the degenerate arts and concept of the world is no longer of prime importance. For in his opinion this struggling "can make a number of writers and art workers in many capitalist countries become isolated." According to him, the Marxist literary argument must "cover everything and originate in coexistence in order that the criticizing of (artistic) works would be free from prejudices."

How about the argument of Vitma (of Yugoslavia)? It is even bolder, for, as he lives in what he calls the Yugoslav "paradise," Vitma thinks that socialist realism in socialist countries is the result of "party decrees" and is "created by Stalin." In his opinion, there is no socialist realism: "Nobody can say what it (socialist realism) represents and what it actually has," and it is something "not so evident for literary researchers, and a completely impractical concept." He thinks that in arts there is no role for the concept of the world and for thinking, and that everything comes from talent.

After reviewing some arguments of the most leading revisionists in the field of arts in the last ten years or so, we do not find anything new in the incorrect views being circulated in some socialist countries, or in the organs of some brother parties in capitalist countries. They are the repetitions of the arguments of Lucas, Vitma, just like the way the modern revisionists, in political matters, are repeating Tito's arguments in some other forms or to a different degree.

A well-known producer in a brother country writes: "To artists, the first problem to be concerned with is style, that is the manner in which the subject is expressed; those producers who think that ideological concept is the most important thing in a motion picture and in film-making will find that the public cannot understand their films. Ideological concept is a beautiful term, and a motion picture must have ideology, but to do propaganda for ideological concept is bad."

In my conversation with a bourgeois producer, the latter said: "I never give myself a problem to solve, that is to ask myself whether I should stress some strong point or any weakness, whether I should defend or criticize, for nobody can play the part of an expert in love or hate, in criticizing or defending. All sentiments are but different aspects of an individual artist." Some other revisionist writers and artists follow the same line. They believe in "reconciling what is irreconcilable." They say: "We have no schools of thought but names; what unites our young poets is genius. There is no abstract painting. There only is good painting, or bad painting. The same applies to realistic painting. For a painter of genius, his works are realistic... A lack of genius leads to a lack of realism." Modern revisionist writers and artists always advance personal emotions, the right of artists to decide, etc.; in their opinion, what "enlightens" their emotions, their right to decide is they themselves. This idealist and individualistic-freedom tendency is being developed in many countries. Recently, we found this same tendency under the label, "limitless realism." These are the main points in that argument:

a. Arts are not "copies" of reality; they are of higher order than reality, and create a separate world. This world is created by artists.

b. Arts are "a form of man's presence in the world." Therefore, "no art is not realistic."

c. The aesthetic role of arts must be made absolute and separated from political and philosophical relations.

They believe that "we should not cut any part of reality: a scenery, a nude, a still life are pieces of reality, so are sadness, pleasure, love, and protest." They never refer to symbolizing aspect and situation, nor to party character. From this argument, they come to the defense of those degenerate writers and artists because the latter's works are "their presence in the world," and because their works contain feelings and phenomena that do exist in life. They cite things like "objective abstraction" and "subjective abstraction," which they consider as "forms of realism," and therefore believe "there can be an abstract realism." We are not surprised at all when, in the last few years in the papers of some brother parties, people openly defended abstractionism and cubism. They do not deal with the problem of applying Marxist-Leninist knowledge, for they are afraid of "mechanically inserting epistemological matters in aesthetics." Avoiding Marxist-Leninist epistemology, they have come to such conclusions as "... We must sometimes admit that the keenest content of an artistic work is its form."

What is now called "limitless realism" was, in 1959, considered by some people as a "liberal concept" of socialist realism. One of them said: "To me, nothing is more stupid and more irrational than to like only what is in harmony with our own thinking in every aspect. To me, nothing is more stupid than to say that the thinking of another person is exactly the same as my thinking." This view actually is comparable to that of Lucas, who says that the Marxist argument must "cover everything and originate in co-existence in order that the criticizing of (artistic) works would be free from prejudices." It actually attacks the proletarian party character in socialist literature and arts and reconciles the bitter struggle between the two ideologies, bourgeois and proletarian.

In short, in regard to the problem of socialist realism, although the arguments of the modern revisionist writers and artists may differ in their forms, the content of such arguments remains the same:

1. To deny or to place at a very secondary place both party character and proletarian concept of the world.
2. To do away with the dividing line between socialist realism and degenerate bourgeois artistic tendencies. "To legalize" the admitting of such tendencies into socialist arts.
3. To attack the Marxist-Leninist epistemology and to replace the latter with subjective idealism.

The above views are a natural reflection of modern revisionism in the political field, which rejects the reality of the masses' revolutionary struggle, rejects the idea that class struggle is a driving force for social development, and eliminates the leadership of the proletarian party and class.

The difference between the Yugoslav revisionists and some modern revisionists in a number of socialist countries or in some brother parties in capitalist countries lies in the fact that the Yugoslav revisionists openly side with the bourgeois degenerate writers in opposing socialist realism, which they consider as "a product of Stalin" and the result of "decrees" from the communist party. The modern revisionists who still remain in the ranks of socialist arts, under the labels of "let us develop socialist realism" and "let us oppose dogmatism in arts," attack socialist realism and its fine traditions, beginning with the International by Eugene Pottier, the revolutionary poems by the Paris Commune combatants, and particularly the novel, The Mother, by Gorki. Socialist realism is facing a great danger in those countries where the modern revisionists in power, in the name of those who "defend socialist realism" and "defend party character," direct their countries' writers and artists toward recognizing the objective deformation of reality and replacing the revolutionary changes of reality with the subjectivism of individuals.

