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16 June 1971

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 957

Hoc Tap, No. 4, 1971



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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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## ACCELERATE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION TO DEVELOP INTO LARGE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 1-13]

Early this spring, our Party Central Committee held the 19th plenary conference to discuss and decide the tasks relating to the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation, acceleration in building the economy, and strengthening the socialist forces in the north. Particularly at this conference, the Party Central Committee spent much time discussing and solving problems concerning agricultural development in our country.

After reviewing the various aspects of the collectivization and agricultural production movement, the Party Central Committee asserted that during the past 10 years, agriculture in the north has scored great, important achievements. The basic achievements of historic significance in the rural areas and in agriculture are that socialist production relations in agriculture have been established and are being improved and consolidated step by step, that the agricultural labor force has initially been re-organized and redeployed, material and technical bases are being built, and much progress has been made in applying science and technology to agriculture. During the years when the war of destruction was raging, despite the fact that the U.S. imperialists dropped more than 1 million tons of bombs and bullets on the dikes, bridges, ricepaddies, and villages, not only was agriculture in the north basically stabilized, but it continued to develop in a number of areas. Examples of successful production and management and high output in many kinds of crops have been ever more numerous. Remarkable is that an ever greater number of areas have averaged 5 or 6 tons of unhusked rice per hectare per year and spring rice and other new rice seeds are opening fine prospects. The collective farmers have grown strong, thereby strengthening the political and moral unanimity among our people and making the worker-farmer alliance ever firmer and steadier. Obviously, our collectivized rural areas have firmly maintained production under fierce war conditions and despite repeated natural calamities, thus worthily contributing to defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, to consolidating the great rear, and to fulfilling the duty to the great frontline.

These achievements are the initial bases that are creating conditions for the gradual advance by North Vietnam's agriculture to large-scale socialist production in the years to come.

These achievements also indicate that the collective farmers are very revolutionary, place absolute confidence in party leadership, and, for the "interests of the country and people," are determined to build cooperatives and to develop agricultural production even under the extremely difficult conditions caused by natural calamities and by the enemy.

These achievements are also striking proof of our party's correct and creative line on collectivization and the development of agriculture.

In the Soviet Union, agricultural collectivization was carried out when that country had great mechanized production. The proletarian state helped the farmers by providing them with farm machinery. This method succeeded in persuading the farmers to follow the path of great socialist production.

Thus the success of the agricultural collectivization was initially due to the existence of material and technical bases. In our country, we have carried out agricultural collectivization under the conditions of a backward economy, small production, and undeveloped industry. In this situation, our party has advocated not waiting until agriculture is sufficiently supplied with machinery before it proceeds to agricultural collectivization. However, to carry out collectivization strongly, firmly, and steadily, our party has advocated that the reform of production relations must go along with the development of production forces and that attention first of all must be paid to combating natural calamities and to rationally organizing and assigning the labor force in order to expand production. That is why the "collectivization goes along with irrigation" slogan was raised by our party from the outset. Irrigation has a very great effect on the agricultural collectivization in our country. It is a very important condition for insuring the success of the collectivization movement. In leading the agricultural collectivization movement, our party has promptly adopted proper policies and measures to enable it to progress step-by-step. These policies and measures involve enlarging the cooperative scale; improving cooperative management and improving techniques in order to consolidate and perfect production relations; intensively strengthening the material and technical bases for cooperatives; establishing regulations for agricultural cooperatives; and carrying out the campaign to develop democracy and strengthen the cooperative members' right to collective ownership in order to accelerate agricultural production and make agriculture a basis for industrial development.

In carrying out these policies and measures, our party has relied on the farmers' great revolutionary enthusiasm and abilities and on rural party organizations to accelerate collectivization and build a socialist agriculture at a time when we have not yet achieved modern industry. In

view of the conditions in our country, it is an error if we fail to fully realize the farmers' great revolutionary capabilities and fail to encourage them to follow the working class in adopting a spirit of self-reliance, and building cooperatives in order to advance toward socialism. On the other hand, it is necessary for us to fully realize the role of the proletarian dictatorship state in guiding agricultural production and the technical improvement of cooperatives. Specifically, it is necessary to pay attention to using industry to serve agriculture, building the material and technical bases, and equipping agriculture with new techniques.

The process of launching and building the recent collectivization movement has indicated even more clearly that in order to advance small, backward agricultural production to large-scale socialist production it is necessary to firmly adhere to the proletarian dictatorship in order to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions -- the revolution in production relations, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution -- of which the technological revolution is the key. If we fail to thoroughly understand this policy and concept in launching and building the collectivization movement and boosting agricultural production, we cannot insure the correct implementation of party policy toward the rural areas, in general, and, agriculture, in particular.

In reality, many of us did not clearly and correctly understand the aforementioned issues from the outset. As a result, in the process of organizing and carrying out agricultural collectivization, along with our glorious achievements, we still have many weaknesses and shortcomings. The Party Central Committee conference this time has clearly pointed out: Agricultural production has been developed slowly and has not satisfactorily met the needs of the people. Production of raw materials and exported agricultural products, which depend on agricultural production, still remain basically weak with small-scale production and low labor output.

These weaknesses and shortcomings have both long-term and immediate causes. The long-term causes are:

-- In gradually advancing from small, backward agricultural production to large-scale production, we lacked, right at the outset, a stable, strong material and technical base. Our national industry still remains poor and is unable to equip agriculture with new techniques. Moreover, scientific and technical levels and the economic organizational and managerial capability of our cadres and the masses is low. Consequently, the strengthening of the new production relations and the development of the agricultural production forces has encountered many difficulties.

-- We are building socialism at a time when our country is poor and the people's standard of living very low. As a result, we have encountered very great difficulties. We were concerned with accumulating our capital at the outset while paying attention to insuring and gradually raising the people's standard of living.

-- The continuous war of aggression against our country has greatly affected the development of our national economy and the improvement of the people's living standard. At the same time, it has left serious consequences requiring much time and effort to overcome.

These objective, long-term reasons have affected agricultural development and the collectivization movement. This is a truth that cannot be underestimated. However, while realizing these difficulties, we should not disregard personal shortcomings, because these personal shortcomings increase difficulties and limit successes. The Party Central Committee conference has clearly analyzed and pointed out our shortcomings in various aspects. One matter worthy of discussion is that because a certain number of party committees, chapters, and comrades did not thoroughly understand the policy of economic development and the role of agriculture at the outset, they did not clearly realize the requirements of comprehensively developing agriculture and gradually advancing to large-scale agricultural production. They did not understand the requirements of the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country and they have not fully complied with the party resolution on agriculture. The fact that party line has not been implemented by specific policies, economic development plans and positive and effective organizational measures has affected production development and the development of the collectivization movement. Worse still, it has led to certain cases that have created negative tendencies.

Basing themselves on the spirit and content of the resolution of the 19th conference of the Party Central Committee, all echelons and sectors must review the activities of lower echelons and draw the necessary conclusions enabling them to change the situation in the shortest time.

On the basis of its evaluation of North Vietnam's present agricultural situation and the demands put on agriculture by the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation and socialist construction, the Party Central Committee conference has decided that the objectives and trend of agriculture in the immediate future will be to attempt to fully develop agricultural production along with practicing intensive cultivation and one crop cultivation in delimited areas in order to gradually advance toward large-scale socialist production. The urgent tasks of agriculture will be to basically solve the food problem, expand food production, and quickly turn animal husbandry into a main sector; expand the cultivation of industrial crops in order to solve the clothing problem, supply industry with more raw materials, and supply export with more agricultural products; and enlarge handicraft sectors, trades, and units in the countryside and in agricultural cooperatives.

To carry out these tasks it is necessary to bring about a revolutionary change in cultivation and animal husbandry -- in particular cultivation in different regions -- and gradually specialize production in the delta on the basis of establishing production guidelines for each province, district, and cooperative, thus creating areas high in yield and



output. Simultaneously, it is necessary to create new economic areas in the midlands and mountain region in order to expand cultivation and animal husbandry along large-scale socialist production lines and endeavor to quickly increase labor productivity and the output and economic results of cultivation and animal husbandry.

It has been by carrying out the tasks and adhering to the guidelines mentioned above that we have brought about the present revolutionary change in the collectivization movement and agricultural production. In the past, a number of cadres and party members held the view that organizing farmers in cooperatives and centralizing land and cattle for collective work was the sum and substance of agricultural collectivization. This was a great error. Organizing individual farmers in cooperatives in order to establish socialist production relations is a very important task. But it is not the sole revolutionary requirement of agricultural collectivization. Agricultural collectivization consists of transforming individual production relations into collective production relations, building the agricultural workers' collective ownership, preventing spontaneous capitalist development in the countryside, and, at the same time, opening the way for transforming small production into large-scale socialist production. Agricultural collectivization is comprised of these two tasks, the primary one being transforming small production into large-scale socialist production. Under the specific historic conditions of our country, agricultural collectivization has developed along the following line:

It began with the socialist reform of agriculture in organizing farmers in cooperatives and encouraging them to engage in collective work; transforming the individual ownership of production materials into the collective ownership of production materials and changing independent farmers into collective farmers, the true owners of the countryside and fields. This was a big leap forward and a great reformation of economic, political, and social life in the countryside.

After the establishment of socialist collective ownership relations, it was necessary to guide cooperative members in concentrating their efforts on advancing collectivized agriculture from small to large-scale production, from one-crop to variegated production, and from low to high output. The real revolutionary content of agricultural collectivization lies in the fact that it can develop the superiority of collective work methods over individual work methods through increasing labor productivity, cultivation and animal husbandry output, and the production of agricultural products in order to satisfy the increasingly greater demands of cooperative members, cooperatives, and the state. This is a truth that Lenin often referred to: "Labor productivity is the most important and fundamental factor in insuring the success of the new social order. Capitalism has achieved unprecedented labor productivity under its system of serfdom. Capitalism can be and will be totally defeated because socialism has achieved a new and much higher labor productivity." (Lenin: "Great Initiatives," Selected Works, Vol 2, Part 2, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, page 213)

Advancing agriculture from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a complex process of revolutionary change filled with hardships and involving many aspects. In this process, the effect of industry upon agriculture has a particularly important role. Under the situation in our country, this revolutionary change, generally speaking, will have to come about in 2 stages:

While the amount of our agricultural capital and farm equipment is still small and while the capability of central and local industry to aid agriculture is still limited, we advocate, on the basis of reorganized and redeployed collective labor, setting forth new guidelines for production and making efficient land use, using primarily common and improved tools in coordination with some mechanized tools and widely applying modern water conservation and fertilizer processing techniques and new-seed strains in order to create initial leaps in yield and output. The present advanced cooperatives and good and exemplary production units prove that our agricultural collectivization can achieve this stage of development.

The next stage will begin when our national industry has developed vigorously and when our capability to supply capital and materials to agriculture can satisfy the need to move agriculture down the path of modernization and conduct agricultural business under the form of joint agricultural-industrial enterprises.

