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Hoc Tap, No. 7, 1968



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## HO CALLS FOR DEFEAT OF U. S. AGGRESSORS

[Article: "Appeal from Chairman Ho on 20 July"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 7, July 1968, pp 1-4]

Compatriots and fighters throughout the country! Fourteen years ago, upon the great victory of Dien Bien Phu the Geneva agreements were signed, recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people. In July 1956, our people should have had general elections and, from that date, our country should have been completely independent, free, peaceful, and reunified, and the north and the south should have been reunited within the same family.

However, the bellicose U.S. imperialists, betraying their own commitments, have brazenly sabotaged the Geneva agreements. They rigged up the traitorous puppet administration and launched a war of aggression in the southern part of our country.

But they have run into an extremely heroic resistance from our compatriots and fighters in the south and have sustained heavy defeats. In an attempt to get out of their passive position and their quagmire in South Vietnam, they have been frenziedly bombing and shelling North Vietnam for more than 3 years now. They have sabotaged the independence, peace, and neutrality of Laos and continually threatened and provoked the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The aggressive war being conducted by the United States in our country is one of the most brutal in human history. The U.S. aggressors fancy they can subdue our people with an army more than 1 million strong, including over 500,000 U.S. troops, and with the power of modern weapons. The reality is quite contrary. Our valiant compatriots and fighters in the south, the heroic people of Vietnam as a whole, have resolutely stood up, millions like one, fought with supreme heroism, smashing all military and political schemes of the enemy and winning greater and greater victories.

Since early spring 1968, the war of resistance in South Vietnam has advanced into a new period. Our compatriots and fighters in the south have launched a general offensive and simultaneous uprising in the towns and

cities, recording many glorious exploits, shaking the United States, and thrilling the five continents.

The founding of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces is a great success of the policy of nationwide unity to resist the U.S. aggression and save the country, making the United States and its lackeys appear still more clearly as the aggressor and traitors, and further increasing their isolation. In North Vietnam, more than 3,000 aircraft of the U.S. aggressors have been shot down. Thus: Both the south and the north are fighting well. The U.S. imperialists are suffering ever bigger defeats and will inevitably meet with complete failure.

However, the inveterate U.S. aggressors remain very stubborn. In South Vietnam, they continue to intensify the war, launching utterly savage attacks on the towns and cities and devastating many rural areas. At the same time, they carry on frantic bombardments against the southern provinces of North Vietnam.

At the Paris conversations, in the face of our serious attitude and just stand, they keep demanding reciprocity in a shameless and utterly unreasonable manner. Obviously, the U.S. imperialists still are unwilling to renounce their criminal war of aggression and still want to hold on to the southern part of our country in an attempt to prolong the partition of our fatherland.

In the face of this grave situation, the people throughout our country should all the more persevere in and push up their war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors for national salvation. For independence and freedom, our 31 million compatriots are resolved to overcome all hardships and sacrifices, resolved to fight, and resolved to win. The U.S. aggressors are being driven into increasing passiveness, sustaining ever heavier defeats, and are at the end of their tether. The armed forces and people throughout our country are holding the initiative and are in an offensive position. The harder they fight, the bigger their victories.

Our compatriots and fighters in the south, closely and broadly united under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation, will certainly fight still harder and win yet greater victories.

Our compatriots and fighters in the north should unceasingly heighten their vigilance, fight heroically, step up their emulation in production, defeat the war of destruction by the enemy, stand ready to smash all his new schemes of war escalation, and give wholehearted assistance to the blood-sealed south, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear toward the great front.

South and north of one mind, our entire people are resolved to fight, resolved to defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south, defend the north, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

Our people cherish peace, but only when real independence and freedom have been achieved can genuine peace be established. Our stand is very just and clear: When the U.S. imperialists put an end to their war of aggression against our country, cease their bombings and shellings of North Vietnam, withdraw all the U.S. satellite troops from South Vietnam, and leave our people free to settle their internal affairs, peace will be restored immediately. That is the aspiration of our people and the desire of progressive people in the United States and of peace and justice-loving peoples in the world. The only way to restore peace is that all the troops of the United States and of its satellites must be brought back home! Vietnam to the Vietnamese!

Dear compatriots and fighters, we Vietnamese people are waging the greatest war of resistance in our history. For the independence and freedom of our fatherland, in the interests of the socialist camp, of the oppressed nations, and of the whole progressive mankind, we are fighting and defeating the most cruel enemy in the world. Our homeland is the scene of an all-out fight between justice and injustice, between civilization and brutality. The peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive people all over the world are daily turning their eyes to Vietnam, warmly praising our compatriots and fighters.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, I take this opportunity to express sincere thanks to the fraternal socialist countries and to all our friends in the five continents for their wholehearted assistance to our people in their sacred cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country.

Our people are very heroic. Our line is very correct. Justice is on our side. We have a staunch will, we are resolved to fight, and resolved to win. We have the invincible might of nationwide unity and enjoy the sympathy and support of the whole progressive mankind.

The U.S. imperialists will surely be defeated! Our people will surely be victorious!

Compatriots and fighters throughout the country, march forward with ardor!

CSO: 3520-D



## SUPPORT EXPRESSED FOR PRESIDENT HO'S APPEAL

[Editorial: "Determined to Fight, Determined to Win"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 5-11]

On the 14th victory anniversary of the anti-French resistance, our great leader, President Ho, appealed to compatriots and combatants throughout our country to endeavor to defeat the U.S. aggressors and achieve independence and freedom for the fatherland. After severely condemning the aggressive crimes of the U.S. aggressors, praising the big victories of our armed forces and people throughout the country, emphasizing the heavy defeats of the U.S. aggressors, and denouncing the latter's stubborn attitude, President Ho pointed out the immediate tasks of our armed forces and people.

Obviously the U.S. imperialists still refuse to give up their criminal aggressive war. They are doing their best to stay in the south of our country with the aim of partitioning our fatherland forever. Faced with this serious situation, people throughout our country must perseveringly step up the anti-U.S., national salvation resistance. To achieve independence and freedom, our 31 million compatriots are determined to overcome all hardships and sacrifices in order to resolutely fight and win. Being of one mind, our people in both the north and south are pursuing the resistance with a determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to liberate the south, defend the north, and advance toward achieving national unification peacefully.

President Ho appealed to the compatriots and combatants throughout the country at a moment when the anti-U.S., national salvation resistance of our people has entered a new phase. In the south, the liberation troops and our compatriots are attacking and arising, hitting the cities -- the last lairs of the U.S. puppets. In the north, our armed forces and people are defeating the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction, enthusiastically welcoming the campaign to politically mobilize all people to carry out the slogan "Everything for defeating the U.S. aggressors," and endeavoring to fulfill the duties of the great rear toward the great frontline. The test of strength between our people and the U.S. imperialists is in a fierce phase. Sustaining heavy defeats, the U.S. aggressors are resorting to very savage and cruel measures. Winning big victories, our people throughout the country are surging forward to lead the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle to victory.

Resounding throughout the country, President Ho's appeal is a thunderous blow aimed at the heads of the U.S. aggressors, a bugle call urging our people to fight enthusiastically to save the country. It points out to world opinion the Vietnamese people's firm determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and protect their sacred national rights.

For 14 years, the U.S. imperialists have implemented an aggressive policy toward our country. They have brazenly sabotaged the Geneva accords by infringing upon the independence, unification, and territorial integrity of our country. They have illegally set up puppet administrations and carried out an aggressive war in South Vietnam.

Being bitterly defeated by our southern compatriots and the liberation forces, the U.S. imperialists have tried to recoup their situation by waging a war of destruction against the northern part of our country. But the armed forces and people of North Vietnam have directed deadly blows at the U.S. aggressors. For the past 3 years, more than 3,000 U.S. aircraft have been downed over the north. In the south, the armed forces and people have become ever stronger and won ever greater combat victories. Since early 1968, they have launched many waves of attacks and uprisings in various cities, winning extremely great victories. The compatriots and combatants of both zones have fought well.

The U.S. aggressors have been seriously defeated, but they are still very stubborn. At the official conversations in Paris between the representatives of the DRV Government and the representatives of the U.S. administration, the U.S. side has brazenly demanded reciprocity and refused to end the bombing raids and other acts of war against the DRV and to cease their aggressive designs against the southern part of our country.

Faced with this situation, our armed forces and people should persevere and step up their resistance struggle, destroy the great enemy potential, and crush this aggressive design. Our people are very eager for peace, but they want true peace in independence and freedom. Our people will continue to fight the U.S. imperialists as long as the latter remain in our country. President Ho has said: Our stand is clear-cut and legitimate. Peace will be immediately reestablished once the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive war against our country, end their bombing raids in the north, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and let our people solve their own problems. The only way to reestablish peace is for the U.S. and satellite troops to be withdrawn home. Our people are determined to defend this stand. Vietnam belongs to the Vietnamese. President Ho has thus stated a simple but great and eternal truth. This country belongs to us because it was built by our people. Our people have clear ideas on this matter.

For generations, our people have struggled for the preservation of the right to be masters of their country. For generations, the Vietnamese people have struggled for independence and freedom. Independence and freedom

are sacred words that have a wonderful power of encouraging millions of people to valiantly surge forward and sacrifice themselves, one after another, for the fatherland. For generations, the Vietnamese people have, with blood and bone, built up their independence and freedom.

The Trung sisters, Mrs. Trieu, Tran Binh Trong, Le Lai, Hoang Dieu, Hoang Hoa Tham, Tran Phu, Nguyen Van Tu, Phan Dinh Giot, Nguyen Van Choi, Nguyen Viet Xuan, and so many other heroic children of our people have sacrificed their lives for independence. Their desire for independence and freedom has provided our people with invincible strength, enabling them to defeat every aggressor. In the past, for the sake of independence and freedom, our ancestors fought and defeated the armies of the Tsung, Yuan, Minh, and Ching dynasties. To gain independence and freedom, our people have also fought and defeated the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists, and are now fighting and defeating the aggressive U.S. imperialists. Our people are a heroic people. Our people have a very heroic history against aggression.

In the days of Tran Hung Dao, our ancestors defeated the Yuan Army three times. In the days of Le Loi, our ancestors waged a long liberation war and finally succeeded in driving off the Minh army. Under the reign of Nguyen Quang Trung, our ancestors applied a strategy of lightning attacks, dealing the Ching army a sudden thunderbolt and expelling it from our country. Following the August revolution, our people, under the leadership of the party and President Ho, waged a nationwide, comprehensive, and protracted war of resistance against the French colonialists and won the great victory of Dien Bien Phu.

The famous Bach Dang, Chi Lang, Dong Da, and Dien Bien Phu feat of arms were illustrious feats for our people. Developing the nation's tradition against aggression, our people are defeating the U.S. imperialists, the Huns of our epoch and the No 1 enemy of the people of the world. In the war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors, the more our people fight, the stronger they become and the more victorious they are.

We are defeating the U.S. aggressors because we have a correct anti-U.S., national salvation line. This line, set forth by our party, is a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to our country's circumstances. It is the continuance and development to a very high level of our nation's very rich anti-aggression traditions and experiences. It is the continuance and development of the precious experiences of our people gained during the previous war of resistance against the French colonialists. Our party based itself on all aspects -- political, economic, cultural, national, traditional, and so forth -- of the social situation of our country to set the line of struggle for freedom and independence.

Our anti-U.S., national salvation struggle is based on a scientific analysis of comparative strength between us and the enemy and on the study and grasp of the rules of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war. This line

has a firm theoretical foundation and scientific basis. Imbued with Marxism-Leninism, and based staunchly on the position of the working class, our party has held high the national banner, leading our people to staunchly and firmly struggle against the aggressive U.S. imperialists and defend the north, liberate the south, and proceed toward the reunification of our country.

Firmly relying on the worker-peasant alliance, our party has achieved all-people solidarity in a broad national united front led by the working class to struggle against U.S. aggression. Coordinating the military struggle with the political struggle in three strategic areas -- mountains and jungles, rural plans, and cities -- is a particular feature of the present revolution in the southern part of our country. On the basis of the practical situation of the balance of power between us and the enemy, in the present anti-U.S. resistance war, our people have carried out strategic offensives, developed the revolutionary mettle, struggled relentlessly in the military, political, and enemy troop-proselyting fields, developed the people's war from a low to a high degree, and won one victory after another in order to finally achieve the basic goal -- independence and freedom for the fatherland.

We have correct lines not only in the anti-U.S., national salvation resistance struggle, but also in socialist construction in North Vietnam and in the international solidarity undertaking designed to muster all forces against the common enemy, imperialism led by the U.S. imperialists, in order to achieve peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. Adoption of these correct lines originates in the fact that our party and people have an independent spirit and a creative spirit. Our correct lines are a chief factor determining the victory of the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle. To defeat the U.S. aggressors, our people are determined to maintain these correct lines.

We are defeating the most truculent enemy in the world. Our people's anti-U.S., national salvation resistance war is the greatest liberation war in our country's history. We are living very glorious days. In fighting and vanquishing the U.S. imperialists, our people have done not only their sacred national duty -- achieving and protecting the fatherland's independence and freedom -- but also their noble international duty -- protecting the interests of the socialist camp, of oppressed peoples, and of progressive mankind.

For scores of years now, the Vietnamese people have been in the forefront of the struggle against colonialism. With the August revolution, our people pierced through the colonial system of imperialism in Southeast Asia. With the Dien Bien Phu victory, our people dealt a decisive blow, disintegrating the old colonialism. With the present anti-U.S., national salvation resistance war, our people are taking the lead in struggling against neo-colonialism.

History has entrusted our people with a very great and difficult, but a very glorious, mission. Our people are resolved to fulfill this great historic mission. The struggle between the just and unjust in the world is taking place in our country. We are very proud to be standing on the forefront of the world people's struggle against U.S. aggression for peace, national independence, and socialism. We thank the people of fraternal socialist countries and the people of the world who have sympathized with, supported, and wholeheartedly helped the just struggle of our people.

The great historic duty of our people at present is to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Correctly implementing President Ho's appeal, let our entire party, all our combatants, and all our people endeavor to fulfill this great duty. In the south, under the glorious NFLSV banner, our troops and people are attacking and arising, winning ever greater victories.

Following the example of the heroic souther troops and people, let northern troops and people heighten their vigilance, develop revolutionary heroism, fight heroically, and enthusiastically engage in production in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction, be ready to crush all their new escalation plots, and wholeheartedly help their kith-and-kin south, thus fulfilling the great rear's duty toward the frontline.

Let them strengthen the defense forces, satisfactorily fulfill the military tasks, build the people's armed forces, satisfactorily carry out the anti-aircraft and evacuation tasks as well as the task of maintaining public security and order, punish the counterrevolutionaries, and endeavor to defeat the enemy's war of espionage and psychological warfare.

Let them struggle to fulfill the 1968 state plan by developing agricultural production -- especially food production -- developing industrial production, maintaining and protecting industry at the central level, and strongly developing local industry.

Let them insure the continuity and safety of communications and transport under all circumstances -- especially on the strategic roads -- and, at the same time, make preparations for restoring and developing the economy in peace time. Let them satisfactorily organize the material and intellectual life of the people in wartime.

The mobilization of manpower and resources must go hand in hand with the improvement of the people's health. It is necessary to practice economy, protect the public wealth, combat waste and corruption, and satisfactorily fulfill the distribution tasks on the basis of respecting democracy, insuring the fundamental needs of everyone, and encouraging labor. Let all our compatriots actively participate in the patriotic emulation campaign in order to contribute to defeating U.S. aggression.

Each of us should clearly realize the situation and the new tasks and, on this basis, further heighten our enthusiasm, pride, and absolute

confidence in the correct line of the party, in the clear-sighted leadership of the party Central Committee and President Ho, in the inexhaustible abilities of our people, and in the final victory of our anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. We should further heighten our independent thinking and confidence in the strength and creativeness of the masses.

Our anti-U.S., national salvation struggle is entering a new phase full of brilliant prospects. The U.S. aggressors are being seriously defeated, bewildered, confused, and stalemated. Our armed forces and people are in a victorious and offensive posture. Our armed forces and people should take advantage of their victories to surge forward and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. Under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho, all our armed forces and people are determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate the South, to defend the North and to advance toward national reunification. Under the glorious banner of President Ho, all our party, armed forces and people should valiantly advance.

CSO: 3520-D

## PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER FINANCE, COMMERCE, PRICING STRENGTHENED

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pages 12-18]

Financial, commercial and pricing works are part of national circulation and distribution of goods. They are influenced by production and by the political tasks of each revolutionary phase, but at the same time have their own effects on production, life and the implementation of every party and government policy and line. Realizing clearly the position, function and task of the financial, commercial and pricing works, the Party and government have always paid special attention to their leadership and guidance in these works. In December 1964, the Party Central Committee held its 10th meeting to discuss and to issue a resolution on commercial and pricing works, and has clearly determined the Party's basic viewpoint, line, direction and policy regarding goods circulation and distribution. In June 1965, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee issued a directive regarding "financial, commercial and pricing reorientation in wartime," showing clearly the course of action to be taken to apply the resolution issued by the Party Central Committee's 10th meeting to the new situation. This directive set forth several guiding principles and fundamental tasks for the entire financial, commercial and pricing work in wartime. Since then, the Party Central Committee has issued many more resolutions and directives regarding the financial, commercial and pricing works.

Under the leadership and guidance of the Party Central Committee and government, many central branches as well as party committees and local authorities have paid special attention to guiding the financial, commercial and pricing works within their responsibility. By now, financial-commercial committees have been set up by the party committee in practically every province and city, and they have begun to operate successfully. Many districts in the delta have set up their own financial-commercial boards headed by specialists. Almost every village in the delta and in the midland has its own financial-commercial boards. The guidance provided by central financial, commercial and pricing branches to localities, and the guidance provided by provincial and city authorities to the base level in these fields have been generally strengthened. As a result, many relatively good changes have been made in these fields in the past three years. These changes are reflected in the mobilization of material and financial resources as well as in the distribution of food, materials, goods and money, meeting the people's needs in production, combat and life. Financial, commercial and pricing reorientation has been carried out gradually throughout the North.

In the present situation, with the U.S. imperialist war of destruction becoming fiercer, the financial, commercial and pricing branches have learned to rely primarily upon our people's self-reliance spirit, upon the great victories scored by the army and people in the entire nation and upon the results of economic reorientation in the North to strengthen the mobilization of domestic material and financial resources and at the same time to appeal and to receive the great and precious assistance provided by our fraternal countries. Heeding the slogan "everything to defeat the American aggressors," our financial and commercial branches have made efforts to improve their work, to give priority to combat needs in their distribution of materials and goods, to help strengthen national defense and to maintain communication-transportation on all major lines. On the other hand, they have helped step up air defense and evacuation works in order to limit to the minimum the loss of lives and property caused by the enemy, and at the same time strived to strengthen the State's materials and goods reserves.

They have also helped in stepping up the building of socialism in the North, helping the North, the great rear of the national revolution, become stronger. They have helped strengthen the material and technical bases in agriculture as well as in industry, especially in local industry, consolidate and perfect socialist production relations, maintain and develop socialist markets, and maintain the purchasing power of bank notes.

Following the wartime consumption policy of the Party and government, the financial, commercial and pricing branches have strived to ensure and maintain the basic living standards of all people strata, even in areas where the fighting is most fierce. Despite many difficulties caused by natural calamities and by the enemy to agricultural production in the past two years (1966-1967), the peasant's food ration is still being maintained. Although life is now harder for the cadres, workers, government employees and people in the cities, their most essential needs are still met without any change in quantity or price. Many large families with low income and families losing someone to the war have been receiving help from the State or from the co-operatives.

These achievements are a positive aspect of the financial, commercial and pricing works in the past three years. They are the result of the correct financial, commercial and pricing policies of the Party and government. They are also the result of the persistent efforts of our army and people in production and combat.

The financial, commercial and pricing branches, however, still have many weaknesses and shortcomings. They still fail to serve properly the task of building local economy and production development. Several financial, commercial and pricing cadres and workers still have the tendency to use coercive administrative measures, sometimes violating the people's democratic rights. Irrational and unjust practices are still common in goods distribution. Financial distribution still lacks concentration. The life of evacuated workers, government employees and people is still difficult, and the fuel problem in cities has not been solved yet.

The weakest works are economic-financial management, market and price management, anti-speculation work. Up to now, the leadership and guidance of local party committees and authorities in these fields are still loose and still have many loopholes. This has caused great difficulties to the effort to achieve a balance for the economy, and has limited the strengthening of socialist material and technical bases and the consolidation and perfection of socialist production relations.

The guidance provided by local party committees and authorities in the implementation of the party and government directives regarding finance, commerce and pricing, has been better. But in general they are still too weak compared with the needs. Coordination between financial, commercial and pricing branches with production, branches, political branches, ideological branches and popular organizations is still too loose. Central branches still fail to consolidate properly their local guidance, still fail to grasp the local work situation, and still have confusions and troubles in guiding and helping the localities to implement correctly the major resolutions issued by the Party and government on financial, commercial and pricing matters.

As of now, there still are many local party committees and authorities that fail to provide an active, continuous, overall and integral guidance over financial, commercial and pricing works. Many party committees and local authorities can only grasp one aspect of these works each time a problem arises. Many party committees and local authorities even let the special branches take care completely of the implementation of the Party Central Committee's resolutions and directives regarding financial, commercial and pricing works. Many party committees and local authorities still fail to combine closely circulation-distribution with production-consumption, and economic-financial works with political-ideological works and mass mobilizing work. Many local party committees and local authorities still fail to make progress in guiding the district and base levels in these works; as a result, they do not have enough experience to do a good job in the financial, commercial and pricing fields.

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At present, there are many great changes in the war situation, which are favorable to our people. In the South, our army and people are continuously striking at the enemy's nests, destroying his strength and war means. In the North, our army and people have returned strong blows to the enemy, and have shot down more than 3,000 enemy aircraft. But the American imperialists are very stubborn. They are drafting more troops to increase their expeditionary forces in the South and they are also intensifying their attacks in the North in the hope of prolonging and expanding their aggression. Therefore, the common task of the North at the present time is to mobilize every force of the entire Party, the entire army and the entire

people, to develop every advantage, to overcome every difficulty, to meet the combat and victory requirements to the highest extent, to fully carry out the slogan "everything to defeat the American aggressors." To follow this direction, the financial, commercial and pricing branches must thoroughly understand the Party Central Committee's resolutions on the new situation and task, thoroughly understand the resolution issued by the 10th meeting of the Party Central Committee, thoroughly understand the Party Secretariat's directive on "financial, commercial and pricing reorientation in wartime," and thoroughly understand the direction of the 1968 State plan in order to make a stronger, firmer, and more comprehensive work reorientation.

In 1968, the financial, commercial and pricing branches must make great efforts to achieve substantial progress; to bring good changes to the management of labor, materials, finance, food market, price; to meet the requirements of serving the front, serving production and combat; and to ensure the essential needs of the people.

To successfully carry out these tasks, the financial, commercial and pricing branches must fulfill well the following tasks:

1 - Serving and pushing production development, especially serving industry, local industry and communication-transportation, helping perfect and consolidate socialist production relations. The financial, commercial and pricing branches must give top priority to production development, develop its role as an economic lever to push the strengthening of the material and technical bases of the economy in the North, especially local economy, step up the increase in labor productivity, in product quantity and product quality. They must help production establishments improve their management, take care of the workers' living conditions, consolidate and perfect socialist production relations in both State and cooperative economies. They must develop their function as an economic director to help various economic units utilize their labor, materials and capital most economically and with greatest economic efficiency, protect the State and cooperative property and ensure the democratic political and economic rights of the workers and cooperative members.

2 - Strengthening the mobilization of materials, goods and capital, meeting every need, and increasing reserves. All branches and levels must thoroughly understand the principle of high concentration and firmly grasp the Party's policies in their efforts to mobilize food, to purchase and collect food, agricultural products and industrial goods, and to mobilize financial resources. Party committees and government authorities must provide direct leadership and guidance over this work in order to ensure a correct implementation of the party policies, thus ensuring the fulfillment of every task and at the same time bringing encouragement to the people.

3 - Improving distribution, and implementing the wartime consumption policy. As the war becomes fiercer, the people's life will become harder. All branches and levels must pay special attention to the life of every strata of people. Party committees must lead and supervise the implementation

of the resolution issued by the Council of Ministers on wartime consumption. They must strive to do a good job in the production, transportation and distribution of food, vegetables, fish sauce, kerosene, cloth, paper, school supplies, and preventive and curative medicine. There must be strong and basic changes in the distribution and processing of food, foodstuff and other consumption goods in both cities and rural areas. Distribution of industrial goods must be urgently improved to ensure fairness, democracy and convenience, to ensure that the goods will reach the consumers, and to avoid such bad practices as stealing of public property, "favoritism," "authoritarianism,"...

4 - Striving to strengthen economic-financial management. All branches and echelons must supervise closely the implementation of the Secretariat's directive and the resolution of the Council of Ministers on economic-financial management, and see to it that labor, materials and capital management be carried out in accordance with State regulations and rules. In addition to educational measures, it is necessary to strengthen economic supervision and to have a fair system of reward and punishment. It is imperative to discipline or to bring to court anybody who damages or steal State or cooperative property. It is also necessary to put an end to such bad things as "personal funds" and "back-door-trading" which cause waste and corrupt cadres.

5 - Paying proper attention to market reform and management and price management. In 1968, the task of fighting speculation and illegal practices must be greatly stepped up. On one hand, it is necessary to strengthen the internal management of the goods circulation and distribution branches to ensure that the goods would not fall into the hands of speculators; on the other hand, it is necessary to coordinate closely the activities of administrative, commercial and production branches to discover and punish any illegal activities, educate the people, arouse public opinion, and seriously condemn any illegal trading activities. It is also important to continue to reform small merchants, combining this reform work with the implementation of the policies aimed at unifying food management and local industrial development in order to bring these small merchants back to agricultural production and handicraft. Attention must be given to managing the free market, strengthening the commercial activities of the State and of trading cooperatives, purchasing, collecting and controlling the sources of goods, and expanding organized markets. The consumption of any product essential to production and life and produced by private families can be decided by the producer himself. But the activities of trading cooperatives must be at the same time expanded to increase the organized circulation of goods in the rural areas. Studies must be made to divide the levels of price management between central and local branches, to ensure good implementation of the price policy applied to commodities essential to production and life, and to give the localities the right to fix the price of commodities not essential to production and life and produced by the local economy within the framework of the State policy. Supervision work must be continued in order to ensure that State-fixed prices be strictly followed in all agencies, factories, state-operated work sites..., and to fight against the tendency of automatically increasing prices to get the job done, which causes wastes of capital and cash and creates difficulties

for labor and market management.

