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JPRS: 27,452

TT: 64-51701

19 November 1964

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No 10, 1964

- North Vietnam-

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

OFFICE OF TECHNICAL SERVICES

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

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

Washington, D. C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

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

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THE ROLE OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS IN NORTH VIETNAM

Following is a translation of a speech by To Huu at the Conference of the Executive Committee of the Vietnam Literature and Arts United Association on 19 June 1964, published in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 10, Hanoi, October 1964, pages 1-23.

I

Literature, Arts, and Reality

Many writers and artists, after having studied the situation and resolutions of the Party, have gone to work at cooperatives, industrial enterprises, and coastal and mountain regions. Each one of them has found for himself many new problems which have been arising in the economic, political, ideological, and cultural life. However, to delve into the complex realm of reality is not easy. The same problem or phenomenon may give rise to different observations and conclusions. The exchange of our daily experiences is, therefore, beneficial to each one of us. It is in this spirit that I would like to present to you the following thoughts.

New Tasks and New Men Are Awaiting for New Works

We have studied the resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee. In broad terms, it is the summation of some previous resolutions, and in it are

incorporated many new developments, therefore, it is more profound. For our cadres and people, the resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee has an overall educational function, and it has a great meaning. It has helped us to correctly evaluate the reality, to concentrate our thinking on problems of socialist industrialization. It has also armed us with a new revolutionary spirit, answering to the needs of the Vietnamese revolution.

The political, economic, cultural, and literary developments in the past six or seven months were concrete results of that resolution. But the most important results were the profound understanding and the unanimity of cadres, party members, and of an important group of the working masses on everything, particularly on agricultural production. The success of the winter-spring crop was the first success of the resolution of the Eighth Conference. This was a great success not only because we had more rice and yam, etc., but we have also experienced a great change in the awareness and fighting determination within the masses. We had to fight very hard against nature in 1963. A new revolutionary spirit and a new fighting direction of the Party and the people have manifested in the bumper harvest of the winter-spring crop after seven months of drought and five months of heavy rain. It was also a result of the consolidation of the new production relations, and of the three phases of the campaign for the managerial improvement of agricultural cooperatives.

There was a rapid development in agriculture and in the cultural level of cooperative members in the past three years. But writers and artists did not like to go to the countryside, or if they did, they did not see any problem. Is it true that agriculture and the countryside is not the "land of literature and arts"? No, it is the reality and the richest source of inspiration. Our main source of living remains to be the countryside which is undertaking socialist construction. We have discussed the meaning of life, the nature of human being, the national character, and measures to achieve socialism. How can we understand and solve them if we divorce ourselves from our main source of reality, i. e., agriculture and the countryside? How can we understand the life and the Vietnamese person if we do not understand the countryside and its problems, and the peasants who form more than 80 percent of the population?

The peasants, under the leadership of the working class, heroically participated in the Resistance, defeated the imperialists, undertook the land reform, crushed the land-

lord class, and moved along the road of agricultural cooperativization. How do they consummate the revolution together with the working class, and move toward socialism? This is a new and important problem. If you comrades just take a trip around, you will see that there is a miraculous change in the countryside. Everywhere in the countryside, including the most backward area, you will find great changes if you sincerely and honestly look around. I want to cite some examples.

You have probably heard of Ngoc Long cooperative when you passed through Vinh Phuc province. I love this region which was a tract of barren land, but it is now a prosperous area. Ngoc Long cooperative was called "Co Ta" hamlet, or a hamlet of tenant and hired peasants. Ngoc Long is its new name after the land reform movement. At that time, land was distributed to the peasants, one sao per capita. They did not even have a hut to live in. The peasants in the hamlet decided to form the cooperative and to develop the riparian tract of land. Like any other tracts of land along the Red river, this tract of land was very difficult to develop. They had to struggle hard for three years. Now we can say that it is one of the most beautiful cooperatives in North Vietnam. Ngoc Long now has plenty of corn and mulberry's fields, green rice plants, and fat cows. Its streets are shaded by banana trees and xoan trees; and the houses are well lighted and orderly.

You comrades will find the same prosperity at Hoa Loan cooperative. The only sign of industries in this cooperative is an oil pump, and the rest of the tools are improved "traditonal" tools. Members of the cooperative do excellent work in irrigation and in the selection of seeds. There are about 300 Muong Khuong hogs which are fed with duckweeds; therefore, bran and yam are saved.

Many other cooperatives have also made the same progress as Ngoc Long and Hoa Loan. If you comrades pass by Quang Binh, Nghe An, Thai Binh, Hung Yen, Hai Duong, and Ha Dong, etc., you will find the same beauty and new changes. These new changes are brilliant changes, and we do not have to search for them. There are tens of thousands of good cooperatives such as Ngoc Long cooperative. Everywhere, you will find good examples which represent the upsurge of the countryside which is developing according to the Party direction: the development of an overall, firm, and strong agriculture. Our peasants believe in that direction. It is certain that we will satisfactorily solve the food problem, we will plant more industrial trees, and we will step up livestock rearing. Agriculture will become a favorable foundation for the development of industries.

We have made great efforts, in spite of our limited conditions, to build up new industrial bases since the past ten years. We have more than one thousand important industries as compared with one hundred industries at the time when peace was restored. We can produce many industrial tools and the majority of consumer's goods. This is a big step forward. But our success does not stop there, it is also shown in our present large-scale construction, and in the growing number of cadres and industrial workers.

You comrades know the value of coal in our economy. We will strive harder, but the exploitation of coal will meet more difficulties because we have to dig many pits and haulage roads. We are now building two large electric power plants: the Uong Bi and Thac Ba plants. We are building and enlarging the electric network to serve industries and agriculture. You will see high voltage power lines everywhere, from Thac Ba to Viet Tri and Thai Nguyen, and from Uong Bi to Hai Duong, Hung Yen, and Thai Binh. This is a new sight in North Vietnam. Our iron and steel complex is nearly completing. We will extract other metallic ores, such as aluminium, in order to enrich our Fatherland. In addition to the Lam Thao Phosphorous Fertilizers Plant, we will have the Bac Giang Nitrogenous Fertilizers Plant. We will have enough insecticides to supply to agriculture. In addition to existing textile plants, we will build a vinylon plant to supply more and better clothes to our people. We are building large water pumping stations at Ha-Nam-Ninh in order to transform tens of thousands of mau of one crop rice field into two-crop rice field. We will step up the production of machine tools; we will build the diesel motor plant; and we will enlarge the inland, river and maritime transportation.

That is the general economic picture of North Vietnam. For us, a backward and poor agricultural country, these few projects can change the look of our country. In the near future, we will strive to feed and cloth 20 million people, and we will try to solve the housing problem. The society in North Vietnam is changing according to the directions of the Third Party National Congress, and the concrete directions of the Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Conferences of the Party Central Committee. We have conditions to bring the present three large campaigns to their high tide. These objective revolutionary conditions will naturally have great meanings to our literature and art work. New tasks, new men, and the enthusiastic revolutionary movement are awaiting from us new creative works which are worth to bear the name of the revolution.

There are many new problems at the present time, but what is the basic problem? That is the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Under what form is manifested that struggle? That is the problem that I want to present to you comrades. Without a correct understanding the nature and form of the new reality, it is impossible to honestly and truthfully describe it, and it is impossible to understand any problem in our daily life. The struggle between socialism and capitalism is waging under three different forms.

The most important and principal form is the struggle between the collective and the individual, and between the private and public sector. The new production relations have been established, and the working people have been fundamentally organized, therefore, the problem is whether our struggle is for the private or public interest? This is a hot problem in our country because our collective technical-material base is poor and the attraction of the collective with regard to individual producers is limited. The ideological education is therefore very important. The more our country has difficulty, the more our people must have a high revolutionary awareness level in order to have strength to build up the ever growing collective foundation. It is important to understand that the working people have for many years led and educated by the Party. They have a strong revolutionary spirit, and they are firmly believe in our system and the Party leadership. These are favorable conditions for our educational work, and they will help us to instill in the working masses the awareness to build up socialism. The State is still poor, so is the collective and the individual family. Therefore, we do not have other way than to accumulate step by step in order to build up socialism. And we can only build up socialism when we unceasingly raise the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses. Our people have their daily life experiences in the struggle. They know that they must form a collective bloc if they want to survive foreign invasion or natural calamities. They also know that without the availability of machinery, manpower still can "transform pebble into rice." Since the fundamental completion of the agricultural cooperativization, the peasants have been aware of the strength of the collective.

There are many problems within a cooperative, but our peasants know that any cooperative can avert natural calamities. Their confidence in the State and in the cooperative is growing, particularly during the time of drought, storm,

and flood. This confidence is stronger if a cooperative can normalize the living conditions of the peasants, and if it can satisfactorily solve the production problems after each natural disaster. This is the general attitude of the hired, lower middle, and ordinary peasants. The attitude of the upper middle peasants varies. They see the advantage of the collective when there is natural disaster, and they do not see that character during normal time. They are not bad people, nor do they want to fight against anything, but we will have a hard time to convince them if we do not follow a new production direction, new managerial method, or new technical measures. The living conditions of the people in general, and of each family, each person in particular will be improved only if we are determined to implement the agricultural cooperativization, to attract more peasants into the cooperative, to actively bring low level cooperative to high level cooperative, and to build up a stronger collective. It is certain that we will fall into poverty and we will return to the old way of doing business if we think that we can solve difficulties individually. Therefore, we should pay attention to indoctrinate the masses, cadres, and party members the collective awareness.

The cadres should have creative ideas on the build up of collective foundations, and they should educate the masses to that end. But not every cadre has the same ideology. Some cadres have neglected the collective and paid attention to their own interests. Therefore, we should be resolute in the struggle for the collective against the private property. This is a struggle within the working people. These people do not fight against socialism, therefore, we should be persistent in our educational work. Under difficult situation, they looked for individual solution because they have not had confidence in the collective. That is the traditional way of doing thing. They would be happy if there is progress in the collective. We must therefore try to persuade them, not by words only, but also by our own deeds.

The struggle between the public and private is ordinary the fight against the use of public property for individual purposes. This was described by Nguyen Khai in his book Hay Di Xa Hon Nua (Let Us Go Further). Those people who used to do business privately like to use public property as their own. Thus, they have a "tail." That "tail" is quite long at places where the land is poorly managed. Everybody will have a "tail" if the secretary and director of the cooperative also have tails. They think of that "tail" more than the business of the cooperative and of the State. As a consequence, the collective work is in bad shape. To fight against these phenomena, we should be persistent. We should be careful in listening to these people. They must show that the

cooperative is bad in order to prove their actions. Sometimes, they hide that "tail" or shun away if it was mentioned. They feel that they do not have any link with the cooperative, and that the cooperative irritates and prevents their work. This situation does not exist everywhere, but it is not negligible. It exists mostly in the highland or midland, or in the delta where there are special products, industrial trees, or at places where the party branch and the movement are weak, and the reactionaries are active.

The second form of struggle is the struggle between ourselves and the enemy. It is the struggle between the working people and the counter-revolutionaries who are the cohorts of imperialism. They disguise themselves under religious clothes, or they are landlords and feudalists who have not been reformed. The struggle is more violent at places where the counter-revolutionaries have not shown their faces, or when they still have some influence. These reactionary forces are dangerous if they are not destroyed. It is necessary to note that under our regime, and within the revolutionary masses, these people are very clever in their activities. Therefore, we should be aware and we should fight against them with all measures advocated by the proletariat dictatorial State and by the revolutionary masses.

The third form of struggle is the struggle between the new and the old. This is the struggle between the advanced and the backward way of doing business, and it is the struggle between large-scale and small operation. This problem is very important as far as the managerial and technical level is concerned. Under the new production relations, the collective is the principal factor to create wealth. The individual way of doing business can no longer be applicable. It is the same with regard to technical methods. The struggle between the socialist and individualist methods, and between the revolutionary technical and the backward measures is undergoing in the selection of seeds, plants, fertilizers, etc.

Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh said, "The socialist ideology reigns over advanced cooperative." That observation is correct. The socialist and non-socialist ideologies are in a state of struggle in which neither side can claim victory. We should strive harder to claim victory for the socialist ideology.

I have just presented to you comrades some forms of class struggle in the countryside. The struggle between socialism and capitalism in industries is not the same, since the majority of industries belong to the people, and they are managed by the State, and the nature of the workers is different from that of the peasants. Nevertheless, the struggle

is still going on between the collective and the individual, between the advanced and the backward, and between us and the enemy.

To deal with reality, we, writers and artists, should participate in that struggle. We must recognize these new elements in order to praise them. We should oppose and eliminate negative elements. These are the educational function and the duties of writers and artists. It is certain that our works will not have any value if we do not build them on these new educational functions or awareness. In a letter to the Third National Meeting of the Literature and Arts United Association, the Party Central Committee wrote, "Our socialist literature and arts reflect what is new, and fight for it. They do not only describe the new life and new person, but they also contribute an active part in the development of the new life and in the education of the new person. Each work must shed a light into the ideological awareness and the sentiment of the society, and it must encourage the people to implement the State Plan, to fight for the victory of socialism, and for the unification of the Fatherland."