At present, if our collective agriculture is not advanced to a large-scale production, it will be unable to satisfy the ever-increasing requirements of the people, or become a base for developing industry, for satisfactorily carrying out local logistic tasks and for steadily serving national defense. That is why the Party Central Committee 19th conference pointed out: "We must strive to develop agriculture totally, vigorously, and steadily and gradually advance it to large-scale socialist production in an active and systematic manner." This guideline must be thoroughly understood in all agricultural policies of the party and the state and must be clearly manifested in all concrete measures in order to push forward the various agricultural production sectors. In considering agricultural development in North Vietnam over the past years, we clearly realize that our agriculture has not been comprehensively, vigorously, and steadily developed. The reason is the unsatisfactory solving of the food problem. In reality, food production and comprehensive agricultural development affect each other. It would be an error, however, if the food problem were solved before comprehensive agricultural development is taken care of. With the rich natural resources of the DRV and the reorganized peasant forces, if we know how to satisfactorily organize production and efficiently use the labor force we will be able to solve the food problem while comprehensively developing agriculture. Moreover, the comprehensive development of agriculture would create favorable conditions for boosting food production, and for making contributions to solving the food problem. The difficulties of many localities in solving the food problem and comprehensively developing agriculture over the past years have different causes. However,

as pointed out by the Party Central Committee 19th conference, the main reason is the fact that our collectivized agriculture is still in a state of small-scale production. As a result, agriculture cannot be developed in a comprehensive, vigorous, and steady manner and, therefore, the food problem also cannot be solved quickly and easily. Therefore, in order to comprehensively develop agriculture and to satisfactorily solve the food problem, there is no other alternative than to advance our national agriculture from a small-scale production to a large-scale socialist production.

In order to comprehensively develop agriculture and achieve large-scale agricultural production, our agriculture must have an efficient economic structure including various production branches with large-scale one-crop and intensive cultivation and must possess the necessary material and technical bases and new technical equipment to insure high labor output and a high percentage of exported products. Comprehensive agricultural development does not mean haphazard production. Comprehensive agricultural development must be in accordance with the characteristics of each production area or else there will be one one-crop production area, no high labor productivity, and no high percentage of exported products.

In comprehensively developing agriculture, we must not only pay attention to carrying out intensive cultivation on the 2 million hectares of farm land, but we must also pay attention to the 16 million hectares of land in the north in order to develop agriculture in the three zones (the lowlands, midlands, and highlands). To fully take advantage of the strong points of all localities, to build a comprehensive, vigorous, and steady agriculture, and to develop the capacity of a tropical agriculture. We must promptly open 2 million hectares of cultivated land, and actively build the new economic areas in the mountainous regions in order to cultivate industrial crops and to carry out animal husbandry in line with large-scale socialist production, with appropriate organization, and with sound deployment of manpower and the use of machinery and tools. This is very important because a satisfactory solution to these problems might not only bring about economic improvement but it might also have political and national defense significance.

In comprehensively developing agriculture, we must simultaneously concentrate all efforts on solving the food problem in the coming years. The solving of the food problem is the main task of agriculture. This would not only insure the people's standard of living and satisfy the people's armed forces food requirements but also has a relation to our independence and autonomy.

The situation and ability of our collectivized agriculture at present permits us to reaffirm that we are fully able to solve the food problem so as to satisfy domestic requirements. The acreage of our rice-fields is large. The source of our labor forces is abundant. Although the material and technical bases in our agriculture still remain weak, we can, with our new ability, try to further strengthen those material and technical

bases and pay attention to satisfactorily using them, thus securing the development of food crops. Moreover, after many years of applying various technical measures to cultivate the paddy and secondary crops, cadres and cooperative members have learned how to gain high output. Therefore, we possess favorable conditions and abilities to solve the food problem. The 19th conference of the Party Central Committee has clearly pointed out that in order to solve the food problem it is necessary to determine the important paddy and secondary-crop production areas, to devise a sound investment plan, and to promptly increase the crop and labor productivity and the percentage of goods. Our immediate tasks are to maintain and expand paddy acreage with high and stabilized output, to swiftly build the important paddy areas, and to concentrate on solving the necessary problems so as to carry out intensive cultivation, to increase the paddy output by fulfilling and overfulfilling the "5 or 6 tons of paddy and 2 crops per hectare" norm, and to create a main source of food and goods for the state. Other localities must strive to solve their own food problems. Moreover, it is necessary to endeavor to reduce or give up the paddy areas that have gained less than 4 tons of paddy and 2 crops per hectare, and, at the same time, to develop the secondary-crop production areas that have high output and that have sufficient equipment in order to make active contributions to improve the amount of food. Actively improving the people's food, actively developing the secondary crops as well as animal husbandry, and processing, distributing, and preserving foods are measures of revolutionary significance that contribute to initially solving our food problem. We also must continue exporting a certain number of agricultural products that we have favorable conditions to develop in order to trade them for foreign foods. This is a normal development in the economic field.

In comprehensively developing agriculture, it is necessary for us, of course, to attach importance to developing industrial and secondary crops. This is the issue of fully using the agricultural land, and of developing the advantage of the mountainous regions and taking advantage of the tropical weather, in order to create many raw materials for national industry and for exporting or exchanging for foreign equipment or other necessary things such as cotton. We must base ourselves on the efficient management of farm land, on determining production areas, on applying the rotation-cultivation system in conformity with the peculiarities of each locality and throughout the four seasons, and on implementing the policy of comprehensively developing agriculture, so as to rapidly increase the acreage of annual industrial crops. At the same time, we must coordinate our actions with the building of new economic areas, so as to expand the acreage of long-term industrial crops in the midlands and in the highlands and increase the industrial crop outfrom from 10 to 12 percent of the total value of agricultural output.

The Party Central Committee 19th conference made an important decision on turning the animal husbandry branch into a main production branch. The elevation of the animal husbandry branch to a main production branch, the increasing development of the material and technical bases, and the

increasing specialization of the labor force along with increasing outputs are essential requirements for transforming our one crop cultivation agriculture into a comprehensive agriculture. With the development of animal husbandry, we can transform the agricultural products of low value -- including subsidiary agricultural products -- into products of high nutritive value, such as meat, eggs, and milk, in order to improve the people's meals. Only by developing animal husbandry can we supply industry with more meat, hides, hair, bones, hooves, and horns for processing them into goods for export and to be exchanged for machinery. Only by developing animal husbandry can we supply cultivation with more fertilizer and simultaneously insure that cultivation has sufficient draft animals so as to make up for the fact that our agriculture does not have many tractors. Only by turning animal husbandry into a main production branch can we efficiently use land and attract a number of available workers from cultivation -- especially from rice cultivation -- in order to make agricultural production more varied and at the same time intensify the application of new labor allocation methods in the countryside. Turning animal husbandry into a main production branch is an urgent struggle that requires that we change our concept of the role of animal husbandry and animal raising formula as well as organizational measures and the policies of investment and prices in a way consistent with new requirements. It is necessary to strongly develop the collective herd of cooperatives and the state-owned herd and simultaneously encourage and help families to engage in animal breeding. For the time being, it is necessary to strongly develop hog production and build the initial bases for raising hogs in order to quickly develop the hog herd both qualitatively and quantitatively, so as to achieve the norm of two hogs per hectare of cultivation land, or a higher norm in those areas that produce more than 5 tons of paddy per hectare.

In addition to reserving land for animal husbandry, it is necessary to invest more money to buy food and food processing machines, build the producing and processing branch for animal feed, especially in those areas where animal husbandry is being conducted on a large scale. It is necessary to build bases where pure-blood or mixed-blood pigs are developed. In districts -- especially districts in the delta and the middle region -- it is necessary to build bases where good species of animals will be developed in order to supply cooperatives and individual peasants with good stock. It is necessary to develop the buffalo herd, restore the cattle herd, and interbreed and quickly create a cow herd. It is necessary to develop the raising of domestic fowl into an important food producing branch, encourage the raising of various species of domestic fowl and domestic animals and develop the fish-raising branch everywhere.

To comprehensively develop agriculture and to gradually advance agriculture toward socialist production is aimed at rapidly boosting the production of agricultural products for export to be exchanged for important machines and technical equipment for various branches, especially the Agricultural Branch, in order to develop production. This is a very urgent requirement and a very effective measure for achieving capital accumulations

in the initial stage of socialist industrialization in our country. It is necessary to move toward making the products of agriculture and the handicraft goods of rural subsidiary industries be the greater part of the total amount of goods to be exported per year. To this end, it is necessary to organize production in such a way that a large amount of goods is available for export and that all criteria regarding quality and specifications of goods are reached. Moreover, it is necessary to carefully study the foreign market in order to work out an elaborate production plan and to carry out close leadership over the production of export goods that can bring profits to our country.

In sum, truly developing agriculture in the spirit of the resolution of the 19th Party Central Committee conference is truly making initial forward progress with regard to labor output and total production. This revolutionary change in agriculture will enable the Agricultural Branch to satisfy the people's daily needs, to contribute toward defeating the U.S. aggressors, and to become a base for industrial development.

To achieve this revolutionary change in the cooperativization movement and in agricultural production, all party committees and various administrative branches from the central to the lower levels must thoroughly understand the spirit and content of the resolution of the 19th Party Central Committee conference and must be determined to act and win success. The struggle to implement the above agricultural line, trend, and tasks is a great, profound, and seething revolutionary struggle which reflects the basic aspect of the current struggle between the two paths in the countryside. Therefore, to understand and achieve this revolutionary change, it is necessary to hold fast to proletarian dictatorship and to strongly develop the working people's right to collective ownership so as to simultaneously carry out these three revolutions: the revolution of production relations, the technical revolution, the pivotal one, and the ideological and cultural revolution.

In the struggle to implement the above agricultural line, trend, and tasks, we must, on the one hand, depend on the superiority of the new production relations and collective labor to strongly engage in the technical revolution, to struggle to change the small producers' way of trading and thinking, and to gradually advance toward large-scale socialist production. On the other hand, we must develop the helpful, positive role of the state in capital investment and make industry have a strong effect on agriculture through the creation of new material and technical bases and equipment to strongly develop the production forces and to advance agriculture toward large-scale production.

The state will improve its agricultural policies and will boldly adjust irrational policies in order to emphasize the duties of cooperatives and collective farmers toward the state. Meanwhile, the state will encourage the cooperatives and collective peasantry to enthusiastically participate in production, be thrifty, sell large quantities of agricultural

products to the state, improve the management of cooperatives, achieve technical improvement, one-crop cultivation, and intensive cultivation, and develop the trades in the correct direction.

To develop agriculture comprehensively, strongly and steadfastly and to gradually advance agriculture toward large-scale socialist production is not only a separate undertaking of the collective peasantry but also a common undertaking of our working class, party, and socialist state and of all branches and echelons. For this reason, all party echelons and administrative branches must strive to service agriculture on the basis of their duties and functions.