In regard to the development of our country's new arts, the Third Party Congress resolution sets forth the need for "mastering socialist realist method, struggling hard in order to have more artistic works that honestly reflect the new life, the new man..." A letter from the party Central Committee to the Third National Arts Congress notes: "... our arts have been the socialist, still young but promising, arts..." Except the Nhan Van-Giai Pham group several years ago, all our writers and artists have tried to master the socialist realist method in their creative work. However, our arts in general still lag behind the needs of our people's sizzling life. In the last few years, there were unhealthy phenomena in creative work, arguments, and criticisms because of the effect of modern revisionism. I mentioned a few moments ago some of those phenomena. In his talk, comrade Truong Chinh indicated the basic needs of socialist realism, particularly the character of the proletarian party. Do not think that as we live in a country that is building socialism or has advocated socialist realism, our artistic work automatically become socialist realist in character. Earlier in this talk, I presented to you a few ideas aimed at speeding creative work and creating interesting socialist realist works. As I talk about method, here I would like to suggest that you comrades review your views and evaluate artistic works and those arguments that are connected with the problem of party character and with socialist realist method.

Some comrades conceive realist character in a naturalistic manner. In their creative work, they deal with many facts, many feelings, without any choice, thus forgetting that Engels once taught us to choose "representative character in representative situations." Dong Rac Cu (The Old Garbage) is a representation of naturalism. They attach very little importance to criticism, or pay very little attention to ideological character and educational needs of artistic works, to the true nature of and the relations between phenomena in life. Those comrades tend to evaluate an artistic work by judging the number of phenomena its author has inserted in it; whether such phenomena are true, separate or superficial does not make any difference.

Just because of such an incorrect view that, in our first discussions, some comrades defended Dong Rac Cu by saying it was "realist" or "basically realist."

Many of us have failed to recognize the importance of improving the proletarian concept of the world and strengthening party character in their knowledge and in arts. Some comrades even found the studying of politics and party policies a compulsory thing, and the mutual assistance among us all an "inconvenience."

While some comrades go very slowly in getting to know the new life, without daring to attack problems and to solve them, other comrades think that "to diagnose the patient's illness" is enough and usually fear that the urgent revolutionary work today would strangle the people's "aesthetic sense" and destroy the nation's elite. With such remarks, how will their writings have any educational value to improve their readers' knowledge?

In arguing and reviewing work, there also are comrades who underestimate the decisive effect of the concept of the world upon artistic works, give one-way emphasis to the special character of arts, and attach little importance to the class character of arts. There have been arguments that tended to erase the dividing line between classes; for instance, in the book, Cac Phuong Phap Nghe Thuat (About Artistic Methods), Le Dinh Ky has this idea to bring forth: "In a given period of time, there are those demands of history while authors belonging to different classes and racial groups, through mutual influence upon one another, form an artistic generation, a style of the time." He also separates style from method, and puts style outside his world concept. Although these shortcomings do not constitute the major aspect of his book, his arguments belong to bourgeois views in arts.

#### Nihilism and Unprincipled Inheritance and Acceptance

In the last few years in the literature and arts of some socialist countries and in the socialist realist artistic movement in a number of capitalist countries, there appeared a tendency to reject national revolutionary traditions and to accept carelessly and to popularize freely bourgeois cultural trends.

One of the reasons behind the tendency to reject the revolutionary traditions of socialist arts is the position of some modern revisionist leaders who deny the work and revolutionary leadership principles of their predecessors. Veteran writers and new writers alike refuse to accept the most developed of all artistic periods, saying they are "dogmatic periods" and periods in which "writers and artists do creative work according to decrees issued by their leaders." But, on the contrary, they like the early period of the revolution, the period in which socialist realism has not found its high position and the degenerate bourgeois tendencies still retained their foothold and continued their destructive activities. They consider it as

"the golden age" in which arts had the right "to create freely" and "to develop freely." At the same time, they openly defend abstractionism in painting and spread bourgeois liberalism in arts. Some of them even criticize the party leadership. In creative work, in the name of "to oppose the cult of personality" and "be brave and tell the truth," those writers succeed in discrediting a very glorious period of the revolution. Their purpose clearly is to reject the revolutionary traditions of the nation and of the proletarian class and the revolutionary achievements of the world in order to accept bourgeois tendencies in literature and arts. They deny the nation's revolutionary traditions while praising and wanting to restore the prestige of those who have openly opposed the revolutionary rule and insulted proletarian dictatorship. They are dazzled by the technical games of western bourgeois artists and bewitched by the living of the western bourgeoisie that they grasp the things they call "new" but actually degenerate and lost, which prevail in bourgeois arts. The "over-all cooperation" with capitalist countries, as advocated by modern revisionists, creates favorable conditions for bourgeois tendencies to infiltrate in the arts of socialist countries. As politics follows the modern revisionist line, there is no way for arts to avoid following the same line.

The reasoning of the advocates of "limitless realism" has led them to being lost in the garbage of bourgeois arts. Their arguments sound quite attractive for petty bourgeois individualism. In regard to the problem of inheritance and acceptance in arts, their arguments are as follows:

a. Without the surrealist of the past, there cannot be the socialist realist of today. Therefore, no matter what the past is, it cannot be rejected; the past, under any circumstances, still is useful and is linked with the present and the future of one's career.

b. Do not criticize those who mean to be against you; look in their thoughts (no matter how reactionary they are) for something "creative" and the "fine features" that would "enrich" your own thoughts.

c. In arts, "sometimes the richest content is in the form," and as arts are "the presence of each person in life," even formalistic and abstractionistic tendencies and the most degenerate artistic works make their own contributions to the common art treasure of mankind.