We, socialist writers and artists, should not wait any longer to manifest our function in the ever growing patriotic movement. Our lofty goal was to create a movement which is extensive, comprehensive, and strong. The movement is, however, strong. If we cannot describe and popularize the heroic achievement of tens of thousands workers, we would not, therefore, fulfill our duty. Only then can we understand the criticism made at this conference: we have made efforts and we have achieved something, but we are still backward with respect to the reality of life. The report of the Standing committee of our association asserted, "The reality of life has left us far behind." I think that it is a correct critique.

We can see many common problems and new models in the reality of North Vietnam. Under the guidance of the Party direction, we can see clearly where is the new element and what is the new value. We should use these elements and models to faithfully describe the struggle between the two roads, and their characteristics. Our work should have a penetrating educational function. Only then can we say that literature and arts have a positive function with regard to the revolution in North Vietnam. Having grasped the deep meaning of our revolution in the reality of our daily life is for us only a part of our achievement. All the Party resolutions and reports have great value only when they are thoroughly penetrated into ourselves. To "borrow" is very difficult in any field. But in literature and arts, "borrowing" is absolutely impossible. Nobody except ourselves

can transform these ideas into our own sentiments. In literature and arts, recognition must be transformed into sentiments. These sentiments must be much stronger than the sentiments of the common people. We should elevate ourselves to catch up with the revolution, and to meet the requirements of the learned and enthusiastic masses. We cannot understand their sentiments if we do not really care and love these new people, and if we do not really know what they are doing... The most we can do under such situation was the description of a shining drop of sweat at the end of their eyebrows, or the true color of their light-brown cloth, but we cannot really describe their way of living, their thinking, their worries, and their struggle, etc. Books are important but they cannot replace the reality of life, particularly the most animate revolutionary life in North Vietnam at present.

South Vietnam Is in the Heart of North Vietnamese People

In presenting some characteristics of the North Vietnam's reality, I cannot forget to mention this fact: South Vietnam is always in the heart of the North Vietnamese people. The people in South Vietnam and their liberation revolution are always in our thinking and sentiments. The existence of South Vietnam in the reality of North Vietnam must be described. It is true that we live for both parts, for the Fatherland, and we do not live for North Vietnam alone. That is the correct meaning of the slogan, "Each person doing the work of two." South Vietnam is in our sentiments and in our problems. If we do not see that reality, then we have not seen the whole reality that we are living in. It is necessary to point out that many of our creative works have not materialize that point. Every action or activity in North Vietnam has in it the South Vietnamese element. I want to say that all our activities, including those in the most remote places such as Muong Te, and Phong Tho, bear the Southern and Northern sentiments: the North supports the South, and in turn, the South encourages the North. To penetrate into reality and to fulfill our principal function, all our works must elevate the sentiments and knowledge of the readers to a point that they do not have a distinction between North Vietnam and South Vietnam in their daily life.

Literature and Arts in North Vietnam must stimulate the revolution in South Vietnam. We should educate and encourage the people in South Vietnam to surpass their difficulties and to win final victory. The collection of letters Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc (From the Fatherland's Front Line) published by the Van Hoc publishing house has a great meaning from the ideological and sentimental point of view. Our Party has attached a high value in it. Our fraternal countries, particularly China, precious it, not only because of its ideological and political value, but also of its literary value. Our people in South

did not intend to compose literary value in their letters, but the great reality of the revolution in South Vietnam, and the beautiful sentiments of the South Vietnamese people are expressed in the most penetrating forms and words.

Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc is the source of our many topics, songs, films, plays, paintings, etc. We can create many beautiful works even if we live in North Vietnam. The important point is to love and to understand the book. Some comrades said that it is difficult to "live" in the atmosphere of South Vietnam because we live far from it. It is natural that we have some difficulties in understanding the new reality, but in our mind, the 17th parallel which separates us from the South Vietnamese people does not exist. The main difficulty that we are encountering is not the fact that we live far from South Vietnam, but because of our sentiments, our communication, and our background. Nguyen Van Thong has made the moving film Chim Vanh Khuyen (The Wren). Bui Duc Ai wrote the book Mot Chuyen Chep O Benh Vien (A Story Written in A Hospital) which was used as the manuscript for the film Chi Tu Hau (Sister Tu Hau).

We should pay more attention to describe the efforts made by our people coming from South Vietnam. This will have a great political effect. The people in South Vietnam want to know what their relatives do for the revolution, whether they are soldiers, students, drivers, engineers, or cadres at state farms, etc. These people must be described animatedly so that we can report and satisfy our people in South Vietnam.

Beloved comrades! We are happy to live in a great period and in our Fatherland where the two great revolutions of our time are going on. We can say that we are standing on the front line of the two fronts: the front line against United States imperialism, and the front line to build socialism in South-East Asia. We should have a complete understanding of this situation. Our friends, and brothers and sisters in the world pay attention to and love our people. The world wants to understand our people. They want to understand how our Party operates and struggles. Our present problems are problems that our children will ask 30 years from now. We should strive to create better works for our people and for the world. We should let our children understand the great revolution in Vietnam which is led by the Party and chairman Ho. I want to stress on the importance of the coming five-year period. Our youths will have a higher cultural level: the majority of them will complete level II of our school system. Many technical workers and cadres will have a college or high school level. Compared with the "bachelors" of the past, they will be smarter.

Our readers, at the present and in the future, are persons, workers, peasants, and soldiers of the socialist country who have both fine quality and high cultural level.

These revolutionary persons require better quality in our literary and arts works. They are people who critique and create new literary and art work. Do we really think of these revolutionary forces? It seems to me that many of us have not really understood the great and urgent demand of millions of people who are living around us and for us. Perhaps we are not grateful to those working people who have created the new life! Is there anything which has "imprisoned" our creative thinking? and compelled some of our comrades think that they do not have "freedom"? If such a thing exists, it is not the revolutionary masses, nor the proletarian dictatorial regime. On the contrary, they are the "nurses" of the revolutionary literature and arts. Those who feel that they do not have freedom must know that it is individualism which "imprisons" them, and it prevents them from understand the beauty, the happiness of the collective and revolutionary life. They do not feel that they have freedom because they do not understand the necessity of the revolution during its advance toward socialism. They themselves curb their own freedom. The road which leads to advancement is the service to the revolution, and the incorporation with the revolution, the masses, and the Party.

I believe that we have the creative capacity. The important point is the elimination and the reduction of the gap between writers and artists and the real life. With whom do we live if we do not live with workers, peasants, soldiers, and the revolution? Therefore, our motto should be: "live among the revolutionary masses, and serve the revolution of the masses which is led by the Party."

II

Some Concrete Directions

Go to Advanced Places, Live Among Advanced People

We should live the revolutionary reality naturally, the same way we eat, drink, and breathe. Writers and artists who have not done so are not different from the fish without water. Many people defend their way of living which is divorced from the reality under the pretext that they want to fight against "dogmatism and the vulgarization of literature and arts." They oppose the concept that writers and artists should share the sweet and sour life of the masses. We would not listen to them since we all know: to create valuable work, one must live with the masses, help them, and learn from them. We all know how miserable a life we led in the past!

Why people are not enthusiastic to live a realistic life? Why are they not happy with the realm of realism. There are many reasons for these questions. But the most important one is their own attitude.

We use to talk about "three-togetherness." Why? Our literature and arts must be those of the working class. We writers and artists must describe the life and sentiments of our workers and peasants. We should know how to answer to questions posed by the revolutionary life. We are intellectuals of the workers and peasants. We should mix with them in order to eliminate the border between "they" and "we." We should form only one group, the working people. We should reach that aim, and we should join the peasant-worker's army. We should describe their ideologies and sentiments honestly. To do so, we should first of all live the life of the working masses. This life should not last for only three months, nor three years, but our whole life.

How and where to penetrate into the reality? I think that we should participate in advanced production installations, and live among the masses of advanced people. Why? Because our present problem is how to overcome difficulties, how to emerge from poverty to richness, from weakness to strength, and from poor performance to excellent performance.

It is natural that there are vices and bad things every where, but the important thing is to fight to overcome them.

Advanced places and advanced people are those who have overcome these difficulties. To go to these places and to those people is to learn from their experiences in solving difficulties.

Advanced models are quite common in production and in our daily life in North Vietnam at present. There are many advanced people and advanced achievements in the countryside. What is lack is, perhaps, our capacity and ability to describe them.

"Go to advanced places and live with advanced people" is our living slogan. We should go there and write down their experiences and their way of living in a hurry. We have some few hundreds creative writers and artists at different branches. We should go to hundred different places. There, we will at least learn and produce some few thousand good ideas. A person who does not have a revolutionary zeal will become one if he lives in a highly revolutionary environment. Not loving these revolutionary people is impossible.

We come to them in a simple way, and we should live with them in a normal way. We should come to them with a concept that we want to do something which is useful. We should not calculate whether it is beneficial or not. There are plenty of work that we can do to help them. We should shoulder concrete tasks, and we should use a part of our time to perform manual labor in order to link ourselves to them easily. Without such conception, we will not achieve anything.

This is not a new problem. We did not have the will to do so in the past. We should do it now. For each one of us, it is our right and our duty.

I beg you comrades to lend a helping hand to those younger writers and artists who have talent. They should live with the masses, and with reality in order to create valuable works.

We should make friend with advanced cooperatives, enterprises, industrial and agricultural projects. Each one of us should select a place to live and to create. In so doing, it is certain that in a period of three or five years, we will have many valuable works.

Strengthen Our Marxist-Leninist Outlook, Firmly Grasp the Party's Policy and Direction

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Nguyen Khai presented some of his realist experiences during the meeting. His experiences give us some ideas on the modesty and responsibility of a writer. He described a good comrade-director of a cooperative who waded in the field alone for 20 days continuously in order to fight against waterlogging. We should praise this comrade for his high responsibility spirit. We should, however, pose these questions: "Why did the director work alone?" Is it true that the party chapter, or party branch, or management board of that cooperative too weak? What did they do at that critical hours? Who should be blamed? Who should be praised? What action should be supported? To do so, it is necessary to understand the Party's line, direction, and policy. It also requires a revolutionary outlook. I think that the comrade-director was really brave. Bravery is an important condition to success, nevertheless, without knowing how to mobilize and organize the masses and to transform individual bravery into collective bravery, it would be very hard for him to achieve success.

We will see plenty of good and bad things in the countryside. Even in good things, there would be something imperfect. Therefore, writers and artists should know what is good and what is bad in order to criticize or to support. They should base their criticism on the party's line, directions, and policy. Some one may say that to do so is to "tie literature and arts to politics!" He who opposes the concept that writers and artists should live with the workers and peasants, that literature and arts should serve politics, is the person who really opposes the concept that literature and arts should serve the revolution. He also opposes the revolutionary literature and arts. He also opposes the principle of Lenin that, literature and arts should be "a small screw" in the revolutionary machinery, and that literature and arts should be an "integral part of the organization and of the unified plan of the Party." "The protection of the characteristics" of literature and arts, and the respect for the "freedom" of writers and artists are used to attract writers and artists from the ideal and the great duty of the revolution, to divorce from the rich life of the masses, and to lead writers and artists into a dark, and confusing influence of individualism.

Is that "freedom"? It is the "freedom" of the egoistic and treacherous private propertied class. That is the wrong argument of modern revisionists who want to propagate it among writers and artists. I believe that they will fail.

We follow our ideal and pursue our revolution. Thanks to the correct direction of the Party, the participation of writers and artists who link themselves with the revolution and the masses, and to the understanding of the marxist-leninist outlook, we achieve great success in our new literature and arts.

Life is reflected through the outlook of writers and artists. And the outlook of writers and artists can be fostered only through the study of Marxism-Leninism, the Party's policy, and through the penetration into the revolutionary life and reality. One must have theories and practice, and one must utilize them to nurture his thinking. It is doubtful whether we can find the truth if we only stress on the necessity of penetrating into the reality and the life of the masses without understanding Marxism-Leninism, or the Party's line.

The principal weakness of the play Tan Dem (The Night Ends) is the lack of understanding of the nationality policy of the Party on the part of its author. Our Party always respects the nationalities and understands the value of each nationality in our revolution. Tan Dem runs against this policy, because its author has not understood the nationality policy of our Party, nor the value of the national minorities.