To enable agriculture to develop in accordance with the line, trend, and objectives set forth by the 19th conference of the Party Central Committee, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the problem of consolidating and strengthening agricultural cooperatives and state-owned agricultural production bases. Concerning the latter, it is necessary to improve their management, and satisfactorily use their technical equipment, labor force, and land in order to develop their production and to supply industry and export with a large quantity of products. Simultaneously, it is necessary to develop their exemplary effect and their assistance to agricultural cooperatives -- especially in the fields of supplying cooperatives with seeds and species of domestic animals, and experiences on management of large-scale production, on management and use of new and improved machines and tools, on application of new techniques, and so forth. Concerning agricultural cooperatives, it is necessary to clearly realize that the development of agricultural production in the north depends upon the stability of 23,000 agricultural cooperatives. Thus, we must endeavor to consolidate cooperatives and actually turn them into props for developing agriculture. We must actively heighten the managerial level of cooperatives; we must be concerned with building production teams, developing democracy, and strengthening the collective ownership system of cooperative members. We must train and improve a body of cadres who are clever, who have good political qualities, who possess scientific and technical knowledge, and who know how to manage a collective economy. It is necessary to urgently organize and streamline the agricultural committees of various levels so that they can help party and administrative committees of various echelons keep a firm hold on and closely lead agricultural production and the agricultural cooperativization movement. Now, it is necessary to satisfactorily conduct an investigation on the management situation in various cooperatives and step up the summarization of the experiences of advanced cooperatives in different regions in order to help cooperatives determine a production trend consistent with the production trend of each region and the production conditions of each locality, apply scientific and technical methods, improve their management, and quickly disseminate the typical cases of good production and good management.

To consolidate and strengthen agricultural cooperatives, it is necessary to insure that cooperatives correctly implement the statute of

high-level cooperatives, draw up their internal regulations, and fully develop the cooperative members' collective ownership right in the following fields: labor productivity, distribution, management of property, elections, making management a habitual task, and eliminating the small producers' habit of working when they please.

It is necessary to resolutely struggle against and continue to correct the errors of unprincipled character such as taking ricefields or other properties of the state or cooperatives and turning them into one's private property, entrusting all tasks to peasant families and wantonly distributing work points, incorrectly using the undivided capital of cooperatives, and incorrectly applying the "remuneration according to labor" principle in cooperatives. It is necessary to resolutely combat embezzlement, waste, bureaucracy, and the habit of making false reports. It is necessary to resolutely struggle against the forms of exploitation which are reviving in the countryside -- such as usury, exploitation of workers, and so forth -- in order to eliminate them. Only by helping cooperatives manage their production and trade activities and acquire the habit of working according to plans is it possible to develop the collective economy and make the profit provided by the collective economy the major part of the cooperative members' income.

The consolidation and strengthening of cooperatives must not be separated from the consolidation and strengthening of the leading ability of basic party organizations, which is aimed at making the chapter the core of the party's leadership over cooperatives and causing party members to lead cooperative members in production and combat and set good examples for cooperative members to follow by correctly implementing various policies and fulfilling their duties toward the state. The strengthening and building of the party's basic organizations in the rural areas must be closely associated with the political task. This means that we must, through the masses' feverish revolutionary struggle to implement the resolution of the Party Central Committee 19th plenum, heighten the party members' quality and increase the leadership and organizational ability of various levels of party committees and party organizations.

The revolution is the masses' undertaking. Each step in revolutionary development is the result of fierce struggles. Ordinary efforts cannot reverse the situation. Therefore, the rural areas must now satisfactorily carry out three drives -- to step up production and practice economy, to develop democracy and strengthen the masses' and cooperative members' system of collective mastership, and to heighten the party members' quality -- turn these three drives into a high tide of seething revolution, and lead the collective peasantry toward successfully implementing the resolution of the Party Central Committee 19th plenum in order to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and step up socialist construction in North Vietnam.

CSO: 3909-F



LE DUAN READS A SPEECH HAILING THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

[Speech by Le Duan; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 14-17]

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Vietnam Workers Party and the entire Vietnamese people, we warmly greet the 24th Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we wish to convey, through you, to the entire membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class and the fraternal people of the Soviet Union the best greetings of the communists, working class and people of Vietnam.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded and led by Lenin over 53 years ago won victory for the October Revolution, the greatest revolution, which established the first proletarian state and opened a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the liberation of the working class, of the laboring people and the oppressed nations, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The glorious victory of the heroic armed forces and people of the Soviet Union saved mankind from the disaster of fascism, and created favorable conditions for the formation of the world socialist system, and for the development of the workers' movement and the national liberation movement on all continents. The first country to build socialism, the Soviet Union is also the first to build communism and the first to usher in the era of man's advance into the cosmos.

The Soviet Union's wonderful achievements in all fields have helped increase the potential of its economy and national defense, important contributions to the strengthening of the socialist forces and the world revolutionary movement now on the offensive, providing great encouragement to the peoples of various countries in their struggle against imperialism and for the basic objectives of our times -- peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Like the working class and the oppressed nations in all the five continents, the communists, the working class and the people of Vietnam will remain forever grateful to the party of the great Lenin and to the heroic Soviet people.

Dear comrades,

The U.S. imperialists are conducting in our country a war of genocide of the most barbarous kind. It is the "longest, fiercest, most difficult" war in the history of the United States, and also the biggest war since World War II. They hope, by means of violence, to crush the Vietnamese revolution, subjugate South Vietnam, invade North Vietnam, impose their neo-colonialist rule on our people, make Vietnam the testing ground for their strategies, tactics and weaponry, apply lessons drawn in Vietnam to the repression and quenching of the movement for national independence, and, at the same time threaten the socialist camp in order to insure for the United States the role of the international gendarme.

After the very heavy blows dealt them by the Vietnamese people and armed forces in the general offensive of spring 1968 and the complete defeat of their war of destruction against North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were forced to sit down at the negotiation table at the Paris conference. However, since Nixon came to power, the U.S. imperialists have shown themselves to be even more obstinate, bellicose, and crafty. While producing the so-called "peace initiative" to fool the public they try to carry out their "Vietnamization" of the war plan which essentially is the prolongation and expansion of the war for a military victory to perpetuate their occupation of South Vietnam.

Persisting in their vain hope to win military victory in South Vietnam, Nixon and his entourage have recklessly extended the war to Cambodia and stepped up their "special war" in Laos, thus kindling the fires of a concerted resistance by the peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

Recently, they threw tens of thousands of U.S. and Saigon puppet troops into a large-scale aggressive operation along highway 9 and in the liberated zone of southern Laos, and at the same time, with extremely dangerous moves of war escalation in mind, threatened to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The frenzied calculations of the U.S. aggressors, however, received a thunderous blow from the Lao People's Liberation Army. This big military adventure by the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings was totally defeated.

The war of aggression started last year against Cambodia as well as the recent military adventure taken by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in Saigon and Phnom Penh against the liberated zone in north-eastern Cambodia have also sustained lamentable setbacks. The glorious victories won by the liberation armies of Vietnam and Laos on the Route 9 front, and by the Khmer Liberation Army in Kratie and Kompong Cham, marked

a serious setback in the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization" of the war strategy and the "Nixon doctrine."

Obviously, the way the situation in all parts of South Vietnam and in the Indochina battlefield as a whole has unfolded is quite unexpected to the United States. The more frantically the United States squirms, the deeper it sinks in the morass, and the heavier setbacks it will incur.

The Vietnamese people have expressed their attachment to peace in the four-point stand of the DRV government, the ten-point overall solution, and the eight-point elaboration of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam at the Paris conference. The United States must stop its aggression in Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina, withdraw its troops and those of its satellites quickly, completely, and unconditionally from South Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina, and leave the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina alone to settle the internal affairs of each country without foreign interference.

As long as the U.S. imperialists have not yet given up their wicked design of aggression, the Vietnamese people, acting upon the sacred testament of their beloved and respected President Ho Chi Minh, will fight unflinchingly till final victory, to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. As long as the U.S. imperialists continue to intensify their war of aggression in Indochina, the three Indochinese peoples are resolved to stand side by side and coordinate their fight to win a joint victory over the common enemy. Neither the "Vietnamization" of the war plan and the "Nixon doctrine," nor any other war move, can help the United States avoid total failure of its scheme to bring the fraternal Vietnamese, Lao, and Khmer peoples to their knees.

The holy war of resistance of our people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has smashed an important link in the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the U.S. imperialists, contributing to enhancing the superiority of the world revolutionary forces in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and to the defense of the socialist camp and world peace. The Vietnamese people are resolved to fulfill their sacred national mission and their noble international obligation to the people of all countries.

Our victories in the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation are closely linked to the vigorous support and great assistance from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movements, the national liberation movement, and progressive and peace forces all over the world, the American people included. We take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude to all our brothers and friends on the five continents.

In the present era, with the might of the world socialist system, with the resolute rising of the peoples, the strong development of the international workers' movement, and the awakening of the whole mankind, no imperialist force whatever can rule the roost. The criminal war of the U.S. imperialists, an unjust and immoral war which runs counter to the evolution of human society, is doomed to complete failure.

Dear comrades,

In the war of resistance against the French colonialists as well as in the present fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and socialist construction, the Vietnamese people have always received the heartfelt support and great and valuable assistance of the Communist Party, government, and people of the Soviet Union. Since the U.S. imperialists started their war of aggression in South Vietnam and their war of destruction against North Vietnam, the Soviet Union has unswervingly stood on the side of the Vietnamese people. The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union solemnly declared its solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Workers Party and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and firmly demanded the United States to stop its war of aggression and pull all U.S. and satellite troops out of South Vietnam. At this congress, we have been deeply moved by the warm and cordial statements of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who once again reaffirmed the resolute support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union toward the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. This support strongly inspires the people and combatants throughout our country to march forward to win new and bigger victories, and at the same time, deepens the feelings of the Vietnamese people toward the fraternal Soviet people.

Please allow me to express once again, on behalf of the Vietnam Workers Party and the Vietnamese people, our deep gratitude to the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union for their precious support and assistance in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Long live the great friendship and militant solidarity between our two parties and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Splendid success to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

CSO: 3909-F

## HISTORIC VICTORY, TREMENDOUS PROGRESS

[Article by Trung Dung; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 18-29]

After many days and nights of fighting continuously and very heroically, resourcefully, and skillfully, the heroic fighters of the Laotian People's Liberation Army on the southern Laos front, with the excellent coordination of the South Vietnam liberation troops on the Khe Sanh front, won complete victory in the historic military campaign. They completely defeated the Lam Son 719 operation launched by the U.S.-Saigon puppet clique to invade southern Laos.

This historic victory has enraptured the three Indochinese peoples and has gladdened brothers and friends throughout the world. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are panic-stricken and confused.