These views lead to the elimination of the dividing line between socialist realism and degenerate bourgeois artistic tendencies, defend all reactionary tendencies in arts, and thus create confusion in the evaluation of literary and artistic works.

It is true that many writers and artists, before joining the ranks of those combatants fighting for a socialist realist literature, have gone through sufferings and shame in hours of overexcitement and disappointment that seemed endless. Just because of these useless and painful hours that they appreciate more and love the road they are taking. However, on the

other hand, it is to be understood that the old influences do not abandon them very easily and sometimes gain strength to overpower them and to make them struggle with themselves. The road to revolutionary conversion taken by great artists is by no means an easy one. So far, after forty years of going the revolutionary way, some people are still lost in the old antifascist thoughts of theirs.

Those comrades who still regret the old things and still are lost in the individualistic jungle very easily think that the above-mentioned arguments are right and true. Of the realist writers-critics in our country and in the world, some comrades show a one-way attitude: they praise the good while overlooking the bad and even the reactionary. In the evaluation of the pre-August Revolution literary and artistic tendencies, there still are conflicting ideas; this phenomenon is unavoidable, but in fact a regret for the past is quite an obstacle to correct evaluation. Some comrades, even now, still think that they were "freer" to do creative work in the past. Earlier in this talk, I already presented to you my ideas regarding this matter. In our society today, those who make us lose our freedom are we ourselves, and nobody else.

The letter sent to the Third National Art Congress from the party Central Committee says: "Let us try to go farther in exploiting and developing the cream of our national arts, and studying with clear-sighted criticism and creativity the fine achievements of world arts, past and present, particularly the arts of the brother socialist countries." In regard to this matter, the position of our party is very clear. At present, it is not because we are against modern revisionism that we cease to study the precious experiences and to accept the cream of the revolutionary and progressive arts of other countries. Up to the present time, and from now on, in all fields, we have been respecting, defending, and trying to learn the revolutionary experiences of the Soviet Union, China, and other brother countries, and accepting all the cream of the cultures of the world, thus enriching our own culture.

There are other problems, dealing with our views and arguments, which are related to the development of our socialist arts and the struggle between the two paths in the domain of arts. The problems that are raised today only serve to get to understand the whole of the matter. I deeply hope that you comrades would think about them and discuss them in an openhearted manner, and that not only those comrades working directly in this domain but all of us would be more concerned with today's theoretical artistic problems.

Dear comrades,

Our revolutionary work is very great. Marxism-Leninism and our party always remain the banner of struggle and victory of our people, working people, and writers and artists.

In the vital struggle against imperialism, headed by the American imperialists, and in the relentless struggle against modern revisionism, the principal danger of the international communist movement and of the revolutionary and socialist arts today, let us fight, along with our party and people, on the frontline of the revolution with our sharp artistic weapons. Let us encourage one another to move forward, under the banner of our beloved party, to attain new achievements for our nation's new arts, and to contribute our energy to the building of socialist arts and making the latter full of the vitality of our time!

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FAILURES AND SERIOUS CRISIS OF  
AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR  
LACKEYS IN THE SOUTH

[Following is a translation of an article  
by Ha Van Lau in the Vietnamese-language  
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, Oct.  
1964, No. 10, pages 58-64.]

A new coup engineered by Lam Van Phat, Duong Van Duc, and a number of officers last September 13 almost succeeded in toppling the militarist and dictatorial regime of Nguyen Khanh. Four battalions and an armored unit from the 7th Regiment moved from My Tho to Saigon, and in a matter of a few hours, had gained control of a great part of the city without having to fire a shot. That was the 5th coup since the Ngo Dinh Diem's regime was overthrown by the US imperialists. This time, coups and counter coups succeeded each other in utter confusion all through the day. High ranking officers of the South were engaged in a bitter struggle for power, one or more generals against the others; some even made a turn about face and tried to negotiate after having declared themselves against the Khanh's regime. However, following orders from their American masters, the generals agreed to temporarily patch up their quarrels and put Khanh back at the helm. The five generals leading the coup were incarcerated. Nevertheless, the illegal power of the South was still without a government. Externally, an atmosphere of calmness seemed to prevail thanks to much support and backing given by the US imperialists, but internally, its state of affairs remained rotten as ever.

Following the coup, the 7th Fleet --operating in the China Sea-- was put on a permanent alert. Several American destroyers moved deep into our territorial waters off the coast during the two days of September 17 and 18, 1964. Then suddenly, on the night of September 18, the US imperialists made a big fuss about what they called "a new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin". Their only intent was to repeat the Gulf of Tonkin's incident in the night of August 4, 1964, which they had created and then used it as an excuse to bomb and attack our shores the following night, August 5, 1964.

The US imperialists' propaganda apparatus was set in motion with an announcement that American warships were being threatened (!), and that retaliatory measures would be taken. Our government and our people have timely denounced the perfidious aggressiveness and the slanderous attack of the US imperialists. Less than 24 hours later, the US Secretary of Defense, McNamara, had to declare that "the new incident" was closed (!).