Many comrades have experiences in their daily life and work, but they do not really understand the essence of the problem, or they are confuse at certain problems since they have not really understood the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line. I want to suggest to you comrades the method of learning. We should learn Marxism-Leninism and the party's line seriously and creatively. Marxism-Leninism is a merchandise which is used to take advantage of; and to cheat people in such a way that the present revisionists use it. Marx and Lenin are not wooden statues who have ready answers for every problems. We should study Marxism-Leninism with a revolutionary awareness. We should firmly hold the principles and the methodology in order to correctly and creatively formulate our solutions for many problems which are arising in our daily life. I want to repeat: we should study with a revolutionary awareness and an intention to serve the revolution. What will our study lead to without serving the revolution? Without the intention to serve the revolution, we cannot understand the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Without that spirit, we will not try to think and to create. We do not produce anything in our trade without thinking. If we do produce, our work will not be anything else than an abortive work.

An Urgent Need: New Manuscripts for Stage and Films

We should step up our creative production in every aspects: literature, arts, music, films, and stage, etc. At present, stage and films are the two branches which need good manuscripts to meet the demand of tens of thousands viewers and theater-goers. Both branches have made great efforts and achievements in spite of the fact that the movie industry is still young and the theater industry is old. But they are quite backward, as other branches, and they have not met the demands of the revolution and of the masses. The shortage of good manuscripts is a serious problem and it must be urgently solved.

Why do we run into this difficulty? There are many reasons for it. But the principal reason is the lack of playwrights and they have not made efforts to penetrate into the revolutionary life of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They have not tried to learn politics. There was a lack of concentration in their own branches, particularly in literature. Writers and artists have not really cooperated with other related branches, and they still work "individually." Moreover, the leadership was not energetic enough as far as the ideological aspect is concerned, but it was too strict with respect to forms and techniques.

We have a number of films and plays which have good ideological contents. In recent years, however, an unhealthy trend has been developing: our works have been influenced by the private property concept, modern revisionism, and the concept of a "well rounded person" who searches for individual happiness, and who runs away from the class struggle. "Love" has been presented as physical happiness, and it has been considered as the most precious element of literature and arts. Humanism is used to protect counter-revolutionaries, and those who try to destroy the revolutionary virtue, and to detest even the national liberation war and the class struggle. These facts were decorated with many shining forms but they are really nothing else but ridiculous cliches.

There is opinion that the principal problem of the theatrical industry is the problem of "new and old," and "domestic and foreign." I think that this idea is partially correct, but we should clarify its real nature. We should emphasize on our present living problem of our revolution in our country, both South and North Vietnam. The revolutionary literature and arts should not look back to the past but it should face the present reality. It should fulfill its lofty goal, that is to propagate the new and to help it to prevail. Different countries have different literature and

arts, and one country should not transform its literature and arts into a "stereotyped" one. However, we should not think that past stories should not be remembered and be taught. It is necessary for the present generation to learn the beautiful tradition of our people, particularly the resistance against aggressors, and the struggle against exploitation. The important point is the selection of stories which are beneficial, and the understanding of these stories according to the viewpoint of dialectical and historical materialism. It is important to remember that we should clearly indicate right from wrong. We should indicate that the ideologies and virtues of people living in the past were restricted by the old regime and they cannot be as beautiful as those at our present time. We should not convey a wrong impression to the present generation that the people living in the past were "perfect," and we should not also force them to think and act as we do now. We welcome those who want to write on historical topics, but they should do good work.

We should study carefully our traditional theatrical arts and we should not hastily condemn that they are backward and cannot express our thinking and sentiments. We do not cut our link with the past. We should not throw away our traditions, but we should develop them. However, we should not think that any form can be used to present different topics. Songs, dances, and gestures have different meanings, and they are products of history and they bear the social characteristic of the time. We should not "modernize" them according to our free will. I saw a play in which one of our general introduced himself like the old play, and he acted also like the Quang Lac general of the past. What a laugh! I think that our traditional play should be used to play old stories and personages. We have had some experiences in using it to present new characters, and we should continue to do so. Traditional comedy is quite popular in the countryside in North Vietnam. It has the potentiality to develop. Nevertheless, we should not accept existing forms and contents in our traditional play and comedy, but we should study and develop it in order to perform new and old topics.

In solving our present problems, if we are not happy with old stories, we should not be happy with foreign works. Our fraternal countries are building socialism, but they have different conditions than our country has. Therefore, no matter how good the foreign play is, we cannot use it to replace our own. We should emphasize and consider as our primary task to solve our present problems, since nobody else but we can solve them correctly. But we should not

completely disregard foreign works. (including modern and classical works), nor should we neglect the study of the world literature, particularly literature and arts in socialist countries. Recently, we made a mistake in the selection of plays and literary works which promote revisionism. We should seriously criticize it and correct it immediately. On the other hand, we have introduced to our people many good foreign works. We should have plan to select more carefully. It will be a good thing to have a troupe which will present and introduce foreign plays to our people.

The real nature of the "past and present," and "domestic and foreign" topics is nothing else but our attitude toward the present revolution. To solve this problem satisfactorily and to have creative works to meeting the level of the Party and the masses, we writers and artists should mingle with the masses and we should live according to the Party's ideology. The revolutionary arts and literature demand for a revolutionary way of living and spirit. It is necessary to abandon the present way of working that has no plan at all. We should base our work on the demand of the revolution, on the party's line, and on the technical and material as well as the capacity of cadres to set up a five-year and every year plans. We should encourage the collective way of doing things between the author, director and performers. They should work together to develop the common knowledge and individual talent in order to have a determination to create good works which have an educational value to encourage the masses to move to the front line of the revolution.

We should not aim at doing "big thing" which is unrealistic and surpasses our capacity. Our playwright wants to have a play of five acts, and our film producer wants to make 11 or 12 rolls of film in order to meet the "international caliber." The viewers would like to see long and good films and plays. But a "good" film or play does not need to be "long." On the contrary, it is not good to have "long" but "stupid" films and play. I think that we should create short but deep works to meet the urgent demand of the masses. Moreover, these works are within our capacity (our background, literary and artistic level, and material conditions.) Chim Vanh Khuyen and Mot Mang Nguoi (A Life) are good books and they can be used to make film. A good work must not be long but it must be penetrating. The impact of a work does not represent by the length of the film or the number of pages, but it is the ideological content and the artistic value of itself. There are reasons for our people to love the collection of letters Tu Tuyen Dau To Quoc (From the Fatherland's Front Line). Our people are talented and heroic. They also can write down their activities with honest, subtle, and animate words.

Strengthen and Create A Strong Army of Writers and Artists

Our Party has paid special attention to the strengthening and formation of an army of writers and artists who have a firm position and talent. There are not too many of them but they are precious capital of the revolution and the people. To have a rich socialist literature and arts, we should have more writers and artists who have a high socialist level as ours. We have already made great efforts in our ideologies, living, and our work. We have made some achievements but they are nothing if we compare them with the achievements of the revolution. We should pay more attention to and we should take an active part in the training and strengthening of the younger generation.

In North Vietnam, we have a new army of intellectuals emerging from the working people. They link themselves with the masses and the revolutionary struggle. They are not only people who can enjoy good literature and arts, but they can also create them. We have great hope on them. If we have a plan to help them, then we will have a powerful socialist group of creative writers and artists in the near future. It is encouraging for us to see that those who are building up a new life for themselves will write their own history.

Literature and arts require skill. Writers and artists must have the inclination to do so, and they must have a profession. Therefore, it is important to have school to train them. In the past few years, we have trained tens of hundreds young directors, producers, and performers at arts schools of the Ministry of Culture. This young group has strengthened our literature and arts. They show that they have intelligence and talent. But it is important to see that we have many deficiencies to surpass, such as the instruction of the Party's directions on ideology, politics, virtue, and literary and artistic direction; the lack of understanding of the beautiful heritage of our people; and the school is still separated itself from the reality and from the society. As a consequence, some graduates from these schools have fallen into the decadent path of the past and they have not had the spirit to serve the revolution and people.

It is very important for us to have a socialist virtue. Nearly all of us were influenced by the way of living of the bourgeoisie. We should not neglect to cultivate our fine characters. We should not defend the way of living which does not fit the revolutionary virtue with the pretext of protecting the "peculiarity" of literature and arts. Revisionism penetrates into ourselves through the individualist way of thinking and living, and thus, it will leads us to degeneration, physically and mentally.

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The old and young generations live in mutual comradeship. We help each other to advance. We sincerely criticize each other. We encourage one another's good points and discourage bad ones. We should not flatter each other, nor should we criticize each other for personal gains. Let us unite and help each other to advance, for the great revolution, the people, and the Party.

III

THWARTING THE INFLUENCE OF REVISIONISM IN
ART AND LITERATURE

Modern revisionism in art and literature does not spring up by accident. It is the reflection of the class struggle on the political front. The Marxist-Leninists do not deny the laws of ideology and the particularities of art--an extremely subtle and complex form of social consciousness. However, one should never forget the following popular Marxist truth: "The main form of class struggle is the political one," and this latter affects all other activities of society. To look for modern revisionism in art and literature through searching within the particularities and characteristics of the nature of art and literature itself means to never find the light. One should use the Marxist-Leninist political light to shed on it. This is the resolution of the Third Congress of our Party. This is also resolution No 9 of the Central Committee of our Party.

In the political field, modern revisionism upholds class conciliation, peaceful coexistence, replacement of the proletarian dictatorship by reform, of dialectical materialism by evolutionism.

In the artistic and literary field, modern revisionism sets high "humanism" which is completely alien to Marxism-Leninism. This is a kind of humanism for everybody in society where classes and the class struggle still exist. It goes against the principle of Party character, assaults the methods of socialist realism, insults national traditions, removes the demarcation line between socialist realism and formalism, and stands for "an unique culture of the time."

Modern revisionism manifests itself under many aspects. Nevertheless, the nature of these manifestations is one, namely, bourgeois ideology under the Marxist-Leninist cloak. Lenin's analysis on the origin of the emergence of

revisionism in the international Communist movement still retains its full value. The internal cause is the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking, and the external cause is the attack of the bourgeoisie. In our country, many artists and writers are still hindered by bourgeois and petty bourgeois thoughts in their way of thinking and life, and in their art. If we do not set a stern attitude for ourselves to recognize correctly the nature and danger of modern revisionism and its manifestations, we shall be creating conditions for revisionism to attack us from outside by various means.

Let us see what kinds of devious viewpoints do our people in the artistic and literary circles have in politics and art? It is obvious that everybody supports socialism, but many people still think that socialism comes about from nowhere without an arduous struggle against the exploiter class and its remnants, against the habit of millions of individual small producers; in other words, to carry out a long term class struggle under the political, economic, and cultural forms. These people want socialism but they just "shudder" at the first mention of class struggle. They approve of socialism, but fear proletarian dictatorship because they are afraid that they will lose their individual freedom whose true nature is bourgeois and petty bourgeois freedom.

To us, art and literature is a class weapon that must serve the politics of the proletariat and the Party. However, many people believe that art and literature is for everybody. It is above all social classes; it is "absolute" beauty. Artists and writers are completely "independent" and "free," and create according to their own will. They have nothing to do with the needs of the revolution, the class, and consider themselves original! The "pride" over this "independence" is one of the characteristics of the petty bourgeois intellectual. It is nothing but a self-deception. There are people who still believe in the theory of "man" in general in a society of classes and class struggle. To them, this abstract man is "nobler" than the one belonging to a concrete social class. They still trust that naive "humanism" which can regenerate the enemy class, reduce the sufferings for mankind, and avoid the killings and deaths caused by war. In the name of the protection of man's happiness, these people are engulfed in sad love stories and carnal desires to the point that they think of these desires as the unique and greatest needs in human life. They find no interest in the political, economic, and ideological problems of society for their artistic or literary creations; they find it most interesting the individual character which has no connection with the revolution or the masses of people. In fact, they do build up their personages as peasants, workers, and soldiers with the work camp, farm, cooperative, and mountains and seas as background; but these are only an outer shell for them to hide the individual thoughts and feelings which are thoroughly alien to the masses and opposite to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, and Party policy. They find no encouragement in the victories of the revolution; and the deficiencies and difficulties of the revolution are good excuses for them to raise their voice to attack and ridicule. To them, all Party policies are tightropes on which the artists must walk

and not fly, and Party leadership as well as the masses' critical opinion are as frightening as thunders and lightning above our heads!

Being Marxist artists and writers, we must not avoid our responsibility in this struggle against the above erroneous manifestations; we must help one another to find out the truth. Nevertheless, art is a subtle form; we must examine each case and each problem with correctness and great care. We must strive to avoid convenient observations and disorderly conclusions. We are determined to bare the errors, but we should not deny or restrict any creative searches. If artistic creation cannot accept a simplified or sketchy attitude, then criticism and evaluation cannot accept vague methods. An artistic work used to have this or that deficiency; it is just like a human being; nobody is perfect, without shortcomings. We should look at the main direction and tendency emanating from the work and its basic content. The motion picture called The Vanh Khuyen Bird is a good one. The death of the little girl named Nga is not a negative one. It is a death that instigates more hatred. It is a lofty and beautiful sacrifice for the resistance. One cannot deny its good quality because of some flaws. The same thing can be said of the motion picture entitled Sister Tu Hau that has some scenes catering to the low kinds of passions; but not because of that, one can deny its basic ideological content and artistic value. The motion picture entitled Two Soldiers has the shortcoming of being somewhat colored by that general humanism which the modern revisionists are trying to spread around, and depicts in a feeble manner our people and troops' hatred toward the enemy. The overly soft and at times unwatchful attitude of our serviceman is due to the fact that the author misunderstands our government's policy in the treatment of war prisoners. The author thinks that such a depiction would bring some political advantage. Nevertheless, that is not all about the picture. At a specific level, the picture itself succeeds in making the difference between a lively revolutionary soldier who fights for an ideal and his mercenary colonialist counterpart.