The aggressive operation into southern Laos was a major adventure by Nixon to remedy the Vietnamization strategy, which is facing bankruptcy. It was part of Nixon's extremely stubborn and aggressive design aimed at winning a military victory in a war of aggression that is being bogged down and stalemated. The objective of the military operation, as announced by the U.S.-Saigon puppet clique, was to "cut the key supply routes and destroy the surrounding strategic supply network of the adversary," to weaken the resistance of the Indochinese peoples, and change the war situation in favor of the Americans. Through this reckless operation, Nixon wanted to prove the success of the Vietnamization plan and the effectiveness of the Nixon doctrine in order to prepare the way for his presidential reelection in 1972.

To insure certain victory, Nixon concentrated great efforts on making careful all-round preparations for the operation. He mobilized a large military force of about 45,000 men, including U.S. and puppet paratroops, rangers, marines, and cavalry and armored units. More than 20,000 troops, most of them from the puppet reserve forces, were sent to fight on Laotian territory in combat coordination with a large U.S. Air Force and part of the

U.S. troop strength. The U.S. aggressors resorted to those main combat methods and tactics that they consider as most successful. In the meantime, they launched the "Toan Thang 1/71" [Total Victory January 1971] operation involving 20,000 Saigon puppet troops, to attack the north-eastern area of Cambodia. All Phnom Penh puppet troops and Thai soldiers from the (?Plei Mei) and Pakse bases attacked on the western side of Route 9 and the Bolovens high plateau in order to coordinate their actions with those of the southern Laos operation. The U.S. aggressors also used ruses and diversionary tactics to divert the adversary's attention. Along with military acts, the Nixon administration actively and noisily carried out a psywar campaign in an effort to systematically distort and cover up its heavy setbacks on the battlefield. The U.S. aggressors used reconnaissance aircraft to harass and strike at the northern part of Vietnam, thereby threatening DRV territory.

Nixon's staff chose the offensive plan and time that it considered most effective and appropriate. It planned to prolong the aggressive operation until the beginning of the rainy season, that is, early May 1971. The operational plan, as announced by the U.S.-Saigon puppet clique, was divided into many steps. First, the enemy troops would attack and occupy Sepone and then advance deeper into Laotian territory. They would, circumstances permitting, reach the provincial city of Savannakhet.

However, the aggressive operation into southern Laos developed entirely contrary to Nixon's calculations and the U.S.-Saigon puppet staff's plan. They suffered tragic, complete defeat. The Route 9-southern Laos troops and people won a glorious victory.

The victory of the Route 9-southern Laos troops and people is of great, special strategic significance in the military and political domains. The influence of this historic military campaign has gone beyond its scope both in space and time. This victory is exerting and will continue to exert a strong effect on the general situation of the resistance struggle of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

The Route 9-southern Laos troops and people won an all-round victory and outstandingly fought a large, annihilating battle, defeating the overall strategic objectives and intentions of the U.S.-puppet operation. They have fulfilled their strategic plan by annihilating a large enemy force, by firmly and steadily protecting the liberated areas, by firmly maintaining smooth communications and transportation, and by stimulating the resistance struggle to advance. General Abrams' strategy of striking at the adversary's supply bases with a large U.S. strategic and tactical air force -- measures which had been unsuccessful previously -- went bankrupt, even though a large ground force was used in support of these measures.

Along with destroying a large, seasoned force and a great quantity of modern war materiel of the U.S.-puppet clique, the Route-9 southern Laos

troops and people defeated the enemy's combat and tactical measures that were used as a prop for his military strategy. The Route 9-southern Laos troops and people have bankrupted the puppet troops plus U.S. Air Force formula of the Americans' Vietnamization strategy. The victory of the Route 9-southern Laos troops and people has changed the balance of power in an increasingly favorable manner for the Indochinese peoples and in an unfavorable manner for the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The strategic offensive position of the resistance struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia is becoming more and more firm. The U.S.-puppet clique is sinking more deeply into a passive strategic position throughout Indochina.

The great victory of the Route 9-southern Laos troops and people and the victory of the Cambodian troops and people in smashing the Toan Thang 1/71 operation by the U.S.-Saigon puppet clique are an important step forward defeating the U.S. Vietnamization strategy in the military field, and dealing a deadly blow at the Nixon doctrine in Indochina and the U.S. imperialists' aggressive designs. An important part of the Saigon puppet army's strategic reserve force -- a key to the Vietnamization strategy -- was destroyed. This force was badly mauled in southern Laos. This disaster is shaking the entire puppet army -- from the regulars and main forces down to the civil guards and militiamen. It is accelerating the bankruptcy of Nixon's Vietnamization strategy, from the rural pacification program down to the enemy's various strategies and plots aimed at consolidating the puppet administration and repressing the urbanites' struggle movement. It is shaking the foundation of the Nixon doctrine being applied in Indochina, which consists of using the Saigon puppet troops as the core for the puppet forces of the Americans. The annihilating blows dealt at the Saigon puppet troops prove that the most seasoned Saigon main forces cannot stand up against the liberation troops. The Americans' greatest efforts to increase the puppet army's efficiency are in vain. The Vietnamization strategy, which consists of replacing U.S. troops with puppet troops is extremely subjective and illusory.

These facts lead to the conclusion that if Nixon and company persist in seeking military victory with their Vietnamization strategy, the U.S.-puppets cannot avoid being militarily defeated because of this reckless strategy.

The special communique of the Lao People's Liberation Armed Forces Command pointed out that the great victory in southern Laos is: the brilliant victory of our correct and creative political and military lines, our clever leadership over strategy and operations, and our superior military art; the brilliant victory of our intense patriotism, our deep hatred for the country-grabbers and country-sellers, and our determination to make the greatest sacrifices and contributions for the sake of the independence and freedom of our fatherland and our noble international duty; the brilliant victory of the invincible power of the militant solidarity bloc -- which is as firm as the majestic Truong Son Mountain -- and the brotherhood



-- as immense as the Mekong River -- of the fraternal Lao and Vietnamese peoples and the fraternal Indochinese peoples; the victory of the wholehearted, very efficient, and strongly encouraging aid of the DRV -- the great rear, the firm base of the resistance of the Indochinese peoples; and the victory of the precious aid, sympathy, and support of the socialist countries and peace-lovers the world over. This victory is a new step in the greatly significant development of an armed struggle in conformity with the rules of the inevitable development of revolutionary war. It stimulates the enthusiasm of the Indochinese troops and peoples, their pride, their confidence, and their determination to develop their victories and achievements in order to achieve greater ones.

1. The brilliant victory on Route 9-southern Laos is the victory of the clever and sharp leadership of the people's war strategy and operations, of mutual understanding, foresight, correct decisions, and of constantly taking the initiative.

This leadership originates in the correct and creative political and military line, the superior military art of the people's war, the thoroughly revolutionary stand, the spirit of revolutionary offensive, and the determination to completely defeat the U.S.-Saigon puppets' military operation, a most typical military operation of Nixon's Vietnamization policy. This leadership manifests itself in a concentrated manner through an accurate assessment of the enemy, the making of right decisions, and a scientific, careful, flexible, and rapid organization of military operations in order to achieve all the objectives of these operations and outstandingly fulfill all tasks.

A correct assessment of the strategic plots and activities of the U.S.-puppets in their Vietnamization strategy in general and in their aggressive operation against southern Laos in particular is an important condition leading to the complete victory of the Route 9 operation.

Since it was compelled to adopt the Vietnamization strategy, the war-like Nixon clique, which is extremely reactionary and stubborn and very subjective by nature, has persisted in launching desperate counterattacks in the hope of acquiring a "position of strength" and a "victorious position" from its obviously weak and defeated position. Despite the fact that it has been compelled to de-escalate the Vietnam war, it has persisted in prolonging and extending the war throughout Indochina. Although it has been compelled to gradually and partially withdraw U.S. troops, it has advocated leaving in the south a sizeable U.S. force to support its intensive efforts to strengthen the puppet army and to use it as an assault army in the Indochina war. Although it has had to assume defensive positions throughout South Vietnam, it has frenziedly conducted sweeps, attacked the liberated areas, and carried out the extremely cruel pacification program, while seeking every means to disrupt its adversary's logistical supply movement and to block our rear base's support for and assistance to our frontline. Although it has been completely defeated in its war of



destruction against the north, it has persisted frenziedly in carrying out extremely serious acts of war against the northern part of our country, while concocting new military adventures.

In exerting strategic leadership, the liberation forces have been able to see through the enemy's designs and accurately assess his capabilities and schemes because they have firmly grasped the rules governing the enemy's activities in the new period and have made a very scientific assessment of the strong and victorious position and the strategic initiative of the Indochinese peoples' resistance and the enemy's defeated, weak, and precarious situation on all battlefields.

Basing themselves on an accurate assessment of the enemy's capabilities and on the rules governing the revolutionary war, the liberation troops engaged in the campaign have forged the correct, accurate determination to completely frustrate the enemy's military adventure, win the greatest victories, and advance toward completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and driving them out of the Indochinese Peninsula. This determination has been reflected in the spirit of standing ready to take the initiative in resolutely attacking and annihilating the enemy -- whenever, wherever, in whatever form, and with whatever strength he may come -- in order to firmly protect the resistance bases. This determination has been based not only on an accurate assessment of the enemy's capabilities, but also on a comprehensive assessment of the capabilities and favorable conditions of the resistance. The liberation forces have taken all necessary measures to make all the forces of various armed branches engaged in the campaign -- from the cadres to the combatants and from the staff agencies to the combat units -- deeply imbued with determination and with their duties. As a result, a strong moral and ideological unanimity and a unanimous agreement on the tactics to be adopted have been achieved before and throughout the campaign. To successfully bring this determination into full play, the liberation forces rationally resolved the ideological, organizational, tactical, and technical problems, the problem of preparing for launching the offensive, and the problem of providing logistical support for the campaign. This determination has motivated the liberation troops to advance with the greatest strength toward winning total victory in the resolute test of strength in southern Laos.

The liberation forces' skillful and effective strategic leadership over the campaign has also been lucidly demonstrated by the fact that they have held the initiative from the beginning to the end, have surprised the enemy, have continuously and resolutely developed their offensive position, and have created and seized opportunities to annihilate the enemy more and more extensively. In exerting strategic leadership over the entire campaign, the liberation forces have firmly grasped the rules governing the enemy's activities, have detected in time the modifications that he made in his operational plans, and, thereby, have forced the enemy to react in accord with their intention, have adopted tactics in a flexible and creative way, have relentlessly attacked the enemy, and have repeatedly won

victories. The liberation troops' initiative and unrelenting, vigorous offensive have forced the enemy to react confusedly from beginning to end. The liberation troops have deprived the enemy of the initiative -- not only in the entire operation, but also in each of his offensives and in each battle -- and have forced him to rapidly move from an offensive position into a passive, defensive position in which he has sustained growing losses and, in the end, has had to abandon the objectives of his operation and to make a ragged retreat during which he continued to be annihilated. With clear leadership, the liberation troops developed a strong offensive posture, overwhelmed the enemy, succeeded in checking the enemy's advance, destroyed the enemy forces in big chunks, and finally advanced to destroy the enemy main forces at Ban Dong, thus ending the campaign with a glorious victory.