The two facts mentioned above --the aborted coup attempted by a group of superior officers of the lackey army of the South, and the alleged "new incident" in the the Gulf of Tonkin ocured at different times, different locations and under different circumstances, and seem unrelated to each other at first glance. But for our people and for those among international opinion who are interested in the situation in this area, those two facts are clearly and closely inter-related, and were both generated by the same deep-rooted cause, which is the policy of agression and of war-mongering in Indochina and Southeast Asia on the part of the US imperialists.

The coup of September 13, 1964 once again throws into relief the grave crisis and the the sharp and profound conflicts existing within the illegitimate army and the illegitimate government in the South. It may have come as a surprise to the US imperialists, but for the people of Vietnam and for all impartial observers in the world, it was of a self-evident and inescapable nature. The British daily The Guardian wrote: "If anything, it is even more difficult today to forecast with certainty whether general Khanh will be able to maintain himself in power, or will be overthrown, and whether somebody is in control of governmental power in South Vietnam".

In reality, this coup is but another important step along the continuous and lengthy crisis suffered by the illegitimate power structure in the South, which crisis is in turn part of the general process of failure and of bankruptcy which characteres the policy of war and agression of American imperialism in the southern part of our country. During these last few years, the American imperialists made great efforts trying to find a way to escape the position of defeat and self-engulfment in which they were trapped in the South. But the very evil nature of their agressive war always led them to conceive solutions which pushed them further and deeper into the dead-ended tunnel.

Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South VN, the people of the South unceasingly inflected heavy defeats in all fields upon the American imperialists and their lackeys in the struggle for liberation. The American imperialists wanted to use South Vietnam as an experimental ground for their "special warfare", but the heroic people of the South turned their attempt into pitiful defeat and engulfment. Even Alsop, a press correspondent who is closely associated with the American militarists had to complain that "this was the worst defeat experienced by the United States in this century".

During the past few years, American imperialism dispatched to the South of our country a great amount of manpower, money, and equipment. From the Staley-Taylor plan aiming at pacifying the South in 18 months to the most recent Johnson-McNamara plan aiming at "pacifying the South within the two years 1964-1965", they not only sent here more generals and high ranking officers, and "prestigious politicians", they also concentrated here the

highest amount of aid. "Aid" for 1964 alone amounted to 675 million dollars. Also, they have been trying here the most modern military technique known to them.

The contingent of American officers and troops sent to South VN approaches at present 30,000. Moreover, a large amount of contemporary weapons and warfare equipment have been used extensively to massacre our people living in the South. The lackey army of the South has been augmented up to half a million troops, and the increase affected the regular army as well as the territorial army and the militia.

All those efforts however did not help the American imperialists achieve their ambition. On the contrary, they became more engulfed as they increased their war efforts. In three years, from 1961 to 1963, the army and the people of the South destroyed more than 250,000 enemy troops, among them almost 1,500 American aggressors, shot down or damaged hundreds of airplanes, and captured a large amount of weapons. The Ap Bac victory at the beginning of 1963 started a nation-wide scheme of competition for performances in destruction of the enemy in the South. Within only the first eight months of 1964, 82,000 enemy troops were put out of fighting condition or disintegrated. During July and the first ten days of August 1964, 22 companies, 34 platoons, and close to 3 batalions of the enemy were completely wiped out. Tactics such as "heliborne", "armored carriers" based on the most recent findings of military research by the enemy proved to be of low efficiency.

The "strategic hamlet" program, an extremely cruel scheme of forced population transfer, which the enemy looked upon as a major national policy and praised all the time as the most efficient of their devices to "gain support of the population", also ended up in bankruptcy. Their target is to include in this program 17,000 hamlets, yet even in the Diem-Nhu era, they never succeeded in organizing more than 7000 hamlets. Since the beginning of this year, they have tried to reinforce this program, but the amount of reinforced hamlets equals only one third of the amount of hamlets destroyed by the people. At present, two third of the hamlets fortified by the enemy have been destroyed.

Following the failure of their "18 months pacification plan" the American government is now speaking of a "long, difficult, and costly in manpower as well as in financial means " war: this is the admission that their strategy has failed.

The bankruptcy of the Staley-Taylor plan dragged down the family dictatorship of Diem-Nhu who were the ablest henchmen of the American imperialists in Southeast Asia. The subsequent lackeys put in power by the Americans, Duong Van Minh as well as Nguyen Khanh, proved to be more incompetent. Consecutive coups d'etat have violently shaken up the basic rationale as well as the organization and the apparatus of the illegitimate government in the South. Opposite factions are in a state of uninterrupted feuding,

and their strength is further reduced at every showdown. Internal conflicts within the enemy ranks will become more acute as the crisis develops. The determined efforts of the people in the struggle against the policy of war and aggression of the American imperialists is instrumental in affecting the morale of certain categories among the illegitimate army and government. An increasing amount of enemy troops refuse to execute orders of launching operations and the percentage of deserters gets bigger everyday. Also, the ideas of peace and neutralism take root and develop in the ranks of the illegitimate army and government, and bear great influence upon the implementation of the American war policy. All those troubles have placed the reactionary and authoritarian regime in the South in a continuous political crisis. And this crisis affects not only the puppet government, but also the very policy of war and aggression of the American imperialists.