Not long ago, we staged a foreign play entitled Nila dealing with the heroic deeds of a woman member of the youth league, educated by the Party from childhood, who works in the area under enemy occupation. Many of our comrades were so rightly involved with the beautiful image of the heroic young woman and the acting talent of our artists that they failed to notice the author's devious viewpoints on many problems. The author erred when he attacked the legitimate revolutionary vigilance of a cadre. Many sentences which the author let the positive personage speak out, blurred the limits between the patriotic and aggressive war, creating a confusion between us and the enemy. For instance, following a hypocritical kind of objectivism, a personage who was both a doctor and Russian mother, said: "In the end, a Russian or German bullet leaves the same kind of scar" (!). We sternly criticize these erroneous viewpoints, but we welcome the successful side of the work, and the acting which had embodied the heroic young woman who represented the revolutionary and heroic spirit of sacrifice of the great Russian people.

At this point, please pay special attention to one following problem:

Under the circumstances in which modern revisionism is being propagated in the political, cultural, and artistic domains, we cannot remain unalerted.

In the recent past, some artistic and literary branches--especially the movie making one--have been propagating many foreign films, plays, poems, and writings that were laden with revisionist thoughts, very harmful to political, ideological, and revolutionary ethical training.

The above situation begins to be curbed, but that is not enough. It is necessary to make a thorough check and to resolutely curb and remove the harmful influence of this kind of "revisionist" art and literature.

The struggle between Marxist -Leninist and "revisionist" lines is not only an arduous one but also a complex one. Modern revisionism does not always show itself conspicuously for us to see; it used to hide under the Marxist -Leninist "make-up" and clothings in order to propagate the bourgeois viewpoint. And this is the difference between the revisionist and bourgeois viewpoints -- a formal difference. This struggle is even more complex in the field of literature. Some people are out-and-out revisionists, others are just under a partial influence of modern revisionism. Some literary works fully serve modern revisionism while others are just under its influence in one aspect or another. Some people follow modern revisionism because of individual interests or class reaction; others, due to some kind of interest, refuse to recognize that they are under modern revisionist influence.

The struggle is rather complicated; our attitude should be one of firm adherence to our principles, and criticism of all erroneous manifestations that hurt the development of our art and literature.

However, we should be cautious in making the difference between the right and wrong. Toward our comrades and friends, our attitude in criticism is one of concern, help, with reason and feeling. This is the attitude of our Party concretely bodied forth in resolution No 9 of the Central Committee. Our Party's view and thinking starts out from the interest of the proletariat and people, from the interests of the international Communist movement.

In the political as well as in the artistic and literary fields, our Party has its own viewpoint. We are proud to be under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. We must strive to study the Party resolutions and apply them in the reality of art and literature in a serious manner.

In the above part, I spoke briefly of everything; now I would like to tackle a few problems which I consider as basic in order to set a limit between Marxist - Leninism and modern revisionism in art and literature.

About the Problem of "Humanism"

The problem of man has been always the central one. The revolution

is also for solving the problem of man. Man with all his complex relationships is the main object of art and literature. Today, under the conditions of the life-and-death class struggle, the imperialists and their lackeys hide themselves under the labels of "peace" and "humanism" in order to cover up their vile and disgusting faces. For this reason, when we want to bare the true nature and plots of the imperialists in the ideological domain and the scourge of modern revisionism, first of all, we must clarify the question of "humanism."

There is no abstract man; there is only a concrete one. In a society of classes, the problem of the concrete man should be put in the class relationship to be understandable. When Marx spoke of "man as the synthesis of all social relationships," he became a Marxist at the same time, that is to say, he made a thorough criticism of Feuerbach's abstract man and tackled directly the problem of social reform and revolution.

Therefore, general humanism does not exist; there is only concrete humanism. It is correct that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Europe, there was a humanist movement of the bourgeoisie fighting against the hindrances and feudalist ideology for individual freedom. The humanism of the European Renaissance had its definite progressive value under the concrete historical circumstances of the time. But since the day the bourgeois class became the ruling one, all humanistic principles had been discarded.

From its very beginnings, scientific Communism fought against equalization that disregard the overall development of the individual. Marx mentioned "realistic humanism" (in The German Ideology), and later, Gorky spoke of proletarian humanism. However, Marxism never separates Communist humanism from Communism. The nucleus of Marxism-Leninism is the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. Communist humanism is an organic part of the Communist world and life outlook. Any confusion here is dangerous because it would lead to modern revisionism. Modern revisionism merges two things into one or sees a lack of humanism in the nature of Communism which needs to be "compensated" by humanism; and from here, it removes the Marxist philosophical foundation of Communist humanism, liquidates its proletarian character, and transforms it into bourgeois humanism. Gorky said: "The proletariat's humanism is upright. It does not use hollow and sugar-coated words about love of man. Its goal is to liberate the world's proletariat from the ugly, bloody, and insane sway of the bourgeois. It teaches man not to consider himself as a merchandise ..."

"The proletariat's humanism demands an unquenchable hatred toward the petty bourgeois class, the power of the capitalists and their henchmen, the parasites, Fascists, executioners, and traitors to the working class ..." (Gorky, On Literature, Russian edition, The Soviet Writer Press, Moscow, 1953, pp 803 - 804). And "if the enemy does not surrender, one should annihilate him at once." These are the most representative words of Gorky concerning revolutionary humanism.

Today, the modern revisionists are using humanism as a sign board for their treacherous activities against their class and Marxism-Leninism. They believe that between the Socialists and the war-instigating American imperialists, "a common language" has been found, and that is humanism. They say: "Humanism unites us" ("us" here means to the revisionists and imperialists). They stuffed scientific Communism into the same bottle with this kind of general humanism. They gave as reason the emergence of nuclear weapons which has changed the relationship between the exploiter and exploited, between the capitalists and proletarians. All classes must concern about the problem of man and his happiness. The slogans "All for man's happiness," "Man and man are friends," "Man and man are brothers" must have rightfully a deep class content. Instead, they have transformed them into general slogans for "mankind," for everybody, regardless of class background. Thus all anti-Marxist-Leninist activities bore the name of "for mankind's happiness." They boastfully made propaganda for "the overall development of the individual" (which was, in fact, the propaganda for capitalist individualism). However, the fear of weapons has denied the very arguments on "man's value" of the modern revisionists. The worship of technology and weapons has by itself denied the decisive effect of man and the masses. The theory of "nuclear sociology" is an extremely reactionary philosophy widely propagated in America and other countries. Its main thought is that the discovery of atomic energy has upset all the laws of social development and these laws are being replaced by new ones (!). And the final conclusion of this deceitful theory is that America has atom bombs; it holds the fate of the world in its hands; a "world government" must be set up, under American leadership. Some American reactionaries even called for the "establishment of a dictatorship in the style of the Roman Empire" in the ancient times. There is nothing new in this theory of "nuclear sociology." Early in the twentieth century, the reactionary bourgeois scholars already took advantage of the new discoveries in the natural sciences to attack dialectical materialism. In his masterwork Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Lenin has bared the idealist and reactionary arguments of these people. It is so ridiculous that today, the modern revisionists rehash American "doctrines" and consider themselves as having "developed Marxism-Leninism"(!). Revisionism takes "economic competition" as "the motor force of the development of history" in lieu of class struggle, and believe this to be compatible with the humanitarian character of Marxism. This is because, according to them, there will be no nuclear war and man will live happily on earth!

The above reactionary bourgeois theorizing about humanism begins to penetrate art and literature. Visma, chairman of the Yugoslavian Writers' Association, has made the following statement: "For literature, the most important thing is to humanize our life." And he praised Yugoslavia as the "paradise" of literature because the platform of the Federation of the Yugoslavian Communists announced its non-interference in literature. It has declared the role of Party leadership has ended because it constitutes only an obstacle to the development of society and man, etc. Where did this theory of "humanization of life" in Yugoslavian

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literature lead to? It has openly taken Western modernism as its "heritage."
According to this same man, modernism "realizes on a large scale an
important penetration into the nature of art."

I would like to invite you, comrades, to read a poem of the above
flavor in Yugoslavia, "A Traveler In the Atomic Era" published in the
magazine Contemporary Man of June 1958. I am giving here only a few excerpts:

"A traveler in the atomic era
Meets another traveler
Who asks: -- Where to?
--I don't know.
--Me too.
--Come with me. We will arrive somewhere.
And they walk together.
.....
A booming sound and frightening scream come on them,
And shakes the whole atomic era.
Everybody quarrels
Over the two roads
Chosen by our two travelers, over which road is the right one.
And before our first traveler sped ahead over a rather long distance
In order to escape from the sight of butchering and bloodshed,
Blood already began to ooze out like a torrent.
In the reflections of blood
He stands at the limits of time
And looks down into the atomic era.
And he suffers so much from sorrow
That sorrow itself has left him."

Revisionist Yugoslavian literature is thus flooded with this kind
of fear, pessimism, and despair.

Upon failing to see man in his social relationship and in the class
struggle, the revisionist artists and writers in some socialist countries
have no other way than sinking into the same mud hole where the Yugoslavian
revisionists are wallowing.

The so-called "humanist nature" or "humanization" or "human character"
of modern revisionist literature manifests itself in a very subtle manner
under many facets.

In many foreign literary works, we find a great deal of instinctive
and physiological sensations of man. To these authors, it seems that in
this life there is only the man-woman relationship which they call "love"
which is worth writing about and which is most "human." A young poet from
a friendly country who has been greatly praised by the revisionist critics
of that country, openly declared that "love is the most revolutionary
feeling." He said: "When the two sexes love one another, love is born, and
a whole world opens up at that very minute," "listen to the harmonious

voice of love, my poetry will be much newer." Then he and other poets began to write poems depicting the most brazen kinds of carnal sensations.

Some love stories were written under the name of the defense of freedom in love against the feudalistic scourges of oppression of women. Through the introductory notes alone, one would think that they were stories with a lofty social significance. However, when one finished reading, the only impression one could gather from them was only the "sexual" one. During the past few years, motion pictures of this type penetrated our country. Their content was usually linked to war, presenting love as opposed to class struggle, vilifying the revolutionary struggle.

To describe love in an artistic or literary work is a normal thing and no discussion is needed. But how the description is done is the difference between us and the modern revisionists. We maintain that love becomes man's noble sentiment only when it agrees with our revolutionary ethics and ideals. To us, whatever the artistic work deals with, it must always bring something useful to the heart and soul of other people and improve their sentimental lives.

Among us, there are people who enjoy describing the lowly acts and desires. One of the deficiencies of the novel The Old Heap of Rubbish was that the author devoted many pages to describing naturalistically scenes of lewdness and depravity. Under Hoang Tien's pen in the collection of short stories entitled The Dew Melts, the dreams and torments of Thuy Lan, the woman member of the youth league, or of Le, the peasant woman, were not different from their sensual desires. Their physiological nature was the origin of the relation between the sexes. This tendency was not different from the recurrence of Freudianism in art and literature.

Another manifestation of this kind of general humanism is the depiction of the individual's happiness as separated from the collective interest, taking the individual's interest and opposing it to its collective counterpart, and opposing liberalism to proletarian dictatorship. In the name of the glorification of the ordinary life of ordinary people, in the name of "man's life and happiness," people openly make propaganda for the mean, selfish, and bourgeois individualism. Their writings have only one effect which is to corrupt the soul of those who appreciate them, especially the young people. In our country, many people already think that after years of arduous and hard fighting, they are entitled to relax to their heart's content, to take good care of their private happiness; and when the revolutionary life does not allow them to do so, they become bewildered and at times, oppose the new social order. Vu Thu Hien's short story Night Without Sleep and Ha Minh Tuan's novel Upon Entering Life show clearly the above kind of attitudes. The neglect of the description of heroes and their heroic deeds, the under-estimation of the class struggle in rural areas and the struggle between the two tendencies in our art and literature, have pushed some of our artists and writers into worrying about tiny and scattered problems of life, delving into individual states of mind that have no connection with the revolution undertaken by our people.