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To ensure the fulfillment of these tasks, Party committees and government authorities must increase their awareness of the importance of the financial, commercial and pricing works, and on that basis further strengthen and improve their leadership and guidance in these works. First of all, party committees must be aware that the financial, commercial and pricing works have a great political and economic significance. They are a tool of socialist revolution and at the same time contribute to strengthening the logistical task of the people's war. They serve in all aspects of production, combat and life, and at the same time serve as an economic lever to step up production development. They participate in national income distribution and at the same time supervise and manage all economic activities. They also contribute to ensuring a good life for the people, achieving socialist reforms, consolidating new production relations, strengthening the political and spiritual unity of our people, and ensuring success for the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation and for the building of socialism. Only on the basis of such awareness will the party committees be able to strengthen their leadership in the financial, commercial and pricing works. This leadership must be provided to every link, from the production link to the circulation, distribution and consumption links, and aimed at achieving concrete striving goals covering every field, economic, political, cultural and ideological. Party committees must build up an active, continuous, overall and integral leadership and guidance in the financial, commercial and pricing works.

Party commissars and party cadres of all levels must pay attention to studying the Party's major resolutions and directives regarding the financial, commercial and pricing works, understand thoroughly every party basic policies and lines in order to strengthen properly the Party leadership over these works. We must oppose the tendency to ignore the financial, commercial and pricing works, oppose every one-way viewpoint that pays attention only to the circulation-distribution link, and oppose any manifestation of localism and particularism, in other words, oppose anybody who thinks only of the interest of his own department or locality without seeing the relation between agriculture and industry, between the central and local economy and among economic areas in the country. These wrong and erroneous viewpoints reflect the thinking of the small, self-sufficient producer who does not realize the development need of the commodity economy and the role of finance, commerce and pricing in economic building and development. We must also oppose conservatism and fear of difficulty because these attitudes tend to prevent us from making study to improve our leadership and guidance over the financial, commercial and pricing works, thus making the party committee's leadership become less effective. And also with these attitudes, our economic branches might easily become too much specialized and separated from the political leadership of the Party.

Financial, commercial and pricing branches are related closely to each other. Only when these branches fulfill well their work can a balanced relation be created between materials and goods and finance, between goods and money circulation, between pricing and receipts and expenditures, between financial managing and money controlling... The work of the financial, commercial and pricing branches are also related to that of production, administrative, political and ideological branches and of popular organizations. Therefore, party commissars must provide a good leadership in combining the financial, commercial and pricing works with the work of other branches. Besides, it is important to train and build a force of financial, commercial and pricing cadres with high political and professional level, close to the people, and having a socialist cooperative behavior.

Party commissars must further strengthen their political and ideological leadership over the rank of financial, commercial and pricing cadres, and educate these cadres so as to make them understand deeply and systematically the Party's policies regarding the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and the socialist revolution in the North, and the Party's foreign policy.

This education would also help them consolidate their class stand, heighten their revolutionary fighting will and grasp firmly the Party's financial, commercial and pricing policy. It is important to help them acquire a correct viewpoint on socialist finance, commerce and pricing, make them realize clearly that the financial, commercial and pricing works must serve politics, production and combat, and that financial, commercial and pricing workers must always pay attention to the people's life and respect the people's right to be collective masters. It is important to make them understand the importance of practicing thriftiness, protecting public property, fighting against corruption, waste, bureaucracy, speculation and other illegal activities, adhering to the organization and discipline, and executing seriously every party policy and line and every state regulations concerning finance, commerce and pricing. This education in socialist finance, commerce and pricing would also enable them to oppose any pure business viewpoint, to oppose any manifestation of particularism, localism and conservatism, and to oppose any tendency to ignore the state regulations, systems and plans. We must attach great importance to educating all financial, commercial and pricing cadres and personnel about revolutionary ethics, integrity, justice, devotion to the revolution, devotion to the people, and socialist cooperation. At the same time, we must severely criticize and persistently overcome any unhealthy and indecent thinking. In the new situation, we must foster in them a revolutionary assault spirit, and a determination to fight and defeat the American aggressors. Only by persistently following this educational line set up by the Party without any rightist thinking will we be able to build a force of financial, commercial and pricing cadres having all the qualities of the revolutionary fighters on the circulation-distribution front.

As regards the people, they must be told of their duty to contribute their strength and money to the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation. We must help the people achieve their right to be masters, and must develop the role of our trade unions, women and youth groups in economic management,

particularly in goods distribution, and in fighting against waste and corruption, in practicing thriftiness and in protecting public property.

In addition to strengthening political and ideological leadership, it is important to strengthen and improve organizational and implementation guidance of local party committees and government authorities over the entire financial, commercial and pricing work. Party committees must consolidate their financial-commercial boards and at the same time condolidate the organization of any branch which is still weak in this work. We must urgently and firmly carry out the division of financial, commercial and pricing management levels, strengthen and improve the organization at district level, combine these tasks with the drive for democracy in the rural areas and consolidate the financial, commercial and pricing organizations of every village and agricultural cooperatives. Party committees of every province, city, district, village, factory and city zone must understand how to arouse the thinking of cadres, party members and the people in order to provide better guidance to the implementation of the major financial, commercial and pricing policies set forth by the Party and government.

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## DEFEAT THE U.S. INVADER'S WAR OF DESTRUCTION

[Article by Van Tien Dung: "Resolutely Move Forward to Completely Defeat the U.S. Invader's War of Destruction"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 19-31]

On the basis of repeated and ever greater victories obtained over recent years, the South Vietnam armed forces and people in early 1968 resolutely and boldly launched a generalized offensive throughout South Vietnam. They have won extremely great military and political victories that are shaking the United States and arousing the world, switching the South Vietnam revolutionary war into a new period.

While the U.S.-puppet troops suffered very heavy defeats and were obliged to carry on their defenses passively and awkwardly in the South, in the face of the offensive and uprising of the South Vietnam armed forces and their people and the heavy setbacks of the United States in its war of destruction against North Vietnam, Johnson, on 31 March, was forced to declare a limitation of the bombing of North Vietnam. These events mark a new, very big step forward for our people in their struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation in both zones and in their task of opposing the war of destruction against North Vietnam. In the fierce fight between us and the enemy, there has appeared a new situation very favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy; a situation that differs completely from more than one year ago when the second strategic counter-offensive of the U.S. aggressors had just been defeated and prior to the shooting down of the 2,000th U.S. aircraft over North Vietnam.

On this occasion, let us look back at the development of the U.S. war of destruction in North Vietnam in its relation to the local war of aggression conducted by the United States in South Vietnam, review our big victories in opposing the war of destruction by people's war and the bitter setbacks of the enemy, draw necessary lessons, analyze the causes of these victories, and analyze some characteristics of the present situation as well as of the enemy's stratagems, in order to promote our great victories; and so we can dash forward on the momentum of these

victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction and, together with the army and people in the South, bring our anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation to final victory.

War of Destruction Against North Vietnam: A Component Part of the U.S. Imperialists' War of Aggression Against the South

Everybody knows that, in the face of bankruptcy of the "special war" in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists, at the beginning of 1965, brazenly sent their planes and warships to North Vietnam to carry on a destructive war after having fabricated the so-called "Gulf of Tonkin incident" in April 1964. Since then, the Americans have gravely escalated the destruction of the North. Through experience, we have gradually drawn some conclusions about the characteristics of the U.S. destructive war: Its nature and goals, its strengths and weaknesses as well as the laws which govern it. These are the basis which we have to consider in order to resolve correctly the past and future problems in our task of opposing the war of destruction.

1. The war of destruction unleashed by the U.S. aggressors against North Vietnam is a new-type war. It is not a separate war, but a component part of the U.S. war of aggression against South Vietnam, dependent on the evolution of the aggressive war in South Vietnam, and aimed at saving the United States from defeat on the battlefields of South Vietnam. It bears the character of a limited war. The main striking force used in this war is not the U.S. infantry, but the air force and navy; chiefly the air force, hence, it has only limited objectives; mainly to help settlement of the ground war of aggression conducted by the U.S. infantry in South Vietnam. Of course, in the first months of their attacks on North Vietnam, the U.S. aggressors harbored the illusion of using bombs and shells to subdue our people in both zones.

The U.S. imperialists have clearly seen the role of socialist North Vietnam, the revolutionary base of the entire country and the great rear of the South Vietnam revolutionary struggle. That is why, from the beginning and throughout the period of aggressive war in the South, the United States has constantly sought all possible methods of destroying North Vietnam. From 1961 to 1964, following its strategic failure in the face of the uprising of the population of South Vietnam and during its "special war" against the South Vietnamese revolution, the United States smuggled many groups of spies and commandos into North Vietnam, trying their best to kindle counterrevolutionary trouble in an attempt to destroy North Vietnam from inside. In early 1965, facing the danger of a complete failure of their special war strategy in South Vietnam, to avert the total bankruptcy of their aggressive plan and to save the puppet army administration from disintegration, the U.S. imperialists hurriedly threw their air and navy forces against North Vietnam and hastily dispatched a large expeditionary corps to South Vietnam in combination with fallacious proposals for peace negotiations (Johnson's Baltimore speech in April 1965) in an attempt to compel within a short period of time the Vietnamese people to

shrink before the brutal force of the aggressors. But U.S. bombs and shells have failed to subdue our armed forces and people in both zones. Our entire people are increasingly united to continuously push ahead their stubborn, brave and ever successful struggle. The U.S. imperialists, out of passivity, had to switch from their special war to the local war through a more and more massive commitment of U.S. expeditionary troops and further escalate their fierce attacks on North Vietnam. The aggressive war in South Vietnam and the war of destruction against North Vietnam have been going along side by side like a man and his shadow.

The concrete objectives of the United States in its war of destruction against North Vietnam are as follows: a) Shaking the determination of our people in both zones to fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation; b) preventing the assistance of North Vietnam to South Vietnam, bolstering the morale of the puppet army and administration, and isolating and stamping out the South Vietnam revolutionary war; c) sabotaging socialist construction in North Vietnam and weakening the economic and national defense potential of socialist North Vietnam.

Besides, by attacking North Vietnam, a member of the socialist camp and a sovereign country, the United States has challenged the socialist camp and the other independent countries, offended the prestige of the world's revolutionary forces, and intimidated the world's revolutionary people.

In face of the ever greater setbacks it suffered in North Vietnam and the evident powerlessness of the U.S. Air Force and Navy, the United States has been forced to lower step by step the ambitions of its objectives. Now, it only speaks of creating difficulties to and limiting, not preventing, North Vietnam's assistance to South Vietnam. This is also a way of admitting the U.S. failure in its war of destruction against North Vietnam.

2. In unleashing their war of destruction against North Vietnam, the U.S. aggressors evidently made an enormous error. As a product of their position of defeat and passivity in South Vietnam, the U.S. war of destruction against North Vietnam, right at the start, bore the character of passivity and defeat on the strategic plane. It carried in itself many very fundamental weaknesses. Political weakness has proven fatal to the U.S. war of destruction because it is tying down and limiting the already very limited U.S. military strength. By creating a heinous precedent of unwarrantedly attacking a country of the socialist camp -- a sovereign nation which has never done harm to the United States -- the U.S. imperialists have been driven into serious political isolation. From this situation has emerged a rule concerning the war of destruction: The more the United States widens its military activities and the higher it escalates, the more it is isolated politically. That is why the United States cannot massively use its up-to-date air and naval forces to attack in force, in the manner of a blitzkrieg, so as to inflict big losses on us. The criminal U.S. imperialists have had to escalate rung by rung, attacking

while fearing and groping, now escalating, now pulling back, constantly bewildered and on the defensive. The modern U.S. Air Force, with its very expensive up-to-date jet planes of different types, conceived for a large-scale nuclear war however, has had to carry out completely different war for which it was not prepared. It must use scattered forces to strike again and again at thousands of small targets which are constantly on the move. Hence, it is unable to make full use of all combat methods in which it excels, to bring into full play the functional capacities -- tactical and technical -- of its modern weapons and technical means. The more it fights, the more the U.S. Air Force proves itself incapable of fulfilling the tasks assigned it. The more it fights, the heavier losses it sustains.

By attacking the north, the United States aims to improve its situation in the south. The more it fails in the south, the more it feels the need to increase attacks on the north. Thus, it has incurred heavier and heavier losses and landed in ever increasing passiveness in both zones of Vietnam. This is another question having the force of law in the war of destruction. It explains why the more the U.S. Air Force is deployed, the weaker it becomes. The U.S. escalation in early 1966 (following the so-called 37-day bombing pause) and in early 1967 -- which consisted of multiplying raids on industrial establishments and populated areas including Hanoi and Hai Phong, undertaking continual bombardment of coastal areas by naval artillery, shelling across the 17th parallel from positions south of the demarcation river, mining rivers and canals, and so on -- are closely linked to the U.S. strategic counteroffensive plans during these two years and to their ignominious failures.

Thus, owing to the decision to use the air war of destruction in North Vietnam to win victory for the losing ground war in South Vietnam -- the main battlefield -- the United States has been compelled to spread its air and naval forces on a new theater while being incapable of concentrating its forces to support its ground operations in the main theater. The U.S. defensiveness and failure on one battlefield has thus been expanded to many battlefields. In drawing the balance sheet of the U.S. failure in Vietnam, Maxwell Taylor admitted that no problem concerning the Vietnam situation has provoked such quarrels and discussions as the bombing of North Vietnam.

3. The U.S. war of destruction in North Vietnam, however, has not always evolved in a one-way direction according to the rule that the more it fails in the south, the harder it strikes the north. The point is whether or not the United States is able to continue its escalation indefinitely. Reality has shown that, because it escalates in the process, the United States cannot escalate indefinitely. Its forces being limited, as shown by the realities of the war and, moreover, subjected to ever heavier losses in both parts of Vietnam, once the political goals of the neocolonialist aggressive war in Vietnam have no chance of materializing, even with the deployment of an enormous military force beyond all schedule,

and once the continuation of the escalation has proven incapable of solving anything, the United States must either change its goals or de-escalate.

The tendency was clearly indicated in Johnson's decision to conduct limited bombing of North Vietnam beginning 31 March 1968. This decision was in no way motivated by any restraint on his part, or by anything else. It was actually motivated by the heavy military and political failures incurred by the United States. This decision reflects the real capabilities of the U.S. Air Force following its big losses in aircraft and pilots over recent years in both North and South Vietnam. It is our people's unflagging, valliant fight, on both the military and political fronts, in both the south and the north, that has forced the White House to de-escalate. It is still fresh in everybody's mind that in the last months of 1967, the United States furiously intensified its attacks on North Vietnam, the most typical of which were the concentrated and feverish strikes against Hanoi and Haiphong and the sustained bombardments of the southern part of the Fourth Military Region. However, far from achieving the objectives of its war of destruction, the United States has met with well-deserved punishment. The number of U.S. aircraft shot down, pilots killed or captured, and war vessels set ablaze or damaged increases at a quick tempo. Then, in the first phase of their general offensive, the South Vietnam armed forces and people in the early days of Spring 1968 dealt such heavy blows at the U.S. Air Force that replacements have not kept up with the losses. For several consecutive months, the capacity of the U.S. Air Force to attack North Vietnam dropped visibly. As a matter of fact, with its war efforts having reached the present level, the United States is confronting innumerable difficulties and is hardly in a position to attack North Vietnam as in the past. The United States must concentrate its remaining forces on a definite sector in the hope of effectively reducing the assistance rendered by the army and people of the North to the South, and in order to lend a hand to the U.S.-puppet troops on the South Vietnamese battlefields in their desperate fight in the current phase of the general offensive and widespread uprising of the South Vietnamese revolutionary war. So, Johnson's announcement of a limited bombing of North Vietnam is, in the final analysis, only a public acknowledgement of the grievous military failures of the United States and the limited ability of the U.S. Air Force on the battlefield. It also reveals the tremendous political failure of the U.S. imperialists in the face of the increasing pressure of public opinion in the United States and the world for a permanent unconditional halt to the U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV.

It is natural that because the war of destruction against North Vietnam is closely linked to the war of aggression against South Vietnam, because they are abdurately clinging to South Vietnam, and because they still have big war potentials at their disposal, the U.S. imperialists are still able to make up for their losses and resume their escalation.

## Our Great Victories, The U.S. Shameful Defeats

Under the firm and correct leadership of the party, our armed forces and people in North Vietnam have heroically risen up to carry out a people's war of a very new type in order to defeat the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists. Through three and one-half years of fighting, while building their forces and fulfilling their duty toward the South Vietnam revolution, the North Vietnam Armed Forces and people have smashed all plots by the United States, defeated a very important phase of their war of destruction, and won great, all-round victories.

1. Our greatest, most outstanding victory, which is at the same time the heaviest, most ignominious defeat of the enemy, lies in the quick, leaping and irresistible growth of the revolutionary war in South Vietnam. For three years and a half the U.S. has barbarously attacked the north with her air force and navy; at the same time they have foolishly and brutally carried on their limited war of destruction in the South with an expeditionary corps which rapidly increased from a few tens of thousands to 200 and 400 thousands and finally to above half a million troops. If the puppet and satellite troops are counted, the aggressive armed forces in the south have reached the level of 1,200,000 troops. The U.S. imperialists have continuously carried out two strategic counteroffensives aimed at annihilating the South Vietnam Liberation armed forces and weakening and liquidating the southern people's revolutionary movement.

The U.S. decision to attack North Vietnam and "close the door," isolating South Vietnam in order to stamp out the revolutionary war there, has failed. The North Vietnam Armed Forces and people's will to fulfill the tasks of the great rear base toward the great front and offend North has become even firmer than before. Communication and transportation in North Vietnam has developed many-fold compared with the prewar years. Whether they attack the entire territory of North Vietnam or concentrate their attacks on the area from Thanh Hoa or Nghe An to Vinh Linh, the enemy can in no way prevent the North Vietnam people from actively assisting their blood-sealed compatriots in South Vietnam. The North Vietnam Armed Forces and people have become all the more active in fulfilling the tasks of the great rear base towards the great front. The revolutionary war in South Vietnam is far from being isolated or weakened. The South Vietnam armed forces and people, overcoming the greatest obstacles and most severe trials and relying on their own strength and the great rear base of socialist North Vietnam, have unceasingly and vigorously developed their strategic offensive, defeated one after another of the U.S. strategic counteroffensives, and forced the U.S. aggressors, after the 1966-1967 dry season, back to the strategic defensive at the very moment when their war efforts had reached new heights in both effectiveness and the amount of armaments and money. By early spring of 1968, while the enemy was sustaining heavy setbacks and finding himself in great confusion, the Southern armed forces and people, relying on their powerful forces rallied during the process of struggle, opened an earth-shaking general offensive, bringing the war to the cities and even to the dens of the pirate army;

killing a large proportion of their forces and destroying a very large part of the Americans' and puppets' war materiel; killing, routing, and neutralizing all levels of the puppet government; and liberating and taking over many and widespread areas of the countryside. This general offensive is still going on. The U.S. defense as well as its will for aggression against South Vietnam have been shattered and aggravated and are continuing to break down. A new glorious phase of the revolutionary war in South Vietnam has begun; a phase of continual attacks and widespread uprisings aimed at annihilating as many live forces of the United States and its puppets as possible, overthrowing the puppet administration at all levels, expanding control over the country, and advancing step by step toward wresting back full power for the people.

Obviously, the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against North Vietnam could not save them from ever greater setbacks in both zones of the country and will inevitably bring them total fiasco.

2. Strategically speaking, the North Vietnam Armed Forces and people have wiped out an important part of the U.S. air and naval forces, comprising aircraft of all types, from the biggest B-52 to the latest F-111A. They have killed or captured thousands of pilots and sunk, set fire to, or damaged more than a hundred warships and commando-boats of the United States and its puppets. Never before in U.S. history have the U.S. aggressors lost so many aircraft and pilots. Even with its vast material resources, the United States has not been able to make up for the losses. These losses have weakened the military strength of the United States in general, and its air force in particular, seriously affecting the global strategy of the U.S. imperialists in their odious role as international gendarme.

The above said victory of our people holds not only important military significance but also paramount political significance, since air and naval forces have already been the basis of the U.S. military forces on which the U.S. aggressors rely to threaten and suppress other peoples. Not long ago, they still used these forces as a bogus to support their imperialistic aims. Now their trump card has been exposed with all its weaknesses and impotence in the face of the resistance of Vietnam, whose population is much smaller than, and whose equipment is much inferior to, that of the United States. The latter is a thorough dither due to the serious losses in manpower and war means of its air and naval forces and, all the more so, in the face of the loss of this trump card. The U.S. imperialists' prestige as a great power has sunk ignominiously before the world people and even before their allies and satellites who used to regard the U.S. as an invincible great power which could rule the roost anywhere, at any time.

With our resounding victories in both zones of the country our people have demonstrated with eloquence that the U.S. imperialists will be defeated, despite their stubbornness and shrewdness as well as their powerful economic and military potential. This is a realistic conclusion.

3. Socialist North Vietnam, far from being weakened, has become far steadier and stronger in all spheres -- political, military, economic, and national defense.

The political unity in mind and solidarity of the people around the party, the government, and President Ho Chi Minh are firmer than ever. Their determination to defend the north and liberate the south is higher than ever. The North Vietnam Armed Forces and people, tempered in trials, have gained invaluable experiences in their sacred fight to help the South Vietnam revolution and to defeat the modern air and naval forces of the United States in North Vietnam. In only more than three years, our people's armed forces have developed more rapidly than in many previous years. All three categories of armed forces have made leaps forward in both number and quality. Strengthened with many new, modern armed branches and services, our armed forces can skillfully man supersonic jet planes and missiles. They have recorded many marvelous exploits in defeating the U.S. air and naval forces and are fully prepared and fully able to defeat the U.S. ground forces if they are sent to invade North Vietnam.

Never before have our people had so powerful an army as at present. In spite of enemy bombs and shells during conditions of fierce and continual attacks by the enemy, we continue to make steady strides forward in the socialist revolution and to successfully build socialism. Socialist relations of production continue to be consolidated, the technical revolution continues to forge ahead, cultural, educational, and medical work is constantly developing, and the people's life remains stable. Our armed forces and people are fighting and working with the calm and proud attitude of the victor, full of optimism and confidence in the future.

The extraordinary and all-round growth of North Vietnam is a tremendous victory for the North Vietnam Armed Forces and people as well as for the armed forces and people throughout the country. It has created great morale and material possibilities for the certain victorious fight of our armed forces and people throughout the country at present, as well as for their entire revolutionary cause in the future. The American plot to frustrate socialist construction in the North and weaken our socialist North has been a tragic failure.

4. Our people have more and more enjoyed the assistance of the socialist camp and the sympathy and the broad support of the world's people. They have driven the U.S. aggressors into serious political isolation.

The arrogance of the U.S. imperialists in groundlessly attacking a country of the socialist camp, a sovereign nation, is a serious challenge to the socialist camp and to all peace-loving people in the world. The just and victorious fight of our people has gained increasing sympathy and support from our camp and from all of progressive mankind. The fraternal socialist countries are actively supporting and assisting our people more and more, politically, economically, and militarily. The

world people's struggle for an end to the bombing and all other acts of war by the United States against the DRV is becoming a broad, very powerful movement. Even the closest allies of the United States dare not overtly come out in defense of the too brazen, immoral acts of the United States. In the face of the tragic defeats of the U.S. air force, navy, and other forces in Vietnam as well as the inefficiency of the U.S. air force and navy in the North, not a few U.S. officials themselves have realized that by continuing the war of destruction against North Vietnam, the United States not only will achieve no results, but will suffer heavier military defeats in both parts of Vietnam and face greater political isolation in Vietnam, in the United States, and in the world. The prestige of the "powerful" U.S. will continue to decline increasingly and tragically. Militarily and politically, the U.S. imperialists have suffered and are suffering big defeats in Vietnam, in their own country, and in the world.

Our great victories and the enemy's shameful defeats in the military, political, and diplomatic fields have dealt a hard blow at the U.S. aggressive will in Vietnam. The U.S. aggressive will in the war of destruction against North Vietnam has declined considerably. It is against this historical background that Johnson had to order the limited bombing of North Vietnam and sent the U.S. government's representative to Paris for talks with the DRV government's representative. Our great victories forced the Americans to de-escalate in the North, while in the South they suffered very heavy losses in their defensive strategy, which deteriorates further with every passing day. Our new victories have strongly motivated the army and people in the North to move ahead enthusiastically to completely destroy the war of destruction, and have strongly inspired the army and people in the South to use the momentum of the victories to dash forward to win ever greater victories.

#### Lessons of and Reasons for Our Victory

The armed forces and people of North Vietnam have drawn many lessons, constituting very important reasons for our victory.

1. The party's resolute and correct leadership is of primary importance in the victory over the war of destruction by the U.S. aggressors.

Basing itself on a very high revolutionary determination and with its clear Marxist-Leninist views on class and reality, the party has seen through the basic schemes and moves of the United States in its war of destruction. Therefore, it has worked out and correctly implemented the lines, policies, objectives, strategy, and tactics of people's war to defeat the U.S. aggressors. This is a line for resisting U.S. aggression and saving the homeland, mobilizing and organizing our people's fighting forces in the spirit of going to any place where there is an enemy with determination to win completely victory over the U.S. aggressors; a line for socialism in North Vietnam in keeping with wartime conditions while preparing for long-term construction after victory; and a line of international solidarity based on Marxism-Leninism to win the sympathy and

support of the socialist camp, of the various nations and of the revolutionary forces in the world to the cause of our people, while making an active contribution to the fulfillment of our internationalist duties. The party has decided, in all eventualities, to join our compatriots in South Vietnam in defeating the U.S. aggressors and do the following: Make transport and communications the immediate, central task of the entire party and people; greatly increase the assistance by the great rear to the great front; break off with activeness and initiative all attacks by the U.S. Air Force and Navy while countering in every way other acts of destruction by the enemy; closely combine armed struggle with political and diplomatic activities in order to gradually defeat the war of destruction; and fight while building, thus increasing the might of socialist North Vietnam in all fields.

2. The steadiness and superiority of the socialist regime in North Vietnam creates an inexhaustible strength to defeat the enemy. The great strength of the people's war in resisting the U.S. war of destruction in North Vietnam resides in the firmness and superiority of the socialist regime of the North. It further creates great capabilities, morally and materially, for the people's war; also, as we fight we become stronger and win more victories.