After the overthrow of Diem, and the ascension to power of the military junta of Minh-Don-Kim, the position of the American imperialist remained one of serious military defeats and of constant political crisis. Then the American imperialists once again manipulated within their vicious circle, and organized the second coup d'etat, bringing to power the "group of politicians" of the Dai Viet Party led by Nguyen Ton Hoan, together with the military which resulted in the composite government of Khanh and Hoan. They attempted to rally a certain amount of political parties in order to create conditions for those parties to participate in the government, and thus to mobilize a large coalition of reactionary forces as the instrument to fight the people of South Vietnam. In the political arena of South Vietnam, the list of political parties at times reaches the all time high of 38 groups (Radio Saigon, April 12, 1964). Within the rank of the rotten Khanh-Hoan government, there were constant rivalries, disputes over privileges and power. Soon the Dai Viet plotted to overthrow Khanh, while Khanh tried to curb the influence of the Dai Viet and to limit their power. The crisis of the Khanh-Hoan "government" became more bitter, and internal conflicts grew sharper every day. The American imperialist panicked at the possibility of another coup d'etat, acknowledged the failure of the "politico-military" formula in the organization of the lackey government in the South and adopted the new "all military formula", providing for a war cabinet which would better serve the American policy of war and aggression. In order to avert a possible total collapse of their position in the South, the American imperialists sought to increase the scheme of provocation and of aggression against the North on the one hand, and to consolidate the lackey governmental machinery in the South on the other. On August 4, 1964, the American imperialists launched what they called "the incidents of the Gulf of Tonkin", and on August 5, 1964, the American imperialists attacked and provoked the North of our country. Then taking advantage of the tension occasioned by their act of war in the North on August 5, 1964, the American imperialists and their lackeys in the South invented a new trick: they proclaimed a state of emergency, which allowed Nguyen Khanh, the most trusted American servant to concentrate all powers in his hand, to apply dictatorship, to discard the political parties, to fire from the illegitimate

government several cabinet ministers, generals, and superior officers who were not in agreement with him. The third coup d'etat took place August 16, 1964: Khanh appointed himself "chairman" of "The Republic of Vietnam", proclaimed a new "charter", and consolidated the military dictatorial regime in view of reinforcing the design for war and aggression by the American imperialists in South Vietnam. Moreover, the American imperialists set up a "joint command of Americano-Vietnamese forces" in order to achieve a direct and total control of the military affairs in the South.

However, resistance to and protest against the American aggressors and the military dictatorship of Nguyen Khanh grew bigger everyday. Together with the students and people of all faiths, several other categories of population of the urban areas in the South participated with great spirit in the struggle. The "chair" occupied by Khanh was upset by the people within ten days. For the first time in the South, in an atmosphere of all out opposition to the Americans, all categories of urban population fought with bare hands, but also with such determination and unity in hatred of the Americans that the reactionary government became frightened and fell, although they were armed to the teeth. On August 25, the Americans had to back out and to set up the triumvirate of Khanh-Minh-Khiem, in the hope of smoothing out the situation. The Americans instructed their lackeys to herald that the "triumvirate" was set up "to take charge of government affairs for a period of two months pending the organization of a civilian government". This was the fourth coup d'etat within less than 9 months, or since the downfall of Diem. The American authorities were trying to keep the situation in the South from deteriorating until the American presidential elections are over.

But once again the hopes of American imperialism failed to materialize: internecine feuding among their lackeys kept growing; taking advantage of Taylor's trip back home, a number of generals and superior officers of the South staged another coup d'etat in the night preceding the 13th of September, and brought the puppet regime of the South to an unprecedented situation of grave crisis. The coup group accused Khanh of "high treason against the fatherland", and demanded his ouster from the government and the army. But the "joint military and civilian committee for national salvation" set up by the coup group had hardly functioned for one day that the Americans found ways and means to bring Khuyen Khanh back to power on the 14th of September, 1964. And thus, the illegitimate power in the South was "putsched" for the sixth time within 300 days.

Until today, although the US imperialists have tried to settle the disputes between various antagonistic grabbing groups and returned to the triumvirate mode of government; the conflicts between their lackeys in the South have not been solved, the crisis still lingers on. The organizers of the coup were mercilessly thrown in jail or dismissed. However, new conflicts appeared between the military and reactionary politicians, between the older generals and the young turks, and between the illegitimate central power with those of the regions, etc.. A number of military forces, political

and military organizations have shown to have a separatist tendency toward Khanh. The US-Khanh clique seemed to be without a solution vis-a-vis a situation of parceling out of territory which tends to be spreading rapidly. Even the Western press agencies acknowledged the fact that "the situation at present is most delicate, and there were at least 18 young officers who have submitted their demands to Khanh and warned that if their demands were not met, they were ready to declare themselves dissident and will stage another coup.."

Thus, since the Diemist regime was overthrown 10 months ago, the South has witnessed 6 coups. These coups heralded a acute weakening of the US lackey regime in the South, and this fever is by far the most serious one experienced by the crisis-prone and traitorous regime in South Vietnam. The American could not turn to any one individual or organization to repress the movement. For the first time and hand in hand with a disintegration of ideals and political principles, there was a breakdown in organization among the rank and file of the puppet regime and armed forces. Several regional puppet regimes have openly shown that they would not hesitate to separate themselves from the central puppet power. September 20, 1964, in Ban Me Thuot, 500 "montagnards" of the illegitimate armed forces revolted against the US-Khanh regime. They took over the radio station, arrested the so-called American advisers, and demanded that Khanh give autonomy to the four provinces of the Central Highlands. This revolt later spreaded throughout the three provinces of Darlac, Djarai, and Quang Duc, and by September 23, 1964, more than 4000 soldiers have joined the revolt, including a number of members of the Polay-Morong special training forces training camp near Pleiku (Djarai). On that same day, groups opposed to Khanh in Binh Dinh have twice occupied the Qui Nhon radio station to declare themselves opposed to Khanh's dictatorial regime. A number of dissident groups in Central Vietnam declared that they do not recognize the Saigon regime. During that same period, nearly 100,000 workers in Saigon, Cholon, and Gia Dinh have gone on strike and organized demonstrations against the American imperialists and their lackeys, disrupting all activities in the city and causing much ambarrassement to the Saigon illegitimate power.