The revolution does not deny the happiness of the individual; it even defends this happiness. It is because of the happiness of each laboring person that our Party and people carry out the revolutionary struggle to liberate the nation and social classes. However, individual happiness can exist only in this communal one that has been won back. One cannot separate the individual from the communal. Our ethics takes revolutionary collectivism as a basis, and the motto "one for all, and all for one" as educational target. We are determined to oppose and struggle to eliminate the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and sentiments that put the individual above all, setting individual happiness against the revolutionary ideal and the class struggle which is going on in our country and the world. Art and literature is the voice of feelings and soul, and the goal of revolutionary art and literature is to build up revolutionary feelings and souls. We cannot accept the voices of faint feelings, of souls devoid of ideals but filled with weariness and egotism.

Also under the cover of "penetrating the souls," revisionist artists and writers delve especially into the torments and sufferings of the individual. They consider the art that cannot describe the "tragedies" of the individual as non-art. And generally the tragedies they describe concern the individuals who go through despair in love or meet with "injustices" in life and misfortunes caused by war. In the recent years these "injustices" have been described and usually linked to the period which they called "the period of the cult of personality." The psychology of their personages develops in a contradictory and bitter manner, but their actions are devoid of ideals; they act as if in the middle of society, only themselves and the injustices and misfortunes they go through exist. The literary works of this tendency can easily give compassion and pity to the readers, but they ignore the realities of the class struggle and the great problems before their eyes, relating to the fate of the nations and mankind. In fact, what they depict is by nature and tendency not different from the stuff described by the "nouvelle vague" artists and writers in the style of Françoise Sagan in the West. This tendency is totally different from that of the critical realist artists and writers at the end of the last century. These artists and writers spoke of the sufferings and convulsions of individuals under the old regime; but their attitude was one of strong accusation of the exploitative society that tramples upon man. Nguyen Du's *Kieu* [Name of the heroine of a long novel written in verses] was a great tragedy and at the same time a sharp accusation dealt on the declining feudal regime.

We do not object to the representation of individual tragedies. But we understand that these tragedies as well as man's private problems lie within specific historical social situations--those of the class struggle. And any artistic or literary work that describes whatever tragedies sustained by the individual or society preserves its value only when it finds out the relationship between the individual and society, when it bodies forth the true nature of this relationship, and when it makes correct observations and criticisms according to the revolutionary

world outlook. Implying a deep meaning, long ago Marx already made the following remark on historical tragedy: "Revolutions are the legitimate subjects for tragedy." It is the same like the way Engels affirmed the educational and perceptive role of artistic representations in the tragedies written according to the revolutionary viewpoint (Letter to Lassalle on his play Sickingen) The revisionist artists and writers have renounced these basic principles. The individual tragedy represented in their works, in the end, is only propaganda for bourgeois individual freedom, an erratic dream, a regret of the things which the revolution has eradicated.

On the revolutionary viewpoint, we lauded and encouraged the historical play Truong Dinh and recently, Dao Hong Cam's The Wind Rises. It is obvious that Truong Dinh is a historical tragedy, that of national hero Truong Dinh linked with the destiny of our nation. The Wind Rises is the tragedy of two sisters of different ideals (or rather, the younger sister is indoctrinated by the American-Diem gang), linked with the life-and-death struggle of our South Vietnamese blood brothers against the Americans and their henchmen. The play is not perfect, but we welcome the author's bold attempt to depict rather complex states of mind found in actual life, and to arrive at a serious denouement. Thus, it is a tragedy and a heroic song setting high the brave and indomitable South Vietnamese women. With the same above viewpoint, we criticized the play Voong Din, and we did it more sternly with the novel Upon Entering Life. The author of Voong Din describes ^{the} contorted and uninterrupted development of the psychology of an anti-revolutionary, with an attitude of sympathy and compassion. Upon Entering Life is almost the actual grudge voiced by a type of people who are lost and dissatisfied with the realities of the socialist regime.

The modern revisionists in a number of socialist countries never admit that they are making propaganda for bourgeois humanism; on the contrary they declare that they "oppose" this bourgeois viewpoint. Unlike the Yugoslavian revisionists who have openly fought against Marxism, these people constantly show that they are concerned with the Marxist-Leninist principles. In reality, they have distorted these principles and twisted them according to the shape of their modern revisionism. Indeed, their works and argumentations make propaganda for individualism, bourgeois liberties, and the theory of "human nature" under many subtle forms which are both "profound" and "emotional." For this reason, we must be very alert to to bare the bourgeois nature of these harmful argumentations and works.

Two Viewpoints on War and Two Ways of Depicting It

Comrades, you have studied Resolution No 9 of the Party Central Committee. I am not going to recall here our Party's viewpoint on war and peace. On half of our country, the South Vietnam compatriots are heroically fighting and sustaining untold sacrifices and hardships against an extremely cruel enemy, and against an aggressive war which grows fiercer every day. The American imperialists and their henchmen are plotting to expand the war to the North. They daily send spies and commandos out to sabotage our building

of socialism. Living under the conditions of war for the last twenty years, our people have enough understanding of war. They know who created these sufferings for our nation. They know how they should live and fight in order to win victory so that our people will live in the happiness of peace, independence, reunification, and freedom.

Our art and literature has had quite a number of works representing our people's heroic Resistance in the past, and many works describing the present struggle of our South Vietnam compatriots. Recently, we may say that the collection of letters entitled From the Frontline of the Fatherland and many memoirs on the Dien Bien Phu victory, were representative of our viewpoint on the depiction of war. Revolutionary heroism has been represented in a lively manner in these works. The violent combative ardor, the heroic combat achievements, and peerless spirit of sacrifice have been related together with all the most heart-rending losses. The atmosphere that envelops these books is the revolutionary bravery, combative optimism. The sensation they leave is that of mutual trust and love among our countrymen and comrades, and the confidence in righteousness and final victory of the revolution. With the revolutionary view of the patriotic war of the Soviet people, all great Soviet writers have left for the literary history of socialist realism masterpieces on the war to defend the Fatherland. A number of these masterpieces have been translated into our language and have exerted great effects on the nurturing of our people's combative spirit in the hard days of the Resistance and in the time of promoting the patriotism of our South Vietnam compatriots.

The modern revisionists have given up the above revolutionary literary and artistic tradition. Starting out from the viewpoint of "peaceful coexistence" and "the change in the nature of war in our time", they depicted war with the obvious intention of proving their revisionist concept of war. Their works describe war in a frightening manner, creating thus a psychology of fear. They depict the despair and sorrow of the mothers who lost their children, the humiliation and loneliness of the wounded soldiers who lost their families, of the wives who lost their husbands, scenes of separation, and the insanity of the children who lost all their relatives, etc. In these works, one find nothing but losses and losses, and horror and horror dominating man's life. According to their views and way of thinking, all nations and oppressed social classes cannot do anything else but bowing their heads and beg for "a peaceful life." Sometimes in these works, there are a few bright examples of some gallant fighting by some people who are determined to defend the Fatherland, but dominating everything is still the image of man without faith in the fire tests created by the imperialists. Defeatism has been painted with distorted "historical truths."

Due to our lack of political vigilance, during the past few years, we have been allowing some books to be translated and published, some motion pictures and musical pieces to be imported, against the Party's viewpoint, and sowed the psychology of pacifism among our people. Moreover, we failed to criticize on time the above deviations in the writings of

some of our own people. In Phu Thang's novel Breaking the Encirclement, there are passages in which the author hated war in the general way and saw nothing by hardship and losses. "...War has created and will create more sufferings, hardships, humiliations, and angers. There is nothing to sing about war, and the soldier's life is only one of hardships. If fighting brings some of its legitimate glories, these have been paid with such a high price. One should stop the bloodshed and all the scourges that ensued as soon as possible." In the novel A Pair of Eyes, Huu Mai spoke of his feelings in front of a blind wounded soldier: "The cruel images of war are unfolding before my eyes. Perhaps the worst misfortune for the wounded soldiers is the two-eyes. About those who lost an arm or a leg, in daily life we often forget that he was hit by the cruel axe of war. However, for the blind people, the mishap seems to be present every hour, every minute. One step or one move of the arm, everything tells that he is a blind man ... War has heaped a mountain of sorrow on the two tiny shoulders of this young woman (the wife of the wounded soldier)." In the Collection of Love Poems put out by the Youth Publishing House, the poem "Incomplete Happiness" goes as follows:

"Holding you in my arms
 I kiss on your two rosy cheeks
 But over the late broadcast in the night
 A most frightening news spreads:
 "America again tests the atom bomb underground...!"
 Both of us hesitated
 The kiss was half finished!
 Happiness, my darling,
 Was neither completed nor fulfilled."

I just mention only a few examples. The above sickening and erratic thoughts are scattered in many works. Our art and literature cannot tolerate this kind of fear and sorrowful ideas. In our Resistance War as well as in the present fighting of our people in the South, there are many losses but these are not negative lives. They are the sacrifices of the brave and conscious man fighting to survive and to win victory. This life is filled with sufferings and indescribable greatness and optimism. Our wounded soldiers do not resent the revolutionary war, but are proud to have fought bravely for the independence of the Fatherland. Our mothers grieved for the loss of their beloved children, but they are proud because they have contributed to the Resistance. Let us listen to a mother of Long Chau Sa who covered the face of her beloved daughter who had died: "I know I am old already and can't produce any more children. I only regret that I do not have any son who will revenge her." Our young people of eighteen or nineteen years old are competing among themselves to go to the battle front or to handle the most difficult or dangerous jobs. Our people understand very well that only through revolution and fighting that they can have happiness, and each person must have a share of responsibility in this struggle. That is the great reality of our country. If the artists and writers cannot have any better thoughts or have only lower thinking than the ordinary citizen or soldier, it is difficult for them to fulfill the duties of a

patriotic citizen, let alone their functions of "engineers of the soul!" We must elevate ourselves more and more in order to fulfill our duties and remain worthy of our Fatherland, our heroic people, and great Party!

Modern Revisionism Attacks the Principle of Party Character And Distorts Socialist Realism

The socialist realist method is shaped in the process of the revolutionary struggle of the working class under the leadership of its vanguard troops. Its foundation is the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It is the creative method of artists and writers who fight for socialism. The most important difference between socialist realist method and other ones resides in its proletarian Party character and proletarian world outlook. That is the class limit in the domain of art and literature. For this reason, we are not surprised by the fact that the modern revisionists strike at socialist realism and its achievements.

The smart Hungarian revisionist Lukas did not bluntly deny socialist realism, but his argumentation denies the Party world outlook and character in art and literature.

He wrote that Party character is a "motor force that is inherent in reality itself. This force has been perceived on the basis of the reflection of reality in a truthful and dialectical manner, and merged into practice ... The creation of a truly artistic work focusses on the transformation of the Party character into the quality of the nature of the depicted world." This means that we do not need to build up Party character but to reflect the reality. How this process of reflecting reality, what direction it should follow, is the private business of art and personal idea of the artist. Lukas did not recognize the decisive character of the world outlook in the process of creation; the determining factor is art and the artist's subjectivity. At the same time, Lukas maintained that in our time, the struggle against decadent art and world outlook is no longer necessary. According to him, this struggle may "isolate a number of writers and artists of many capitalist countries." Also according to him, Marxist literary theory should "cover the whole and start out from the coexistence viewpoint to make observations on the creative works in an unprejudiced manner."

As for Visma (of Yugoslavia), how did he argue? Being more brazen because of his living in a society which he called the Yugoslavian "paradise," Visma believed that socialist realism in the socialist countries was "decreed by the Party," and "invented by Stalin." According to him, there can't be any socialist socialism: "Nobody can say what it (socialist socialism) represents, and what it is in reality." Socialist realism is "a vague thing for the literary researchers and a concept which is entirely not concrete." He maintained that the world outlook and thought in art do not play any role; everything resides in talent.

In reviewing the arguments of the revisionist ring leaders in the field of art and literature for nearly ten years in the past, we find that there is nothing new in the present errors and deviations spreading in a number of socialist countries or in the press of some brotherly parties in the capitalist countries. They rehash the arguments of Visma and Lukas just like in politics, the revisionists are rehashing Tito's arguments, under different forms or various degrees.

A well known movie director of a brotherly country wrote: "For the artists, the foremost problem is style that is to say the manner of expression;" "any directors who maintain that ideology and thought are most important things in motion picture and movie making, will not be understood by the masses. So will their motion pictures be. Ideology and thought are fine words. A motion picture needs to have thought but the propaganda for ideology and thought is bad."

In a talk with a capitalist director, he said: "I never set any problem for myself because one will have to point out good points or deficiencies, to defend or criticize. Nobody can be a specialist of love or hate, of condemnation or defense. All these feelings are various facets of the artist's individuality." Some other modern revisionist artists also follow the same direction. They maintain "the harmonization of the unharmonizable. They say: "There are no 'isms'. They are only names. What unites us, young poets, is talent." "There is no abstract painting. There is only good or bad painting. The same can be said of the realist school. Whatever is talented is realist ... The lack of talent can never be realist." The modern revisionist artists always stress individual feeling and the decisive right of the artist's soul, etc. According to them, they themselves are the ones who "enlighten" these feelings and souls. This idealistic and individualistic liberalism is developing in many countries. Not long ago, we found the above tendency set forth in a subtle manner under the label: "unlimited realism." Here are some main points of their argumentation:

a) Art is not a "copy" of reality. It is higher than reality. It creates a separate world. And this world is created by the artist.

b) Art is "a form of the presence of man in life." Therefore, "there is no art without realism."

c) Render absolute the esthetic function of art, and separate it from all political and philosophical ties.