With firm leadership of both strategy and operations, further capitalizing on the strategic errors of the enemy, and disclosing in time and taking advantage of the enemy's errors during military operations, the liberation forces have further driven the enemy into confusion and setbacks.

Western newspapers have correctly stated that the decision to invade southern Laos was a great strategic error by Nixon. This error was the result of a series of strategic errors of the Americans and is part of their general errors in the Vietnamization strategy. Based on very subjective strategic designs, Nixon and his clique have always overestimated the strength and capability of the Saigon puppet troops and have underestimated the strength and the capability of the opponent. In the old days Johnson and Westmoreland made a mistake in overestimating the strength of U.S. forces in the local war. Today in the Vietnamization strategy, Nixon and Abrams have also made a mistake in overestimating the puppet forces' strength. Of course these strategic errors have led to a series of other errors by the U.S. puppet clique in the course of their military operations.

Being well aware of the activities of the enemy, the liberation troops have quickly realized the tactical and operational errors of the enemy, firmly maintained the initiative, and created or taken advantage of favorable conditions to destroy the enemy. As a result the liberation troops have caused the enemy to be caught in one surprise after another. Indeed the enemy is not only surprised by the vigorous offensive capability of the opponent -- especially the determination to fight and win, the combat ability, and the overwhelming strength of the liberation troops -- but also by the powerlessness and quick disintegration of the most seasoned units of the Saigon puppet main forces despite great U.S. air and artillery support.

The enemy did not expect that the military operation that they were sure to win would quickly turn into a bitter defeat and an every-man-for-himself withdrawal. This military operation has obviously reflected the

sharp contradiction between the correct, scientific, tactical, and offensive nature of the strategic leadership of the liberation armed forces, and the subjective, adventurous, and passive nature of the U.S.-Saigon puppets' leadership. The methods of leading the revolutionary war have proven themselves to be superior to and have defeated the methods of leading the aggressive war.

2. The Route 9-southern Laos great victory was a brilliant victory of the "determined to fight and win" spirit of the liberation troops who, united millions as one man, were eager to score victories and to upset the enemy by resolutely launching attacks.

In this historic military campaign, this determination to fight and win was highly developed and brilliantly manifested in the vigorous offensive to overwhelm the enemy during the whole process of the campaign. With a wonderfully creative, resourceful, and brave spirit, with a high determination to endure hardships and overcome difficulties, a unity of minds, and a sense of strict discipline and organization, the liberation troops achieved close combat coordination and took the initiative in attacking and overwhelming the enemy. They launched successive attacks and won successive victories. The more they fought, the greater their victories, and finally they succeeded in smashing the enemy to score complete victory.

The "determined to fight and win" spirit of the Route 9-southern Laos armed forces and people was the result of their thorough awareness of the tasks in the present phase, especially the objectives, significance, and tasks of the military campaign. It was also the result of their determination to score the greatest victory, to completely defeat the enemy's aggressive operation, and to strongly step up the resistance. With this determination, the liberation troops set numerous examples of revolutionary heroism in brilliant acts of combat and in serving combat, thus brightening the nation's tradition of stalwart, unyielding struggle. In all units and military branches, from the infantry, antiaircraft artillery, armored force, engineer, transportation and communication troops to the seasoned troops and combat-serving units and from the regular troops to the regional forces on the forefront and in the rear, there were numerous examples of heroes who collectively or individually scored glorious feats of arms. With this determination, the local people and assault youths bravely overcame all difficulties and hardships, enthusiastically participated in supply and transportation operations, wholeheartedly served the frontline, and worthily contributed to the common victories. This "determined to fight and win" spirit was coordinated with high agreement on combat and tactical requirements and the coordination between the upper and lower echelons, between the cadres and combatants, and among various military branches and forces. This unanimity was the victorious strength of the creative combat methods of the revolutionary war. The effectiveness of these combat methods was very high. They helped create a combat strength and offensive position to defeat the enemy's basic tactical maneuvers. With this high unanimity and coordination, the liberation troops heightened their brave, stalwart

fighting spirit and their wonderful resourcefulness, overcame all trials and the heavy firepower of enemy aircraft and artillery, rapidly laid sieges, successively launched vigorous attacks, dealt swift blows to neatly annihilate the enemy, and defeated one enemy tactic after another. With this high unanimity and coordination, the liberation troops highly developed the effectiveness of all military branches and techniques available, creatively applied and developed all combat methods and tactics, developed the combined combat strength of all military branches, fought many outstanding battles, scored numerous victories, and won complete victory in their campaign.

The deep cause and solid foundation of the liberation troops' "determined to fight and win" spirit in this historic military campaign was their warm patriotism and deep hatred for the country-sellers and land-grabbers, their determination to make sacrifices and to struggle for the fatherland's independence and freedom and for the sake of the noble international obligations and the nation's tradition of stalwart, unsubmitive struggle; because this "determined to fight and win" spirit has been tempered in the process of a protracted revolutionary struggle, the liberation troops could gain an extraordinary strength that frightened the enemy. This was a decisive factor of success and a remarkable achievement in this historic campaign.

3. The glorious victory on the Route 9-southern Laos front is the success of the art of fighting with the combined strength of the mobile forces in coordination with the local troops, of the various armed branches, and of the three troop categories in applying many new, diversified fighting methods and outstandingly carrying out the (?law) governed combat in major battles. This victory proves the power and the tremendous maturity of the liberation troops in heroism, bravery, intelligence, skill in applying tactics, and superior combat abilities.

The victory in this military operation of staging major battles brings into prominence the following points in the creative fighting art of the liberation troops:

a) The combination of the fighting strength of the mobile forces and the local forces created a general strength that could stage major battles.

Acquiring and developing their initiative, the local forces had previously resisted frequent air strikes and other acts of sabotage by the enemy, had firmly and steadily protected the liberated areas, had insured smooth communications and transportation, and had strengthened the position of the local resistance struggle.

Making full use of and developing upon the advantageous offensive position created by the local forces, the mobile forces gained the initiative in attacking the enemy in the entire operation and in each battle.

The continuous attacks through the combined strength of the various armed branches enabled the mobile forces to firmly maintain and continually develop that initiative throughout the operation. In the battles fought outstandingly and continuously, the mobile forces completely destroyed enemy troops, controlled the battlefields, captured POW's, and seized weapons, thereby making it impossible for the enemy to counterattack or to cope with the situation in time. Many large enemy units were destroyed and many big chunks of the enemy's operational formation were disintegrated, enabling the mobile forces to destroy the main enemy forces in Ban Dong and prompting the enemy to flee in disorder, even though he still had reserve forces.

Developing their initiative, the local forces could, in time, fight the enemy forces as soon as they staged attacks. As a result, the enemy's aggressive offensive was violently counterattacked and the enemy lost his initiative from the outset, thus creating conditions for the mobile forces to fulfill their function as the hard-hitting force and to stage the resounding battles with the combined fighting strength of the various armed branches.

The close coordination between the mobile forces and the local forces in this operation helped the liberation troops win the initiative of attacking, dividing, and encircling enemy forces in the entire operation and in each battle, create a position of strength, stage continuous and ever bigger battles, and completely defeat the enemy operation.

b) Tremendous progress was made by the liberation troops in applying the unique, creative method of combat coordination among the various armed branches on the basis of the comprehensive, highly developed operational coordination, which was reflected in the close coordination among the troop columns, the various directing elements, the three-troop categories, and the different offensive prongs. On the basis of this operational coordination, the liberation troops were determined to apply the method of combat coordination among the armed branches and to strongly develop its effect. As a result, they obtained excellent results in this operation.

The infantry, antiaircraft artillery, and armored forces, the crack troops, the engineer and signal forces, and other troops of the liberation armed forces were closely coordinated in order to create a strength with which to overwhelm the enemy during the whole process of the campaign. The combined combat strength of the various military branches of the liberation armed forces was built on the basis of unanimity on the campaign tasks, combat objectives, and combat methods, on the basis of the "determined to fight and win" spirit, the spirit of positive and active coordination, and the sense of discipline and organization on the basis of the balanced development of all military branches and units, and on the basis of raising the organizational and command level by a new step.

Under these conditions, the liberation troops created and developed the art of coordinated combat in line with numerous flexible combat methods. By fully developing the combat strength of various military branches, they could launch successive strong attacks of great significance.

During the whole campaign, this art of coordinated combat helped the military branches stage very fierce attacks to smash the enemy, who was vigorously supported by aircraft, artillery, and tanks. Moreover, it helped develop the power of the liberation troops' weapons and techniques and reduce the power of the enemy's modern weapons and equipment.

The liberation troops flexibly applied coordinated combat methods. They launched coordinated attacks on enemy strongholds and against the landing troops and the enemy's main corps at Ban Dong. They coordinated their mobile forces with the local troops. They coordinated the minor, medium, and major attacks as well as the heavy weapons with the light weapons. They coordinated their forces when they were concentrated and when a small force was used to oppose a great force.

In the important battles, the liberation troops' art of coordinated combat helped them to highly develop and closely coordinate the powers of their fighting spirit, combat capacity, weapons, and equipment.

c) By coordinating their numerous brave, resourceful combat methods, by developing their strong points, and by preventing the enemy from developing his strength, the liberation troops bankrupted the enemy's basic combat tactics. If their advantageous strategic position was a condition for them to score and develop upon victories, the advantages of the campaign helped them develop the effectiveness of tactics.

In this campaign, the liberation troops applied numerous combat methods to frustrate the U.S.-puppets' main tactics. They defeated the enemy tactic of moving a sizable force by helicopters and of providing firepower support. In many battles, they tightly encircled or grappled with enemy troops, prevented helicopters from picking up retreating troops, cut the enemy's air supply routes, and decimated his helicopter force in the operation.

The liberation troops smashed the enemy tactic of using tanks and armored vehicles as a main assault force by destroying this entire force. Unable to open the road for troops, the enemy's armored vehicles had to concentrate at Ban Dong in order to retreat. However, they were all destroyed.

The liberation troops defeated the enemy tactic of setting up bases on hills. First, they destroyed the bases of battalions, with their solid fortifications and then the bases of regiments. They destroyed almost all enemy artillery positions by applying numerous combat methods, thus



restricting the firepower of nearly 200 artillery pieces in their support of the infantry force.

The liberation troops applied many other creative combat methods to encircle, divide, and annihilate the enemy troops. They coordinated minor, medium, major attacks, struck at the enemy on the forefront and in the rear, attacked his command organs and communications lines, coordinated combat with troop-recruitment, and so forth.

Due to the close and flexible coordination of numerous combat methods, the combat capacity and strength of all forces participating in combat were highly developed.