The socialist revolution in North Vietnam, with the basic completion of the revolution in production relationships, has in the main done away with class antagonism in North Vietnamese society, brought about a very great political and moral unity among the people, and given play to their sense of collective ownership. Fostered by the party, Vietnam's revolutionary heroism in the North is developing the nation's tradition of dauntlessness on the basis of the party's unfailing revolutionary lines, of the superiority of socialism, and of the sense of collective ownership. This moral strength is the invincible strength of the people's war.

Socialist ownership in North Vietnam, in the form of ownership by all the people and collective ownership, has also created conditions for expert, scientific organizational work to come into full play and rationally combine all available forces so as to fulfill, with the best quality and the highest efficiency, the most complicated tasks of the nationwide all-round war. The united leadership of party committees at all levels and the tight leadership of the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship as well as the spirit of collective ownership of the revolutionary masses, which is based on the system of socialist ownership, are the necessary conditions for a really scientific and efficient organization.

Thanks precisely to the socialist regime in the North and to its men of ever higher culture and technical knowledge, the three kinds of armed forces of the people have, in a short time, mastered the use of various modern weapons and war means, while the various branches of the national economy are making many discoveries and technical innovations for constant increases in labor productivity, for more products to serve

the fight, construction, and living, for the defense of North Vietnam, and for the liberation of South Vietnam.

The strength of the socialist regime in North Vietnam results from a combination of political, moral, organizational, spiritual, and material factors. Its superiority crystallizes in its men -- new socialist men of high class-consciousness and ardent patriotism, of matchless determination and valor; men fearless in the face of sacrifice and hardship, willingly organized and disciplined, having a fitting cultural level and scientific and technical knowledge, physically resistant, loyal, unassuming, and simple in their way of life, and noble in feelings and ideals. They are the new, exemplary Vietnamese of the Ho Chi Minh age, decisive factors of success for the people's war, a precious asset of the revolution as well as the most valuable products of our regime.

3. To resolutely and creatively bring the people's war to the highest degree of development and make it invincible so as to defeat the U.S. aggressors in South Vietnam and completely defeat them in their war of destruction in North Vietnam.

The people's war opposing the war of destruction at present is quite a new type in the history of war. It is a nationwide, all-round war waged by all the people within a new context: Fighting enemy aircraft and warships with their three kinds of armed forces acting as the core; fighting enemy aircraft and warships and countering enemy artillery while organizing civil defense; intercepting enemy commandoes; strengthening public security; defeating enemy psychological warfare; fighting while continuing with socialist construction; defending North Vietnam while fulfilling the task to South Vietnam; insuring smooth transportation and communications to serve the fight against the war of destruction in North Vietnam; and accomplishing the duties of the great rear to the great front. Seventeen million people in the North have raised high Vietnamese revolutionary heroism both in fighting and production and in insuring the people's standard of living; they have written new, glorious pages of the history of our people.

The people's armed forces have creatively applied the leading principles of the Vietnam people's war to the fight against enemy aircraft and warships. They have fought while increasing their strength in number and quality. They have drawn new lessons which enrich our nation's military art. This is an experience in making use of every available weapon and means -- from infantry weapons to antiaircraft guns of every kind, from aircraft to missiles. This is a combination of the army's antiaircraft forces, including antiaircraft batteries, the air force, missiles, radars, and the navy, with the widespread movement to fight the enemy aircraft among the infantry, the militia, and home-guard forces, with the antiaircraft forces as the core. The antiaircraft forces have brought down the largest number of enemy aircraft, living up to their role as the core of air defense of the Vietnam People's Army. They have made utmost efforts to master modern techniques and have developed their own,

original way of fighting, a small force opposing a much bigger one, thus winning brilliant victories. The militia and home-guard forces have become skilled in handling modern equipment. Many of them, with numbers of both sexes and different ages, have made resounding exploits. The artillery of all three kinds of people's armed forces has also gone into action, countering and duly punishing American artillery on the southern bank of the demarcation river, sinking and shooting ablaze many warships and commando boats of the U.S.-puppets. The navy, in coordination with friendly units, has performed brilliant deeds in fighting enemy warships and aircraft.

Other new aspects of life in North Vietnam are civil defense, insured transportation and communications, and stepped-up production, all under war conditions, which characterize the people's war against the war of destruction and which have provided our people with new experiences. The primary use of trenches and shelters is not to protect oneself, but to attack, to fight, and to carry on production on the spot, in all emergencies. The fight in the field transportation and communications has won unprecedented successes which constitute an immortal epic of the workers and people on all roads and ways. Our achievements in industrial and agricultural production, in education, culture, and public health, have brought added glory to the Vietnamese nation's tradition of industriousness, valiancy, studiousness, optimism, and love of life.

The South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have also actively contributed to the victory over the U.S. war of destruction in North Vietnam. Highly indignant at the encroachment by the United States on socialist North Vietnam, they have been acting under the slogan "the U.S. aggressors strike North Vietnam once, South Vietnam will deal them return blows 10 times harder." Overcoming all hardships and difficulties and developing to the highest degree their offensive posture, they have foiled various U.S. plans for strategic counteroffensive on the South Vietnam battlefield. What is more, they have launched a general offensive which has incessantly been elevated.

The South Patriotic Armed Forces and people have destroyed a large part of the enemy's military strength including many aircraft, fuel storages, large quantities of bombs and ammunition, and large number of pilots, technicians, and so on ... while containing the U.S. Air Force within limits of the South Vietnam battlefield where they keep whittling it down, thus weakening it seriously and greatly reducing its attacks on North Vietnam. In a word, the South Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces and people have acted in close coordination with the armed forces and people in North Vietnam, making the United States lose more and more heavily and rendering it more and more passive in both parts of Vietnam.

4. Another reason for victory is due to the great efforts to win sympathy and support from the socialist camp, the world's people, and progressive mankind as a whole.

The strength of the victorious North Vietnamese Armed Forces and people and of their revolutionary cause as a whole resides in the strength of an era which has been the birth and growth of new revolutionary forces now on the strategic, all-round offensive against U.S.-led imperialism. Thanks to our just, victorious struggle and to our party's correct foreign policy, we have received devoted assistance, both moral and material, which is multiplying and increasing in effectiveness, from the socialist camp, the various nations in the world, and all of progressive mankind. Mainly relying upon our own efforts, we have turned such assistance into real strength to politically defeat the U.S. imperialists throughout the world. We are very grateful for the assistance given by the fraternal countries and the world's people to our just cause. We regard it as one of the reasons for our victory. We are resolved to carry out our greatest international duty at this juncture; that is, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

It is obvious that our big victory is the victory of the resolute, correct leadership of the party and the result of knowing how to bring into full play the all-round, inexhaustible strength of the socialist regime. It is a victory of the people's war which has been fought with creativeness, brought to a high degree of development, and made invincible. Finally, it is the victory of a foreign policy which has succeeded in winning the sympathy and support of the fraternal countries in the socialist camp and of all of progressive mankind.

### Realize the Situation and Our Duties, Ride the Waves of Victory and Move Ahead

As President Ho said, "It is obvious that the Americans have been defeated." In the South the Americans have escalated their limited aggressive war to a very high level; yet in the face of the simultaneous general offensive and uprisings which have been carried on with greater and greater intensity by our army and people in the South they have suffered bigger defeats, sunk deeper in their extremely passive strategic defensive position, and madly moved around in their last stands, namely, the cities and their military bases. In pursuing their aggressive war, which is unpopular and costly both in men and money, the Americans have continuously followed a course leading inescapably to an impasse. They will never escape total defeat, however.

In the North the Americans have also escalated their destructive war to the highest level, yet they have failed to achieve their basic goals and suffered heavy losses, militarily and politically. They therefore had to make an important step backward and limited their bombing zone.

Thus on the graph depicting the American aggressive war in both zones of our country, an American turn downward has been clearly shown.

The Americans have also been encountering countless difficulties, politically. In South Vietnam the puppet administration and puppet troops

which have been used as the support and tool of a colonialist and aggressive war have broken down continuously and hopelessly. The Johnson administration has been pushed to the wall by serious difficulties -- political, economic, and social -- which beset the U.S. and arose from the war in Vietnam. The differences among American political circles on the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam have become more and more acute. The American people, and even quite a few American politicians, are asking their government to withdraw troops from Vietnam. Worldwide public opinion has seriously requested the U.S. to halt bombing in the North and to let the Vietnamese people solve their internal affairs by themselves. Obviously, our people are facing a new situation, namely, a progressive step full of great hopes in our anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Although the U.S. imperialist leaders have suffered defeat and see that they cannot defeat us in their aggressive war, yet they are still stubborn and shrewd; they are still capable of fighting and are not yet willing to give up their heinous ambition to conquer the southern part of our country. In the North they keep intensifying their attacks from Nghe An to Vinh Linh as well as their reconnaissance over many areas as a preliminary step to resuming escalation. Although they suffered serious defeats in both parts of our country and their aggressive will has been gradually broken down due to our repeated heavy blows, yet their aggressive plot basically has not changed. They are still capable of using brutal, savage and cunning schemes to oppose our people. The very complex struggle between us and the enemy has entered the toughest and most decisive period.

At present our people's slogan is "Everything for the defeat of the U.S. aggressors."

On the southern front our army and people are riding the momentum of victory to dash forward to push the people's war to make new advances in the new period, attacking the enemy repeatedly and continuously to destroy and break down the puppet troops, to overthrow the puppet administration at all levels, to seize power for the people, and to destroy the American forces and war materiel really substantially. On that basis we are breaking down the aggressive will of the U.S. imperialists, liberating the South, defending the North, and moving forward toward peace and national reunification.

In the North, our troops and people are also riding the momentum of victory and dashing forward to devote themselves to the fulfillment of the responsibility of the great rear vis-a-vis the great front in the new period; to strike the U.S. Air Force and Navy with still heavier blows wherever they attack; to continue to insure uninterrupted communications and transportation under the toughest war circumstances. At the same time we have to keep up our vigilance, constantly strengthen civil air defense, annihilate commandoes, fight "psychological war" and spy war, and be prepared to aggressively destroy large numbers of U.S. planes in case they

recklessly resume escalation -- resolved to defend the North and liberate the South.

Our people's armed forces, especially the antiaircraft forces and the air force -- must improve their combat strength and combat readiness; insure high combat readiness of weapons and means available; strive to carry out fighting, and training, and construction at the same time; take advantage of combat experience; take good care of equipment; and be ready to strike the enemy back strongly any time and anywhere. We are determined to promote high revolutionary spirit, promote revolutionary heroism and the will to fight and to win, and to carry out successfully the slogan "every soldier a hero." We are also resolved to attack the enemy continuously and aggressively, to keep up our vigilance, never satisfied to stop; and to force the enemy, who has made a long step backward, to make further steps backward and recognize his total defeat.

Turning to the great heroic front which is making steady progress in the glorious general offensive and fighting resolutely to defeat the U.S. aggressors completely; turning to Military Region 4, which is now the great front line of the great rear, it is fighting to win victory over the enemy's most concentrated and biggest air force and navy, resolved, day by day and hour by hour, to carry out the glorious duty of the rear which directly supports the great front. We are determined to fulfill in an outstanding manner all revolutionary duties in this important historic moment of our people.

Our people's armed forces are determined to be worthy of our great party, our heroic people and the South -- the Fatherland's invincible bastion. They are proudly and bravely advancing through the revolutionary storm to win the final victory to our most glorious task, namely, the total defeat of the U.S. aggressors.

CSO: 3520-P



## INCREASE TRAINING, DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN CADRE

[Article by Vu Trong Kien; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 32-39]

The liberation of women is connected with national and class liberation. The women's movement is a major, interconnected part of the revolutionary movement in our country. Women play extremely important roles in many fields of activity.

Our party has always, on the basis of this correct analysis, attached importance to the activities of the women's campaign, viewing them as an important part of the overall mass campaign of the party, both in the national democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. The women's campaign always encompasses two intimately connected and mutually interacting fundamental matters: the campaign for women to participate in the revolution and the liberation of women. In order to effectively carry out the women's campaign our party has been and is now striving to build up a large, high quality core of women cadre. The women cadre will only be able to effectively perform the work of educating, motivating, and organizing the women masses and will only be able to develop the full effect of women in every aspect of the struggle against the United States for national salvation and for socialist construction if they have a firm political and ideological level, the requisite cultural and technical and specialized and occupational level, and the knowledge of how to mobilize the masses. The expansion of the core and the elevation of the quality of the women cadre is designed to assure proper support for the

revolutionary cause in general and for the cause of women's liberation in particular and is an urgent requirement to which all echelons and all branches must devote special interest.

**The Training and Development of Women Cadre is an Urgent and Continuing Task and a Key Problem Within the Overall Question of Women Cadre.**

The immediate and long range requirements of the revolution as well as the requirements of the cause of women's liberation demand that the utmost effort be made to train and develop women cadre. We have during the recent period made considerable efforts in training and developing women cadre but they have not yet met the increasingly greater requirements of the revolution. Although the core of women cadre has developed relatively quickly in number and has made constant progress in quality, generally speaking, women cadre are still few in number and weak. There are still few women cadre participating in the various leadership and managerial levels of the party and state. Women have been and are increasingly developing a vigorous revolutionary spirit in the socialist construction undertaking in the North and especially in the struggle against the United States for national salvation; the forces of women workers are participating in ever larger numbers and occupying very important positions in many branches of activity. Especially under the circumstances where the entire country is at war women are the force which has replaced the men who have gone to the fighting front. But the core of women cadre are not yet equal to the women's mass movement. There are still many basic units such as stores, enterprises, hospitals, and schools where the vast majority of the cadre and staff are female but the people in charge are men. Generally speaking, all of the women who have been promoted during the recent period have developed a good effect but, due to a lack of leadership experience and managerial experience, no small number of the women have been uncertain and confused about their new work. As a result, the training and development of women cadre is becoming increasingly urgent.

Moreover, as we already know, to carry out any task we must have cadre and it is not possible to obtain the cadre all at once; therefore, the training of cadre must always be one step ahead. In the struggle against the United States for national salvation and in the three revolutions (the revolution in the production relationship, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution) which are underway in the North and in the preparations for the future development

of the Fatherland women are increasingly playing important roles. We need many fully qualified women cadre to assume the new and higher duties. The only way to rapidly expand the core and raise the quality of women cadre, make the core of women cadre progress in a stable manner, and make it possible to develop the flowers which are now blossoming in the seething revolutionary movement of the female masses is to aggressively train and develop women cadre.

The problem of training and developing women cadre is of immense political importance. Training and developing occupy a very important position in the overall question of women cadre activities; the only way it will be possible to properly employ and promote in accordance with the spirit of the party policy on women cadre is to properly carry out this link. This is a requirement of the revolutionary task and a matter of the position and viewpoint of the working class with respect to the liberation of women; it is not a problem of "doing a favor for" or "taking care of" women. The resolution of the Third National Party Congress clearly stated: "Women in our country are an important force in revolution and production. Our party has a large responsibility to the cause of liberating women and developing the rich talents of women for the purpose of building the new society. We must develop the thinking and raise the political and cultural level of women and help them to gradually lessen their family chores in order to participate in production and social action and rationally employ the labor power of women and, in so doing, constantly raise the role of women in production and state management."(1) In resolution 153 the Party Central Committee Secretariat also clearly stated: "The training and development of women cadre, which is designed to expand and improve the core of women cadre in accordance with the requirements of the immediate and long range political tasks, is a permanent duty and is a key problem within the overall question of women cadre activities."

In implementing the aforementioned party resolution the various branches and echelons have made some fairly vigorous progress in training, developing, employing, and promoting women cadre. We have trained and developed a large core of women cadre representing nearly 20% of the total number of cadre of the party and state. Within this core of women cadre there are, besides the political cadre accustomed to working at mobilizing the masses, additional tens of thousands of economic management cadre and scientific, technical, specialist, and professional cadre at all levels from elementary to the top. In the scientific, technological, and specialist branches alone women cadre represent approximately 11.7%. In the educa-

(1) Congress Documents, published by the Vietnam Lao Dong Central Executive Committee, 1960, Volume 1, p 192.

tion branch 22.2% of the level two and level three teachers in the popular schools are women. Moreover, we also have tens of tens of thousands of women cadre in nearly all branches in the installations. The core of women cadre is developing with increasing speed and is developing a great effect in all aspects of production and combat and in all other activities.

What is very important is that the present core of women cadre is not only developing rapidly numerically (more than eight times the 1957 strength) but also is developing qualitatively. Many women who previously were accustomed only to working at women's mobilization activities have, from the day of their transfer to economic, cultural, and educational fields, not only been able to complete their tasks but also been able to complete them in an outstanding manner; this is a result of the efforts made at both working and studying. The work in the production teams and units and in the co-ops managed by women cadre has developed very well. This fact increasingly proves the complete accuracy of the following analysis by the party: "In every field of activity women can develop their role and in many branches and in many fields of activity women are able to do a better job than men." The main reasons that the training and development of women cadre has made such progress are the correct line and policy of the party, the solicitude shown by many echelons and branches, and the great efforts of the women. These achievements are also closely connected with the beautiful essence and superior qualities of our system, a system which creates every favorable condition for completing the liberation of women and for thoroughly achieving equality and equal rights between men and women.

However, the training and development of women cadre is not yet meeting the requirements of the immediate and long range political tasks, of the broad development of the female mass movement, and of the cause of female liberation. This activity still lacks a comprehensiveness, is not tied in with the long range political tasks and is still patch work in character. Some women who were not trained in time were not able to complete their tasks and had to take demotions and many women who had participated for many years in the revolution have not received training and, therefore, have not been able to jump ahead. Generally speaking the core of women cadre is good and fairly much progress has been made in every facet; however, there are still many aspects which must be developed. For example, political cadre in general are stable and experienced in mass mobilization but they are weak in their specialized and professional fields and some are old, in poor health, and poorly educated. The young cadre have the requi-

site cultural and technical or specialist or professional levels but many of them are not experienced in mass mobilization, are not accustomed to leading and managing, and have an inadequate political level.

Generally speaking there are still too few female leadership cadre and managerial cadre (only 2.5% of the directors of enterprises, the chiefs and deputy chiefs of bureaus, the chiefs and deputy chiefs of departments, and the provincial and city committee members are women). In some branches where a large part of the work force is composed of women there are still few women cadre. For example, women represent more than 50% of the public health branch but only 8% of the women cadre participate in the leadership. Only 7.9% of the leadership cadre in stores of the commerce branch are women. In the agricultural co-ops no more than 30% of the unit and deputy unit chiefs and members of the administrative committees are women and only 10% of the chairmen and vice-chairmen are women while the women represent 60 to 70% or more of the work force. Women cadre in the installations have increased fairly rapidly in the past several years (in 1967 they were 5.4 times the 1960 level) but generally speaking this increase does not yet correctly reflect the size and strength of the women's movement in the installations.

In general, the women cadre are good and the majority of them actively struggle to move ahead and complete their tasks and have achieved outstanding records. However, not a few women are still envious, excessively reliant on others, narrow minded, and deficient in solidarity and some have been negligent in their efforts.

The aforementioned deficiencies and weaknesses are caused by many factors but the chief one is the fact that many echelons and many branches have failed in the past and even now are failing to fully appreciate the importance of the training and development of women cadre in the overall cadre activities of the party and to fully recognize the urgent requirements for expanding the core and raising the quality of women cadre in the revolutionary struggle and in the struggle for the liberation of women; as a result they have failed to pay appropriate attention to the matter of training and developing women cadre. Along with the causes related to understanding there are also causes related to ideology. As we already clearly recognize, one major obstacle to the training and development of women cadre are the various vestiges of feudalistic, conservative, and narrowminded thinking in many branches and at many levels and the low estimate of the role and capability of

women and women cadre, especially their leadership and managerial abilities. Moreover, there are also causes related to organization and supervision of implementation such as the absence of planning, the lack of a system and concrete policies and the lack of close and regular supervision and promotion of the implementation of the resolutions and systems and policies. Also, the decentralization of the management of women cadre has not been very rational and even in the guiding thinking there has at some times and at some places been a lack of aggressiveness and urgency. Moreover, usually the thinking is overly concerned with perfection, solely concerned with the immediate, and devoid of any long range planning. In the final analysis these deficiencies all spring from deviations in the ideological understanding, ideas which are not in accord with the spirit of the various resolutions and directives of the Party Central Committee, and failure to proceed from the standpoint and viewpoint of the working class in examining and solving the problem of women cadre.

#### The Task, Guidelines, Precepts, and Core of the Training and Development of Women Cadre.

Resolution 153 of the Party Central Committee Secretariat clearly states: "The requirement of the female cadre program is, first of all, to train a core of young female cadre in the production and combat movement and in the actual operations; the cadre must come from worker and peasant stock and from among the revolutionary intellectuals active in all fields and they must both have a good political and ideological level and the requisite cultural, specialist, technical, and economic and state management levels, and know how to work at mobilizing the female masses." We must train and develop female cadre of all types: political cadre, economic management cadre, scientific and technical cadre. At the same time, we must orientate ourselves toward those branches and occupations suited to the capabilities and physical constitutions of women such as the health, pharmaceutical, teaching, cultural, social, commercial, light industrial, planting, animal husbandry, and co-op management branches and so forth. In order to properly carry out the work of training and developing female cadre it is necessary to set up branch and occupational guidelines in order to attract the participation of a wide spectrum of women. The guidelines on training female cadre are related to the guidelines on the division of labor with respect to women. The only way we can successfully carry out those things contained in the resolution of the secretariat on female cadre activities is to aggressively increase the rate of the training of female cadre in the branches appropriate to the capability and physi-

cal constitution of women: "Any place where there is a large mass of women must have many women cadre and any place which has many women cadre must have women cadre serving as the leadership cadre." Experience has proven that if trained and developed women cadre have the ability to discharge leadership tasks in many branches and occupations, even in places where many of masses and cadre are men. Even so, we must especially emphasize the training and development of women cadre so that the branches and occupations suited to the capabilities and constitutions of women will be the branches and occupations which attract the participation of large numbers of women. We must give attention to developing and raising the quality of the existing core of women cadre and place emphasis on those women cadre who have a long record of revolutionary work. But the important thing at present is for us to give full consideration to young and enthusiastic female workers who are in touch with the new -- typified by the female heroes, the female emulation fighters, and the outstanding women who have shown up in the "three responsibilities" and "three readiness" movements and in the other struggle movements of the masses.

In order to effectively carry out these tasks and guidelines in training and developing female cadre we must, first of all, thoroughly understand the cadre line and policy of the party; at the same time, we must have a firm understanding of the cadre criteria of the party. The conditions which the party and state demand of cadre for selection and promotion are also the guidelines for the teaching and training of cadre. Virtue is the foundation but talent is also indispensable. Neither one can be underemphasized. Virtue and talent are intimately interrelated. It is also imperative that the criteria for virtue and talent be adapted specifically and closely to each branch, each echelon, and each position.

The thorough understanding of the class line and the firm grasp of the criteria in the cadre activities are very fundamental prerequisites to assuring success in the training and development of a core of female cadre who will genuinely be the nucleus of the female mass movement.

The plan for the training and development of female cadre must be all-encompassing but it must have priorities, it must be carried out in an aggressive way, and it must seek to satisfy the requirements of the struggle against the United States for national salvation and for socialist construction; it must also guarantee the requirements of the task of unifying the Fatherland and the future development of the country. We must devote more attention to the training and development

of South Vietnamese cadre and cadre from the ethnic minorities. The training and development of South Vietnamese cadre is designed to satisfy the requirements of the South Vietnamese revolution; the training and development of ethnic minority cadre is designed to meet the needs of economic and cultural development in the mountain area.

The training and development of female cadre encompasses three facets: the line and policy of the party and government; the specialized and occupational capabilities and the capability for mass mobilization; and the virtues and qualities of the new woman. Moreover, we must also address ourselves to reinforcing the health of the women, especially considering the physiological and environmental idiosyncrasies of female cadre; we should not set up everything on a basis of equality with men.

In each of the aforementioned aspects there must be different requirements and levels for each type of cadre so that suitable adaptations can be made. Experience has demonstrated that in order to successfully carry out the aforementioned tasks, guidelines, contents, and requirements of the training and development of female cadre we must clearly comprehend the developmental process of the female cadre core and clearly understand the strengths and weaknesses and idiosyncrasies of the women. In general, the female cadre core is good and the women have made considerable progress in every field; but when viewed against the requirements of the revolutionary task and the official responsibilities of each type of cadre it is apparent that there are weaknesses which must be overcome. In the case of the political cadre, along with continuing to raise the political level and to improve the methods of mass mobilization, it is imperative to concentrate on developing and rapidly increasing the women's knowledge about production and about specialized and professional fields. For those women who have been trained in the specialized and technical schools we must concentrate on bolstering the political level and the competency in mass mobilization work. In summary, anyone who is deficient and weak in any aspect must have a plan for supplementary training in that aspect and carry it out with an aggressive, urgent, and pragmatic spirit. But there is one general requirement for all female cadre and that is to regularly elevate the political and ideological level and to give supplementary training in mass mobilization, especially mobilization of the female masses. Only in this way will the women be able to serve as the shock forces of the female movement and will they be able to wed themselves to the movement and constantly worry about protecting the rights and interests of these female

masses. Otherwise, the women will gradually become ineffective and estranged from the female movement. At present there are not a few cases of women engaged in mass mobilization work who do not possess the requisite knowledge about production and about economic management and who, as a result, regularly encounter numerous difficulties when they go into organize and mobilize the masses. Some other women have failed to give their attention to mass mobilization work after being assigned to carry out economic tasks and have become estranged from the female masses; as a result, the effect of their contribution to the overall leadership of the party over the female mobilization activity has been very small. Consequently, the requirement for raising the overall level of the female cadre core is an urgent requirement. First of all, it is necessary to give special attention to the matter of raising the cultural level of the cadre, especially the worker and peasant cadre, in order to enable the women to enter science, technology, specialized fields, and the professions.