They believe that "one should never cut or trim any dimension of reality: a landscape, a nude, a still life, all are realities; sadness or joy, love or hostility, all are realities." They never mention anything about typical characters and situations or Party character. From this argumentation, they defend decadent artists and writers because the works of these people "are their presence in life," and that there are states of mind and phenomena which actually exist in life. They even set

forward "objective abstraction," "subjective abstraction" considering these as the many "forms of realism." And therefore, we can have "an abstract realism." With this kind of argument, it is not surprising that during the past few years, in the newspapers and magazines of some brotherly parties, there were people who openly defended abstractionism and cubism. They never set forward the problem of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge because they are afraid of "bringing the problems of the theory of knowledge into aesthetics in a machine-like manner." In alienating themselves from the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, they have arrived at the following conclusion: "... At times we must recognize that the deepest content of a work of art is its form."

What is called "unlimited realism" today has been termed, in 1959, "the emancipated concept" of socialist realism, and it has been written as follows: "To me there is nothing more stupid and absurd than to like only the things which agree with our thinking in all respects. To me, there is nothing more stupid than believing that the thought of another person can fit mine perfectly." This standpoint is not different from that of Lukas: Marxist theory must "cover the whole and start out from the coexistence viewpoint to make observations on the creative works in an unprejudiced manner." This standpoint has actually struck at the character of the proletarian party of socialist art and literature, and moderated the relentless struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois ideologies.

In a word, concerning the problem of socialist realism, the forms of argumentation of the modern revisionist artists and writers may differ but their content is one:

1. To deny or place on the secondary rank the Party character and proletarian world outlook.
2. To remove the limits between socialist realism and the decadent artistic tendencies of the capitalist class. "Legalization" of the assimilation of these tendencies into socialist art and literature.
3. To attack Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and replace it by subjective idealism.

The above standpoints are the necessary reflection of the modern revisionist viewpoint in the political field, rejecting the masses of people's revolutionary struggle, rejecting the fact that the class struggle is the force that develops society, and liquidating the leadership of the proletarian party and class.

The difference between the Yugoslavian revisionists and the modern revisionists in a number of socialist countries or in some brotherly parties in the capitalist countries resides in the following: The Yugoslavian revisionists side completely with the bourgeois subservient writers who openly oppose socialist realism, considering it "Stalin's product," and "decrees" of the Communist party. The modern revisionists still stay in the

rank and file of socialist art and literature, under the signboard: "development of socialist realism," "fighting against doctrinairism in art and literature," so as to attack socialist realism and its fine tradition starting from Eugene Pottier's song L'Internationale, the revolutionary poems of the Paris Commune fighters, and especially Gorky's novel Mother. It is quite a danger for socialist realism at the places where the modern revisionists hold power, and in the name of "defending socialist realism," "defending Party character" in order to lead the artists and writers of their countries to have a distorted view of the objective reality, replacing the revolutionary development of reality by the individual's subjectivism.

Concerning the development of our art and literature, the resolution of the third National Congress of our Party set forth the need of "getting a firm hold of the method of socialist realism, striving to have more works that truthfully reflect the new life and new man ..." The letter of the Party Central Committee addressed to the third National Convention on art and literature remarked that "our art and literature is a socialist one. Although it is young, it is promising ..." With the exception of the Nhan Van-Giai Pham group in the past, all of us in the rank and file of artists and writers are striving to grasp the socialist realist method in our creative process. However, generally speaking, our artists and writers are still much outdistanced by the needs of the stirring life of our people. During the past few years, there had been unhealthy phenomena in creativeness and theory and criticism, caused by modern revisionism. I have dealt with some of its manifestations before. Comrade Truong Chinh's talk has set forward the basic needs of socialist realism, especially the character of the proletarian party. One should not think that one is living in a country which is building socialism, that one supports socialist realism, and one's work immediately turns into a socialist realist one. In the earlier parts of my speech I already presented you with some ideas aimed at stepping up artistic creation, putting out deeply significant socialist realist works. In this part of my speech, upon mentioning method, I would like to propose our comrades to check again their viewpoints, to evaluate the works and the arguments related to the problems of Party character and socialist realism.

A number of comrades conceive realism in a naturalistic manner. In creating, they present many facts and states of mind without any selection. They forget Engels' teaching that one must make a choice of "typical characters and situations." The Old Heap of Rubbish is a typical example of naturalism. In criticism, our comrades neglect or pay little attention to the ideological character and educational requirement of an artistic or literary work, to the true nature and relations that connect all phenomena of life. These comrades lean more on enumerating more actual phenomena (individual or outward ones) in life to evaluate the work. Because of their starting out from this erroneous standpoint that during the first discussion sessions, some comrades defended The Old Heap of Rubbish as a "realistic" or "basically realistic" work.

Many of our comrades fail to see the importance of the nurturing of the proletarian world outlook, the building up of Party character in knowledge and art. A number of comrades still see the study of politics and Party policies as a compulsion, and the mutual assistance among comrades as a "forcible" thing.

There are comrades who know of the new life in a very faint manner. They dare not engage themselves in problems in order to solve them. Others think that it is enough to be "doctors and diagnose the patient's illness." They worry over the fact that the present urgent revolution would drain off the people's "esthetic sense," or kill off the nation's "quintessence." With this view of the problem, how can the articles we write have the educational power of elevating the reader or spectator's soul?

In theory and criticism, there are comrades who neglect the decisive nature of the effect of the world outlook on the work, one-sidedly stressing the particularities of art and literature, and neglecting its class nature. Many comrades argue to remove the class limits. The following idea was found in Le Dinh Ky's Artistic Methods: "In a given period, under the requirement of history, the authors belonging to all social classes and different countries influence one another to create an artistic era, a style of the period." He also severed style from method, and put style outside of the author's world outlook. Although these deficiencies were not the main ones in Ky's book, it is necessary to realize that these arguments belong to the bourgeois standpoint in art.

Nihilism and Unprincipled Inheritance and Acceptance

In the recent years, in the art and literature of a number of socialist countries, and in the artistic and literary movement of socialist realism in some capitalist countries, there was the tendency of denying the revolutionary national traditions, of wanton acceptance and propagation of bourgeois cultural streams.

One of the causes of the emergence of the tendency in denying the revolutionary tradition of socialist art and literature was the policy of a number of modern revisionist leaders who denied the efforts and the principles of revolutionary leadership of their predecessors. There were elderly writers and there were those who were new in the writing craft, who denied one whole most developed period of progressive socialist literature, considering it "a period of dogmatism" in which "artists and writers created according to the decrees of the leader." On the contrary, they enjoyed the early period of the revolution in which socialist realism did not as yet occupy a preponderant position, and all the decadent bourgeois tendencies were still existing and active in sabotage. They consider it "the golden age" in which art and literature had "the freedom of creation and development." At the same time they openly defended abstractionism in painting and made propaganda for bourgeois freedom in art. Others availed themselves of the situation to attack the leadership of the Party.

In their creative activities, under the pretense of "fighting the cult of personality" and "one must bravely speak up the truth," those who followed the above tendency soiled one whole heroic period of the revolution. Their intention was obviously to reject all national revolutionary traditions and those of the proletariat and the revolutionary achievements of the world, in order to accept the bourgeois tendencies in art and literature. They denied the national revolutionary traditions, but they wanted to elevate and restore the prestige of those who had openly opposed the revolutionary power and cursed the proletarian dictatorship. They were blinded by the technical games of the bourgeois artists of the West; they were enraptured by the life of the Western capitalists; thus they jumped on the depraved and clogged-up stuff in bourgeois art and considered it as "new." The policy of the modern revisionists is "to cooperate fully" with the capitalist countries, and create objective conditions for the penetration of all bourgeois tendencies into the art and literature of socialist countries. Once the political line is engaged in modern revisionism; it is certain that it will lead art and literature on the same path.

The argumentation of those who set forth "the unlimited realism" has led them to sinking into the garbage of bourgeois art. Their arguments are rather attractive to the inner part of petty bourgeois individualism. In general, their arguments about artistic and literary inheritance and acceptance are as follows:

- a) If there is no past surrealist self, there cannot be any present socialist realistic self. Therefore one should not deny the past regardless of how this past was; it still helps and establishes a connection with the present and future of one's own career.
- b) One should not criticize those who hold an opposite opinion. Try to find in these people's thinking (no matter how reactionary it is) the "creativity" and "fine features" so as "to enrich" one's own thinking.
- c) In art, "the most profound content is in the form." Art is "the presence of each being in life," therefore the formalistic and abstractionist tendencies, the most decadent works, all contribute to the common artistic treasury of mankind.

These viewpoints leads to the complete removal of all limits between socialist realism and decadent bourgeois artistic tendencies. From here on, they defend all reactionary tendencies in art and literature, creating a confusion in the evaluation of artistic and literary works.

It is correct that many artists and writers, before joining the rank and file to struggle for a socialist realistic literature, have been suffering and going through humiliation, living in torment and numbness without a way out. It is because of the very fact that they have lived these tasteless and miserable hours that they cherish and love all the more the new path that they are following. Nevertheless, one should not forget

that this old influence will not easily leave them, and it still recurs and these people have to wrestle and struggle with themselves. The path of revolutionary transformation of the great writers was not an easy one. To date, after more than forty years of following the revolution, some people still live with their former anti-Marxist thoughts.

The comrades who still regret the past things that belonged to them, who still live inside the bag of individualism, are prone to consider the above revisionist arguments as truth. In looking at the critical realist writers of our country and the world, many comrades only one-sidedly praise the positive aspect and fail to see their negative or even reactionary side. In the evaluation of the artistic and literary tendencies before the August Revolution, there were many different opinions. And this was inevitable. But the fondness of the past did constitute no small an obstacle to a correct evaluation. Some comrades still think that in the old days he was more "relaxed" in his creative activities. I have already presented my opinion about this problem earlier. In our present day society, the one who takes away our freedom is ourselves, nobody else.

The letter of the Party Central Committee addressed to the third National Convention on art and literature stated the following: "We must strive to go further in the exploitation and promotion of the quintessence of our national art and literature. We must study in a critical and creative manner the fine achievements of world art and literature of the past and present, especially the art and literature of our brotherly socialist countries." Regarding this question, our Party policy is very clear. At present, not because of the fact that we are fighting modern revisionism that we refrain from learning the priceless experience and accepting the best in the revolutionary and progressive art and literature of other countries. Up to the present, and from now on, in any field, we continue to value and defend, and seek all means to learn from the revolutionary experiences of the Soviet Union, China, and other brotherly countries, and to accept the quintessence of world culture so as to enrich our own.

There still are many problems concerning other viewpoints and theories relating to the development of our socialist art and culture and the struggle between the two paths on the artistic and literary front. The problems which are set forth today are only for the sake of setting them forth. I do hope that you, comrades, will think and discuss with an open mind. Not only the comrade theorists but also all the rest of us should show more concern over the present theoretical problems in art and literature.

*

Comrades,

Our revolution is extremely great. Marxism-Leninism and our Party are always the combative and victorious banner of our nation, laboring people, and artists and writers.

In the life-and-death struggle against the imperialists led by the American ones, and in the relentless struggle against modern revisionism --the main danger of the international Communist movement and the present revolutionary and socialist art and literature--let us fight, together with our Party and people, with our most trenchant artistic weapon on the front rank of the revolution. Let us encourage one another to march foward under the flag of our belc ved Party, to win new victories for the new art and literature of our nation, to contribute to building up the vital socialist art and literature of our time!

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SERIOUS FAILURE AND CRISIS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

[Following is a translation of an article by Ha Van Lau in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 10, Hanoi, 24 October 1964, pages 58-65.]

On 13 September 1964 another coup d'etat was carried out by Lam Van Phat, Duong Van Duc, and a number of senior officers intent on overthrowing Nguyen Khanh's dictatorial regime. Four battalions and an armored unit of the Seventh Division moved into Saigon from My Tho and within hours were able to control a large part of the city without firing a single shot. This was the fifth coup d'etat since the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem by the Americans. Intricate coups and counter-coups took place throughout the course of that day. The officers in the South fought among themselves.

Some rebelled and then surrendered, but they continued to plot against one another. United United States orders they settled their disputes temporarily. Khanh was back in power, and he sent to prison the five leaders of the coup. However, the South is still without a government: internally, decay continues to eat away at its institutions and externally, thanks to the help from the United States, it maintains a precarious peaceful facade.