The liberation armed forces used many different tactics according to battle conditions, terrain, and the opportunities at hand. They might apply the same combat method in two consecutive battles, but with different tactics. They scored continuous successes. The creative application of many tactics increased the efficiency of the fighting. These combat methods and tactics, coordinated with and assisting each other, brought into full play the strong points of the liberation armed forces and limited the strong points and increased the weaknesses of the enemy.

In the course of the operation, the liberation armed forces also versatily changed tactics in keeping with every opportunity and situation and, whenever the enemy changed his tactics, found suitable combat methods to defeat him. By combining different combat methods and by developing varied tactics, they brought the element of surprise to the operation and increased their capability to engage in heavy combat in both the tactical and operational aspects. It was due to the bankruptcy of his fighting method that the enemy could not make a comeback from his overall failure.

d) The great victories in lower Laos marked the liberation armed forces' development by leaps and bounds in all areas. With very great gallantry and resourcefulness and with determination to fight actively, versatily, and unceasingly, the liberation armed forces fought with high combativity, exerted pressure upon the enemy, and, especially, made important progress in coordinating the combat of the armed branches and in launching large-scale combat to annihilate battalions, brigades, and regiments. They even annihilated two brigades in one battle. Also, combat support forces made rapid progress, thus contributing worthily to the victories. This was one of the surprises for the enemy.

This progress occurred because of our very proper and creative policies on building revolutionary forces and on the success of building our political and ideological background and tactical art and of insuring materials and technological measures. This is the outcome of combat and revolutionary war development in gradually defeating the successive strategic plans of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression. It

is the result of very great effort by all cadres and combatants in every armed branch and troop category on all the battlefields, on the frontline, and in the rear.

4. The great victories on the Route 9-lower Laos battlefront were victories in the art of building and developing a position of battlefield superiority, of organizing them, and of insuring logistics for a large-scale operation in a mountainous area.

The victories marked important progress and great achievements in building and developing a position of battlefield superiority, in organizing them, and in insuring logistics and technological support for a large-scale operation with large troop concentration on a mountainous battlefield despite the enemy's fierce harassment. Building and consolidating their position of superiority, the liberation armed forces satisfactorily solved many problems on grouping forces, insuring mobility, insuring thorough leadership and communications and liaison, insuring secrecy for plans, and standing ready to fight the enemy.

Therefore, organizing battle operations and insuring logistics not only fully serves combat demands, thus making decisive contributions to constantly developing the potential and strength of each force -- especially of each of the modern armed branches to attack and annihilate the enemy in coordinated combat on an increasingly large scale -- but also insures satisfactory fulfillment of our need to become stronger while fighting.

The success in developing the combat position and in insuring proper logistics occurred because of properly setting up battle strategy for the revolutionary war. As revealed by the experiences in the revolutionary war, it is necessary to create an offensive position in accordance with realities in order to exterminate the enemy. If this offensive position is properly built, there will be more favorable conditions for exterminating the enemy.

By developing their superior position and by rationally deploying the local forces in the liberated areas under a unified command, the liberation armed forces created for themselves a very advantageous battle position. In this position, the mobile forces, in coordination with the local forces, could take the initiative in strongly attacking the enemy and in encircling and annihilating him from the beginning to the end of the campaign.

This success was due to the liberation troops' understanding of the objectives and determination of the campaign and that all forces were mobilized to develop their combat position and insure that all material and technical conditions were met. It was because the liberation troops held fast to their objectives in deploying their forces, in preparing combat plans, and in insuring the mobility of troops and supply operations on the basis of foreseeing all contingencies even the enemy dispatching



troops to the liberated areas. These conditions also require high mobility on the battlefield and solving logistics problems.

It was the complete understanding of the nature of the campaign that made the armed forces and people on Route 9 highly develop their activeness, determination, and resourcefulness in solving many organizational problems on the battlefield, thus greatly contributing toward strongly developing the battlefield initiative of the PLAF.

In making preparations for and developing this great campaign, the mobilization of forces to insure logistics was a complicated task that required much skill. This was not only the responsibility of various guiding echelons, leading organs, and specialized forces, but was also the common mission of all the forces among the armed forces and people. The results of this task were a manifestation of good mobilization and ingenious organization. They were also a vivid expression of the great potential and strength of the masses once they had been thoroughly motivated and satisfactorily and rationally organized.

5. The glorious victories on Route 9 and in southern Laos were due to the success of the close combat coordination among the various battlefronts, the combat solidarity of the three Indochinese peoples, and the close relationship between the rear base and the frontline.

The U.S. imperialists hoped that their brazen military adventure in southern Laos would weaken the resistance war of the three Indochinese peoples.

This was a very dangerous new war intensification in Indochina and a very insolent challenge to the combat solidarity of the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples.

Accepting this challenge, the three Indochinese peoples immediately dealt the enemy many fierce blows. Being fully aware of their responsibility for the fate of their own nation as well as that of the three Indochinese countries and clearly understanding the perfidious maneuvers and passive position of the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples tightened their ranks and heroically moved forward in a very favorable strategic position on the Indochinese battlefields. They developed their victorious position and staged vigorous, relentless, and widespread attacks on all battlefields from Cambodia and South Vietnam to northern Laos so as to coordinate their actions with the armed forces and people on Route 9.

From this fierce contest of strength emerged the imposing picture of the great combat solidarity of 50 million Indochinese people who remain faithful to the solemn oath made at the Indochinese People's Summit Conference: "Stand shoulder-to-shoulder in order to win victories and exterminate the common enemy." When the enemy first deployed his forces in northern

Quang Tri, heightening their spirit of holding the initiative and their spirit of coordination, the South Vietnamese liberation troops on Route 9 dealt the enemy troops, that served as the springboard for the operation, fierce initial blows and later continued to repeatedly and fiercely attack enemy rear units.

In coordination with the guns of victory of the southern Laos armed forces and people, the Khmer armed forces and people, developing their offensive stance, won glorious victories, defeated the Saigon and Phnom Penh U.S.-puppets' operation Toan Thang 1/71 in northeast Cambodia, foiled their plot to encroach on the liberated areas and to harass the base of the revolution, destroyed a sizable enemy force, and forced them to suspend their operation. The great victory of the Cambodian armed forces and people was harmoniously coordinated with the Route 9-southern Laos victory causing the enemy's mobile forces to become weaker, more scattered, and more deeply embedded in a passive stance on all battlefields.

From Quang Tri to Ca Mau, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, coordinating attacks with uprisings, hit hard at the enemy's pacification scheme, attacked many enemy positions, bases, and communications lines, and scored numerous great victories. The people in cities stepped up the political struggle movement, confusing the enemy and causing him many difficulties.

As for the northern Laos armed forces and people, they launched vigorous attacks and scored successive victories, frightening the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

Never before have the Indochinese peoples achieved such beautiful combat coordination as in this historic campaign. The cooperation between the rear and frontline was very close, and the rear's assistance and support was made more strong than ever before. The U.S. imperialists' plot to weaken the Indochinese people's resistance was dealt a mortal blow. Along with their great defeat in southern Laos, they have suffered heavy losses and their situation has become more endangered on all battlefields.

The victory of the Route 9 campaign was related to the great assistance and support extended by the fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of friendly peoples in the world, including the Americans, for the three Indochinese peoples.

The Route 9-southern Laos victory demonstrated the hard fact that to unite in the struggle against the common enemy is a source of invincible strength and a decisive factor for success of the three Indochinese peoples' resistance movement. Since the 50 million people of Indochina are closely united, support and assist each other wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability, coordinate their attacks, and are resolutely struggling to the end for independence and freedom, they can gain great

strength with which to defeat all aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists.

The historic victories of the Route 9-lower Laos operation were comprehensive, very great, and very fundamental. They were an outcome of the common efforts of the entire armed forces and people. From the fighting forces to the forces that supported combat needs on the battlefields, millions as one, they resolutely overcame difficulties and rushed forward to win great victories.

These glorious victories constitute a great pride for the three Indochinese peoples and progressives throughout the world, have greatly encouraged the Indochinese people's revolutionary spirit, and have opened beautiful prospects and created favorable conditions for advancing toward complete victory over the U.S. aggressors.

The U.S. imperialists are in danger in Indochina, and their difficulties are increasing in the United States and the world. However, being extremely stubborn and bellicose, they are unwilling to relinquish their dark aggressive designs. They plan to continue and prolong the war, harbor cruel and crafty schemes, and are plotting new adventures in the hope of avoiding failure. On the basis of thoroughly understanding the nature and schemes of the enemy, we are determined to concentrate efforts on rushing forward to win new victories; encouraged by the historic battlefields, our entire armed forces and people throughout the country, standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the fraternal Laotian and Cambodian peoples, are determined to carry out President Ho's sacred testament, to persist in and step up the resistance, to heighten their determination to fight and win, and to move forward, in order to win total victory, liberate the south, defend and build the socialist north, advance toward the peace of a unified country, and fulfill their international obligations. The Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples will certainly win total victory; the U.S. aggressors will certainly be completely defeated.

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## A WORK OF VALUE ON THE LIFE OF PRESIDENT HO

[Article by The Tap; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 30-39]

On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the birth of the loved and respected President Ho and carrying out the resolution of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau, the Party Historical Research Department of the Party Central Committee has edited the book "President Ho Chi Minh" (a summary of his life and work).\*

The book, the first to present the whole life of President Ho from childhood to death, consists of nine chapters.

Through simple, dignified prose, the author systematically presents the thinking and revolutionary policies of President Ho, pointing out the milestones in the change of his ideology from patriotism to socialism. Due to its limited framework, the book does not go deeply into every facet of President Ho; however, it does clearly show the fundamental points of his strategic and tactical line, the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions of Vietnam, and the policy of the national democratic revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. This revolutionary line helped enrich the theory of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, was an important contribution to the world revolution, in general, and the national liberation movement, in particular.

One important matter thoroughly presented by the author in each chapter is the basic factors which led President Ho

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\* Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970.

to devote himself to creating, fostering, and insuring the total victory of the Vietnam revolution.

A suitable portion of the book is devoted to the revolutionary ethics of President Ho expressed in his coordination of the thorough revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism with the most excellent traditions of the Vietnamese people. President Ho, a brilliant example of thorough revolutionary spirit, struggled throughout his life for national liberation, the liberation of the classes, the liberation of mankind, as well as for independence, liberty, socialism, and communism.

The life and work of President Ho Chi Minh were closely joined to the most glorious historical stage of the Vietnam revolution and the most feverish period of struggle of the world revolution. Beginning with the first chapters, the book leads us along the path of hardships followed by President Ho, pointing out the basic changes in his thinking which occurred during the process of his search for the correct revolutionary road for the people of Vietnam.