The Party Central Committee has clearly indicated the importance of concentrating on developing and raising the quality of the female cadre core in the installations because this core presently represents a very large percentage. Most of these women are still young, have the proper educational level, are enthusiastic, and are in touch with the new; this is especially true of the women serving as chiefs and deputy chiefs of production units in the enterprises, worksites, farmsites, woodlands, and farm co-ops and the women in charge of the militia and assault youth squads and platoons and so forth. In the course of their challenges in production, combat, and combat support these women have always exhibited valor, responsibility, industry, and simplicity. We must concern ourselves with properly training and developing the core of female cadre in the installations because this is an inexhaustible source for replenishing the cadre ranks of the party. Only by proceeding in this fashion will we be able to correctly implement the guidelines of the party which calls for training and developing cadre from the bottom up and for training and developing cadre right in the installations.

With a full understanding of the cadre line and policy we must firmly adhere to the party precept on female cadre activities: "Actively train and boldly use and promote; both boldly use and promote and aggressively and actively train in order to be able to properly use and promote and continue to properly train and use after promotion." The two aspects of employing and promoting and training and developing are closely interconnected and neutrally supporting; bold employment and

promotion is one way to effectively train and develop. Conversely, effective training and development is the foundation for proper employment and promotion. For this very reason, in emphasizing the requirement for boldly employing and promoting female cadre, the resolution of the Party Central Committee clearly indicated the necessity of doing the utmost to increase training and development and the obligation to view this as a basic and crucial link in the overall female cadre program. At present, quite a few female cadre have recently been promoted; as a result, it is increasingly imperative to concentrate on training and development. If we neglect this matter it will be impossible to assure the successful implementation of the party precepts on female cadre activities and it will be very difficult to avoid having some cadre who fall by the wayside and it will be difficult to avoid adverse effects.

#### A Number of Measures.

On the basis of the correct understanding of and attitude toward the role and position of women and on the basis of a thorough understanding of the guidelines, tasks, and details of female cadre training and development, we must develop positive and practical measures for assuring the proper performance of this work. Positive action in female cadre training and development means not being hamstrung by any form even if the form returns the greatest results but instead flexibly adapting many forms to each type of target, each situation, and each time. It means not simply working at training and development in the schools and classrooms but coordinating training and development in the schools and classrooms with training and development in actual circumstances, in struggle and production, in the mass movement, and so forth. Forms which have produced good results are the form of mixing training with operations; the form of using short term training programs and then returning to work and later on continuing the training in other phases with higher requirements; the form of visiting sites, studying models, and making preliminary and overall recapitulations of the work. Training and development are two aspects of the problem of expanding the core and raising the quality of cadre. On the one hand we must develop the existing core of female cadre, and on the other hand, we must give attention to training new classes with promise because this is the only way we will be able to promptly meet the requirements for expanding the core and raising the quality of cadre. In training and developing female cadre we must use many forms but give the greatest attention to the on-the-job training and development. This is the form of training and developing cadre right in the actual

operations; it makes it possible to draw in large numbers of female cadre, workers, and government employees and to rapidly develop the core and raise the quality of cadre.

Proper supervision of the "three responsibilities" movement, acceleration of party and group development among the women, and ensuring the execution of the systems and policies affecting female cadre (the matter of advertising for students, the matter of social welfare, and so forth) are all positive measures for helping to promote the training and development of female cadre.

Positive action in the methods of training and developing female cadre requires immediate and long range plans. We must re-examine the core of female cadre and make detailed classifications in order to clearly determine the development requirements for each type of cadre. During the recent period a number of branches and a number of localities have operated according to these positive guidelines. As an example, the post and telecommunications branch and a number of other branches have actively assigned female cadre to political and occupational courses according to the precept "when you are weak in one aspect strengthen that aspect;" and held "three responsibilities" supplementary education courses to make it possible for the women to complete the first and second grades. The central administrative school of the Ministry of the Interior has held one training course after another for female cadre newly elected to the administrative committees at district and comparable levels. The Ninh Binh Education Branch organized refresher courses for a number of women with outstanding work records but low educational and professional levels. Many other branches and localities have made similar efforts. Twenty provinces and cities held nearly 5,000 "three responsibilities" supplementary education courses for nearly 100,000 students. But there are also too many places which have not yet made appropriate efforts and which have not yet developed long range strategies in their female cadre training and development plan or which have set forth plans but have failed to give concrete supervision and have failed to oversee the implementation of these plans.

In training and developing female cadre we must also be cognizant of the special situation and requirements of women and help them solve their problems concerning health, raising and caring for their offspring, and looking after their families; at the same time, we must correctly execute the various systems and policies of reimbursement for the female cadre with a positive and aggressive spirit so the women will be able to work effectively. We must give special attention to the matter

of constantly improving social welfare, especially the proper organization and management of nurseries and kindergartens and collective refectories, because this is the only way to make it possible for women to have extra time for study and for participation in the various political activities which will make it possible for them to constantly raise their level in every respect. During the recent period a number of places have made considerable efforts to help women solve their problems but many places have failed to pay adequate attention to this problem and this has had an unhealthy effect on the studies and work of women.

In order to properly carry out female cadre training and development it is not only necessary to have active supervision from all echelons and branches but it is also necessary for the women themselves to make efforts to leap forward. Only if the women fully recognize their own responsibility to the common revolutionary cause of the party and to the cause of female liberation will they be able to cultivate and develop themselves and study in order to raise their level in every respect and, thereby, meet the ever higher requirements of the revolution.

The problem of female cadre in general and of female cadre training and development in particular has received very much attention from the party and Chairman Ho. The solicitude of the party for this problem is not only designed to respond to the requirements of the immediate situation but is also directed at the long range revolutionary tasks of the entire party and all the people. Therefore, we must strive to properly carry out the work of female cadre training and development. On the one hand, we must correctly employ the female cadre who have already been trained and developed and make them rapidly mature and develop their full capabilities. On the other hand, we must boldly promote promising women and continue to train them so that they can progress constantly. This is a requirement of the cause of class liberation, national liberation, and female liberation; it is also a legitimate aspiration of the women. The struggle of our people against the United States for national salvation has entered a new period and it is increasingly imperative that we concentrate on more effectively resolving the problem of female cadre training and development. If all levels and all branches fully understand the duty, guidelines, precepts, and details of female cadre training and development and develop positive measures, then, certainly, in the approaching period, we will be able to develop a large, high quality core of cadre capable of meeting the requirements of the revolution.

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CSO: 3520-D

## AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM KHE SANH ANALYZED

[Article signed by a military commentator: "Khe Sanh A Proud Victory of the Army and People of the South, A Painful Defeat for the Aggressive U. S. Invaders"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 7, July 1968, pages 40-44]

There are many unknown lands that became world famous overnight. Khe Sanh is one of them.

This is a valley area surrounded by mountains and jungles in western Quang Tri. Perhaps nobody in the world would have heard about Khe Sanh if it were not for the fact that U.S. forces had been encamping there and had been besieged, worn down, annihilated and finally forced to withdraw by the army and people of the South.

Why did U.S. forces come to Khe Sanh? They came to Khe Sanh for what purpose? In the summer of 1967, while the American aggressors were carrying out their Operation Junction City in Tay Ninh and beginning to carry out their plan to bring their forces to the Mekong delta, they were dealt a deadly blow by the army and people of the South on Route No. 9. They had to hurriedly put an end to Operation Junction City, abandon their plan to bring their forces to the Mekong Delta, and mass their troops in the Tri-Thien area to save their battlefield on Route No. 9. They set up a defense line along Route No. 9 from Dong Ha to Khe Sanh. As a result of their being forced to bring massive forces to Khe Sanh, the American aggressors had to shift from a "strategic counter-offensive" position to a "strategically confused defensive" position. This was a sign of the strategic defeat of the U.S. on the entire battlefield in the South.

As revealed by U.S. and Western press, the purpose of the U.S. in sending troops to the Khe Sanh area was to "close the border" of the South, to encircle the Southern revolution, to prevent the people from the North from providing assistance to their compatriots in the South, and to "lure" the Liberation armed forces of the South to the Khe Sanh valley for "annihilation."

The American aggressors set up in Khe Sanh a group of bases shaped like a triangle, with the main base being Ta Con and the other two being Khe Sanh (or the Huong Hoa district capital) and Lang Vei (Special Forces camp). U.S. forces encamping there numbered nearly 10,000. This did not include more than 40,000 mobile troops ready to rescue their Khe Sanh garrison.

The heroic army and people in the South had changed the Khe Sanh valley into a prison camp and a troop-roasting oven for the Americans. On 21 January 1968 the army and people in the South wiped out the Huong Hoa military sub-

sector and liberated the Huong Hoa district capital. On 7 February 1968, the liberation armed forces of the South wiped out the Lang Vei camp. The siege of the U.S. base in Ta Con began. During the siege (from 8 February 1968 to 31 March 1968), American troops in Khe Sanh lived as if they were in "hell" or trapped in "an electric chair." (confession by American troops). With their long-range artillery positioned east of Route No. 9, the American aggressors laid down heavy fire barrages to support their troops in Khe Sanh. Hundreds of U.S. aircraft, including the strategic B-52 bombers, continuously rained hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs over Khe Sanh. Yet, they still failed to weaken the fighting will of the liberation fighters who were besieging the U.S. garrison in Khe Sanh. The heroic army and people in Khe Sanh persistently tightened the siege, cut the enemy's supply lines on land, and in the air, fired artillery shells, launched sniping attacks and stopped every enemy attempt to break the siege. The enemy suffered heavier casualties, his morale collapsed seriously and his situation became highly perilous.

Early in April 1968, the enemy rashly launched Operation "Flying Horse" to "break" the siege of Khe Sanh. The heroic army and people in Khe Sanh immediately smashed that operation and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy.

In May 1968, after smashing the enemy "Flying Horse" operation, the army and people on the Khe Sanh front continued to tighten the siege, wearing down and annihilating the enemy troops. Suffered from heavy casualties and being isolated and encircled for a long period on a disadvantageous front, the American aggressors were forced to pull out of Khe Sanh to avoid the danger of total annihilation. On 26 June 1968, the U.S. Command in Saigon released a communique announcing the decision to withdraw U.S. forces from Khe Sanh.

What was the reason for the U.S. withdrawal from Khe Sanh? The American aggressors decided to pull out their forces from Khe Sanh because they could no longer stand up against the prolonged siege by the liberation armed forces who had inflicted and were inflicting heavy casualties on them, and also because their stalemated position on the entire battlefield in the South had caused them a serious shortage of mobile and strategic reserve troops. Even the U.S. commanders in Saigon had to admit that due to "increasing enemy threat" they were forced to withdraw their forces from Khe Sanh in order to "secure and maintain mobility."

The U.S. plan to withdraw secretly from Khe Sanh in a short time was foiled. The army and people at Khe Sanh persistently stuck to the enemy troops, continuously attacking their positions and valiantly fighting the retreating enemy troops. The liberation armed forces ambushed and annihilated the enemy troops who were retreating on land, and at the same time cut off their air-lifts. On 9 July 1968, the liberation armed forces at Khe Sanh seized Ta Con, the main camp of the Khe Sanh base.

The American aggressors had to pay a very high price for their shameful withdrawal from Khe Sanh. In a period of 14 days only, from the time the U.S.

began to pull out of Khe Sanh to the time our troops seized Khe Sanh (from 26 June 1968 to 9 July 1968), nearly 2,000 U.S. troops were killed, 30 U.S. aircraft were shot down, and nearly 40 U.S. military vehicles were destroyed.

Since the day Khe Sanh was first attacked until the day U.S. troops were completely swept out of the Khe Sanh valley (from 21 January 1968 to 9 July 1968), the army and people at Khe Sanh, fighting continuously and valiantly for 170 days and nights, killed nearly 17,000 enemy troops (including 13,000 Americans); decimated and inflicted heavy casualties on one regiment, four battalions and 39 companies of the U.S. puppet forces; shot down and destroyed 480 enemy aircraft; destroyed hundreds of enemy military vehicles, more than 60 heavy artillery pieces and more than 50 oil and ammo dumps; seized thousands of weapons, hundreds of tons of food and military equipment.

The American aggressors had repeatedly emphasized the great importance of Khe Sanh. The United States Information Service -- USIS -- said on 15 February 1968 that "U.S. military leaders said that Khe Sanh must be defended because of its importance as the western anchor of the U.S. defense line in the north." On 15 March 1968, the same agency added that "if Khe Sanh were lost, the U.S. would be defeated in the war in Vietnam." On 5 February 1968, UPI reported that "President Johnson has forced all members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to sign a statement that they believe Khe Sanh, a threatened Marine outpost in South Vietnam, can be successfully defended." The Western daily, Post, wrote on 13 February 1968 that "because of its strategic importance Khe Sanh will occupy an important place in the history of the world; Khe Sanh could mean the fall of President Johnson or the fall of General Westmoreland, or both." The American aggressors had decided to "defend Khe Sanh at any cost" (Reuters, 7 February 1968). Thinking back fearfully of the Dien Bien Phu battle 14 years ago, the American aggressors, from Johnson to Wheeler, tried to assure themselves by saying that "we do not intend to run into another Dien Bien Phu" (UPI, 6 February 1968). They "pledged to defend Khe Sanh at any cost" (UPI, 8 February 1968).

Switching from their pledge to "defend Khe Sanh at any cost" to their decision to pull out of Khe Sanh "due to increasing enemy pressure," the American aggressors had admitted to the whole world their shameful defeat. The American aggressors' defeat in Khe Sanh was in fact a serious defeat, a total defeat, militarily and politically, strategically and tactically. It was first of all a great military defeat. That military defeat was also a great political defeat. At Khe Sanh, the army and people in the South had dealt a serious blow at the American imperialist aggression in the South of our country. The Western press was correct when saying that "Khe Sanh symbolizes U.S. determination." (Reuters, 27 June 1968), and that "determination" was defeated in Khe Sanh by the army and people in the South. The American imperialists attempt to make the South of our country their new-type colony and military base. They are very stubborn. But their power is limited. If our army and people are determined to fight against them, to hurt them seriously, then they will certainly have to give up their aggressive attempt. The battle of Khe Sanh has proved that the persistent will of our people to fight for independence and freedom will certainly prevail over the aggressive will

of the American imperialists.

The American imperialists always use their words "to keep our commitments" as a pretext to carry out their aggression against the South of our country. They also use these words to deceive world opinion. The battle of Khe Sanh has proved to the world the value of their "commitments and pledges." They had "pledged" to defend Khe Sanh to the end, but when they were dealt serious defeats by the army and people in the South and faced with the danger of annihilation, they had to swallow their "pledge" and abandon Khe Sanh. This has proved that the pledge of our army and people in the South to "liberate the South" has prevailed over the American imperialists' "pledge" in their aggression against the South.

With their serious defeat at Khe Sanh, the American aggressors have lost their face in the eyes of the people in Vietnam, in Asia and in the world.

On 27 June 1968, AP -- an American news agency -- admitted that "this is the first time U.S. forces had to withdraw from an important base in South Vietnam because of communist pressure... The U.S. withdrawal from Khe Sanh is a setback to the U.S." The British Daily News (on 28 June 1968) wrote that "the abandonment of Khe Sanh has shown the collapse of U.S. prestige, and that the U.S. finally has lost its face."

The American imperialists always brags that they cannot be defeated militarily. The battle of Khe Sanh has exposed the falsity of that statement. With a hard truth, it has proved to the world that the American imperialists are being defeated militarily. U.S. forces have been completely swept out of the Khe Sanh valley. A big chunk of the U.S. defense line on Route No. 9, -- more than 40 kilometers from the Laotian-Vietnamese border to Ca Lu -- has collapsed. With the serious defeat at Khe Sanh, McNamara's "electronic barrier" in northern Quang Tri is shaking and collapsing.

The U.S. defeat at Khe Sanh is a clear indication of the U.S. strategic defeat on the entire front in the South. It has proved that the U.S. aggressors are unable to solve the serious contradictions they are encountering on the front in the South, the contradictions between deployment of forces to seize land and concentration of forces to secure mobility. The army and people in the South are spreading the enemy forces to fight and annihilate them. The American imperialists are running into a serious shortage of mobile and strategic reserve forces. Their large mobile units, which are also their strategic reserve units, are being confusedly deployed. Their 101st Airborne Division had been moved from the eastern part of the South and the southern part of Central VN to Tri-Thien, then sent back to rescue other troops in Saigon, and again moved to the Western High Plateau. Their 1st Cavalry Division had been flown from Binh Dinh to Hue, and then again sent to the Route No. 9 front. By abandoning a strategically important base like Khe Sanh, the American imperialists have proved their inability to solve their serious troop shortage.

The U.S. defeat at Khe Sanh marks the complete bankruptcy of

the "search and destroy" strategy of Westmoreland, the recently retired U.S. commander in the South, and at the same time marks the first setback of the "sweep and hold" strategy of Abrams, the new U.S. commander in the South.

The Khe Sanh defeat is the defeat of a series of military tactics of the U.S.: the tactic of defense with small bases ready to rescue any threatened troops, the tactic of defense with a group of bases combined with large mobile forces and heavy firepower, the tactic of defense with an "electronic barrier", the tactic of large-scale "airlift by helicopters" like Operation "Flying Horse" for instance, the tactic of raining bombs... This defeat is a defeat of all branches of the U.S. armed forces, from the Marines to the Air Cavalry, from the Airborne to the Tactical Air Force (and even the Strategic Air Force with its B-52 bombers), etc.

The Khe Sanh defeat has also proved that the U.S. has totally failed in its efforts to help the puppet army to stand up to take the punishment for the U.S. forces.

After the Khe Sanh defeat, the morale of the U.S.-puppet forces has worsened.

If Khe Sanh is a serious defeat to the American imperialists and their lackeys, it is on the contrary a glorious victory for our army and people.

The victory of Khe Sanh is a victory of the determination to fight and win and of the valiant and persistent fighting will of the heroic army and people in the South. It is a victory of the correct political and military line of the National Front for the Liberation of the South. It is a victory of the military strategy and tactics of the highly developed people's war. It is a victory of smart leadership and creative fighting. It is the victory of the sacrificing spirit and the extraordinary endurance of the fighters and people at Khe Sanh, in particular, and on the Route No. 9 front, in general. It is a victory of a close coordination among various branches of armed forces, a beautiful coordination among all battlefronts in the South. It is a victory of the unity between army and people and among various nationalities in the South. It is a victory of the kinship between the South and the North.

The Khe Sanh victory has a great significance. It has destroyed a great part of the enemy's strength and war means. It has liberated an important area with a population of more than 10,000. It has broken the U.S. defense line on Route No. 9, and threatened and shaken that defense line. It has dealt a fatal blow at the aggressive intention of the American imperialists. It has greatly encouraged our army and people in the South in their general offensive and simultaneous uprisings. It has pushed the American aggressors and their lackeys deeper into a confused strategic defensive position.

In their fighting, our army and people at Khe Sanh have obtained new experiences and grown substantially in every aspect. With their outstanding feat of arms, the army and people at Khe Sanh have greatly contributed to

the common victory of the army and people in Tri-Thien-Hue, and of the army and people in the entire South in the new period of the anti-U.S. resistance.

Khe Sanh was a decisive testing ground between us and the enemy. In this test, our people have won. This has proved that no reactionary force can stop our people in the sacred fight for the liberation of the South and for national reunification.

The American imperialists have been seriously defeated, but they still remain very stubborn. They are trying to strengthen their defense which is collapsing in big chunks. They have withdrawn their demoralized survivors of Khe Sanh to strengthen their mobile forces. They are making efforts to defend their last lairs and nests in the cities and other important strategic areas. They are increasing their operations in areas surrounding the cities and other important strategic areas.

The closer they are to total defeat, the more violent they become. The closer our army and people are to victory, the more difficulties we meet. Following the example of the army and people at Khe Sanh, let all the army and people in the entire nation unite all as one, and be determined to overcome difficulties, to surge forward and to defeat the American aggressors.

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## PROGRAM OUTLINED FOR MILITIA, SELF-DEFENSE FORCES

[Article by Tran Loc: "Several Experiences of Nghe An Province in Developing Militia, Self-Defense Forces"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 45-52]

During the three years it has been waging its war of destruction against the northern part of our country U.S. imperialist has made more than 9,000 attacks against Nghe An involving tens of thousands of flights and more than 100,000 bombs. Since February 1967, the U.S. invaders have also used shipborne artillery to fire at the mainland and have sown mines in the rivers.

Under the leadership of the Nghe An party organization the militia and self-defense forces in the province have surmounted all of the fierce challenges, grown spectacularly, and carried out brilliant military feats. As of July 1968, the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces had, in conjunction with the main force troops, shot down 399 U.S. planes of all types, captured many pilots, and damaged enemy warships. The militia and self-defense forces independently downed 30-odd of these planes. The militia of D. Township, Dien Chau District, was the first militia unit in the North to down a U.S. jet plane with an infantry rifle (15 March 1966). The old men of the K. Township militia and the girl militia of P. Township in the same district also shot down enemy planes. Of special interest, the militia of N. Township, Quynh Luu District, downed a U.S. jet with three rifle shots. The Nghe An militia and self-defense forces also effectively collaborated with the public security and army to efficiently wipe out many spy and

radar groups and to mobilize the surrender of many bandit groups. The Nghe An militia and self-defense forces are also the shock forces in production, in civil defense work, and in assuring good communications and transportation.

In the matter of developing the forces, the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces have, during the past several years, completed and over completed the training program, training tens of thousands of cadre and building more than 100 determined-to-win units; they were given more than 300 military exploit medals of various types. Moreover, they have also properly implemented the various plans for military recruitment and civilian labor and the policies concerning wounded, families of war dead, families of military personnel, and so forth. The Nghe An army and people were presented the Independence Medal Second Class. Vinh City received a letter of commendation from Uncle Ho when it shot down 100 U.S. planes on 14 September 1965.

We can extract the following several lessons from the experience of the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces in construction and combat during the past three-odd years of the struggle against the United States for national salvation:

1. Thoroughly understand the strategic determination and the people's war line of the party and steadfastly and aggressively mobilize the militia and self-defense forces and all the people to fight the invaders.

The Nghe An people had actively prepared for many years to cope with the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to expand the war to the North. Nghe An struggled to build its armed forces and devoted the utmost attention to consolidating the political base and to mobilizing the masses to be ready to fight enemy infiltration. The party organization organized studies of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee in order to make all of the cadre and party members fully acquainted with the concept of violent revolution and the revolutionary attack ideology. Thereafter it taught about the enemy situation and scheme in order to increase vigilance in all echelons of the party and among the armed forces and people in a number of key areas. At the same time, the party organization reviewed and consolidated the militia and self-defense forces, prepared combat plans, and organized the digging of combat and defense shelters and trenches. Moreover, it gave serious attention to consolidating the agricultural production co-ops and the fishing co-ops; arranged work for the families of fishermen; promoted the exploitation of the semi-mountainous area; and intensified the land clearing campaign in order to prepare the political and economic base

for the war. In mid 1964, the party organization devised plans for economic development during peacetime and during wartime for three areas in the province. The wartime plan at that time was designed first of all to provide protection against attacks by enemy planes and, at the same time, to provide defenses against the Americans limited war. Of special interest, the City of Vinh established a people's Air Defense Committee, dug 30,000 underground air defense shelters, and promoted a series of activities to prepare to fight the enemy and to elude the enemy with the slogans "each person does the work of two" and "leave when ordered, attack when the enemy arrives, and win when you attack." When the enemy bombed the Ben Thuy area on 5 August 1964 the army and people of Vinh City shot down one U.S. jet plane and damaged many others.

After 5 August 1964, the plans for economic development, combat preparation, and combat were made very specific. The Nghe An party organization made each person thoroughly understand Directive 81 of the Politburo and Resolutions 11 and 12 of the Party Central Committee in the course of many successive waves of education encompassing cadre and party members and extending from within the party out to the masses; there was also a thorough review and a program to "denounce the U.S. invaders and remember gratitude to the revolution." The party organization placed special emphasis on training cadre in order to help enable the township to take the initiative in every situation. In these educational waves the party organization emphasized the critical character of Nghe An in every respect and determined the position and duty of the cadre and people in the province and of each area to the struggle against the United States for national salvation. The thorough education about the role and responsibility of the Nghe An rear area to Military Region 4 and to the great front line of the South helped the people to clearly understand that the more intense the enemy attacks against the North the more steadfast the people must be in protecting communications and in striving to build up the rear area, to accelerate production, to perfect the new production relationship, and to progress forward to the point of self-sufficiency in food in order to carry out a protracted war; this also helped the people to clearly understand the need to fully support the South with the spirit "everything in order to defeat the invading U.S. pirates."

The party organization mobilized a movement to hunt for aircraft with infantry rifles. Constant improvements were made in the matter of organizing all of the people to take care of the roads and look after communications such as the organization of anti-aircraft guard stations, of the mixing and preparation of raw materials and materials for building bridges,

of the construction of branch roads, and of shipping on the roads.

In addition to organizing attacks against the enemy and assuring communications the party organization held many conferences to summarize experiences about evasion and defense activities and mobilized all of the people to build underground shelters and trenches with ever-increasing quality; as a result, our ratio of wounded in the battles against the enemy dropped more and more. The partial evacuation coupled with the efforts to motivate the people to develop new economic areas made it possible to stabilize the lives of more than 10,000 people.

On the production front, the movement to build water-conservancy projects and to stay out in the fields and stay out at sea to produce was widely mobilized and netted many significant results.

In building up the militia and self-defense forces and in constructing combat villages the party organization struggled against simplistic military tendencies such as paying attention only to military training and to the construction of military fortification, divorcing this from production and disregarding the formation of the political base. Because of this, the construction and consolidation of the militia and self-defense forces is inextricably linked with the development of the basic organization of the party, the mass organizations, and the co-ops.

Along with overseeing the fight against the war of destruction, the Nghe An party organization promoted efforts to prepare to block the U.S. schemes to expand the limited war.

2. Creatively adapt the people's war method of fighting in the antiaircraft operations of the militia and self-defense forces,

The problem of organizing the militia and self-defense forces to attack U.S. planes during the first months of the war was not without difficulties, especially difficulties related to ideology because of the lack of confidence in the ability to employ rifles to shoot down U.S. jet planes. But as a result of profound indoctrination about patriotism and about the determination to defeat the aggressive U.S. invaders the militia and self-defense forces came up with methods of fighting the enemy right with the first battles.

Despite the fact that the U.S. invaders conducted increas-

ingly severe attacks the militia and self-defense movement to attack low-flying enemy planes developed increasingly in breadth and depth. Studying the experiences of D. Township and Z. Township, permanent combat alert units were formed one after another. These units both have a higher fighting level and a tighter command organization and serve as in-battle training schools for thousands of militia and self-defense forces which rotate in brief phases to study how to attack airplanes; the use of modern weapons is included in the studies. With timely guidance from all echelons from Military Region to district unit, these units have fought tens and hundreds of engagements and, in coordination with the main force, have shot down hundreds of planes. In 1966 alone they independently shot down 14 planes and in 1967 they shot down 22 planes. As of this date, all of the militia and self-defense forces from the coastal and delta areas to the mountains have shot down U.S. planes.