Following the coup, in the Gulf of Tonkin, warships of the Seventh Fleet were ordered to take the offensive. During the two days 17-18 September many U.S. destroyers

penetrated deep into our territorial waters. Then suddenly on the night of 18 September the American imperialists claimed a "new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin." They wanted to repeat the "incident" of the night of 4 August 1964 when they deliberately set the stage for the bombing and destruction of our country on the 5th of August 1964.

The American propaganda machine cried out that American warships were challenged by North Vietnamese boats. They threatened to "retaliate." Our Government and people were able to unmask the contemptible aggressive act and the vile, slandering scheme of the American imperialists. Less than 24 hours later, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara had to declare that the new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin was "put aside" and that the incident "was considered as closed" (!).

These two events, that of the unsuccessful coup by a group of army officers in the South and the "new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin," occurred at different times, and in different locations, and it appeared at first glance that these events were unrelated to each other. However, our people and international public opinion see that these two incidents were closely linked and originated from a single cause, that of the policy of aggression and provocation by the American imperialists in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

From Failure to Crisis and Impasse

The rebellion of 13 September 1964 once again expresses the gravity of the crisis and conflict in South Vietnam. If the latest rebellion occurred rather suddenly as far as the American imperialists were concerned, it was a natural and unavoidable event to the Vietnamese people and to many objective observers of world events. The English newspaper The Manchester Guardian wrote that: "Today is no different from other days, though it is more difficult to know for sure whether General Nguyen Khanh is still in power or has been overthrown, or whether anybody else is in control in South Vietnam."

In reality, the latest coup was only another step toward the maintaining of a protracted critical situation in South Vietnam with eventual destruction and defeat as the outcome, resulting from the policy of provocation and aggres-

sion of the American imperialists in the South. During the past few years the Americans have tried to get out of the impasse and trap in the South, but because of the intrinsic nature of their aggressive policy, any methods they used led them deeper into "an endless labyrinth."

Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the battle for liberation which grows stronger every day, never ceases to inflict on the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys crushing defeats in every area. The Americans want to use the South as an experimental ground for conducting and implementing their "special warfare," but our heroic people in the South have trapped and defeated them. Even the American journalist [Joseph] Alsop, who is close to American military circles, lamented that it is the "biggest U.S. failure of this century."

In the past the United States has poured into the South large numbers of men and much money. From the Staley-Taylor Plan which aimed at pacifying South Vietnam in 18 months to the latest Johnson-McNamara Plan which calls for the "pacification of South Vietnam within two years 1964-1965," the U.S. imperialists not only have sent many officers and "outstanding politicians" but also concentrated a number of important types of "assistance." For 1964 alone this assistance amounts to 675 million dollars. In addition, they claim to have put into effect their "newest" tactics.

The number of U.S. officers and soldiers in South Vietnam has been raised to 30,000. In addition, modern weapons and warfare methods are imported into South Vietnam to destroy our people. The United States has increased the armed forces of its lackeys in the South by 500,000 men including the regular forces, local forces, and militia.

Despite of all of these efforts, the American imperialists were unable to achieve their objectives. On the contrary, the harder they tried, the deeper they became enmeshed in the trap. Within three years (1961-63) the soldiers and people of the South killed and wounded over 250,000 enemy troops among which 1,500 were Americans, shot down and damaged hundreds of airplanes, and seized a great number of weapons. At the beginning of 1963 the Ap Bac victory opened the emulation campaign to destroy the enemy throughout South Vietnam.

During the first eight months in 1964, over 82,000 enemy troops were wounded or put out of action. In July

and during the first ten days in August alone, 22 companies, 34 platoons, and nearly three battalions were completely destroyed. Warfare methods such as helicopters and tanks which took advantage of the most modern developments in military techniques, have proven not as efficient as expected.

The strategic hamlet program, a plan to herd people ruthlessly into camps, which was considered as the "national policy" and has been highly praised as the most efficacious method in "protecting the people," is a complete fiasco. They had planned to build 17,000 hamlets, but, under the Diem Nhu regime, the greatest number of hamlets built was less than 7,000. Since the beginning of this year they have tried to fortify these hamlets, but only one-third were fortified and two-thirds were destroyed by the people. With the failure of the plan for "pacification within 18 months," the American government had to talk about a war that would be "protracted, difficult, and wasteful in manpower and money." This is the confession of the failure of American imperialist strategy.

The bankruptcy of the "Staley-Taylor" Plan brought about the collapse of the dictatorial regime of the Diem-Nhu family who were the most powerful lackeys of the American imperialists in Southeast Asia. After Ngo Dinh Diem's fall, the Americans brought into power other lackeys such as Duong Van Minh and Nguyen Khanh, who proved to be powerless. The successive coups have fundamentally shaken the spirit, the organization, and the social bases of the government in South Vietnam. Rival groups continue to fight each other and their positions and power have been seen to lessen on a number of occasions. The longer the political crisis continued, the more acute became the internal conflict. The people fought courageously against the policy of provocation and aggression that the U.S. imperialists had implanted among a number of officers and officials. The enemy soldiers no longer obeyed orders and the number of desertions increased every day. The spirit of peaceful neutrality has taken root, is spreading among various levels in the army and government and is hindering the implementation of the military methods of the United States. This chaotic situation is, moreover, confronted with the reactionary ruling regime in South Vietnam and an inextricable political crisis. This is not only a crisis within a government that is subservient to the United States in the South, but it is also a serious crisis for the policy of provocation and aggression of the U.S. imperialists there.

08, After Diem's overthrow, when the Minh-Don-Kim military group came into power, the policy of the United States and their lackeys in the South could not avoid failure in military affairs and crises in political matters. The U.S. imperialists, running in circles, organized a second coup, brought about the "political" party Dai Viet-Nguyen Ton Hoan, and created a coalition government composed of Khanh and Hoan. They tried to influence a number of political groups in order to create a large reactionary political group to be used as a tool to fight against the people in South Vietnam.

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8 According to Radio Saigon (12 June 1964), there are 38 registered "political parties." Within the decaying Khanh-Hoan political machinery a continual struggle for power and position is being carried on. The Dai Viet Party plotted to overthrow Khanh who in turn tried to stop their influence and limit their activities. The deeper the political crisis of the Khanh-Hoan Government becomes, the more acute becomes the internal conflict. Confronted with the possibility of another rebellion and with the failure of "military-political formulas" in creating a lackey regime in the South, the U.S. imperialists wanted to use an unadulterated military formula, and thus created a military council to better serve the U.S. policy of provocation and aggression.

1 In order to save the situation from near-total collapse in South Vietnam, on the one hand they increased provocative and aggressive acts against North Vietnam and on the other, they tried to strengthen the political machinery in South Vietnam. On 4 August the U.S. imperialists created the so-called "incident in the Gulf of Tonkin" and on the following day they began provoking our country. Taking advantage of the tense situation created by their war-like activities against North Vietnam on 5 August the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys invented a new game in South Vietnam: a state of emergency was declared and Nguyen Khanh, the most trustworthy lackey of the United States, centralized all power in his hands. Using his dictatorial power to brush aside all political parties, he dismissed many ministers and officers who did not agree with him.

On 16 August the third coup took place, Khanh named himself "chairman" of "the Republic of Vietnam," proclaimed a "new constitution," and strengthened his military dictatorship, all of this in order to enforce the U.S. policy of provocation and aggression in South Vietnam. In addition, the United States organized a "joint United States-

Vietnam" command in order to remain in permanent control over the military affairs in South Vietnam.

Waves of public indignation from the people in South Vietnam fighting against the U.S. imperialists and the military dictatorship of Nguyen Khanh spread wider and wider. Students and members of various religious groups together with the townspeople in the South took an active part in the struggle. Khanh's "chairmanship" did not last more than ten days. For the first time in South Vietnam in the heat of the fight against the United States the masses and the townspeople, empty-handed but encouraged by the spirit of unity and revenge against the United States, frightened the reactionary government which was armed to the teeth and caused its downfall. On 25 August the United States had to back off and it organized a triumvirate Khanh-Minh-Khiem to pacify the situation temporarily. The United States and its lackeys claimed that the triumvirate was created "to carry over the government for two months until a civilian government is organized." This is the fourth revolution within nine months after Diem's fall. The American authorities tried to prevent the situation in South Vietnam from worsening before the presidential elections in the United States.

Once again the American imperialists were disappointed; discord spread among their lackeys, and during [Maxwell] Taylor's return to the United States a number of officers in the South rebelled, on 13 September, and created for the lackey regime the most critical situation that has ever existed in South Vietnam. The rebel group condemned Khanh as "traitor" and demanded his expulsion from the government and armed forces. However, the Military Salvation Council had not existed for more than a day before the United States schemed to bring Khanh back in power on 14 September 1964. Thus took place the sixth revolution in South Vietnam within 300 days.

Until now, although the United States has pacified the rival pro-American groups and returned to the "triumvirate" formula, the antagonism among the U.S. lackeys in South Vietnam has not been solved, and the crisis continues. The rebel group was punished, demoted, and imprisoned by Khanh. New antagonistic groups arose: the military men against the reactionary politicians, the younger officers against the older officers, the central government officials against the local administrators, etc.

Many units within the armed forces and political and military groups entertain separatist inclinations from Khanh. The United States-Khanh group is very embarrassed in dealing with the precarious situation in the provinces which tends to spread still further. Even the Western press recognizes that "the present situation is very delicate; there are at least 18 younger officers who sent a protest to Khanh and threatened that if their demands were not met they would split and prepare for another coup."

Thus, since the overthrow of Diem by the United States the South has gone through six revolutions within a period of a little more than ten months. These recent coups point out the serious failure of the U.S. lackey regime in the South and this is the most violent symptom of the chronic disease of the traitor regime in South Vietnam. The United States no longer knows on whom to rely, either on individuals or on lackey groups, to suppress the movement. For the first time the divisive phenomenon which exists in politics and in spirit among the ranks within the government and armed forces appears also in organization. Many local authorities expressed the desire to be separated from the central government.

On 20 September 1964 in Banmethuot 500 highland soldiers mutinied against the United States Khanh group. They occupied the radio station, imprisoned the American "advisers," and demanded Khanh to return autonomy to four provinces in Tay Nguyen. This revolt spread to three provinces (Dac Lac, Gia Lai, and Quang Duc), and by 23 September 4,000 highland soldiers, among whom were those from the anti-guerrilla training camp in Pleimerong near Iaiku (Gia Lai), took part in the uprising. On 20 September and then on 26 September the anti-Khanh forces twice took over the radio station in Quy Nhon to protest against Khanh's dictatorship. Other dissident groups in the central provinces of central Vietnam also declared that they were "rejecting the Saigon regime". During this time nearly 100,000 workers in Saigon, Cholon, and Gia Dinh went on strike and demonstrated against the United States and their lackeys paralyzing all aspects of life in the cities and causing great confusion to the Saigon government.

At present, the United States-Khanh team is in a state of chaos and decay, and it is beyond remedy. The U.S. lackeys still try to explain that there was "no revolution." In the meantime the U.S. Department of State has

declared that "the situation has no effect on the war against communism," that "the situation will soon be stabilized" and that "the United States supports Khanh." However, the present political crisis of the administration in South Vietnam has reached a new critical stage.

Our people's struggle in the South is the struggle of national liberation against the aggressors and their lackeys. The most important conflict in the South is reflected in the discrepancy that exists between an overwhelmingly larger number of the people in the South of our country and the small number of U.S. imperialists with their traitor group. If the recent revolution of 13 September was undesirable to the United States the reckoning of the present crisis in the South cannot be found in subjective opinion or the temporary and fragile settlement by the Washington authorities. The main reason for the most recent revolt is that the military and our people in the South have repeatedly and heavily struck at the provocative and aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists. The implementation of the Johnson-McNamara Plan was carried out without success during the first months.

On the contrary, the strength of the Liberation Army in the South is greater with the passing of everyday, the liberated area in South Vietnam is being extended and consolidated, and the campaign to fight against the United States grows stronger not only in the countryside, but also in the cities.

By practicing military dictatorship, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys only strengthen the people's struggle against them. Their methods of demagogy and appeasement using the false slogan of "freedom of the people" have not fooled anyone. No matter how often they change officers, tactics, ambassadors, generals, governments, etc., they cannot alter the intrinsic law that the aggressors and their lackeys must fail and that the struggle for national liberation of the South Vietnamese people shall triumph.

More clearly than ever before our people in the South see that a government genuinely devoted to the interests of the people must also fight the American imperialists. No deceitful argument advanced by the United States can stand when their troops and lackeys are engaged in a bloody struggle against our people who are demanding peace, unification, independence, and democratic freedom. None of their wicked

schemes can succeed when international public opinion called the dirty war in South Vietnam as "McNamara's war" and the lackey army of the United States as the "greatest mercenary army in the world fighting side by side with the Americans!" The policy of provocation and aggression of the United States imperialists in South Vietnam brings them to an impasse without escape and to total failure in the end.