At present, the US-Khanh regime is in disarray, rotten, and hopeless. The American lackeys still tried to deny that there were any attempt to stage another coup. As for the US Department of State, it declared that "the political situation in South VN has no bearing upon the war effort", that "the situation will return to normal", and that "the US still supports the Khanh regime". Nevertheless, the present political crisis in the puppet regime of the South is heading toward another serious downward step.

The struggle of our people in the South is a national liberation struggle against the aggressive imperialists and their lackeys. The major conflict in the South is that of the absolute majority of the people on one side and the aggressive US imperialists and their lackeys on the other. And if the last coup of September 13 was beyond the desire and wishes of the American imperialists, then a liquidation of the present crisis in the South

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is all the more beyond the subjective desire or the temporary and unconvincing settlement put forth by Washington. The main reason behind the last coup was the fact that our people and our forces in the South have administered crushing blows upon the aggressive and warmongering efforts of the American imperialists. The first few months of the Johnson-McNamara plan were without result. The strength of the National Liberation Front of the South was increasing, liberated areas in the South were becoming more numerous and strengthened, and the anti-US movement was not only spreading in the country side but also in the cities.

By setting up a militarist dictatorial regime, the American imperialists and their lackeys can only increase the degree of opposition to their policy in the country. The people is no longer dupe of their demagogic and conciliatory measures nor of their phony slogans about freedom and democracy. No matter what general was assigned, what strategy has been used, what ambassador has been recalled or replaced, this puppet regime or that puppet regime has been established, etc., they still cannot escape an established objective rule which says that the aggressors and their lackeys will definitely be defeated, and the struggle of our people in the South to liberate the nation will definitely be victorious.

More than ever before, our people in the South realized that there is no government that can call itself a genuine government for the people and not opposing the aggressive American imperialists. No deceitful argument of the American imperialists can stand up as long as their soldiers and lackeys are still conducting a bloody war against our people whose only wishes were peace, reunification, independence, freedom and democracy. No perfidious effort on their part will know success when world opinion already condemned the dirty war in South Vietnam as "McNamara's war" and their lackey army in the South as "the largest mercenary force in the world to fight beside the Americans". The warmongering and aggressive policy of the US imperialists in South Vietnam is leading the US into a tunnel without exit, and finally to complete and total defeat.

At the beginning of last August, the Johnson-McNamara group put into effect their plan of taking the war to North Vietnam with acts of provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin, openly launched an air attack upon the coastal areas of the North, and then declared that they have regained the upper hand. That was only an attempt to disengage themselves from their own engulfment in the South, to give moral support to their lackeys, and at the same time to counter the attacks of the Republican Party during the presidential election in the United States, and finally to gain their allies' support for their aggressive war in South Vietnam.

During that period of provocations, the American imperialists have suffered crushing blows administered by our army and our people. Despite a meticulous plan encompassing all aspects of their military, propaganda, and diplomatic apparatuses to slander us, the world opinion still condemned

their acts of adventurist piracy and provocations. The objective criticism of world opinion and the unanimous support of the peoples of the world for our just struggle was a most eloquent proof of political defeat of the American imperialists. Even the Western press had to recognize that one of the reasons behind the crisis leading to the coup of September 13 was the miserable failure of the American imperialists' air attack upon our shores the morning of August 5, 1964. It was all too clear that by attacking the North the American imperialists not only had failed to extract themselves from their own engulfment in the South, but they found themselves more "engulfed and isolated" than ever before.

Hand in hand with a stepping up of their aggressive war in South VN and an increase in their provocative acts and destruction of the North, the American imperialists embarked upon a diplomatic campaign to gain support from their allies for their aggressive policies, aiming at "internationalizing" their aggressive war in South Vietnam. During various meetings of the aggressive blocs and alliances such as the Seato meeting in April 1964 in Manila, Nato in May 1964 in the Hague, Anzus in July 1964 in Washington, the American imperialists have openly called upon their allies to "help" their puppet regime in South Vietnam, to attack the North coastal areas. August 8, 1964, Johnson sent Henri Cabot Lodge, former US ambassador in South Vietnam, on a tour of various European countries to falsely denounce us and also to drum up support for their aggressive war effort in the South.

But contrary to their high hopes, their allies and friendly countries --members of the above mentioned military blocs as well as the eight European countries which Lodge had visited-- all have shown to be most cautious, especially on the problem of "military aid". Some had openly given a cold shoulder to his appeal and categorically refused to help, even to give "token" aid. The American imperialists had hoped to get more support from their allies only to find themselves more isolated than ever. This diplomatic setback not only pointed out the low ebb in American prestige abroad and within the imperialist camp, but also the serious conflict between the US and its allies --particularly between the US and France, which manifested itself most clearly in the recent Lodge-Joze meeting in Paris. One of the leading French commentators sarcastically called this meeting "a friendly meeting between two deafs".