The following several points can be derived from the fights of militia and self-defense forces against U.S. planes:

One very important thing is to have a firm grasp of the enemy situation. It is imperative to keep closely abreast of every enemy scheme of action, to figure out the principles of operation and plans of the enemy, and to identify the weak areas of the enemy; on the basis of this, make the decision to go into battle or to make a timely, mobile strike against the enemy.

Our party has enunciated the guiding military thinking for the antiaircraft forces as: "aggressively initiate attacks to destroy the enemy, protect targets, maintain and develop our forces, and become stronger with each attack." In adapting this thinking and the guiding military thought of guerrilla warfare to their own peculiarities concerning organization, unit composition, and equipment, it is increasingly important for the militia and self-defense forces to fully comprehend that the primary idea is to aggressively initiate attacks to wipe out enemy strength; they must actively protect sites in a mobile, positive, and flexible manner in the spirit of developing our fundamental strengths, exacerbating the weaknesses of the enemy, attacking the many with the few, and using the weak to attack an enemy which is stronger in equipment, materials, and technology. These ideas must be fully incorporated in every action of the militia and self-defense forces against the enemy.

In organizing the battle position it is imperative to

effectively carry out six things: promptly observe and discover the enemy; have a high spirit of combat readiness and calm courage; effectively camouflage military fortifications; have a flexible command and settle problems promptly; constantly study military and political subjects and draw lessons after each engagement; properly maintain weapons. The key point among these is for each person to have the determination to wipe out the enemy while at the same time aggressively improving his tactical and technical performance; it is also necessary to have a flexible command. To disregard the element of morale would make it impossible to guarantee successful combat; but to rely purely on the element of morale and fail to effectively resolve questions of organization and science and technology would limit our victory and waste our efforts and ammunition. The Nghe An militia and self-defense forces solved this problem by organizing training exercises for cadre and fighters; by conducting regular training in the combat alert units; and by holding timely conferences from province down to township to draw lessons on particular subjects. Moreover, some places have requested artillery cadre and troops passing through the locality on assignment or taking leave there to train them; or they have used enemy planes as live targets in order to practice and make it possible for the fighters to gain battle experience. The main thing about the aforementioned forms is to both attack and train and draw lessons on the spot.

As for tactics, the provincial militia and self-defense forces have recently conducted very flexible and sudden attacks against the enemy: sometimes they set up a position to protect a location; sometimes they move out to search for and attack the enemy; sometimes they concentrate into detachments composed of units from many townships; sometimes they disperse to conduct unit-sized sporadic attacks; sometimes they conduct feinting operations to deceive the enemy; and sometimes they lure the enemy to places where our troops have prepared an ambush. But in order to accommodate the combat environment and develop the strongpoints of the militia and self-defense forces it is necessary to pay the utmost attention to the matter of conducting mobile search and attack operations against the enemy and constantly seek the initiative and conduct clever and creative surprise attacks against the enemy using guerrilla ambush techniques. Even when protecting locations it is also possible to move about among a number of positions. It is imperative to avoid the tendency to fear difficulties and hardships and the disinclination to move about; at the same time, it is necessary to keep from moving at the wrong time and in waves ill suited to the spirit of aggressively wiping out the enemy.

In joint operations with the main force it is necessary to consider the weapons capability and support requirements of the friendly unit, the terrain situation, and the enemy situation and then set up the militia and self-defense positions in a suitable manner; this must be viewed as one of the principal duties of militia and self-defense forces. The only way to fully develop our strengths and to cause significant tactical and technical disruption to the enemy during combat is to closely coordinate the various levels of firepower, using antiaircraft artillery as the nucleus. During joint operations in key areas the militia and self-defense forces have defended the low altitudes, forcing enemy planes to fly high; this enables the main force to score achievements and makes an important contribution to the defense of the sites. The militia and self-defense forces not only help the main force troops build military fortifications, build roads for moving the artillery, and transport the wounded but also organized reserve units which are ready to replace the artillery fighters when necessary. Moreover, the militia and self-defense forces themselves have conducted joint operations among two or more townships under the supervision of the district echelon.

At present, in the spirit of determination to attack and defeat the aggressive U.S. invaders and with their skillful and creative way of fighting the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces are able to fight independently and to move about and make unsuspected attacks against the enemy; and, along with the main force and local force troops, they create a thick, multi-layered net of fire in many places and also have the capability of replacing the artillery men.

3. Properly resolve the relationship between production and combat among the militia and self-defense forces.

The militia and self-defense forces are the main work force in production and are the people who "eat at home and both produce and fight the invaders." Only if they produce well will it be possible to assure the life of their families so they will have the peace of mind to fight and will it be possible to strengthen our economic and defense resources. Tendencies toward purely military thinking, failing to firmly understand the wartime economic line, or tendencies to overemphasize concern about production and to fail to pay proper attention to defense are contrary to the people's war concept of our party.

On the basis of specific local conditions Nghe An properly resolved a number of problems associated with the relation-

ship between production and combat.

The self-defense personnel have properly concentrated on production while giving the utmost attention to combat support in places where this is necessary; and they have been properly prepared so that when the war spreads they can fight with concentrated units.

The compatriots who go to build new economic areas view their production duties as their primary tasks but also attach importance to defense and elusion and view importantly the matter of preparing to fight and to serve the fighting.

The coastal compatriots, determined to stay out at sea and fish, organized to attack the enemy in a valiant and clever way, coordinating this with defense and evasion and with support from troops protecting the coast and the islands. In the farm areas the militia and self-defense forces have been in the vanguard in agreeing to farm land in places where the enemy regularly conducts intense attacks, have struggled to produce day and night, have dispersed into small groups in order to produce, and have had a tight command organization; therefore, they have been able to plow and transplant the full area right on time.

In order to effectively fight the enemy many townships at the present time have organized permanent combat alert units with a number of people taking turns for certain periods; at the same time, they have been able to maintain one element as the nucleus force for guaranteeing training and combat. While concentrating principally on their combat duties personnel in some places have also collaborated in the performance of a number of tasks such as weaving nets, raising livestock, and producing in fields near the combat alert areas. The birth of permanent combat alert units is an extraordinary step forward in many ways for the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces but this task ran into no small number of difficulties, especially during the initial period. In the course of the development the townships conducted a broad political mobilization to mobilize all of the people to support the combat alert units in every respect and they relied on the co-ops to look after the material life of the personnel in the units. Each year each co-op has invested nearly 1,000 work days in order to feed their sons in the combat watch units. The co-ops have also seen to the proper execution of the policies on civilian labor, wounded military personnel, and war dead and many other policies; consequently, they have really contributed to maintaining the life of the militia and have constantly kept the personnel happy and enthusiastic about combat and production.

In organizing defense and evasion, key areas in the province have during the recent period skillfully coordinated between the economic and the defense and between the immediate and the long range interests and have resolved the problem in three principal ways: building good underground shelters and trenches, partial evacuation, and re-locating civilians to build new economic areas or moving civilians to existing farm co-ops.

The rational use of labor power in the present situation is a very important problem and one which affects the effort to raise labor productivity and many other things. Many coastal townships during the recent period have successfully organized female militia and self-defense forces to work in manual trades such as making hats, weaving mats, raising silk worms, weaving nets, and so forth; they have also organized the women and the men to perform combat watch patrols and guards or have had the women completely shoulder this task so the men could be free to stay out at sea and fish. Ten girls of Bong Village, belonging to the D. Hamlet female militia platoon, set a bright example in producing successfully and fighting skillfully in accordance with the "three responsibilities" spirit of women in the struggle of women against the United States for national salvation. In the farm production areas military training periods have been arranged in a manner appropriate to the conditions in each place and appropriate to the crop schedule and production plan.

In order to closely coordinate production with combat and with other fields of activity Nghe An has since late 1966 broadly adopted a program of assigning chi bo secretaries as political officers of militia companies and platoons and concurrently chiefs of the control committees of the co-ops; the members of the chi bo committee serve as company commander and as a member of the co-op administrative committee; the party members ( usually discharged military personnel) serve as company executive officers; and the secretaries or members of the Lao Dong Youth Group Chapter Standing Committee serve as the deputy political officers. In the production teams the chiefs or deputy chiefs of party cells serve as the chiefs or deputy chiefs of the production units and as the chiefs or deputy chiefs of the militia squads; the commander of the youth element is the militia squad leader or executive officer. This method is followed because, if the militia and self-defense forces are to serve as the nucleus and vanguard force for all the people in fighting the invaders, they must obey the absolute, direct, and all-round leadership of the party organization, with the co-op as the economic support and the Youth Group as the nucleus.

4. Attach importance to political and ideological activities and military training in order to raise the fighting quality of the militia and self-defense forces.

The Nghe An party organization has paid special attention to the political and ideological development of the militia and self-defense forces, viewing this as a very important foundation for the successful development of the forces in every respect. Politically and ideologically educating the forces the party organization has used many techniques in order to motivate their thinking; chief among these has been the technique of recounting misery and hardship, comparing the old and the new systems and the former and the present life, exposing the claims of the enemies of the class and people, and so forth. These have been designed to raise the class consciousness and national consciousness, to inculcate a feverish hatred for the enemy, and to elevate the zeal and determination of the forces for fighting the Americans.

During the recent period, Nghe An has used bright examples from production and combat to teach the forces and has employed various forms such as ceremonies to receive flags, ceremonies to hand over weapons, and movements of "singing to drown out the bombs" in order to mobilize enthusiasm for production and combat. Nghe An has also attached importance to developing the role of the mass organizations, especially the Youth Group and Women's Association in teaching the forces.

The education of the militia and self-defense forces in Nghe An has been structured on the foundation of the overall education of all the people but adapted to the functions and special characteristics of paramilitary forces. The experience in Nghe An has demonstrated the need to clarify the duty, role, tradition, and revolutionary heroism of the armed forces and especially to make each unit and each place thoroughly cognizant of the local military tasks. The implementation of the annual program of political training, current events education during the regularly scheduled activities, the organization of short term political and military study sessions, in-battle motivation, reviews and summations after the engagements, and so forth have helped make the militia and self-defense forces successfully perform the function of a paramilitary organization of the party in the local areas. Moreover, it is necessary to attach importance to organizational leadership, to see to the proper execution of the policies concerning wounded and families of war dead, and to attach importance to solving problems of food and work points for the personnel on combat alert. Through the emulation movement we must select outstanding people to serve as the key cadre for the movement,

especially in the key areas.

On the basis of an improved political consciousness among the forces it is necessary to attach importance to the matter of delving deeply into the military science of people's war and of delving deeply into the question of resolving tactical and technical problems because the spiritual power will only be able to exert its full effect when the masters have been provided science and technology.

In recent years, the military training in Nghe An has sought to meet the requirements of combatting the war of destruction and of preparing against limited war and against the later and commando tactics of the enemy; it has sought both to support local military activities and to prepare to support the needs of the front line. In critical areas attention has also been focused on ensuring that the militia and self-defense forces can fight in conjunction with the main force units.

In its training activities, Nghe An has adopted the precept: teach the essentials in war, touch on everything, give importance to the crude weapons and to the modern weapons, combine force development with fighting, and give importance to the matter of building up the cadre and developing strong units to serve as the nucleus of the guerrilla war movement in the local area. For the past several years Nghe An has completed its annual training programs. In 1966, it held three training courses for nearly 200 female cadre; in 1967 it was able to provide supplementary training for more than 10,000 cadre in various training courses from province to township.

5. Strengthen the absolute, direct, and all-embracing leadership of the basic party organization.

The absolute, direct, and total leadership of the basic party organization over the militia and self-defense forces is of decisive importance. This leadership encompasses political, ideological, and organizational aspects and training and military operations.

For the past several years, especially since mid and late 1965, the key leadership comrades in the basic party organizations of Nghe An have concentrated on both leading party development and various other aspects and on directly commanding and leading the militia and self-defense forces. Nearly all of the party members have voluntarily participated in the militia and self-defense forces and have displayed their exemplary and nuclear roles. The campaign to build "four good"

chi bo and party organizations during the past five years, especially during the last three years, and the induction into the party of 30,000-odd people since 1965 have markedly strengthened the direct and total leadership of the party. The development of "four good" chi bo and party cells has also been closely coordinated with the development of co-ops, production units, work shops, and production teams and with the development of the militia and self-defense forces. The basic organizations of the party have also emphasized the matter of increasing the percentage of women in the militia and self-defense forces and the matter of developing those forces in accordance with the class line and mass line of the party.

Party committees at all echelons in the installations have also attached importance to the research and study of the people's war line, the people's war method of attack, and the precepts and principles guiding guerrilla warfare and they have adapted these things to the special features of their respective localities and properly resolved problems relating to local supervision, construction, and military operations.

The buildup and consolidation of the militia and self-defense forces in the mountain area and in the Catholic areas has received serious attention and has made notable progress in many ways.

Party committees at all echelons and the chi bo have not only strengthened their total leadership over the militia and self-defense forces but have also devoted appropriate attention to other operational matters, to the consolidation of the government and co-ops and mass organizations -- especially the Lao Dong Youth Group, the Assault Youth Units To Fight The Americans and Save the Nation, and the Women's Federation -- because they have increasingly come to realize that the fighting power of the paramilitary forces can only be consolidated and developed on the basis of a national movement to fight the invaders.

The effort to strengthen the absolute, direct, and total leadership of the basic party organization has itself helped Nghe An not only win proud victories in combat but also set great records in economic construction and development even in intense war conditions; nearly 60,000 cubic meters of water-conservancy projects have been dug, tens of thousands of hectares of land have been improved, more than 200 small machinery sites have been equipped, tens of millions of trees have been planted, many successful tenth-month crops have been obtained, salt production plans have been met and exceeded for

several years in a row, communications and transportation plans have been exceeded every year, and industrial and handicraft installations have been firmly maintained and developed. As a result, the militia and self-defense forces have a firm economic and political foundation for constant growth and victory.

Alongside the aforementioned achievements and strong points Nghe An also has weaknesses and deficiencies: the militia and self-defense movement is not progressing uniformly in all areas; the quality of military and political training and of defense and evasion activity is still low in comparison with the increasingly developing needs of the war (the scientific and technical competency especially needs considerable improvement); the development of small units has not received appropriate attention; and the training of new cadre has achieved considerable preliminary success but the very enthusiastic young cadre are weak as far as their command and leadership level is concerned. The relationship between production and combat, between combatting the war of destruction and taking precautions against limited war, and between the rear area and the front line still requires the utmost attention and continuing efforts at proper solution. Under the leadership of the party central committee and the Nghe An Province party organization the Nghe An militia and self-defense forces are striving to develop their strong points and accomplishments and to overcome their weaknesses and deficiencies; they are certain to win greater victories in the development of their forces and in combat, contributing in a worthy fashion to the national struggle against the United States for national salvation.

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## LOCAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS REVIEWED

[Article by Ngo Thuc: "Several Initial Experiences in Building, Developing Local Industry"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 53-60]

In carrying out the party and government program for economic reorientation the people of the North have, during the past two years of combatting the war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists, won great victories in the development of local industry and handicrafts. Compared with 1964, a year prior to the war of destruction, the total output value of local industry continued to climb during the years 1966 and 1967. Local state-run industry has developed vigorously. Small industry and handicrafts have continued to firmly maintain production and some aspects have been expanded. The production of production materials and of essential consumer goods for civilian life has increased. Attention has been focused on developing many important local industrial branches and occupations. As a result, local industry and handicrafts have successfully served the development and buildup of other local economic branches, especially agriculture, and have been able to somewhat resolve the needs of the war and of civilian life. Compared with 1964, the supply of ordinary farm implements to agriculture has doubled. The production of crude and mechanized transportation facilities has increased rapidly. The production of fertilizer and lime has received continuous acceleration. By performing their duty to obtain supplies locally, local industry and handicrafts have been able to produce many more consumer goods, from ordinary type goods to essentials such as cloth, paper, foodstuffs, medicines, family articles,

and so forth. There has been a fairly rapid increase in some of the articles for which there is a major need such as sauces, cloth, mosquito nets, face towels, salt, syrup, sweetbreads, metal objects, and medicine.

In addition to producing, the local areas have paid the utmost attention to building up and increasing the material and technical base for local industry and handicrafts. The investment capital for local industry during 1966 and 1967 was 1.5 times the amount invested in local industry during the first five year plan. The number of local state-run industrial installations built during the past two years equals the total number of local state-run industrial installations built during the ten years before that. The machinery branch of local industry has been supplied with many new machines and many high precision types of equipment; this amount of equipment is approximately the same as the amount supplied during the earlier peace years. Many production materials and consumer materials production installations designed to meet the needs of the various areas have been built; some of these involve new branches previously not found in local industry such as machinery manufacture, coal mining, electricity, cement, hydroelectricity, mechanized transportation facilities, chemicals, and so forth. Many small industry and handicraft installations have been further developed and these have begun to receive the necessary machinery and equipment. Thousands of small machinery installations have been built in many co-ops, in both the mountain and the delta areas.

Local industry and handicrafts have been widely developed in all the different economic areas from the delta provinces to the mountain provinces. Local industry has made spectacular progress even in the localities where the war is most intense.

In order to guarantee both production and combat local industry and handicrafts have successfully carried out dispersal, partial evacuation, camouflage, and covering of production installations. Tens of tens of thousands of workers and members of handicraft co-ops have, in a spirit of production and combat valor, contributed many efforts to the protection and development of local industry.

Tens of thousands of technical cadre and workers have been trained in the past several years in order to meet the needs for developing production of local industry, handicrafts, and farm co-ops. People from the ethnic minorities and women represent an important percentage of the new technical cadre and workers.

It is clear that under conditions of increasingly severe fighting local industry and handicrafts in the North have continued to develop and have been directed more and more to the service of agriculture, communications and transportation, and the other branches of the local economy. This new progress testifies to the enlightened leadership of our party and to the self-reliant and creative spirit of our people in building up and developing local industry. More and more good models have cropped up in local industry and handicrafts. Much diverse experience in building and developing local industry and handicrafts is very worthy of study for wide dissemination. We can draw from preliminary lessons from the experience of building and developing local industry during the past several years.

A basic prerequisite to successfully supervising the building and development of local industry is a thorough understanding of the party position and precepts on industrialization.

The resolution of the Third National Congress of the party clearly spelled out the precepts for our building and development of industry: "Combine large scale enterprises with small and medium scale enterprise, combine modern technology with rudimentary technology, combine the construction of new enterprises with the full utilization of old enterprises, combine the development of central industry with the development of local industry." (1)

In two-odd years of implementing the program of the party for local industrial development we have come to an increasingly clearer appreciation of the strategic importance of local industrial development in the socialist industrialization of the North and in its great potential.

The experience of the past several years has also shown that local industrial development contributes importantly to the fusion of industry and agriculture, provides an impetus to agriculture, and helps build material and technical foundation for agriculture and the other branches of the local economy. This is the most appropriate step toward gradually balancing industry and agriculture in each locality and it contributes to the creation of a balance throughout the entire country. The development of local industry and handicrafts also enables an acceleration in the new division of social labor, making possible a gradual increase in the percentage of industrial production labor and a gradual decrease in the percentage of agricultural production labor throughout the social labor structure. Clearly local industrial development is a very important task,

suitable to the special features of our country and in keeping with the principles of economic development of our country.

Although local industrial development has achieved a number of successes during the past year it has not yet satisfied the needs of the new situation and has not been uniform in all areas. This point proves that some branches and some localities have not yet really understood the party line and precept on local industrial development. Many comrades have failed to clearly recognize the strategic importance of local industry and, therefore, there have regularly been manifestations of deviations, opinions to the effect that local industrial development is uneconomic, that small industry and handicrafts have no future, and that industrial and handicraft development are only designed to meet wartime needs. This gives rise to temporizing ideas and lack of confidence and lack of determination in carrying out the party program for local industrial development.

As long as central industry has not vigorously developed and as long as the supply of equipment to agriculture and other branches of the economy is limited local industry and handicrafts must supplement and assist central industry and produce some of the common production materials for agriculture and some consumer goods for the people. In the concrete circumstances of the northern part of our country, the development of local industry which seeks to fully exploit and develop the full potential of the localities, accompanied by the development of central industry, is the correct guideline for accelerating the pace of socialist construction in the country. This is definitely not a temporary program merely designed to cope with the immediate wartime situation.

Some comrades have failed to fully understand the party precepts on local industrial development and, therefore, have had perfectionistic ideas, and have favored large scale complexes and modern technology in the development of local industry. These ideas are incompatible with the objective conditions and potential of the localities and, as a result, many difficulties and considerable confusion has been encountered in supervising their implementation. The characteristic of our country's economy is that a large part of the production is still manual and that we are carrying out industrial development under wartime conditions; therefore, the development of local industry of a small and medium scale with rudimentary technology enables the best utilization of the local raw materials, labor power, and capital and is the most appropriate method. In the immediate conditions although the quality of

the products of local industry and handicrafts is low and the cost relatively high there effect in serving production and life is quite clear. Later on, when new progress is made in industrialization, when the supply of new technical equipment and the improvement of old equipment is accelerated, and when the scientific and technical level of the cadre and workers is increased labor productivity in local industry will increase tremendously, product quality will rise significantly, and cost will drop considerably.

In supervising local industrial development we must fully appreciate the precept of obtaining supplies locally. To accomplish this, the localities must strive to build key type installations within their localities, to very effectively use the natural resources, labor power, and capital of the people, and to exploit the local potential to the maximum extent in order to vigorously develop local industry. At present, many localities have a tendency to concentrate on the development of new installations and are not properly utilizing the existing installations; they have an attitude of over-reliance on state assistance while under emphasizing the importance of developing the local potential; in supervising production they regularly concentrate on the state's requirements while overlooking the requirements of the local population. This has made it impossible to successfully carry out the duty to obtain supplies locally.

In order to correctly appraise local industrial and handicraft development in a locality it is necessary to consider many aspects such as the pace of development and the number and quality of the projects and products. But it is important to pay special attention to the success in serving agriculture and the other branches of the local economy because this is the principal service orientation of local industry. Many localities have fairly large local industry and handicraft forces but substandard agricultural performances; in those places it cannot be said that local industry has successfully developed. We cannot simply look at the value of the production but must take into account other aspects such as the development of new types of goods, the use of raw materials available locally, progress in technology and in economic management, and so forth. This is the only way to fully comprehend the strengths and weaknesses of each locality in order to develop a timely plan for overcoming the weaknesses, for developing the strongpoints, and for promoting more rapid development of local industry.

Properly resolve the various relationships in local industrial development.

The development of local industry is closely connected with the development of other branches of the national economy. Unless the interrelationship among the various branches of the national economy is properly resolved it will be impossible to bring about vigorous development of local industry.

First of all, we must concentrate on properly resolving the relationship between industry and agriculture, the two largest and most basic production branches of society. The resolution of the Seventh Conference of the Party Central Committee clearly states: "Industry and agriculture are very intimately interrelated. Industry -- particularly heavy industry -- is the foundation of the national economy and agriculture is the base for the development of industry. The only way that socialist industrialization can proceed forward rapidly and stably is if industry and agriculture develop in tandem and harmoniously." (2) It is increasingly imperative that industry in each locality marry itself to agriculture; these two branches are mutually supporting. For the past several years local industry has concentrated its strength on aiding the development of agriculture and has produced many production materials: rudimentary farm tools, improved farm tools, fertilizer, and so forth and various types of consumer goods for the peasants. Through the action of local industry great progress has been made in the technological revolution in agriculture. However, we must recognize that local industry has not as yet fully satisfied the production needs of agriculture. The production materials which local industry supplies to agriculture are few in number and low in quality. Many local industrial enterprises have not yet intensively researched the needs of agriculture in their respective localities and have not produced goods appropriate to the land conditions and farming habits of the locality. Unless local industry successfully serves agriculture, agriculture will be unable to race ahead in order to provide a base for the vigorous development of local industry. It has not been possible to supply raw materials to local industry in large quantities and on a stable basis because agricultural production in the northern part of our country has not developed in a comprehensive way. The low agricultural labor efficiency also limits the implementation of the new social division of labor and the transfer of some of the agricultural labor force to local industry and to other branches of the economy. It is clear that in order for local industry to develop it must firmly adhere to the guideline on serving agriculture and it must show more concern toward investigating and satisfying every need of agricultural production and of the peasants; conversely, if agriculture is to vigorously push forward it is increasingly imperative for it to concentrate on supplying raw materials and

manpower to local industry, relying on local industry to supply it with technical equipment.

In taking a broad view of the other branches of the economy we see that the development of local industry is inseparable from the development of the communications and transportation, forestry, and commerce branches and so forth. For this reason, there is a very close relationship between local industry and the various branches of the economy in the local area. In overseeing the development of local industry we cannot forget this but must try in every way to successfully resolve the relationship between local industry and the other branches of the economy so that each branch of the local economy can assist the other's development. In order to vigorously develop local industry we must, in addition to effectively resolving the relationship between local industry and the other branches of the economy, concentrate on successfully resolving the various relationships in the process of development of local industry itself.

Foremost of these is the relationship between the construction of a new base and the full utilization of the existing base. If local industry is to develop vigorously it is absolutely imperative to build additional new industrial installations in the local area. But we must also realize that the local industrial forces also encompass many installations built long ago, scattered everywhere, and possessing certain occupational traditions and technical levels. One fairly common shortcoming during the past two years has been our overlooking to some extent of the matter of developing the capacity of the existing installations. This shortcoming is clearly manifested in the failure to aggressively create every condition for the existing installations to maintain and develop production. Moreover, some localities, failing to make thorough calculations, built some new installations while it would have been possible to exploit and develop the production capabilities of old installations in the same local branches and occupations.

Experience has shown that in an environment such as ours where the needs in every field are very large and the capital and equipment resources are limited the only way to more successfully concentrate manpower and materiel to accelerate local industry and handicrafts is to fully utilize the old installations while building new installations.