Failure and Confusion Among U.S. Imperialists

Last August the Johnson-McNamara team began intensifying the fight against North Vietnam, creating incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin, deliberately sending airplanes to fire on and bomb the coastline of our country and then declaring that "the United States has reasserted its power." This is a scheme to extricate itself from their impasse and trap in South Vietnam, to raise the morale of their lackeys, and to counteract the attack being made by conservative forces in the United States, i.e. the G.O.P. during the presidential election campaign, and to consolidate their allies in their aggressive war in South Vietnam.

During their provocative acts our army and people struck back heavily at the U.S. imperialists. Despite the meticulously planned scheme in action, tactics, and propaganda to slander us, world opinion condemns their provocative and bandit-like, unwarranted acts. This objective condemnation by international public opinion and the support from the progressive peoples in the world for our just war, constitute a devastating failure for the policy of the imperialist U.S. Even the Western press has said that the immediate causes of the serious crisis which brought about the coup of 13 September in South Vietnam was the failure of the U.S. aerial invasion of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 5 August 1964. Obviously the U.S. aggressors cannot extricate themselves from their position in the South, and, by invading the North, they would only find themselves more hindered and more isolated than ever before.

While expanding their aggressive war in South Vietnam and engaging in more provocative acts against North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have also been conducting a diplomatic campaign to consolidate their allies' support

for their aggressive policy so as to internationalize their war in South Vietnam. At the conference of the SEATO group in Manila in April 1964, at the NATO group conference in the Hague in May 1964, and the ANZUS Conference in Washington in July 1964, the United States openly appealed to its allies for "support," "the more the better," for the U.S. lackey regime in South Vietnam.

After the bombing of the coastal areas along the Gulf of Tonkin on 5 August Johnson sent Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, to eight countries in Western Europe to slander our country and mobilize their active support for the U.S. war against North Vietnam and in the wasteful struggle in the South of our country.

Contrary to U.S. wishes, their allies and "friends" within those military groups, just like the eight countries in Europe that Lodge visited, all expressed reserve, particularly with regard to military "assistance;" some were cold to the proposal and went as far as to openly reject the appeal even for a symbolic gesture. The U.S. imperialists hoped that their power would be strengthened by support from the allies. They did not expect to meet failure and complete isolation. This bitter diplomatic defeat points up not only the great impairment of the U.S. standing among the imperialist group, but also the accute antagonism existing between the United States and the countries within its bloc, especially between the United States and France. The latter was expressed recently during the Lodge-Joxe meeting in Paris that a commentator in Paris ironically called "a friendly dialogue between two deaf people."

It was also to extricate itself from its blind impasse in South Vietnam that the imperialist U.S., in desperation, advanced its scheme for U.N. intervention in South Vietnam and Indochina by trying to use the U.N. Charter to cover up their policy of aggression, to destroy the legal bases of the Geneva Conference on Indochina in 1954, and to replace the functions of the International Control Commission with U.N. machinery.

The resolute and clear attitude of our government and people with the sympathetic support of world opinion for our justified position not only headed off the spiteful scheme of the U.S. imperialists, but also helped a number of people undetermined about the "peaceful" role of the U.N. to recognize the stubbornness and dangerous scheme of the imperialist United States.

During the implementation of their policy of aggression and provocation, the U.S. imperialists met one defeat after another in all fields. Their efforts to extricate themselves from the impasse in the South have been in vain.

Even defeated and trapped still the United States refused to learn its lesson from history. It stubbornly continues to step up its criminal war in South Vietnam, to plan to extend the war to all of Indochina, and to carry out a policy of creating chaos in Southeast Asia.

While initiating a new phase in heightening the "special war" in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists also organized a propaganda campaign slandering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam thereby hoping to find an excuse to carry the war to North Vietnam.

After the bombing and firing on the coastline of North Vietnam on 5 August, they began building up their Seventh Fleet in the east. They continued to broadcast war-like statements against the North. United States airplanes and warships continued to violate the airspace and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is clear that the destructive provocation against the North was not a single and isolated act but was part of a long-range scheme within the policy of provocation and aggression of the U.S. imperialists against our entire country. It was an integral part of their policy of "limited war" or "special war" in the South of our country.

As the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys saw themselves being defeated in the South, they became enraged all the more and carelessly provoked and attacked the northern part of our country. The so-called "new incident in the Gulf of Tonkin" that they set up on the night of 18 September is clear proof of this U.S. imperialist scheme. Their mentioning that "the incident was considered closed" is aimed at distracting our people and army's attention. Our people recognize that the resistance of the people in the South to the American aggressors and their lackeys will continue and become increasingly decisive. The U.S. military forces used in the provocation and destruction in North Vietnam are spread out and are ready to undertake new and cruel actions against our people in the North.

The policy of the imperialist and reactionary forces against our people's revolution is destruction, defeat, then

destruction, then defeat again until total defeat. Hence our people in the North must be more aware and ready to fight and eliminate all destructive and provocative schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in our beloved land in North Vietnam. Our people in the North must be determined to work for peace, to identify closely with the holy war of our people in the South, and to defeat the U.S. policy of aggression and provocation in our entire country.

During his tour of "clarification" in Europe, in order to fool these countries, [Henry Cabot] Lodge always mentioned that "the objective of the United States was peace and not war" and that "the United States is trying to find a political and not military solution." But he then said that the situation in South Vietnam is optimistic and that the United States hopes to win militarily. On 9 September during his return to the United States to find a plan to deal with the Vietnamese situation, [General Maxwell] Taylor never ceased to praise the lackey Nguyen Khanh and declared that the United States will continue the war against the Vietnamese people in the South. Right after that [President Lyndon] Johnson and [Defense Secretary] McNamara made a joint declaration that "the South Vietnamese situation is improving (?) and that the United States is determined to continue the war in South Vietnam." The magazine Newsweek on 21 September 1964 disclosed that during [Maxwell] Taylor's return to Washington, the United States government directed that the immediate U.S. policy in South Vietnam must consist of a systematic cleaning up within the capital and the spreading of this "oil-spot" campaign into other battle areas, before any stable government can be installed in support of Khanh.

The U.S. belligerents also laid plans to spread disorder and confusion on the "Viet Cong battleground" by increasing inspection of the frontiers while "not disregarding the bombing of strategic points of the Viet Cong." This revelation by the American press uncovers the aggressive, savage, and stubborn nature of the U.S. imperialists. They have talked about the decisiveness of our people's war in the South. But they also have said that the aggressors and traitors were harassed from all sides by our people in the South and that the city of Saigon was no longer the peaceful backyard of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

Senator Clifford P. Case disclosed that in a confidential communique, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara

suggested that the United States proposes to consolidate the American forces in South Vietnam and that it will apply the military and aggressive methods it used in Berlin and Cuba.

Not only did it consolidate its forces, but it also increased them to a most serious extent. Over 60 planes, from jet fighter types to heavy transport types, were sent to South Vietnam immediately after their bombing of North Vietnam on 5 August. Furthermore, the U.S. government openly declared that 5,000 additional American troops were sent to South Vietnam. Recently, after having staged the provocation in the Gulf of Tonkin on the night of 18 September, it increased the number of bombers in South Vietnam.

Ignoring the ever-increasing opposition of world progressive opinion and ignoring the bitter defeats in all fields in the past, the American aggressive imperialists continue to find all means to carry on their criminal war against the South Vietnamese.

With regard to Cambodia, the forces of the American imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam continued to conduct armed violation of the frontiers and territory of this country. They even used chemicals, dropped napalm bombs, and visited much destruction on the Cambodians. Recently they armed the Khmer Sray group of Song Ngoc Thanh, and planned to use these to carry out their provocative and aggressive acts against the people and government of the Cambodian Kingdom.

As for the Kingdom of Laos, in addition to using their lackeys to create and intensify the civil war in this country, and to move into the areas liberated by the forces of the Pathet Lao and patriotic neutralists of Laos, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam openly used South Vietnam as the stepping stone for aggression against Laos. They sent airplanes based in South Vietnam to bomb the liberated areas and brought in the American "special forces," those of their lackeys in South Vietnam and Taiwan to counteract the patriotic forces in Laos.

In the American imperialistic strategy in South Vietnam and Indochina the dangerous, long-range scheme is to try to bring in the United Nations to interfere in the affairs of the Indochinese states, using the United Nations to achieve their aggressive aims under the cover of international intervention by military or political means.

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The experience in Korea, the Near East, the Congo, and, recently in Cyprus, illustrates that the U.N. machinery was and is dominated and used by the U.S. imperialists to cover up the interference and aggressive policy of the United States. With determination our government and people has unmasked and opposed any U.S. scheme to bring in the United Nations to interfere with the problems in South Vietnam as well as in other countries in Indochina.

The Only Escape Road

In order to get out of their impasse and trap, and to regain power in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists sent their best officers and politicians here. They sent [General Maxwell] Taylor, "the best American general," and A. Johnson, "an outstanding diplomat." These two came here during the most critical times to find a solution in accordance with their belligerent policy.

However, shortly after the arrival of Taylor and Johnson, the tide of the fight against the United States rose higher everywhere. Parallel to the speed-up of guerrilla activities in the countryside and mountain areas, the political struggle of the townspeople at all levels against the American aggressors and Nguyen Khanh's military dictatorship gave the American imperialists many headaches. Antagonistic groups rose up and fought against one another for power. Coup succeeded coup and ushered South Vietnam into a new critical situation. In these troubled days the United States-Khanh government became powerless and no longer was able to control the situation. Despite the efforts of the Americans to negotiate in order to maintain the dictator Nguyen Khanh in power, the events did not subside but dragged on and even [General Maxwell] Taylor himself had to admit that "it was impossible to have military success in the near future."

Speaking of the present crisis in South Vietnam [Joseph] Alsop lamented that Johnson's sending of Taylor to South Vietnam was predestined to be a hopeless, miserable failure.

The imperialists United States thinks that it can come out of the impasse by bringing the fighting to the

North, or by increasing the number of troops or officers, or by changing lackeys. However, they are wrong! Serious defeat and crisis among the Americans and their lackeys in the South are not caused by any particular officer, but are basically due to the US. policy of aggression and provocation which was met by the opposition of 14 million courageous and determined people in the South with the wholehearted support of their fellow-countrymen in the North and with the agreement and encouragement of the progressive peoples in the world.

The conflict between the South Vietnamese and the US imperialists with their lackeys will never be resolved according to the wishes of the US. As long as US aggression remains in that area, the people's struggle against the US continue.

So long as the US imperialists entertain dreams of aggression in the South, and so long as the social conflict exists the US cannot avoid total defeat regardless of the schemes invented by the US, and the temporary setbacks and sacrifices it causes. The decisive and final victory belongs to the heroic and long-remembered people in the South.

The appeal of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on 14 September 1964 was the trumpet call which encourages and urges the people in the South to stand up and take advantage of the opportunity to gain greater victory.

It was also a strong warning to the American aggressive imperialists. It points out to them that the only escape road lies in soon learning the lesson from history, respecting the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, stopping their aggressive war in South Vietnam, withdrawing all troops, arms, and military equipment from South Vietnam, and leaving the South Vietnamese people to plan their internal affairs according to the program and policies of the National Liberation Front.

Because of their stubbornness the US imperialists will never abandon their aggressive desires voluntarily. Each coup was an occasion for their lackeys in South Vietnam to attack one another, and their reactionary forces thus have become weaker.

If the series of crises of the ruling regime in the South are the steps leading to the final collapse of American

imperialism in this country, they are also an occasion to create conditions favorable for the people to step up the patriotic struggle and to bring the revolution to a new stage.

If the US imperialists and their lackeys refuse to learn a lesson from past defeats and stubbornly continue to plot criminal aggression against the people in the South, the latter will undoubtedly go on inflicting heavier defeats and finally will expell them from the land.

The determining factor in the development of the South Vietnamese situation is not US arms and dollars but our people in the South. The people's strength is unequalled.

Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the people in the South will stand with courage and determination against the US imperialists and their lackeys. The just struggle of the people in the South receives the joint support of the 17 million people in the North and the progressive peoples in the world, and will destroy all of the dark schemes of the US imperialists.

Having survived the two resistance wars against the French imperialists and the present one against the US, the heroic people in the South, thoroughly experienced and highly proficient in warfare, will be victorious in the end.

The people in the North always follow and support wholeheartedly the struggle of their 14 million fellow-countrymen in the South. They also warmly support the establishment of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as part of the solution of the problem of South Vietnam. The people in the North are striving to raise their level of awareness and are ready to stamp out all provocative and destructive schemes of the US imperialists and their lackeys, to protect socialism in the North.

They also provide a solid support for the just and patriotic struggle of their fellow-countrymen in the South and firmly believe in the ultimate victory and liberation of the people in the South and the reunification of the Fatherland by the entire population from north to south.

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