Born and raised in the family of a patriotic Confucian scholar with roots among the farmers in an area where the people had for generations waged an arduous struggle against the severities of nature and were possessed of a tradition of heroic struggle against foreign aggression, President Ho, under the deep influence of the strong patriotic movements which took place across the breadth and depth of our country during the early years of this century, "quickly developed the desire to drive off the French colonialists and liberate his countrymen." (1)

Clearly realizing the ineffectiveness of the policies and methods of the patriotic movements which had broken out in succession ever since the French invaded our country, President Ho, through a selection based on both his feelings and reason, chose a new direction, one different than that followed by the patriots of his time.

As soon as he stepped off the Admiral Latouche Treville late in 1911, President Ho began a struggle filled with hardships, experiencing many years of painstaking study and living a life both extremely noble and rich. In his nearly 30 years of wandering around the world, President Ho changed his name many times, earned his living at many trades, both manual and mental, and was sentenced to death by the French colonialists and banished to numerous prisons, yet, he always maintained his revolutionary optimism and

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1. All segments in quotation are excerpts from "President Ho Chi Minh" (a summary of his life and work).

his will to struggle in the hope of carrying out his noble dream.

President Ho made very many trips through Europe, Africa, America, and Asia, seeing firsthand the shamefully cruel conditions existent within capitalist society. He went to many of the French imperialists colonies and clearly saw that those who had lost their country had also been made slaves. From this, he drew an important conclusion: the working class and working peoples of all countries became his friends and imperialism everywhere, his enemy.

The Russian October Revolution, which broke out like the light of dawn shattering the darkness of night, decisively influenced the life and activities of President Ho. It was at that time that he, through his talent and revolutionary activities, met the pressing needs of our nation's history by early adopting Marxism-Leninism, finding in it the light illuminating the road of salvation for our country and people and opening a new horizon to our people's revolutionary undertaking.

With his 8-point demand sent to the Versailles Conference in 1919, President Ho emerged as the famous Nguyen Ai Quoc. In 1920, together with outstanding members of the French working class, he participated in the founding of the French Communist Party at the Tours Congress; this was an important ideological step forward in the life and activities of President Ho and the history of the Vietnam revolution as well.

Under the light of the resolutions of the Communist International, particularly Lenin's "Report on the National and Colonial Questions", President Ho's political ideology and policies gradually took shape with each successive stage of the struggle. As the first Vietnamese to accept Marxism-Leninism, President Ho creatively applied it to the specific conditions of our country, thus revealing the correct revolutionary road for the people of Vietnam.

President Ho clearly recognized the close relationship between the revolution in the colonies and the revolution of the proletariat in the suzerain state, considering it an inseparable part of the world revolution of the proletariat. In emphasizing the importance of the strategy of the colonial revolution, that is, that it must be parallel to the revolution of the proletariat in the imperialist countries and cannot be considered as subordinate to the revolution against the suzerain state, he said: "Capitalism is a leech with one sucker on the proletarian class in the suzerain state and another on the proletarian class in its colonies. To kill it, we must cut off both suckers at the same time. If we only cut off one, the other will continue sucking the blood of



the proletarian class, the leech will continue to live, and the cut-off sucker will grow back."

In the press and at the rostrums of many international conferences, particularly at the 5th Conference of the Communist International (July 1924), President Ho criticized the thinking on the part of a number of worker parties in Western Europe of placing light emphasis upon the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries at that time. Under these circumstances, President Ho's activities were of great significance in the struggle to protect Lenin's viewpoint on the questions of nationalities and colonies and an important contribution to strengthening the fighting unity between the working class in the suzerain state and the people of the colonial and vassal states. He said: "The fate of the world proletarian class is largely dependent upon the colonies, the places supplying grain and soldiers to the large imperialist states. To defeat these states, we must begin by depriving them of their colonies." In mentioning the revolutionary determinism of colonial peoples, President Ho emphasized that oppressed nations must above all rely upon their own forces to gain true independence and liberty; the Vietnamese must liberate themselves.

The realities of the victory of the August Revolution in Vietnam in 1945 proved President Ho's viewpoints to be completely correct: in the age of proletarian revolution and under the influence of the Russian October Revolution, the national liberation revolution led by the working class is fully capable of victory in a colonial and semi-feudal country; this revolution is closely related to the revolution of the proletariat in the suzerain state, but not dependent upon that revolution, to the contrary, it can develop the momentum to win victory before the working class in the suzerain state seizes power.

A talented strategist, President Ho searched for the road of liberation for the people of Vietnam. Ever since 1920, he clearly realized that a national liberation revolution must, in order to gain victory, be a proletarian revolution; national independence cannot be separated from socialism and communism: "Only by liberating the proletarian class is it possible to liberate the nation; these two liberations can only be the undertaking of communism and world revolution." By closely linking the task of national liberation with the task of class liberation, President Ho brought about a decisive change in our country's revolutionary movement.

President Ho revealed the revolutionary line for Vietnam in his work "The Road of Revolution" published in 1927. That road was the one of advancing from a new style capitalist democratic revolution (now called the people's democratic national



revolution) to the socialist revolution without experiencing the capitalist stage of development.

President Ho arrived at the realization early that it was the historical mission of Vietnam's working class, which, although not large, was a thoroughly revolutionary class, to be the legitimate representatives of the interests of the entire nation. Fully aware of the role and power of the class of farmers, President Ho was the first in the history of our country to raise the problem of farmers to a deserving position. After 1920, he presented his viewpoint numerous times, pointing out that in colonial and vassal states national liberation is, in substance, the liberation of the farmers; overturning imperialism and winning national independence must be coupled with overturning the class of feudal landowners and returning the land to the farmers. He earnestly suggested that the Communist International strengthen its organization, leadership, and guidance of farmers in the struggling colonial and vassal states in order to implement the slogan: "All land in the hands of the farmer." President Ho had faith in the invincible forces of the masses and clearly defined who we, our friends, and our enemies are. From its inception, he directed the Vietnam revolution down the correct road, training cadres in both hope and tenacity.

President Ho's work "The Road of Revolution", which laid the foundation of our party's platform and fulfilled the fervent hopes of the working class and people of Vietnam, led to the great historical event of the founding of our party on 3 February 1930. Perfected in "the platform summary", "the strategic summary", and in "the outline of the civil rights capitalist revolution" of the party in 1930, the revolutionary line put forth by President Ho and our party for Vietnam became the radiant light leading our people to victory after victory.

As a leader rich in experience, President Ho was deeply determined, versatile, and brave in his guidance of strategy and tactics. He skillfully applied and coordinated each form of covert and overt, legal and illegal struggle depending on the circumstances of each time and place. During times of difficult challenge, he, never losing sight of his strategic objectives and being both faithful to principles and versatile in tactics, skillfully took advantage of the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy to disperse them, bringing the boat of the Vietnam revolution safely across dangerous rapids to the shore of glorious victory.

President Ho's genius is also seen in his ability to predict and seize opportunity by looking into the future to establish guidelines and win decisive victories. In 1921, he

said: "The people of Indochina have been hiding something which is boiling and roaring within them, and, when the opportunity arises, it will burst forth violently. Those in the vanguard must work to hasten the opportunity's arrival. The cruelty of imperialism has prepared the soil: socialism need only sow the seeds of liberation." In 1924, President Ho predicted that an imperialist war would break out in the Pacific. When our party was founded, he analyzed the contradictions of imperialism and predicted a second world war. When it broke out, and fascist Germany attacked the Soviet Union, he predicted that the Soviet Union's victory would create the opportunity for victories by the revolutions of all countries.

After returning to his country, he actively prepared the political and armed forces of the masses for the opportunity to seize political power. He promptly canceled the uprising scheduled to be launched in July 1944 by the Cao-Bac-Lang Interprovincial Party Committee, thus preventing damage to the revolutionary movement. However, when the opportunity arose, he directed our entire party and all our people to be active, rapid, prompt, brave, and "determined to win independence even if it means burning down the entire Truong Son Mountain Range." President Ho's determination, which reflected that of our party and people, led to the glorious victory of the August Revolution, a model for an uprising to seize political power in a colonial country surrounded by imperialism in all four directions.

To protect the newly formed revolutionary regime, President Ho promptly launched all the people in a full-scale, protracted, and self-reliant war of resistance against the French colonialists who had once again returned to invade our country and the U.S. interventionists. For the first time in history, under the talented and clear-sighted leadership of the party and President Ho, a small, weak colony nation defeated a powerful colonialist country, thus helping step up the process of the collapse of the colony system of imperialism.

President Ho and the Party Central Committee led our people in victoriously concluding the people's democratic national revolution in North Vietnam, overturning the imperialists and feudalists and carrying out the slogan: National independence and land to the tiller. But, our country was still temporarily divided into two regions with different political systems. President Ho and the Party Central Committee defined the two strategic tasks of the Vietnam revolution as building North Vietnam and advancing it to socialism while struggling to unify the nation and concluding the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country.

President Ho said: "North Vietnam must, without fail, advance to socialism. Our most special feature in the transition period is progressing from a backward agricultural country directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development." Our people's most important task is building the material and technical base of socialism, gradually advancing North Vietnam to socialism, and making it the strong base for the struggle which will unify the country. It is the process of the integrated development of the three revolutionary campaigns: the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the technological revolution.

President Ho, who always closely followed each stage of the revolution in South Vietnam, thought day and night of the compatriots and soldiers in the South: "Each day the Fatherland is not united and our compatriots continue to suffer hardships is a day I neither eat well nor sleep peacefully." He explained that the struggle to unify the country would be both long and arduous but surely victorious. To the people of North Vietnam, he appealed: "Each of us must do twice as much work to repay our bloodbrother compatriots in South Vietnam."

United under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam and carrying out the desire of President Ho, the heroic people of South Vietnam arose to smash the restraining yoke of the U.S. imperialists and the lackey puppet regime, defeating the U.S. imperialists' neo-colonialist policy.

When the U.S. imperialists impetuously rushed their troops to South Vietnam and began using their air and naval forces to attack North Vietnam, President Ho and the Party Central Committee built determination to fight and defeat the U.S. under all circumstances: "There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty", "as long as one invader remains in our country, we must continue fighting and chase him off." These sacred appeals by President Ho gave our people additional strength and inspired everyone to overcome each hardship and sacrifice and wage the largest resistance war in our nation's history.

Heightening their revolutionary heroism, the people of North Vietnam continued stepping up socialist construction under the circumstances of a nation at war, continuously strengthened the potential of their economy and national defense, defeated the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against North Vietnam, and fulfilled the obligation of the large rear area to its large frontlines in South Vietnam.

From the great victories scored by our people in the long, extremely challenging and brave struggle, President Ho reached

a very important conclusion: "...under the favorable conditions existing for revolutionary movements in the present age, any nation, regardless of size, which is closely united and determined to fight in accordance with the correct political and military line and which, in addition, has the active support of the socialist camp and the revolutionary peoples of the world, can, without fail, defeat any imperialist aggressor, including their leader, the U.S. imperialists."

Throughout the entire book, we clearly see, in both the strategy and tactics put forth by him and his thorough revolutionary ideology, the great revolutionary undertaking of President Ho which brought the people of Vietnam into the most illustrious age in the nation's history, the age of independence, liberty, and socialism.