In discussing the relationship between the construction of new installations and the proper employment of existing installations it is important to mention the relationship between

state-run industry and the handicraft co-ops. For several years now we have concentrated on developing state-run industry and we have brought about fairly rapid development of state-run industry and increased the percentage of state-run industry in the overall local industrial structure. While state-run industry has been developing small industry and handicrafts co-ops in many localities have failed to receive proper attention or have been abandoned. This fact proves that these localities failed to fully appreciate the important position of small industry and handicrafts, failed to see these as precious capital for industrial production in our country, and failed to realize that the survival and growth of small industry and handicrafts is an objective requirement of socialist industrialization in our country. Some comrades, because of subjective and simplistic thinking, hastily sought to rapidly replace small industry and handicrafts with state-run industry in order to "nationalize" in a self-serving manner. These notions and actions have led to unfavorable results. Some comrades have not clearly understood all of the different types of small industry and handicraft production: in the urban areas there are specialized co-ops, production teams, family production, and a very small number of private producers; in the countryside there are specialized co-ops, specialized production teams in the agricultural co-ops, subsidiary family occupations, and so forth. As a result, there have been some simplistic and mechanical notions among the people in charge in seeking to do away with all the different forms without any problem. These comrades are usually prejudiced about handicrafts and see only the negative aspects; they do not realize that the positive aspects are overriding and fail to comprehend the rich potential of handicrafts and small industry. In talking about local industry it is necessary to talk about the two components, the state-run economy and the collective economy. In discussing the collective economy during the present period it is necessary to accept various types of production in small industry and handicrafts. Each type of production has its character and function. Only by clearly recognizing this will it be possible to fully exert the power of small industry and handicrafts. In view of the broad and many faceted requirements in each locality for production materials and consumer materials, in view of the need to arrange work for the old and infirm, the disabled, and small children after school, and in view of the need to reform the small businessmen and so forth small industry and handicrafts, with their different types of production, can serve in a most appropriate way.

In order to develop the positive role of small industry and handicrafts we also must effectively resolve the relationship between increasing the production forces and streamlining

the new, socialist production relationship.

In recent years we have led nearly all of the craftsmen onto the path of collective livelihood. This is an immense victory but it is just a beginning. This is because the socialist reform of small industry and handicrafts embraces many things: the eradication of the capitalist exploitation relationship; bringing production materials into public ownership; adopting socialist management and distribution principals in the industry and handicraft co-ops; instilling in the artisans a socialist consciousness, an awareness of being the collective master, and the spirit of socialist labor, and so forth. This is a long struggle process which cannot be completed in one or two days. It is just because they fail to clearly recognize the complexity and long duration of this socialist reform that some localities and some branches have recently not only forsaken leadership over small industry and handicraft production but also relinquished their duty to continue to complete the socialist reform of small industry and handicrafts. Because of this, there are some small industry co-ops which, although nominally collective livelihood operations, are essentially disguised private plants in which the people who have invested money to buy tools and materials continue to receive profits like the old plant owners and continue to exploit the labor power of the other co-op members. These co-ops are not in business to serve the common interests of society but seek only to serve the interests of a small number of people; these people buy materials illegally, cheat customers, and raise prices as they see fit and so forth making unjust profits. The war situation has created opportunities for the development of fraudulent and illegitimate business activities. All of the aforementioned phenomena limit the positive role of small industry and handicrafts. Thus, in order for small industry and handicrafts to continue to develop and to contribute much more to the struggle against the United States for national salvation and to socialist construction in the North we must devote special attention to the matter of continuing to complete the socialist reform of small industry and handicrafts.

Local industry must also properly resolve the relationship between the production of production materials and the production of consumer goods. For several years now the production of production materials has in general, despite some deficiencies, been progressing significantly. But during this same period the production of consumer goods by local industry has been developing slowly and in some localities extremely slowly. The slow development in the production of consumer goods not only fails to satisfy the requirements of the obligation to obtain supplies locally and fails to fully meet the

needs of the people but also fairly significantly limits the pace of development of local industry itself, especially small industry and handicraft production. We know that in the present situation local industry has the duty to produce large quantities of production materials in order to meet its own requirements and those of other branches of the economy. But this does not mean that we can overlook the production of consumer goods in order to vigorously develop the effect of local industry in serving the lives of the people and in fulfilling the obligation for locally procured supplies.

Besides its production task local industry also has the duty to organize the repair of machinery and tools. We all know that the volume of machinery and tools supplied by the central and local branches of industry has been quite large in recent years. A cursory investigation in some localities revealed that the rate of inoperable tools is ordinarily 30% and small machines and modified vehicles are in the same straits. This situation demands that local industry try to properly organize the repair of agricultural machinery and implements, viewing this as one of its most important duties.

Strengthen the leadership and management of local industry and handicrafts.

It is common for local industry and handicrafts, with scattered, medium and small scale enterprises, to produce according to manual and semi-mechanized methods but it is industrial production. This fact makes it imperative to have concentrated, planned, and scientifically organized production management. Moreover, local industry, especially small industry and handicrafts, is a branch of production which has existed for a long time and which is spread everywhere and it attracts wide participation among the masses, has professional traditions, and produces many diverse goods to serve the lives of the people. Because of this local industry has a broad mass quality. This quality makes it incumbent upon the leadership and management of local industry and handicrafts to really rely on the masses and to fully develop and mobilize all of the latent forces of the masses; this is the only way to bring about vigorous and rapid development in local industry and handicrafts. The two aforementioned qualities of local industry are closely interrelated and complementary. To see only the quality of industrial production and mechanically apply principles of enterprise management as would be done in the case of central state-run enterprises while overlooking the mass character will lead to confusion and inaction and produce limited results. Conversely, to see only the

mass character of local industry and handicrafts will make supervision and management gradually become lackadaisical, ill-considered, and ill-planned and will produce inferior economic results and cause waste. The way to ensure the proper and successful development of local industry is for all echelons of local leadership to fully adhere to the party line on socialist industrialization and to know how to adapt that line to the specific environment, in accordance with the requirements and capabilities of the locality and with close coordination among the various branches and echelons; it is also imperative to mobilize the vast forces of the masses in industrial development. The leadership of local industry makes it imperative for local party committees at all echelons to delve deeply into industrial economics and technology. But leading local industry does not simply mean economic and technical leadership; it also means close leadership concerning ideology, organization, policy, systems, and so forth. For this reason, the leadership of the party committees at various echelons over local industry and handicrafts must be total.

Local industry is under the direct leadership of the local party committees at the various echelons but it must have active supervision and assistance from central branches if it is to develop vigorously and properly. The central branches must actively assist local industry and handicrafts in various ways: designing, supplying machinery and equipment, improving techniques, training cadre, and so forth. In the present situation the difficulties in supplying materials, spare parts, and consumer products and in the use of labor and transportation and so forth cannot be overcome in a short period of time; therefore, it is very important and urgent to strengthen management in the installations. The only way to successfully build and manage local industry is to creatively execute the various systems of management for the enterprises in a manner suited to the production environment of the installations; to study and draw lessons from advanced models; to raise the spirit of self-reliance; and to independently solve difficulties in production and construction without relying on the state or on higher echelons.

The construction and development of local industry and handicrafts is a major program of the party and is not only suited to the immediate situation but is also suited to our country's task of socialist industrialization. We must have the proper understanding and outlook and take into account the local situation in order to devise production guidelines and managerial methods compatible with the local area. We must use the experience already derived and accelerate the development of local industry and handicrafts and contribute to the strengthening of the economic and defense potential of the country.

Footnotes:

1. Congress Documents, published by the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Executive Committee, 1960, Volume 1, p 67.
2. Resolution of the 7th Central Conference, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, pp 14-15.

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#### TOWNSHIP DISCUSSES SUCCESS IN EDUCATION WORK

[Article by Nguyen Phuc Viet: "Several Experiences of Cam Binh Township Party Organization in Leading the Comprehensive Development of Education"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 61-69]

Our township has 700 hectares of farmland, 576 families, and 3,100 inhabitants. The farmland is very poor. Prior to the August Revolution most of the farmland was concentrated in the hands of the landlords and the people of Cam Binh lived a life of great privation. Poor farmers and landless farmers represented 80% of the inhabitants; more than 11% of the families had to beg; 5% of the families had to leave home and go make a living far away. Just the cholera in 1941 and the hunger in early 1945 killed more than 500 people in the township. Nearly all of the people of Cam Binh were illiterate and the number of people who could read and write the national language could be counted on the tips of one's fingers.

After the August Revolution the life of Cam Binh gradually changed. Although there are still many problems with production we now have brought the average rice yield per hectare up to 30 piculs a year from the three to four piculs before the revolution.(1) Since 1963 the people of Cam Binh Township have not only been self-provident in food but have had paddy to sell to the state. Because of the production development the life of the people has been markedly improved. The thing which the people of our township take great pride in is that our township, thanks to the proper leadership of the party, has been able to build a movement to provide all-round

education and development. Despite the increasing ferocity of the war and despite the fact that the U.S. invaders have poured down very large amounts of ordnance on Cam Binh township the number of students in our township is large: more than 500 people regularly attend supplementary education courses for grade one to grade three; there are approximately 700 grade one and grade two popular school students; and there are more than 520 children enrolled in kindergartens and nurseries.

During the first days of the August Revolution almost all of our township cadre were illiterate. Now, a first grade education has been given to all of the people in the township (93.7%). Our township has a level two popular school and a level three supplementary education school. Nearly all of the key leadership cadre of our township have a level two education and many comrades are studying for level three. Because of the constant rise in the educational level, the degree of acceptance of the programs and policies and the cadre's ability to manage co-ops and the degree of the people's political awareness and consciousness of being the collective master have been markedly improved. Education has helped stimulate the people of our township to struggle against conservative ideas, to raise their consciousness about absorbing new things, and to accelerate the application of science and technology in production and in daily life; it has also helped to train and develop a core of technical cadre and economic management cadre to meet some of the requirements of production development and cultural development in the township. Education has also effectively helped train and develop the new men in our township. The Cam Binh students are increasingly better students, increasingly better behaved and more healthy, and increasingly devoted to their native village and to the ideas of making their native village richer and more beautiful. During the 1966-1967 school year Cam Binh had 11 all-round excellent students who received awards from Uncle Ho and had 517 students recognized as well-behaved nephews and nieces of Uncle Ho. The young people of Cam Binh are devoted to study and to work and are ready to serve at any task assigned by the party. The people have constantly developed revolutionary heroism and have given many good examples in production and combat. During the past three years, Cam Binh has supplied 320 level two graduate youth to the army and to the anti-U.S. national salvation assault youth units; nearly all of these have been members of the Lao Dong Youth Group and, to date, 83 have been inducted into the party. Generally speaking, the people of Cam Binh are more and more becoming conscious of being the masters of society and the masters of their own lives and are struggling to make Cam Binh become a

rich and beautiful township with a socialist way of life.

The educational achievements mentioned above are the result of an arduous and continuous struggle by all the cadre and people of our township on the education front. These achievements prove that the party line on education has been completely correct. In order to help bring about these achievements the Cam Binh party organization for the past 20-odd years have constantly devoted serious attention to leading the education work in the township in an active and determined way. The experience of our township permits us to reaffirm the fact that the township party organization can and must directly and totally lead the education activity; this is the only way that the township education movement can properly develop.

Our party organization successfully carried out the following several things in the course of leading the township education movement:

First, our party organization gradually improved its understanding of the position and function of education.

The Cam Binh party organization's leadership of education activity has been a process of studying and adapting the directives and resolutions on education of the Party Central Committee and of the province and district to the concrete circumstances of the township; it has also been a process of gradually elevating its conception of the position and function of education. From the point where it sought only to realize the right of the people to study in the new system our party organization gradually came to clearly recognize the immense importance of education for production and for the life of the people. Immediately after the success of the August Revolution we, despite the fact that the life of the people in the township was still quite difficult, invited the teachers from other places to come and teach and motivated all of our people to go to school to take popular educational courses in order to wipe out illiteracy. Once we had eradicated illiteracy we accelerated the level one and later the level two supplementary education movement in order to raise the educational level and, thereby, raise the managerial and leadership level of the township and co-op cadre and the production level of the co-op members. The ever larger results from the supplementary education movement favorably influenced every aspect of the work in our township; it especially helped to promote improvements in the management of co-ops and technical improvements. For this reason, we were able to fully eliminate erroneous ideas which held that because Cam Binh was still poor it must concentrate on accelerating production

rather than hurrying to develop education. Everyone has come to an increasingly clearer realization that in order to raise the standard of living of the people it is imperative to develop production and that in order to develop production, besides constantly raising the people's awareness of being collective masters, it is necessary to make the people capable of using science and technology; to accomplish this it is necessary to intensify the work of supplementary education. We created the slogan "production is the lock and education is the key" in order to motivate all the people to go to school.

Once the supplementary education movement had developed the cadre and people of our township began to see with increasing clarity through the results and experiences obtained by each person that in order for their township to have a bright future more attention must be given to the studies of their children. Thus, we paid great attention to the matter of leading the popular schools. In studying the experiences of the Bac Ly level two school we came to understand with greater depth the various problems concerning the goals, principles, precepts, and educational methods of the party. We devoted increasing attention to leading and assisting the school in properly carrying out the program of instruction and in successfully serving the political tasks in the township; conversely, the concrete results of the school in teaching the students and in spreading science and technology and the new way of life in the township increasingly helped our party committee to more fully understand the educational goals and precepts of the party. We also gained from this an appreciation of the necessity to strengthen leadership over nursery and kindergarten activities in order to teach the young generation right from infancy and properly prepare them for the popular schools and also to actively help liberate the labor power of the women in the township.

When the U.S. imperialists unleashed their war of destruction in the North some people in our township thought that it would be hard to maintain the education movement during wartime and stopped talking about vigorous development. But because our party committee thoroughly comprehended the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the resolution of the Ha Tinh Provincial Committee on the new situation and task it severely criticized negative ideas and actions which were contrary to the revolutionary attack spirit of the party; and it reaffirmed that in order to successfully complete every one of the serious immediate tasks and contribute with all of the country to the defeat of the aggressive U.S. invaders and bring about constant progress for socialism in the township

Cam Binh must, in addition to intensifying all other activities, constantly develop education activities.

Secondly, our party committee issued specific resolutions concerning education work and transformed these resolutions into determination on the part of all the party members and the people in the township. Our party committee periodically issued resolutions on education in the township. On the basis of the general situation and task of the locality we set forth the requirements and curriculum for the education work. We realized that supplementary education work was one of the most important tasks of education in the township and also one of the most difficult. The targets of supplementary education are adults and cadre. They are quite busy, have difficulty in concentrating, find it difficult to memorize, and quickly forget. There are often very many emergency tasks in the township and co-op and, without clever coordination, they definitely would have affected the time and method of supplementary education. For this reason, among the resolutions on education, we paid special attention to the part concerning supplementary education. Not only did we clearly determine the precepts and guidelines but we also set forth very detailed implementation measures. For example, in solving a problem of a shortage of level two teachers for supplementary education we motivated level one popular school teachers to attend supplementary education courses in other places in order to come back and teach supplementary education courses in our township. We set forth detailed struggle norms for each chi bo, each mass organization, and each branch in the township concerning the mobilization of students, the training of teachers, and the construction of the material base for the supplementary education schools and classes.

In order to transform the party committee's determination into the determination of all party members and people in the township we thoroughly disseminated these resolutions throughout the entire party organization and arranged for co-op members to study and discuss the plans for implementation. We also mobilized the co-ops and branches and organizations to emulate with one another in successfully carrying out the resolutions.

In order to promptly extract lessons and obtain practical results with which to persuade the masses and increase their confidence our party committee, in its leadership of education activities, also combined the development and supervision of models with the intensification of the overall movement. We chose Binh Duong Co-op as the unit to receive special supervision. Binh Duong is a co-op in the center of the

township; it has much farmland but all of it is poor; by the township's standards it is densely populated yet the yields from the various types of plants are the lowest in the township. In the course of supervising this co-op our party committee devoted special attention to recapitulating the experiences in combining efforts to raise the educational level of the people with efforts to accelerate production and rapidly increase the yield of the various types of plants and efforts to mobilize the people to participate in development of the education task. We assisted the Binh Duong chi bo and co-op strengthen their management over the supplementary education and gradually moved forward to manage the entire kindergarten and nursery operation. We also helped the teachers teaching courses in every branch of study in Binh Duong co-op get in close contact with the local life and actively adapt the party and government programs and policies and the programs of the party organization to the educational curriculum and to all activities in school and outside school. As a result, significant progress was made in every field in Binh Duong Co-op. In 1964, Binh Duong Co-op received a certificate of commendation from the Ministry of Education for its achievements in supplementary education and also received a certificate of commendation from the Ministry of Agriculture for its outstanding achievements in the emulation movement "high productivity, many subsidiary crops, and excellent animal husbandry." The Binh Duong chi bo also was recognized as the first "four good" chi bo in our party organization. In August 1964, the Binh Duong Co-op completed the first five-year supplementary education plan 22 months ahead of schedule, leading the entire province. Our party committee guided the various chi bo in the township to study the leadership experiences of the Binh Duong chi bo and to emulate with the Binh Duong chi bo in resolutely bringing new progress to the education work in the township. Four months later, our entire township had completed and overcompleted the first five-year supplementary education plan 18 months ahead of schedule, leading all the townships in the province.

Third, our party committee has also attached importance to the development of a very good school chi bo, viewing the school chi bo as the able staff element assisting the party committee in the overall leadership of the education work.

We view the successful development of the school chi bo not only as decisive in raising the quality of education in the school but also as important to the advancement of the different branches of study such as supplementary education, kindergarten, and nurseries in our township.

In leading the development of the school chi bo we emphasized both the ideological and the organizational aspects. In addition to developing the comrades in the chi bo with respect to the political outlook, class consciousness, revolutionary heroism, and basic outlook of the party on education, we also provided practical assistance to the chi bo in developing mass organizations such as the Lao Dong Youth Group, the Vanguard Young People's Unit, and the Education Union in the school. We also devoted our attention to developing the close relationship between the school chi bo and the various chi bo in the co-op for the sake of close and timely collaboration.

Through the direct leadership of the party committee and through its own efforts the school chi bo led the council of teachers to intensify the "two good" emulation movement, making notable progress. The Cam Binh School not only trained and educated students successfully but made an increasingly larger contribution to the all-round development of education within the township. The popular school teachers in Cam Binh, in addition to their specialized activities in the school, also actively participated in various organizational and instructional activities in the supplementary education classes, providing professional instruction for the supplementary education, kindergarten, and nursery teachers. The school also made significant efforts in researching the application of advanced science and technology to production, helping to promote the advancement of the technological revolution in the township. The school also made many outstanding achievements in motivating the people to dig wells, to build two-partition privies, to move animal pens away from the living quarters, to arrange their living quarters neatly, to repair roads and so forth, helping to create the new cultural appearance and a civilized way of life in the township.

Fourth, the party committee and the administrative committee of our township viewed the education plan as an inseparable element of the state plan and, therefore, dedicated themselves to leading the successful implementation of the education plan both numerically and qualitatively.

We developed the movement "the entire township goes to school." We regularly admonished party members and group members to set the example in going to school and to serve as the locomotive for the movement; moreover, we motivated the people to recall the poverty and remember the misery and to compare life under the old system with life under the present system, making the people realize that going to school is in the vital interests of each person. In order to facilitate attendance at school our township party committee and adminis-

trative committee assigned the various chi bo and co-ops the duty to closely manage the cultural studies of the co-op members. In drawing up the labor plan the administrative committees in the co-ops resolutely set aside a time for co-op members to attend supplementary education courses. The chi bo committees and the administrative committees of the co-ops also regularly maintained close contact with the teachers in order to monitor and check the results of the co-op members in school. In order to assure the rights of study for the cadre in general we did not assign work nor called meetings during the times stipulated for supplementary education; we also regularly tried to disseminate operational programs of the townships and co-ops right after the study session in order to reduce the amount of time spent by cadre in traveling back and forth to meetings.

In providing leadership for the effort to raise educational quality our party committee, in addition to developing the school chi bo into a "four good" chi bo, also paid special attention to developing the ranks of teachers in all branches of study because we recognized that the teachers, with their responsibilities in directly instructing the classes, have an extremely important effect on the results of the education. First of all, we concentrated on helping the teachers raise their political and ideological level by assisting the school chi bo in organizing political and current events study activities for the teachers in the various popular school, supplementary education, kindergarten, and nursery branches of study. We also regularly sent members of the standing affairs section of the township party committee to report on the local situation and task to the teachers. In order for the teachers to be able to carry out the precept that education must be closely wedded to life we helped the school chi bo arrange for the teachers to go in groups to visit the regular activities in each co-op. The head of each teacher group could be appointed as an honorary member of the co-op administrative committee and each teacher could be assigned to serve as honorary deputy chief of a production unit. With these credentials the teachers could attend the discussion meetings of the co-ops and production units on the production plans.

We regularly admonished the school chi bo to improve its operations so that the teachers would have time for political, cultural, and professional studies and for improving their specialties. The decision of the party committee to encourage teachers to enroll in the supplementary education courses was actively implemented by the personnel. At one time the teachers who came to teach in our township had only finished fifth grade but now they are level three supplementary education

graduates and are taking college correspondence courses. The comrades on the party committee and administrative committee of the township also took turns in making occasional visits to the teachers' lectures in order to look at the study lessons of the students and also attended sessions held by the specialized teams for the purpose of recapitulating experiences and initiatives. When we saw good things we gave encouragement and when we saw things which were not good we offered corrective suggestions.

All of the supplementary education, kindergarten, and nursery teachers in our township who were selected among the outstanding group members were recommended to the various chi bo committees and administrative committees of the co-ops for consideration and taken before the congress of co-op members for approval prior to going up to the township administrative committee which issues the resolution of recognition. This very careful method of selection both upholds the responsibility and role of the teacher vis-a-vis the student and the parents of the student and it increases the sense of responsibility of the party and Lao Dong Youth Group organizations at all levels and of the co-op administrative committees toward the teachers. In order to help the supplementary education, kindergarten, and nursery teachers improve their teaching we not only mobilized and created every favorable condition whereby they could participate fully in all of the professional refresher sessions conducted by the province and district but also, during particular periods of the school year, used the popular school teachers to organize study sessions on special topics for the personnel right in the township.

Our township party committee and administrative committee also devoted attention to other aspects in the spiritual and material life of the teachers.

We gave special attention to assuring the system of compensation for the supplementary education, kindergarten, and nursery teachers. Each year, each supplementary education teacher is given a proper number of workpoints by the co-op. Moreover, whenever the teachers attend political or professional refresher courses held by the education department or bureau the co-ops assume all of the expenses.

Each year, the party committee and administrative committee of the township considers four awards and commendations for teachers in every branch of study who have made outstanding contributions in their work. All of the outstanding teachers receive supplementary training for recruitment into the party and into the Lao Dong Youth Group. To date, nearly

all of the teachers of youth group age have become members of the Lao Dong Youth Group and 55 supplementary education teachers, and 11 popular school, kindergarten, and nursery teachers have been recruited to the party.

We have worked with the school in an effort to develop the correct study attitude in the children so that they will know how to combine study with work and we have created the necessary facilities for the children to study properly. We have worked with the school in regularly seeing to it that the "study well and work well" units, the young people's co-ops, and the teenagers clubs have useful and practical activities. We also motivated the parents of students to improve their methods of teaching their children, to build study niches and practice garden niches for the children, and to fully respect the study time of the children.

In order to preclude excessive labor utilization of the students which would threaten their health and study time we held discussions with the co-op administrative committees to set up a single plan for the production units to use in assigning work rationally to the students. Level two and level three students are used in technical tasks in order to push ahead with the intensive cultivation measures to increase productivity. The level one students are allowed to perform light work such as leading the cattle, picking green fertilizer leaves, doing the weeding for the subsidiary crops, and so forth. The production units contracted jobs to students grouped by age or class so that the children could work together at appropriate times and be able to review and consolidate what they had learned while working.

We regularly sent people to the school to attend the meetings of the teachers' council, semester reviews, school year reviews, and examinations in order to assess the quality of the students' studies and develop remedial plans when necessary. For example, when the students in the Binh Tien Co-op had a semester review and looked, on the average, below the students in the other co-ops we recommended that the chi bo committee and administrative committee of Binh Tien Co-op report on the situation to the co-op members. Through discussions the co-op members found remedies such as setting aside much more time for the children to study, reconsolidating the study teams of the children, regularly reviewing the children's study and so forth. The outcome was that the students in the Binh Tien Co-op shot ahead and caught up with the students in the other co-ops.

All-round excellent students and nephews and nieces

of Uncle Ho are regularly held up as examples in order to motivate and encourage fondness for study and work among the children. Each year, the township and all the co-ops set aside awards for the excellent students in the various branches of study.

We view education as the work of the masses; therefore, we have led and organized the people to develop every capability and initiative and to participate in the development of the education work.

In the past quite a few people in Cam Binh had the idea that once they sent their children to school the family had no responsibility for whether they were above average or below average or whether they were virtuous or not; they thought that this was completely up to the teachers. Even some of the teachers did not have a full and comprehensive understanding of the mass character of education in the socialist system. In view of this situation, the township party committee and school launched a movement to have "all the people develop education" and arranged for the people to study the party education line, precept, and methods so that everyone would see the necessity of close cooperation with the school and of effectively helping the school in the teaching of their offspring and in the development of the socialist education task. In response to a recommendation from the school our party committee launched a drive to develop the "five good family" in order to motivate the families in the township to emulate in successfully executing the party and government programs and policies, in properly carrying out the production and combat tasks, and in actively participating in educational development. We also regularly informed the people about the situation of the various branches of study in the township and in the process set up specific duties and tasks for the people so that they could contribute to the advancement of the various branches of study. As a consequence, the people of Cam Binh have voluntarily and actively participated in educational development. In just five years (1961 to 1965), the people of Cam Binh invested thousands of work days and tens of thousands of dong and many materials in order to build a school for the children. After the U.S. invaders savagely bombed and destroyed the school the people of our township again contributed their efforts and money in building 28 dispersed classrooms; each class was fortified with a protective wall and had 21,500 meters of communications trenches in order to assure the safety of the teachers and students during the lectures and studies. The people of our township also built five teenagers clubs with all of the necessary equipment in five co-ops and organized many libraries for the supplementary education stu-

dents. The people also participated in the school activities. During a recent lecture session 567 people came and offered many valid suggestions which made the teachers clearly recognize the necessity of coming into closer contact with the living reality in order to make the lectures rich and profound. Moreover, as a result of their increasingly deeper understanding of the function of the school and of the role of the teacher, the people of Cam Binh have great admiration for the teachers and do their utmost to help them.