In trying to find an escape out of the dark tunnel they were being trapped in the South, the US imperialists have tried their utmost to get the United Nations to intervene in South VN and in Indochina, using the UN as a shield to cover their aggressive policy, to undermine the established legal base of the 1964 Geneva Agreement on Indochina, and to use the UN in replacement of the International Control Commission.

The determined and crystal clear attitude of our government and our people, in addition to the unanimous support of world opinion with regard

to our correct position, are not only repealing the contemptuous attempts of the American imperialists, but are also helping those who are still uncertain the American-dominated peaceful role of the UN to acquire a clearer view of the stubborn nature and perfidious effort of the American imperialists.

In implementing their aggressive and warmongering policies in South Vietnam, the American imperialists went from one defeat to another on every front. Their efforts to extract from self-engulfment in the South were still without success.

Suffering from successive defeats and trapped in a dead-end, the American imperialists still have not learned their historical lesson. They still trying to step up their criminal war in South Vietnam, still trying to expand the war to all Indochina and to carry out their adventurist policy in Southeast Asia.

Hand in hand with the implementation of a series of measures aiming at stepping up their special war in SVN to a new height, the American imperialists have also launched a slander campaign against the DRV as an excuse to expand the war to the North.

Right after the bombing and strafing of the North Vietnamese shorelines August 5, 1964, the American imperialists continued to strengthen their 7th fleet operating on the China Sea. They also continued to hurl more aggressive declarations with regard to the North. Their airplanes and warships continued to violate the DRV's airspace and territorial waters. It was all too clear that their provocations and destructive acts were not of a temporary nature nor separate incidents, but were part of a long range plot of the American imperialists' aggressive and warmongering policy toward our country. This is an integral part of their "limited war" or "special war" strategy in the South.

The more defeats they suffered in the South, the more foolhardly were their acts of provocation and sabotage in the North. The so-called "new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin" which they had drummed up in the night of September 8, 1964, was but another proof of the above-mentioned American plot. The fact that they declared that "this incident is closed" did not induce our people and our army to relax their vigilance. For we realized that the struggle of our southern compatriots against the American imperialists and their henchmen will continue and will become more resolute. The military force used by the American imperialists to provoke and to attack the North is being strengthened and stand ready to commit new crimes against our people in the North.

A rule which the imperialists and the reactionary forces cannot escape in their dealings with the people's revolutions was that they will go from destruction to defeat, more destruction, then more defeats until they suffer a complete defeat. Thus, our people in the North should heighten

their vigilance and their fighting readiness to smash all provocations and attempts of destruction which the American imperialists and their lackeys might conduct on our cherished land. The people of the North are determined to protect the fruit of their peaceful labor, to closely cooperate with their southern brothers to inflict a crushing defeat upon the aggressive and warmongering policy of the American imperialists on our fatherland.

During his "tour" of the Western countries, Lodge incessantly said that "the main objective if the United States is peace, and what we are seeking is a political solution not a military one". Lodge's statement aimed a hoodwinking the people of the Western countries. But right after that, Lodge himself said that the situation of the South is hopeful and that a military victory is still possible. Last September 9, upon his return to the United States for consultation, Taylor heaped praise upon their lackey, Nguyen Khanh, and declared that the US will pursue the war against the people of South Vietnam. Later, in a press conference, Johnson and McNamara declared that "the situation of South Vietnam is progressing, and that the US is determined to pursue the war there". Newsweek, an American magazine, disclosed in its issue of September 29, 1964, that when Taylor returned to Washington recently the American authorities put forth a formula for its immediate policy in South Vietnam, which stated that before attempting to establish a stable government to back Nguyen Khanh, which was considered as the number one problem, they would launch a systematic mop-up operation in the capital, then to transform this operation into "a oil spot spreading to other fighting areas". The warmongering Americans also went so far as to suggest raising havoc within the Viet Cong fronts by strengthening the control of border areas, and not to eliminate the possibility of bombing infiltration routes and crossing points of the Vietcong". This disclosure of the American press exposed the aggressive ambition and the stubborn nature of the American imperialists. It also pointed out the implacable nature of our people's struggle in South Vietnam. But on the other hand, it also showed clearly that the colonialists and the traitors were being attacked by our people and fighters on all sides, even Saigon is no longer a safe retreat for the American imperialists and their lackeys.

Clifford Case, an American Senator, disclosed that in a secret report McNamara --the US Secretary of Defense-- has set forth the American position in South Vietnam which was to maintain an American force in South Vietnam and to use force as it has been done in Berlin and Cuba.

Not only they are maintaining an army there, but they are also continuing to strengthen it at a most alarming degree. More than 60 airplanes ranging from jet fighters to cargo planes and long range bombers were urgently brought to the South right after having completed their attack upon our shore last September 8, 1964. The American authorities have also publicly announced that 5000 more soldiers will be added to their force in SVN.

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Most recently, when they were through with their provocations in the Gulf of Tonkin on September 18, 1964, they immediately sent to SVN an additional number of bombers.

In spite of all the adverse comments and opposition on the part of world opinion, and in spite of all the defeats they have suffered, the American imperialists are still trying to find new ways to further their criminal war against the people of SVN.

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As regards Cambodia, the American imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam have repeatedly violated the border and territory of this kingdom. They even used chemical poisons and launched air attacks against the Khmer people. Recently, they were arming the Khmer Sray force of Son Ngoc Thanh with the view to use them to carry out their acts of provocation and warmongering against the people and the government of Cambodia.