We took advantage of the forces and results of the training in the school in order to goad other branches and activities in the township to move ahead; at the same time, we also used other branches to support the education work in the township. The health branch closely cooperated with the school in looking after the health of the students. The publication branch gave priority to supplying books to the school and the trade co-op gave priority to supplying paper, pencils, and ink to the students, and so forth.

Fifth, our township party organization and the people devoted very much concern to the study of experiences in advanced units.

We sent many comrades on the standing affairs section of the party committee, on the administrative committee, and among the teachers of the township to study and research the models in the "two good" emulation movement in the North such as Bac Ly, Hai Nhan, Dien Hoang, and a number of advanced schools in the province so that they could actively adapt the experience of these advanced units to the situation in Cam Binh; this was quite successful and they were able to avoid many difficulties and pitfalls on the road to educational development in our township.

We have made encouraging progress in the development of education in Cam Binh Township but there are still many deficiencies. Most importantly, our township party committee and administrative committee has not taken the initiative to develop a long range education development plan which considers the specific requirements in every field within the township. For this reason we have failed in previous years to clearly state the requirements for the training of middle and elementary level technical cadre in order to keep up with the developments in the agricultural co-ops of the township.

Generally speaking, the quality of education in the various branches of study is not high. Technical instruction is still weak in the supplementary education courses and there

is as yet no close coordination between cultural and technical education. There are not as yet many all-round excellent students and students with special aptitudes in the popular schools. Although the teachers in the various branches of study in the township have great enthusiasm and are totally dedicated to their profession they lack practical, living experience and even the level of their cultural knowledge is low in comparison with the requirements. Mass organizations in the school such as the education union, the Lao Dong Youth Group, the vanguard youth unit, and so forth have not as yet fully orientated all of their activities to the education objectives of the school.

In developing upon the results already obtained, our entire party organization and all the people of our township, including the teachers in the various branches of study, are determined to overcome shortcomings and to relentlessly move forward to win new, greater, and more comprehensive victories on the education front to make our township progress more rapidly in every respect.

(1) Prior to the revolution, most of the Cam Binh fields were transplanted with only one rice crop and the yield was low; as a result, the people usually lived on potatoes alone.

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## SOCIALISM HAS BROUGHT GREAT PROGRESS TO POLAND

[Article by Luong Phu: "Fraternal Polish People Are Moving Forward on the Path of Socialist Development"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 70-73]

It has been 24 years since the fraternal Polish people established the "National Committee for the Liberation of Poland" -- their first people's government -- in Ohelm on 22 July 1944. Those 24 years have been 24 years of arduous but proud struggle for the Polish people, a people with a long culture and with a very proud tradition of combatting foreign invaders and a rich international proletarian spirit.

After it liberated the country from the yoke of German fascism and secured political power for itself, the working class and working people of Poland ran into myriad difficulties and countless challenges: the poverty and backwardness left by the old system; the heavy destruction by the German fascists during five years of occupation; the mad fit of reactionary elements posing as Catholic clergymen, landlords, bourgeoisie, and the remnants of the fascist party against the new social system. But these difficulties and tests could never blunt the will of the Polish people; on the contrary, they increasingly steeled their determined spirit of struggle.

Under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Polish people valiantly surmounted every difficulty and brought their revolutionary cause from one victory to another.

Twenty-four years are really only a short period of time. But in this period of time the Polish people completely changed the face of their nation. The Polish people carried out a socialism reformation of the national economy and, on the basis of this, went on to win great victories in economic restoration (1947 to 1949) and later on in successively completing the six year plan (1950 to 1955) and two five-year plans (1956 to 1960 and 1961 to 1965). The third five-year plan (1966 to 1970) is

presently being successfully carried out by the Polish people. Poland is an agricultural country but now Poland has become an advanced industrial country with a total industrial output which has increased in value by 13 times over the pre-war level. The yearly level of increase in industrial production in Poland during this third five-year plan is equal to the entire industrial output in Poland in 1938. This is a victory of the socialist industrialization line which the Polish United Workers' Party adapted to the concrete conditions of their country. In the past 24 years, Poland has built an average of more than 703 large industrial enterprises, more than six coal mines, more than one major blast furnace, and nearly five open-hearth furnaces per year; and every five years it has built one shipyards.

The following shows the output of some of the principal branches of industry in Poland in 1967:

- 123.9 million tons of coal
- 10,450 million tons of steel
- 6,954 million tons of rolled steel
- 6,581 million tons of iron
- 3,012 Zloty in machine tools.
- 59,600 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer
- 381,800 tons of phosphorus fertilizer
- 116,300 tons of chemical fibers
- 33,800 tons of synthetic fibers
- 63,791 automobiles of various types
- 475,400 tons of ships
- 11,138 million tons of cement
- 672,300 tons of paper
- 252 internal combustion locomotives
- 101 electrically-powered locomotives
- 778.2 million square meters of cotton cloth
- 126.4 million square meters of wool

At present, Poland is the ninth ranking industrial country in the world. Some of the Polish sectors occupy higher positions: Poland is ranked second in the per-capita exploitation of coal; second in the production of fishing boats; fifth in the production of spare parts for trains; seventh in the export of machinery, and so forth. With its achievements in industrial development, Poland has supplied technical equipment to agriculture, promoted the development of agriculture, and changed the face of the rural area. At present, 97.7% of state-run farmsites have been electrified; more than 80% of the rural families in Poland have electricity to use in their everyday life; nearly 90% of the total draft power of the state-run farmsites is mechanized draft power. As a result, Polish agricultural production has constantly

increased: in 1966, there were 15.5 million tons of wheat; in 1967, 16.4 million tons. Animal husbandry in Poland has constantly developed, especially beef cattle: in 1967, there were 2.1 million tons (a 2.4 increase over 1966) and .4 million tons of this (an increase of 18.8% over 1966) represented beef cattle. At present, Poland annually produces 14.1 billion liters of milk and 6.1 billion eggs and so forth.

On the basis of the development of production, the material life of the Polish people has rapidly improved and extremely great progress has been made in their cultural life. Before the war, Poland had only 7,300 classrooms, 76,000 teachers, 200,000 middle level vocational school students, and 50,000 college students; now it has nearly 150,000 classrooms (20 times as many), more than 170,000 teachers (2.5 times as many), more than 1.5 million middle level vocational school students (an increase of 7.5 times), and nearly 300,000 college students (an increase of six times). At present, there are more than 17 physicians, nearly 100 sick beds, and nearly 100 clinics for every 10,000 Polish citizens.

In 1968, the third year of the third five-year plan (1966 to 1970), in order to set records to celebrate the fifth congress of the Polish United Workers' Party which will be held at the end of this year, the Polish working class and working people have enthusiastically participated in a broad and seething emulation movement throughout all the enterprises, worksites, mines, and farmsites designed to complete and overfulfill the plan levels set for 1968 and to construct a foundation for moving forward to the goals set for 1970, the final year of the five-year plan: the production of 134 million tons of coal, 11.2 million tons of steel, 12.4 million tons of cement, 882.3 million square meters of cloth, and so forth. This broad emulation movement will make the construction of the material and technical base for socialism in Poland move forward at a more rapid pace and will further improve the material and cultural life of the Polish people.

These great and proud achievements of the Polish people in socialist construction have strengthened the economic and defense forces of Poland and have helped to strengthen the power of the socialist camp and the cause of protecting peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. The Polish people resolutely oppose the revengeful policy and the demands for a revision in the Oder Niess Border by the West German militarists restored and used by the U.S. imperialists as shock troops against the socialist camp and peace in Europe. International reactionary elements, led by the U.S. imperial-

ists, have relentlessly sought to sabotage socialist construction efforts of the Polish people through hostile acts from abroad and through the use of the tactic of creating divisive and subversive provocations from within. Most recently, in early March 1968, instigated and supported by imperialist elements, a number of reactionary elements with bourgeois liberalism tendencies incited some college students and young people influenced by their propaganda to oppose the socialist system in Poland. Relying on the close attachment of the Polish working class and working people to the socialist system and to the people's government which they built, the Polish party and government, headed by Comrade Gomulka, the first Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, resolutely punished the reactionary ringleaders and took the occasion to launch a campaign throughout the country designed to instill a spirit of love of country and love of socialism and a spirit of struggling against bourgeois liberalism and all other bourgeois ideological vestiges.

The Polish party, government, and people, with their proud revolutionary traditions and international proletarian spirit, have wholeheartedly supported and assisted our people in the work of socialist construction in the North and in the struggle against the United States for national salvation. Comrade Gomulka, the first Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and the other leadership comrades of the Polish party and state have many times raised their voices to emphasize the complete support of Poland for the four-point position of our government and for the political program of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam and to clearly demonstrate their determination to constantly assist our people spiritually and materially. In a communique concerning their visit to Vietnam in June 1967, the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party led by Comrade Kliszko, a member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, reaffirmed the position of the Polish party, government, and people on "resolutely supporting the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression" and on "thoroughly supporting and assisting in every respect the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the resistance war against the United States for national salvation until it achieves total victory. We view this as an international obligation of ours to a fraternal socialist country and we are in complete solidarity with the patriotic struggle of the people of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam for independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality and are profoundly confident that this righteous struggle will surely

achieve complete victory."

While giving the utmost support and assistance to our people in the socialist construction work and in the struggle against the United States for national salvation, Poland has also struggled against the sabotage by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys of the Geneva Accords in its capacity as a member of the International Control Commission on the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Accords on Vietnam.

Support for the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the United States for national salvation has become a broad mass movement in Poland and countless things of beauty have blossomed in this movement. The movement of Polish people to support the Vietnamese people in defeating the invading U.S. aggressors has increasingly developed, especially since early this year. The repeated news concerning the great victories of the army and people of South Vietnam in their general offensive and widespread uprisings has provoked seething waves of struggle throughout Poland to oppose the United States and support and celebrate the victory of the Vietnamese people.

We express our profound gratitude to the Polish party, government, and people for their invaluable support and assistance and view this as a source of encouragement and stimulation to our struggle.

In Poland, the campaign to support the Vietnamese people against the invading U.S. imperialists is closely linked with the emulation campaign to produce and to teach socialism, patriotism, international proletarianism, revolutionary heroism, vigilance, and readiness to fight and to fight against every subversive scheme of the imperialists and their henchmen.

On the occasion of the Polish National Holiday, the Vietnamese people sincerely wish greater victories for their fraternal Polish people in the effort to build and protect socialism and in the work of contributing to the protection of the socialist camp and of world peace. The Vietnamese party, government, and people vow to do their utmost to constantly develop the relationship of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and the peoples of the two countries and to help strengthen solidarity in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism.

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## PARIS CONFERENCE EXPOSES AMERICANS AS AGGRESSORS

[Article by Luu Quy Ky: "The More Stubborn, Deceitful U. S. Imperialists Become the More Isolated They Become"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 74-81]

### The Mood of One Departing to Defend Criminal Actions.

When he left to attend the Paris Conference, the American government's representative, Harriman, lamented to reporters: "We are about to begin a difficult, hard, tiring, and dangerous task." Perhaps this is a statement which reflects fairly clearly the mood of imperialistic diplomats when they have to go meet the legitimate representatives of a people resolutely protecting their independence and freedom. This attitude is not much different from the attitude of soldiers in an invading army when they have to go to a far off battlefield to fight against fighters who are fighting resolutely and courageously against foreign invaders.

The representative of the American government feels that it will be "difficult and hard" because he has to go defend and cover up crimes which have already become extremely clear; he has to contend with public opinion of all progressive mankind which condemns the filthy war of aggression waged by the U.S. government in Vietnam; he has to try to "cover an elephant with a bucket," to "put white where black is," and to reverse right and wrong in the hope of screening the illegal and immoral actions of the United States; he has to try to disguise the aggressor into a person "resisting aggression," to make the perpetrator of war into a "peace-loving man, to make a

murderer into a "humanitarian," and to make a stubborn person into a person of "good will."

The representative of the American government feels that it will be "tiring" because he has to repeat over and over again very old sophistry; he has to repeat arguments which can persuade no one; he has to say things whose opposite is proved by reality; he has to use baseless arguments to counter the ironlike, realistic, and rational arguments of the adversary.

The representative of the American government feels that it will be "dangerous" because he must come face to face with a foe who is strong in position and power, whose stance is firm, whose attitude is solemn, and who has broad sympathy and support from world opinion. The attitude of the representative of the American government is completely different from the attitude of the representative of our government. When he arrived in Paris, Minister Xuan Thuy, the representative of our government, declared: "We are optimistic and we will hold serious talks." The reason for this is that Comrade Xuan Thuy represents justice and truth.

The representative of the U.S. government arrived in Paris at a time when U.S. imperialism had suffered a heavy defeat after ten-odd years of intervention and armed aggression in our country. How could the representative of the U.S. government be enthusiastic and relaxed when he came to Paris as the loser on the battlefield and with the tattered flag of aggression.

But, because he is the representative of a very stubborn ringleader imperialist country, the representative of the U.S. government, upon his arrival in Paris, had to resort to every fraudulent tactic in an attempt to deceive public opinion, cover up the crimes, and conceal the stubbornness of the U.S. aggressors.

The aggressive crimes, the war crimes, and the crimes of genocide committed by the U.S. imperialists on the battlefield have been cursed by all mankind. The dishonesty, cunning, deceit, and wolf logic of the United States on the diplomatic front has also further enraged and infuriated public opinion. In view of thousands of reporters from various countries and under the watchful eye of the people of the world the representative of our government has, during the meetings in Paris, cast a beacon of light on the black schemes of the U.S. imperialists and has made the righteousness of the people of Vietnam increasingly clearer.

## The Aggressor Unmasks Himself.

The very fact that the U.S. government sent a representative to Paris to attend official talks on the subject of Vietnam with representatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a calm admission that the United States is the aggressor. How is it that the United States, a country located tens of thousands of kilometers away from our country, is one of the two parties to talk on the Vietnam problem? Whom does the U.S. delegation represent on the Vietnam problem? Why does the United States have to come and present the American stance and objective on the Vietnam problem there? Why does the United States come to Paris to demand this or that "for South Vietnam?" What qualifications does the American representative have if not those of one who has interfered in an invaded Vietnam when, in a conference on a war taking place solely on Vietnamese territory, the U.S. delegation is the only foreign delegation present for bilateral talks with Vietnamese representatives?

Perhaps in the past the United States did not want to appear conspicuously in such a bilateral conference. This type of conference is not found within the content and framework of the neocolonialist aggression of the United States. But just as the United States is unsuccessful in its attempt to avoid Americanizing the war in Vietnam on the battlefield the United States has also had to appear face to face with Vietnam at the conference discussions.

The representative of the U.S. government has tried at the conference to defend himself: "U.S. objectives in Vietnam are very limited... The United States has no design on the territory of North Vietnam and does not seek to conquer its people or wipe out the government there. The thing which the United States wants to see in South Vietnam is for South Vietnam to independently determine its form of government and its political future on every subject, including the subject of reunification, without coercive terrorism or interference from abroad." Without even speaking about the contemptible haughtiness in that method of self defense, one can raise a series of questions: Who gave the United States the right to establish objectives in Vietnam? Why does the United States have to make such clarifications? If it has no design on North Vietnam then why does the United States bomb and strafe there? If it wants the Vietnamese people to have self determination and if it wants North and South Vietnam to be reunited without external interference then why has the United States brought more than half-a-million American troops and tens-of-thousands of satellite troops to South Vietnam to conduct tens-of-thou-

sands of large and small military operations? This is really comical logic: The United States has to use half-a-million men, several million tons of bombs, and tens-of-billions of bullets in order to "protect" the right of self determination of the Vietnamese people. If the United States wants the South Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny why does everyone from the White House to the State Department and to the U.S. delegation in Paris declare that "the United States cannot accept a coalition style government in South Vietnam?" Who gave the United States the right to accept or not accept this government or that government in South Vietnam?

The legitimate right of a people to fight in their self defense and imperialistic aggression are two completely different things.

When he came to Paris the representative of the U.S. government tried to persuade public opinion concerning a principal argument of the United States that "North Vietnam has invaded South Vietnam." The United States hopes through this scheme to be able to explain the "necessity and morality" of the presence of U.S. troops in South Vietnam. Later on, the United States demanded so-called reciprocity" of the Vietnamese people in exchange for the U.S. halt of bombing and attacks against North Vietnam and also demanded conditions advantageous to the United States in a solution of the Vietnam problem.

But the United States ran into the ironlike blows of our government and people there and was dealt a heavy blow by world opinion. The reason for this is that the United States has, on this matter, stuck its head into a problem of principle affecting the basic rights of any people in the world and affecting principles and laws in international relations.

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, in his report to the fourth session of the National Assembly, Third Term, clearly and firmly declared:

"From our position of principle we reject resolutely, totally, and fully the extremely unreasonable arguments of the U.S. ruling circles which they are presently stubbornly repeating again and again.

"...What right do the U.S. imperialists have to unilaterally bring their troops from across the Pacific to attack our entire country when our people have never touched them? Therefore, all our people, 31 million as one, are determined to fight and defeat them and all Vietnamese have the right to go wherever the enemy is to fight the enemy: This is the sacred

right of self defense of our people and everyone in the world is deeply sympathetic with it and resolutely supports it."

Thus, Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one.

Independence, unification, sovereignty, and territorial integrity are basic rights of a people.

The people of Vietnam, and the people of all countries in the world, have the right to fight in their self-defense anywhere in their Fatherland where their independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity are encroached upon.

The fight of the people of Vietnam on their own territory against the United States is a completely legitimate action. To the extent that the U.S. imperialists continue to invade our country our people have the right to continue to fight until complete victory is attained.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists and American satellite countries have brought troops into the southern part of our country and are waging an aggressive war in our country and savagely massacring our compatriots is a crime, is an act contrary to moral principles and contrary to the principles of international relations between countries in the world.

The aggression of the U.S. army in South Vietnam cannot be equated to the fight of the people of Vietnam against the United States for their self-defense.

The U.S. army came from abroad to South Vietnam in contravention of international law and the Geneva Accords and is an invading army.

The representative of the U.S. government brought forth one reason designed to defend the aggressive actions of the United States: "The U.S. army only came to South Vietnam in early 1965 and no earlier." But everyone knows that the very content of the actions of the U.S. army determines its character. The U.S. army violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, transformed a temporary military demarcation line into a border dividing our country, affronted the basic rights of our people, and opposed the sacred aspirations and supreme interests of our people. Thus whether it came early or late and whether for one day or five or ten years, the U.S. army came to South Vietnam and is an invading army.

In the same way, the war actions of the United States

against the northern part of our country constitute brazen aggression. Whether the attacks are unlimited or limited, whether the attacks last four years or one day, whether the targets are military or civilian, whether the activities are attacks or reconnaissance, and whether great or minor losses are caused our people, the U.S. crime against the northern part of our country is still a crime of aggression.

Once acts of aggression have taken place those acts must be permanently and unconditionally ended. The United States has absolutely no right to demand "reciprocity" as a condition for the U.S. termination of bombing of the northern part of our country. A committee of lawyers concerned with U.S. policy, in a letter to the Johnson administration on 28 June of this year pointed out: "Since the bombing of North Vietnam is a clearly illegal act there is no proper basis for demanding reciprocity before ending that bombing. The termination of the bombing of North Vietnam is not an act of self-restraint but is merely an attitude of readiness to carry out a basic principle of international law... The persistent demand by the administration (U.S.) that Hanoi reduce the level of its support to the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam before the bombing is terminated is a demand which cannot be justified by law or reality and which is illogical."

Rebuffed by our government and people and opposed by progressive public opinion throughout the world and in the United States, the U.S. administration recently had to change its tune. The U.S. introduced the argument that "both sides must show self-restraint," that "both sides must jointly de-escalate," and that "both sides must make concessions." But this argument of the United States is merely a new phrasing of the old, rejected "reciprocity" argument. Our government has responded to this obscene argument of the U.S. government in an unambiguous way: "Impossible? The United States started the war and the United States is the aggressor and, thus, the United States must end the war and the United States must end the aggression! The United States escalated and the United States must deescalate. It is absolutely impossible to pay any kind of ransom to the robber!"

The "peace" and "humanity" labels of the United States have been torn to shreds by American bombs and bullets.

At the 10 July session in Paris, the representative of the U.S. government began his speech with the statement: "We come to Paris to find a past peace." Then he continued: "The thing which we seek to obtain in Vietnam is for the people of Vietnam to be permitted to develop politicaly, economically,

and socially without violent interference from abroad so that the people of Vietnam can begin to attack the only real enemies of modern man which are hunger, poverty, illiteracy, disease, and suffering" and the United States "will supply assistance to Vietnam for this purpose."

The U.S. government, which began the extremely cruel aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, puts on airs of being peace-loving and of being earnestly concerned about the Vietnamese people! There is really nothing more eccentric and ridiculous!

What is the reason that the U.S. government has to search for peace like this? And what kind of "peace" is the United States seeking? Facts which are already quite apparent permit us to understand that the U.S. imperialists have sustained very painful blows in both parts of our country and the United States wants to put an end to this situation. The kind of "peace" which the United States wants is a "peace" which will benefit the U.S. imperialists' invasion and occupation of the southern part of our country, their efforts to transform the southern part of our country into a new style colony and military base for the United States, and their effort to bring about a lasting division of our Fatherland.

But how can there be such a "peace?" How can our people put an end to their fighting when the U.S. armed forces are trespassing on our sacred rights of independence and freedom and trampling on our territory? How can we guarantee safety for the robber when he is still occupying another person's home and victimizing the host?

The U.S. government's representative insolently brought out the carrot of "economic assistance and cooperation" in the hope of seducing and buying off our people, shaking our determination to fight, and attaining the type of "peace" the United States desires. That carrot is merely a device to purchase our independence and freedom and territorial integrity with dollars after they clearly recognized that they could not steal those things with bombs and bullets. We state directly to the U.S. imperialists that the independence and freedom of a people is definitely not a commodity which can be bought and sold and bargained for. Unless the U.S. imperialists agree to respect these fundamental rights of ours we will resolutely fight to regain them, irrespective of the sacrifice and hardship.

"Our people very earnestly desire peace but it must be a genuine peace accompanied by real independence and freedom.

This is our position and principle. This position is firmer than the Annamite Mountains!" (Excerpted from the report of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong at the fourth session of the National Assembly, Third Term) Minister Xuan Thuy has also made it clear to the U.S. government on many occasions that if "the United States government desires peace the Vietnamese people are ready to provide peace. If the U.S. government continues the war the people of Vietnam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressive war."

While very few people are paying attention to the crocodile tears of the U.S. government many people are very concerned about the war escalations and crimes of the United States in our country. Since Johnson announced bombing "limitations" the number of attacks by U.S. planes in the North rapidly increased. In April there were 3,500 attacks; in May 4,700 attacks; in June 5,200 attacks. B52s have indiscriminately bombed the Vinh Linh area. On 2 July alone, 75 B52s dropped 1,800 tons of bombs there. In the South, the United States has indiscriminately bombed cities and towns under their temporary control. Even on the outskirts of Saigon, B52s bombed month after month, sometimes tens-of-times a day.

U.S. bombs and rockets have destroyed more than 80% of the homes in the City of Hue and destroyed more than 16,000 homes in Saigon (according to Western reports), killing tens-of-thousands of people and making millions of people homeless. At present, the United States is continuing to send troops over to Vietnam, is increasing the troops strength of the puppet army, is asking for another three billion dollars in supplementary appropriations for the Vietnamese war, is placing orders for the purchase of additional helicopters and various kinds of new type combat aircraft; and it has purchased ten million gallons of chemical poisons for use in the South.

All of these actual actions have torn the "peaceful" and "humanitarian" label of the United States and unmasked the imitation kindness and goodness of the U.S. government's representative at the Paris Conference when he puts on airs of "grievous pain" because of attacks by the Liberation Army against military and police installations of the Americans and puppets in Saigon -- attacks which the United States fraudulently describes as "attacks against ordinary people." But this style of "both plundering and crying for help" cannot cover up the indescribable crimes of the United States. It merely increases the hatred and resentment of the Vietnamese people and the people of the world, makes them more opposed to the United States, and makes them understand more clearly the dishonesty of the so-called "desire for peace" and "humanitarian concern" of the

Johnson clique.

They Have Already Lost But They Are Still Stubborn.

The U.S. government's representative came right to the point with the representative of our government concerning U.S. intentions: "We (the United States) will not forsake the initial principles which propelled us to take up arms. We realize that so far the only peace suggestions from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have been demands for us to withdraw our troops from South Vietnam. Sir you must understand clearly that it is contrary to American principle to abandon the people of South Vietnam like that."

What are the "initial principles" in U.S. policy on Vietnam which the United States declares it will not forsake? Could it be the principles which the former Secretary of State Foster Dulles announced in March 1954 upon seeing that the French colonialists had exhausted their strength in their aggressive war in Vietnam: "Henceforth, Indochina beyond all doubt belonged within the area of inviolability of the United States" and "after the loss of North Vietnam the United States cannot commit the loss of South Vietnam and other places in Southeast Asia"? Could it be the principles that President Eisenhower espoused: "The United States is not bound by the Geneva Accords." Could it be the principles which President Johnson enunciated in April 1965: "The United States will never withdraw from South Vietnam" and "we (the United States) came to South Vietnam and we will stay there."?

The "initial principles" mentioned above and the present principles of the U.S. government "not to abandon South Vietnam" are clearly the foundation of the aggressive policy of the United States toward our country. These principles, regardless of how they are expressed, all mean that South Vietnam must belong to the United States. To carry out those principles means to transform South Vietnam into a new style colony and military base for the United States. To cling to those "principles" means to cling to the policy of aggression toward Vietnam. Today, the United States is still clinging to those principles and this means that the United States is still stubbornly pursuing its scheme of aggression in Vietnam.

Because the United States is still stubbornly committing aggression against our country the United States is, on the one hand, continuing to escalate its crimes of aggression, its war crimes, and its crimes of genocide in our country; and, on the other hand, it is trying to speak with a forked tongue at the Paris Conference in the hope of deceiving world opinion.

All of the suggestions by the United States at the Paris Conference such as "reciprocity," "both sides showing self-restraint," "both sides jointly deescalating," "returning to the status of the demilitarized area," "immediate ceasefire in both parts of the country," and so forth, in the final analysis, are designed to prevent the fight by the people of our entire country against the invading U.S. aggressors, to prevent the people of the South from struggling for their liberation, to prevent the people of the North from discharging their obligation to the Fatherland, to legalize the presence of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, and to consolidate and maintain the puppet government installed by the United States in South Vietnam.

Because the United States is still stubborn it has not yet agreed to unconditionally end the bombing and other acts of war against the northern part of our country.

Because the United States is so stubborn it talks about the Geneva Accords of 1954 but cannot bring itself to recognize that Vietnam is an independent, unified country with national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

However, the laughable thing is that the U.S. imperialists are showing an attitude of stubbornness at a time when they have suffered heavy losses in both parts of our country; this is no different from a wild beast who has had his head smashed but continues to butt his head against rock.

Who is the victor and who is the loser? The reality has made this quite clear. With more than half-a-million expeditionary troops and nearly 10,000 airplanes of various types, tens-of-thousands of mechanized vehicles, and millions-of-tons of bombs, the U.S. imperialists have been unable to guarantee safety for the U.S. embassy in South Vietnam, and have been unable to block the attacks and shellings against their key centers in Saigon; they have had to abandon in mid stream the plan for rural "pacification;" they have had to put an end to their "search and destroy" operations; they have had to evacuate scores of bases and strongholds in many places. With such a large force and war potential the United States is falling into a position of being unable to complete its attacks; being unable to hold its ground and unable to take care of the people. When it spreads out its troops it comes under attack and when it pulls back its troops they are wiped out; it finds it hard to advance or retreat.

Who is the victor and who is the loser? It is clear that

the United States has already lost. The fact that they are stubborn even though they have lost simply makes their defeat all the worse and increasingly more painful.

The More Stubborn and Dishonest They Become the More Isolated Become the U.S. Imperialists.

In committing their crime of aggression, the U.S. imperialists triggered a powerful protest from people in all countries who ardently desire independence and freedom.

In committing their war crimes, the U.S. imperialists have run up against powerful attacks by peace and democracy forces throughout the world.

In committing their crimes of genocide, the U.S. imperialists have brought down upon themselves the curses not only of men today but also of countless future generations.

The crimes of the U.S. imperialists in our country have assaulted the consciences of all mankind and have brought indignation to all national, democratic, peace, and socialist forces throughout the world. For this reason, the filthy war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists against our country has unleashed a tide of anti-American protest throughout the world. An international movement of solidarity in support of Vietnam has taken shape and has reached an unprecedented size and zeal, even in the United States, driving the United States into an inferior political position.

The process of intensifying and expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam has also been a process of failure for the United States; in that process the United States has been increasingly driven to a position of isolation.

Since the U.S. imperialists brazenly unleashed their war of aggression against the northern part of our country the movement against the United States and for the support of Vietnam has made new strides; the U.S. imperialists are suffering greater isolation.

Early this spring, when the army and people of the South entered the period of general offensive and continuous uprisings, people in all countries became increasingly enthusiastic, became increasingly sympathetic and showed increasing support for us; and raised ever higher the slogan: "For the victory of the Vietnamese people!" The prestige of the U.S. imperialists is sliding rapidly down the hill.

The contacts in Paris are dragging on. The U.S. imperialists are stubborn and unwilling to agree completely and unconditionally end the bombing of the northern part of our country; they are still continuing to intensify their aggressive war; and they are continuing to mouth dishonest and fraudulent arguments. This situation is making world public opinion increasingly angry and indignant. People in countries throughout the world are seeing with increasing clarity the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists and recognizing clearly their international obligation to contribute to the fight of our people against the United States for national salvation. People in fraternal socialist countries are especially increasing their wholehearted assistance so that our people can defeat the U.S. invaders.

Many allied countries of the United States are increasingly displaying indifference toward the U.S. war which has no escape route. There are even some allied countries of the United States such as France which have publicly opposed U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The U.S. people are increasingly opposing the war not only because it is unjust, immoral, and of no value to the United States but also because it brings death to American youth, brings confusion to the economic and cultural life of the United States, and brings sadness to the soul and dishonor to the reputation of Americans. The opposition of black Americans to the Johnson administration is rising higher and higher. There are serious divisions within the U.S. ruling group in view of the increasingly heavier failure of the United States in Vietnam.

The longer the aggressive war in Vietnam drags on the greater the defeat will be, the more the aforementioned elements will develop, and the more subjected to condemnation and isolation the U.S. imperialists will be.

They have already failed but they are still stubborn and the U.S. imperialists will become increasingly more isolated.

They have always been stubborn and they are continuing to lie and to attempt to cover up their stubbornness; therefore, public opinion will increasingly despise and curse the U.S. imperialists.

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SAIGON LITERATURE, ART IS DECADENT, UNPERSUASIVE

[Article by Boi Lan: "Anticommunist, Country-Selling Literature and Art of U.S. Lackey Regime in South Vietnam Is Being Completely Bankrupted"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 7, July 1968, pp 82-89]

In the hope of coping with the patriotic movement of the people in the southern part of our country, the U.S. imperialists and their clique of puppets and henchmen have, in addition to their policy of extremely savage repression and terrorism, used extremely insidious tactics of seduction and swindle. In the ideological and cultural field they have mobilized all of their organizations and facilities to counterattack the revolution, to display the "nation" begetted by the United States, to spread the extremely decadent "American way of living" and capitalistic way of living, and to subvert the wholesome way of life and the traditional ethical values of our people. They have created and nurtured an extremely reactionary and decadent slave literature and art in order to serve their neocolonialist policy of aggression and fascist rule. But when the tree itself is still in a field which is becoming increasingly rotten and when it is about to fall down into the dirt how can a clump of rope give it life?

As soon as they set foot in the southern part of our country the U.S. imperialists gave priority to the problem of opposing communism which is essentially a problem of opposing the patriotic movement. They realized that unless they could destroy the patriotic movement of the people in the southern part of our country they would be unable to transform the southern part of our country into a new-style colony and a military base for the United States. Therefore, in the "con-

stitution" they fabricated at the time when they were still burying Diem the United States made anti-communism the "national policy." In order to carry out this "national policy" the Americans and puppets, right from the start and along with their bloody terrorism, waged war in the ideological and psychological warfare field. Having been taught by his American master, Ngo Dinh Diem constantly admonished his followers: "The type of war we are fighting with the enemy is revolutionary war, an idealistic war against ideals. The problem which faces us now is an ideological problem, a problem of winning the hearts of the people." (Communique of Diem on 7 July 1956) Diem's "ideal" was to serve the Americans four dollars and to carry out class vengeance but Diem shrouded it in "nationalism." Diem concocted a plan of no small size: to erect an ideology especially designed to serve his "ideals." Under the tutelage of his American masters Diem propounded the so-called philosophy of "personalism."

Essentially, Diem's "personalism" was just a theology modeled after Catholic theology and they themselves were just a group of people who had borrowed "Christ's name" and who were pretending to be virtuous in order to sell the country and serve as lackeys for the U.S. imperialists against the revolution and against the people.

Diem's "personalism" was just a copy of the human dignity philosophy of the U.S. bourgeois class -- a kind of reactionary idealism in opposition to the theory of class struggle calling upon the people to pursue their destiny; but, in essence, it was an appeal to the workers to bow their heads and let their capitalistic masters oppress and exploit them. Diem's group introduced "personalism" and gave it the trappings of upholding human dignity in the hope of, on the one hand, luring and attracting the neutral strata and, on the other hand, slanderously asserting that communism does not respect the individual and that it tramples the individual underfoot. In this way they also hoped to mix up black and white and shroud their extremely inhumane face in their scheme of "denouncing communism" and "wiping out communism" which attacked patriots and former resistance members in the South.

"Personalism," the pack of theories collected under the name of that philosophy, were considered by the U.S.-Diem clique as the orthodox ideology of their neocolonialist system in the southern part of our country. It was taught in the schools and introduced into the curriculum and examinations of the public officials and officers and was used as a weapon by the reactionary priest-pretenders in the Catholic Education Association. In order to support the philosophy of "personalism," the United States and Diem also encouraged the

dissemination of the most backward and most negative things in reactionary Oriental and Occidental philosophy. In 1962 and 1963, when the struggle movement of our people grew powerful in the urban areas of the South, the Americans and Diem, in order to coax and misdirect the indignation of the masses, especially of the intellectuals and secondary and university students, also imported and vaunted the theistic existentialist philosophical tendencies of Gabriel Marcel and Jasper and the anti-communist existentialism of Camus, and so forth.

The reactionary type philosophies mentioned above were used as the ideological support for the anti-communist and country-selling literature and art of the U.S. lackey regime in the South. Diem gathered together a group of writers composed of people who had incurred blood debts to the people, who had betrayed the revolution, who had served as lackeys for the imperialists, -- all of the reactionary and depraved dregs among the writers -- in order to try to build this literary and artistic monstrosity. They spoke bluntly about their design: "The principal focus is on exterminating communists. Writers and artists play a vital role in the ideological and psychological struggle with the principal enemy, communism. (Review of the 1955-1956 record by the Saigon Ministry of Information) Under the label of "personalism," Diem's writers used every literary and artistic form to distort communism, the socialist countries, and the international communist movement; to distort the August Revolution and the resistance of our people against the French colonialists; to distort the socialist North; and to slander communists. In order to reward the efforts and encourage its servants in this field, the Diem administration set up many anticommunist literary and artistic prizes, printed excessively large numbers of anticommunist "works," and insanely bragged about anticommunist "works" such as Tim Ve Sinh Lo (Search For Salvation) by Ky Van Nguyen, Muu Bem Cuoi Nam (Rainy Night At the End of the Year) by Vo Phien, and so forth.

Along with its scheme to use anticommunist literature and art to support the campaigns to "denounce communists" and "exterminate communists," the Diem group also used art and literature to praise the American masters, to eulogize the "high humanitarian" spirit of the United States in using its money to "help" the people of Vietnam, and in order to boast about the strength of the United States. They tried to introduce an "ideal" human model labeled "nationalist" but, in essence, a worshiper of the American master and a follower of the blindly and insanely anticommunist, nepotistic and fascist regime of Diem.

But even though they made very large expenditures of

public funds the Diem gang was unable to obtain the desired results. Their main goal was to weaken the prestige of communists and to extinguish the patriotic movement; this they could not do. How could they distort the real image of the communist engraved in the hearts of the people of the South? How could they replace black with white and force the people of the South to accept foe as friend and friend as foe, country sellers as country saviours and country saviours as murderers and robbers? Moreover, how could they conceal and cover up their daily traitorous and murderous acts while serving as lackeys for the U.S. imperialists right in front of the eyes of the people of the South? Therefore, all of the slanders and distortions of the Diem gang became ridiculous and their bad and insidious character became more and more exposed. Many of our people in the South boycotted and insulted this anticommunist and country-selling type of literature and art to the point where the Saigon newspaper Thoi Luan (Current Opinion) was forced to admit in its 1 March 1957 issue: "No one buys and reads anticommunist writings." And the magazine Bach Khoa (All Branches of Knowledge) had an article in its 1 February 1960 issue criticizing the anticommunist writings which had won the "literary prize" of the Diem gang. The article read in part: "With a childish story line and employing an unsyntactical literary form, Tim Ve Sinh Lo (Search For Salvation) is really shameful but it is called one of the works of the times while it is really in the class of a detective story... if it deserves the literary prize then the literature of our country is in sad shape."

Besides using country-selling anticommunist literature and art to serve the "national policy" of exterminating communists, the Diem gang also sought in every way to debauch the life of the people, to hooliganize the youths, and to devalue the soul and quality of man to conform them to their country-selling murderous regime. Through their books and magazines, films, music, and other cultural means, they introduced the so-called "American way of life" to the urban areas of the South. This is a very decadent and wicked way of life characterized by permissiveness toward any type of cruel and insane act which will satisfy individual lusts; inhumanity, viewing human life as garbage and viewing relations among people as relations among animals; obliviousness to justice and to common decency and virtue in society; a decadent, unidealistic, irresponsible, and vacillating life. As the U.S.-Diem regime became more putred and approached its day of collapse literature and art became increasingly foul, cowboyish, money-worshiping, greed-stimulating, selfish, lewd, dissolute, misanthropic, and mystical. All of these things were desperate reactions by a reactionary and rotten regime

agonizing in the face of the courageous and indomitable struggle of the patriotic and revolutionary masses of the South.

When the U.S.-Diem regime collapsed all of the fraudulent tricks such as "the philosophy of personalism," "national ideals," "the model of the national person," and so forth died with it. Confronted by the hammer and ax of public opinion, Diem's efficient writer hounds such as Tu Chung, Chu Tu, Hieu Chan, and so forth were forced to condemn themselves in order to make the people think that they had learned to "repent" for their criminal actions: "We called ourselves writers fighting for freedom and democracy and human liberation but, during the recent period, in order to make a living and because we were cowardly and wretched we did dishonest work, prostituted our souls, betrayed the truth, betrayed the people, and enslaved ourselves to the Ngo family clique... (Ngon Luan, 4-11-1963)

Naturally, the Americans and puppets did not, after Diem's collapse, abandon their idea to use the reactionary literature and art to serve their political and military schemes. But it was very difficult; with the collapse of Diem and the failure of the "special war" of the United States the neocolonialists policy of the United States became completely bankrupt, the "nationalist" veneer of the puppet regime shattered beyond repair, and the Americans and puppets sank into a crisis of confusion. During this period their literature and art had no clear direction.

In mid 1965, confronted by the danger of complete defeat, the U.S. imperialists hurriedly introduced their expeditionary army to the South and, in so doing, increasingly exposed their cruel and aggressive countenance; the American lackeys unveiled all the more clearly their filthy country-selling faces. American and puppet literature and art no longer sought any so-called clean signboard to hold up but, instead, merely concentrated on defending their country-robbing and country-selling action. The writers tried to explain that American troops had entered the South merely to "save the people of the South from the communist yoke of aggression;" "that U.S. bombs only kill Viet Cong" and "destroy Viet Cong areas," and so forth. Faced by the mounting success and vigorous development of the revolutionary movement in the South and in order to maintain the morale of the lackeys and create an artificial optimism among their officers American and puppet literature and art also created impressions of victory for them and imaginary defeats for the Liberation Army. They were also forced to use literature and art in the service of the trick of the puppet presidential and national assembly elec-

tions, touching up and applying cosmetics to the puppet governmental authorities, acting as if the puppets also had sovereignty!

Naturally, anticommunism is still the principal content of American and puppet literature and art during this period. But, because of their general defensiveness in the face of the continuous offensive on the part of the revolution in the South, U.S.-puppet literature and art also switched over to the use of new tactics and new and more cunning subtle arguments. They are seeking to split the South from the North; to slanderously assert that the shoulder-to-shoulder stance of the North and South amounts to Northern "invasion" of the South; to split Vietnam from fraternal socialist countries, and so forth. Of special importance, in view of the tendency of large numbers of the masses not only in rural areas but also in the urban areas to lean more and more toward the revolution and to rise up in response to the attacks by the Liberation Army, the Americans and puppets came up with a new literature and art called "the literature and art of compassion" in the hope of both using extremely flat rhymes to sow a psychology of fear of bombs and fear of hard struggle and to propagandize negative notions about longing for peace and security among the masses; and also to convey cunning arguments designed to mask their country-robbing and country-selling faces and to confuse the just with the unjust and the aggressor with the person who has been subjected to aggression. The writers and authors of this variety of literature and art bemoan war, curse war, and call for peace in a generalized way (in point of fact they want a kind of slave peace) but they also accuse the North of being warmongering and of being the culprit which unleashed the war. They shout about the "need to use compassion to erase hatred." They characterize themselves as being in the middle, "neither pro-government nor pro-Viet Cong" but they give themselves up to following the Americans because the Americans give them life. They say that their art does not serve any ideology but serves only misery and hardship; they shout that the cause of the misery and hardship is the fanaticism and hatred on the part of the Viet Cong. Pham Duy, a musician who writes for dollars, produced ten mournful and resentful songs about the war. Thich Nhat Hanh, a religious impersonator, also produced a poem explaining:

"Because six Viet Cong came to my village yesterday  
Bombs completely destroyed it:"

It was no accident that the "literature and art of compassion" was born in concert with the fraudulent peace declarations of the American President. It is a psychological war-

fare tactic of the Americans and puppets at a time when they are more and more bogging down on the defensive and more and more being subjected to continuous attacks by the patriotic forces of the South.

In addition to developing a literature and art to serve their psychological warfare, the Americans and puppets have also promoted a plan to degenerate and hooliganize various strata of the urban population in order to serve their political military schemes. Every reactionary ideological tide is brought in in order to directly or indirectly serve their schemes. U.S. and "free world" books, magazines, and films are poured into the South. The various types of decadent, knight-errant, and existentialist literature and art are developing an unprecedented crisis in Saigon, propagandizing the pleasure-loving, depraved American way of life, defending the cruel and animalistic actions of the U.S. enlisted men, and sowing a psychology of pessimism, tiredness, and desperation and so forth. This is a period of "jazz music," of "sexy" musical get-togethers, of the "nighttime Saigon" type of films, of the "playboy" literature and art movement, and of the filthy and vulgar novels by Chu Tu which borrow the name of "existentialism" and encourage licentiousness and sin. Additional monstrosities have also shown up during this period among the artists and writers of the U.S.-puppet regime such as the female "writers" and young men "writers" who specialize in writing extremely brazen, lewd and depraved stories.

In summary, the principal content of U.S.-puppet literature and art in the South has always been to fight communism and sell the country, to distort and slander the North, to serve the neocolonialist policy of the United States, to defend the U.S. aggressive and the lackey role of the puppet government, to spread the decadent, American way of life, to sow a psychology of tiredness, and so forth in the hope of tricking and enslaving the people and blocking the high tide of revolution among the masses. The only difference is that during the Diem period they dared to portray themselves as seen in the service of "nationalist" ideals but since Diem fell this foilage has disappeared and the Americans and puppets no longer have the energy to paste it up again.

The U.S. and puppet schemes are very cunning in the cultural, literary and artistic field just as they are in the political field. But they misjudged their adversary in this field. The people of the South, long disciplined in the revolutionary struggle, are not easily deceived and corrupted by the Americans and puppets. They cannot fold their arms and sit looking at the hideous crimes of the Americans and puppets and

they cannot approve a decadent, sinful, inhumane, and anti-national way of life such as the American way of life. They have bravely struggled for ten-odd years to win back their sovereignty. The guns of the revolution have resisted the crimes the enemy has committed with weapons and the pens of the revolution have also resisted the crimes committed with pens. Even during the black days when the Americans and Diem were implementing their bloody policy of "denouncing communists" and "wiping out communism" patriotic and revolutionary literature and art continued to survive among the people of the South although under semi-legal and illegal forms. After the days of the spontaneous uprising of the people this literature and art developed vigorously in the liberated areas and contributed a sharp weapon for the attack against the enemy. In an expression of loyalty to the aspirations of the people of the South in the cultural and educational field, the program of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam clearly states: "Develop a national democratic culture and education, the key, immediate aspect of which is a purge of the slave, American-style cowboy culture and education and the construction of a national, progressive culture and education to serve the Fatherland and the people..." The Front not only attaches importance to the development of a national and democratic culture and literature and art but also focuses its attention on leading the struggle movement against American culture and the American way of life, viewing this as an indispensable element in the common struggle designed to completely defeat the aggressive scheme of the United States and the rule of the puppet administration in the South.

Right from the start, in the areas under temporary enemy occupation, our people have raised their voices in indignation at the harm caused by the U.S.-puppet culture, literature, and art. From indignation to protest the tides of struggle have constantly risen. With the exception of writers who have sold their souls to the United States and the puppets, every writer who still has a nationalistic spirit and who still has some conscience sooner or later recognizes the true face of the Americans and puppets and joins the people in struggling against them. Naturally, in an environment of terror, they must skillfully exploit the weaknesses and internal conflicts of the enemy and take advantage of every legal or semi-legal resource in order to denounce and expose the American and puppet scheme in the cultural, literary, and artistic field and to condemn and isolate their lackey writers.

Borrowing an ancient saying, one writer in Saigon denounced: "The sword is cruel but the responsibility is clear and mistakes are harmful even within limits. To borrow the

mystique of literature in order to create things damaging to man has always been an immeasurable crime for a writer but at the most it is vague and abstract and consequently is not clearly recognized or one does not want to recognize it. To make a girl grow up anxious and grieved, to make a lighthearted and enthusiastic young boy suspicious, to excite man to lust and forget about love, to make man deplore wealth and interests but forget about moral principles, to laugh over another person's misery, to sing above the sorrowful plight of a companion, to substitute frivolity for practicality, to emphasize the superficial and forget the profound, to distort the truth, to conceal misery and poverty, to extoll power, and to forsake man -- in doing this, does not literature produce immoral works?" (Vu Hanh: But Mau (Bloody Pen)

After Diem fell, one Saigon intellectual, verbalizing to some extent the feelings and thoughts of his circle, wrote: "the old regime had an evil sorcerer's way of miraculously transforming things: innumerable sacred and beautiful values and countless noble and precious words were stripped of substance and genuine content to become spurious and fraudulent.

"Freedom was just the freedom of the leaders of the regime who controlled the people as they saw fit, who viewed the life of people as they would view the life of vegetables, and who saw the property of the people and of the country as their own. Moreover, freedom was freedom to flatter and to toady to someone for favors, to repress, to terrorize, and so forth.

"Democracy was merely a strange system to skillfully combine the savage cruelty of medieval feudalism and the "scientific" cruelty of fascism. The distortion of values and word concepts led to a strange state of affairs in comprehending making comparisons between the value of a word and the truth. When the rulers said white we had to understand black and vice versa. When they said Fatherland and nation we had to understand that it belonged to the authorities. And the system of personalism was a system through which the person was trampled upon worse than ever before..." (Tieu Dan: "Feelings and Thoughts After the End of A Dictatorial Regime," Bach Khoa, 15 November 1963).

After the United States rushed U.S. and satellite expeditionary troops in to directly murder the people of the South this reality slapped in the face those people who had formerly been uncertain. Under the guise of a letter to a friend a professor in Hue wrote: "Surely you have seen how the Americans from the soldiers to the high ranking advisors treat the Vietnamese. Can you still believe that they came here to help us? Can you still believe that they respect the national

sovereignty and the value of man in this small, miserable, and sorrowful land? Perhaps you will soon have a clear attitude towards the contemptuous and fraudulent 'friends.'" (Truong Giang: Oi Vietnam, Vietnam, published in Saigon, 1966)

From isolated reactions the movement gradually became more organized. On 20 April 1966, approximately 100 Saigon writers and artists issued an announcement which stated in part: "Throughout the nine years of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime our literature and art in the South, from its already poor condition, reached serious depravity... But throughout the entire recent period under the successor government the situation of literature and art has not only not improved but, on the contrary, has become more depraved and degenerate..."

On 16 April 1966, forces opposed to Thieu and Ky in Hue even used the radio to expose the ringleaders in the puppet government: "Politically and economically, Thieu and Ky have long been denounced by the people as traitors, betrayers of the people, and hooligans. Even worse, Thieu and Ky have permitted a foreign country to freely advocate a kind of literature and art which degrades the people of Vietnam, have allowed the people of Vietnam to forget their roots, and have gradually seduced the young people, causing this stratum of people to quit worrying about the situation and to do as they please so that the Americans can do whatever they want to."

In general, during the past two years, taking advantage of the fact that the Americans and puppets have been under sustained attack by the South Vietnamese People's Liberation Armed Forces and placed in an increasingly defensive and weak position, a legal and semi-legal struggle movement against slaves and decadent culture and for the protection of the national culture has risen up in all of the urban areas of the South and has attracted fairly large numbers of people, especially intellectuals, journalists, writers, artists, professors, and students. The movement has changed from low to high tide and from criticism in books and magazines to "discussion groups" combatting decadent culture and to organizations such as the Children and Youth Spiritual Council, the Young Friends Association, the Association to Protect Children and Youth, the Association to Protect Human Dignity, the Association to Protect the Dignity of Women, and so forth. The Association of Journalists and the Association of Writers and Artists have also condemned the half foreign and half native, decadent culture. Saigon's university students organized a tribunal to judge Chu Tu and to dissect his novels. There have been sharply critical articles in many magazines condemning writers such as Chu Tu, Ho Huu Tuong, Thanh Nam, and Le Xuyen.

Many small streams combine to make a large current. On 7 August 1966, people advocating the convening of a congress in Saigon on the protection of the national culture declared: "For many years, decadent culture has seriously poisoned the soul of the young people and the children and has seriously subverted the spirit of the people. The diffusion of decadent and absurd tendencies and cultural works, and the indiscriminate importation of foreign theories and cultural works have pushed the people into a situation of uncertainty and generated immeasurably corrupt social practices. So much happiness has been shattered and so many families torn assunder; the decadent culture and its consequences have subverted morality, human dignity, and the national spiritual traditions..." Perhaps Saigon, under the yoke of occupation of the Americans and puppets, never before had a congress where so many people came to express their ideas and were applauded by so many people as the 1966 Congress on the Protection of National Culture. Although the congress and its manifesto had certain limitations they were able to generate a powerful sound in the Saigon cultural, artistic, and literary circles. The manifesto not only condemned the slave and decadent culture, literature, and art of the enemy but also called upon cultural, literary, and artistic activists to "enlist all of their talents to protect and develop cultural values and spiritual traditions of the people. This is love of country, the will to strengthen one's self, and the qualities of human dignity and conscience and courage in creating, in performing, in researching, and in absorbing the cultural essence of foreign countries." It appealed for solidarity within the cultural circles, uniting with those who have renounced the path of decadent culture and reorientating activities to contribute to the common cultural cause of the people.

After the congress a new gust of wind rushed into the cultural, literary, and artistic circles in the urban areas of the South which are under temporary enemy occupation. Despite attempts by the Thieu-Ky gang to repress it, the movement for the protection of national culture has continued to develop. In the course of its development certainly the movement for the protection of national culture in the areas of temporary enemy occupation will be able to "associate" with the revolutionary cultural movement under the leadership of the South Vietnamese national liberation front in order to attack the enemy from both sides in the final battles.

The U.S.-puppet regime in the South is on the path to total collapse. It is impossible for the culture, literature, and art serving the U.S.-puppet regime to escape this fate. No matter how tricky and cunning the Americans and puppets are

they cannot countervail the indomitable, thousand year old patriotic spirit of our people. They have not been able to subdue our people politically and militarily and they definitely will not be able to subdue them culturally. At present, the culture, literature, and art of the Americans and puppets is being swept aside by the high tides of attack and uprising of the people of the South; it is like sweeping out a pile of garbage which still lies in the temporarily occupied urban areas, the last hideouts of the Americans and puppets in our precious South Vietnam.

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