With regard to the kingdom of Laos, beside their effort to revive and to step up the civil war in this kingdom to regain possession of the liberated areas in the hands of the Pathet Lao and the neutralists with the help of their lackeys, the American imperialists and their South Vietnamese lackeys have blatantly used SVN as a springboard to invade Laos. Their airplanes took off from bases in SVN to carry out bombing missions in liberated areas of Laos, and they are prepared to bring the American special forces as well as their South Vietnamese and Taiwanese lackey forces to fight against the patriotic forces of Laos.

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The long range and perfidious plot of the American imperialists policies in SVN is to force the United Nations into intervening in the internal affairs of the Indochinese countries, to use the world organization as a shield to carry out their aggressive dream either by means of an international armed intervention or by political maneuvers.

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Experiences gathered in Korea, in the Middle East, in Congo, and in Cyprus recently have demonstrated that the UN has been and is being used and controlled by the American imperialists to disguise their policies of armed intervention and aggression. Our government and our people have been and are determined to unmask and to struggle against any attempt on the part of the American imperialists to force the UN into interfering in the affairs of SVN and the other Indochinese countries as well.

To extract themselves from the deadlock and self-engulfment, and also to regain a superiority in the South, the American imperialists sent to South VN their best generals and diplomats, such as Maxwell Taylor who was called "the best general of the United States", and Alexis Johnson as "the best trouble-shooter" to South Vietnam. These two were sent to SVN during the most critical moments with the hope to find a way out according

to their aggressive methods.

Not long after their arrival in SVN, Taylor and Johnson soon found that anti-american feeling had reached a new height. Hand in hand with a steady progress achieved by the guerillas in the countryside and mountainous areas, the political struggle of the people in urban areas against the US imperialists and the Nguyen Khanh's dictatorial military regime have caused them endless embarrassing moments. Antagonistic groups were fighting among themselves to gain power, and successive coups d'etat have put the illegitimate power in SVN into a most serious new crisis. In this chaotic situation, the US-Khanh regime has shown to be incompetent and unable to cope with the situation. And in spite of the US imperialists efforts to maintain Khanh in power, the situation continued to deteriorate to such an extent that even Taylor himself had to recognize that "there is no hope of gaining a military victory in the foreseeable future".

In speaking of the current crisis in SVN, Alsop lamented: "the crisis in SVN demonstrated that the assignment of General Taylor as ambassador by President Johnson was a total failure, decisive and hopeless".

The American imperialists had hoped that they would succeed in extracting themselves from self-engulfment by escalating the war to North Vietnam, or by increasing their force or by changing leaders and lackeys, etc.. They were grossly mistaken. For all the failures and crises which they and their lackeys have suffered in SVN were not brought about by this or that general, but rather by the collapse of their aggressive and war-mongering policies when they meet up face to face with the most resolute resistance of 14 million people in South Vietnam, thanks to the help given them by their compatriots from the North and the support they received from the people the world over.

The conflict between between the people of SVN and the American imperialists and their lackeys will never be solved to American satisfaction. The struggle of the people of South Vietnam will continue as long as the American aggression still exists. So long as the American dream of invading SVN is still alive and the social conflicts still exist, they will never be able to escape defeat, no matter what maneuver they can think up or what amount of sacrifice they can sustain. The final victory will definitely belong to the heroic and unyielding people of South Vietnam.

The appeal issued September 14, 1964 by the National Liberation Front of SVN was the bugle call to our compatriots in SVN, exhorting them to grasp the occasion to achieve still greater victories. It was, at the same time, a stern warning issued to the American imperialists. This appeal also told the American imperialists that their only way out will be to draw from the historical lesson, to observe the Geneva Agreement of 1964 on Indochina, to end their aggressive war in SVN, and to withdraw all military personnel and weapons out of SVN and let the South Vietnamese people solve their internal affairs in keeping with the program and

position of the National Liberation Front of SVN.

Due to their stubborn nature, the American imperialists will never voluntarily abandon their aggressive ambition. Each coup d'etat was an occasion for the American imperialists' lackeys to liquidate each other causing a greater dent among their rank. And if the successive crises which the governing body of South Vietnam had to go through represented a gradual collapse of the American imperialists' influence there, then they would also have created favorable conditions for the South Vietnamese people to step up their patriotic struggle to bring the revolution to a new forward step.

If the American imperialists and their lackeys are still unwilling to learn from the defeats they had suffered during the last few years, stubbornly carrying on their criminal aggressive acts toward our southern compatriots, then it is almost certain that our Southern brothers will continue to inflict heavier blows, and will finally boot them out of the South.

The deciding factors in the development of the situation in South Vietnam are not the amount of weapons and dollars which the American imperialists poured in there but the will of our people. Their strength is invincible. Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of SVN, the people of the South are determined to struggle against the American imperialists and their lackeys. The just struggle of our Southern brothers has been receiving a firm support from 17 million of their compatriots in the North and of the advanced people the world over. Any American imperialist's attempt will undoubtedly be smashed. Through two wars of resistance against the French imperialists and now the American imperialists, the heroic people of South VN will be the final winner.

The people of North Vietnam have always followed and supported the struggle of their 14 million brothers in the South, and unconditionally supported the National Liberation Front's position with regard to the solution of the South Vietnamese problem. On our part, we will strive to heighten our vigilance and will always be ready to smash all provocative and destructive attempts of the American imperialists and their lackeys, to protect the socialist North Vietnam, to give a firm backing to the just and patriotic struggle of the people of South VN with a firm belief in their final victory and in the reunification of our fatherland.

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