As the founder, leader, and trainer of our party, President Ho considered it the primary decisive factor in each victory of the Vietnam revolution. "The party must be strong for the revolution to be successful, just as the pilot must be strong for the boat to sail." Coordinating Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and the patriotic movement in Vietnam, President Ho creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism on party construction to the specific conditions of the Vietnam revolution in order to build our party, a legitimate Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard unit of the working class of Vietnam, one highly combative with tight organization and discipline, close relations with the masses, and devotion to serving the people. He focused his attention upon educating cadres and party members in revolutionary ethics and, at the same time, emphasized the necessity to study Marxism-Leninism and make cadres and party members clearly understand and correctly carry out our party's creative revolutionary policies and measures. He took care to teach cadres and party members that they must keep party unity in their sight as they keep a person in their sight during conversation, thoroughly understand the principles of majority rule democracy in party activities, and conduct regular and harsh criticism and self-criticism.

Challenged in the revolutionary struggle and trained and led by President Ho, our party, always faithful to the interests of the nation and the classes, brandished the banner of Marxism-Leninism, becoming the organizer of each victory of the Vietnam revolution.

While emphasizing the historical mission of the working class as the only class with the ability to lead the liberation of the nation, the classes, and mankind from the ruling yoke of capitalism, President Ho paid full attention to the role and power of the class of farmers in the people's democratic national revolution as well as the socialist revolution.

Because it was one of the several factors guaranteeing the victory of the Vietnam revolution, he took care to build and strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers.

In the people's democratic national revolution, President Ho and the Party Central Committee established the correct relationship between the national and democratic questions and between the tasks of resisting imperialism and feudalism. President Ho and the Party Central Committee put forth the policy establishing farmer collectives and the policies of industrial and agricultural development, thus strengthening the worker-farmer alliance more with each passing day.

On the basis of the strong alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class, President Ho established a broad, unified national front, assembling each revolutionary and progressive force and establishing a unity of actions, in order to win himself more friends, unify everyone that could be unified, win over those who could be won over, and highly isolate the imperialists and their lackeys in order to overturn them. He emphasized that the Front must be closely united on a long term basis, engage in self-criticism and criticism, and love and help one another move forward together.

The more the Vietnam revolution developed, the more the United National Front expanded and the more the party's leadership role was insured. From the Anti-Imperialist Alliance to the Democratic Front, the Viet Minh Front, the Lien Viet Front, and the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the national unity policy of President Ho continuously developed under the famous slogan:

"Unity, unity, great unity,  
Success, success, great success"

Under the leadership of President Ho, our nation's tradition of unity was developed to a high degree, becoming the strong pillar of the revolutionary government and, at the same time, the iron net trapping the imperialists and their lackeys. President Ho said: "Our people are of one ardently patriotic heart. This is a valuable tradition. Since antiquity, this patriotism has burst forth whenever the Fatherland has been invaded, forming a tremendously large and powerful wave washing away all dangers and difficulties and crushing all traitors and countryrobbers."

As the founder of the People's Army of Vietnam, President Ho closely followed each step in the growth of the people's armed forces. He taught that in the struggle against an enemy of the nation and the classes, it is necessary to employ revolutionary force against counter-revolutionaries, seize and

protect political power, coordinate the armed and political struggles, and wage a long, hard, and brave war to defeat the troops of the invader. At the outset, he explained that in order to organize the people's armed forces and wage an armed struggle, it is necessary to proceed from the political struggle of the masses to establishing the armed forces and mobilizing and arming the people to rise in rebellion and wage revolutionary war.

Together with the Party Central Committee, President Ho pointed out several of the basic problems faced in the people's war, established principles for building the three elements of the armed forces, and focused attention upon political and ideological education to make our army one which truly has the trust, support, and love of the people. As a result of the education and care provided by President Ho, our army grew and grew, becoming one "loyal to the party, filial with the people, and ready to fight for the independence and liberty of the Fatherland and for socialism. It completes every task, overcomes every difficulty, and defeats every enemy."

President Ho founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first people's democracy in Southeast Asia. He explained that our government is a government of the people and that its affairs must be by and for the people. He taught government cadres that they must be truly democratic with the people, uphold their right of ownership, and create the conditions for their participation in the management of the state.

In the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, President Ho focused his full attention upon strengthening the party's leadership of the government and strengthening the people's democratic government carrying out the historical task of a dictatorship of workers and farmers. When peace was reestablished in North Vietnam, he emphasized the need to continuously strengthen and consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship carrying out the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to complete the revolution's tasks of thoroughly abolishing the system of man exploiting man, establishing socialist production relations, and carrying out socialist construction.

President Ho also took care to build international unity, considering it one of the several factors in insuring the victory of the Vietnam revolution. From the founding of the Colonial League and the League of Oppressed Nations of Asia, and in many years of activity as a member of the Communist International's Far Eastern Department in charge of the Southern Bureau, President Ho made many important contributions to the international communist movement and the national liberation



movement in the world. He taught our cadres, party members, and the people to combine their genuine patriotism with the communist international spirit in the people's democratic national revolution and the socialist revolution as well. Although he focused attention upon the support and assistance of fraternal parties and nations for Vietnam, he always reminded the people to heighten their spirit of independence, autonomy, and self-reliance and avoid the thinking of relying upon help from the outside. President Ho, a symbol of the fighting unity of the three nations of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, was always concerned with strengthening and expanding the anti-colonial imperialist front of the people of Indochina.

Together with our party, President Ho resolutely struggled to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and international unity. Even at the time of his death, he advised our party to make every effort in the spirit of reasonableness and life to effectively help reestablish the united bloc of fraternal parties on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and international communism.

The factors presented above were analyzed by President Ho in the articles "Thirty years of Party Activity" (January 1960) and "The Great October Revolution Opened the Path of Liberation to All Nations" (October 1967). These factors are also the lessons drawn from our people's rich revolutionary experiences and glorious combat, important contributions to the theoretical annals of the Vietnam revolution and the world revolution.

On studying President Ho's 60 years of activity, we become more deeply imbued with his noble ethics and virtues, ethics and virtues which are thoroughly presented in each chapter of the book. President Ho followed and developed the most excellent traditions of the Vietnamese people, combining them with the thorough revolutionary ideology of the modern age, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. As a loyal and excellent student of V.I. Lenin, President Ho not only adopted his thorough revolutionary ideology, but also studied and impregnated himself with the noble ethics of the great father of the world revolution. "Throughout his great life, President Ho was always the brilliant example of strong revolutionary will, the spirit of independence, deep love for the people, the ethics of absolute justice, and the style of modesty and simplicity."(2)

The striking aspect of President Ho's ethics was his ardent patriotism and his thorough revolutionary spirit:

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2. Funeral oration of the Party Central Committee delivered at memorial ceremony for President Ho.

President Ho made sacrifices and selflessly served the revolution, the people, and the Fatherland, always steadfast, determined, and unselfish. At his death, his only regret was that he could not serve longer and contribute more. President Ho taught all our people to be optimistic and calm, to overcome each hardship and bear each sacrifice, to be humble in victory and not discouraged in defeat, and to always believe in final victory.

President Ho's noble ethics were loyalty to the party, love for the people, sincerity, modesty, simplicity, diligence, and absolute justice. He always upheld collectivism, practiced liberal democracy, followed the mass line, and made every effort to study the masses in order to lead them. He was very concerned with the interests of the masses and had absolute confidence in their invincible strength.

President Ho gave his full attention to educating cadres, party members, and the people in ideology, ethics, and style. He said: "As a river must have a source to flow and a tree, roots to grow, so a revolutionary, regardless of his talent, must have ethics to lead the people."

When our party seized political power within the country, President Ho taught cadres and party members that they must be deeply imbued with revolutionary ethics and worthy of being the leaders and the truly loyal servants of the people. When leading the people of North Vietnam in socialist construction, President Ho took care to train socialists possessed of both socialist ideology and style. "To build socialism and communism, it is necessary to train socialists and communists." He taught cadres and party members that they must make every effort to study Marxism-Leninism, consolidate the stand of the working class, erase the ideological influences of the class of exploiters, eliminate individualism, and strengthen the sense of collective ownership. He devoted a great deal of his attention to "nurturing the revolutionary generations of the future": "For 10 years of profit, cultivate trees, but, for 100 years of profit, cultivate people."

The great revolutionary undertaking and noble ethics were fully embodied in President Ho. He is not only deeply revered by our people but also by the people of the world. This is not only due to his important contributions to the world revolution, but also to his noble ethics and qualities and his profound, overflowing revolutionary feeling for our brothers and friends on the five continents.

President Ho's ethics formed and developed in conjunction with the progress of the Vietnam revolution as a result of the requirements of the revolutionary tasks put forth during each



stage and in order to support the attainment of the revolutionary goals of the age. His ethics are the model ethics for the life, thinking, and activity of a great revolutionary fighter and the brilliant example always followed by our entire party and all our people.

With the book "President Ho Chi Minh" (a summary of his life and work), the Party Historical Research Department has met a portion of the demands of readers seeking to know and study the life and work of President Ho. The author exhibits caution in the use of data, places emphasis upon typical events, and does not delve into specific matters, but uses its bibliographical format to present the great work of President Ho. When analyzing the ideology and work of President Ho, the author shows deep understanding of the opinions of the Party Central Committee made public in the documents of the party and thorough comprehension of the thinking of our party's key leading cadres. The book also presents the humble virtues of President Ho and our party in its accurate analysis and evaluation of the historical events and role of President Ho in the Vietnam and world revolutions.

The striking aspect of the book is that it closely links the great work of President Ho with the collective leadership of our party and the important role played by the masses; as a result, the prouder we are of our great leader, the prouder we become of our glorious party, our heroic nation, and our diligent, intelligent, and brave people.

President Ho's work cannot be considered as independent of the international communist and worker movements or the world national liberation movement; however, due to present limited conditions and data, the book does not fully nor concisely present the international activities of President Ho.

Having researched the life and work of President Ho, we have come to more clearly see his great revolutionary work and undertaking and now make even greater efforts to study the ideology, ethics, and style of President Ho, the great national hero, the talented father of the Vietnam revolution, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, an outstanding activist of the international communist and worker movements, a vanguard, steadfast, and exemplary warrior of the national liberation movement in the 20th century.

In the number of newspaper articles and books on President Ho published in the West during the past several years, there are, in addition to segments praising his revolutionary genius genuine patriotism, and noble ethics, segments of incorrect analysis of and biased observations on our great leader and our party. The work of the Party Historical Research Department

has made much data available for refuting these incorrect and biased arguments.

Having researched the life and work of President Ho, we more deeply miss and are more deeply grateful to him and determined to carry out his sacred will and the five oaths taken by our entire party and people at the time of his death.

In commemoration of the 81st anniversary of the birth of President Ho, we respectfully introduce to readers the book "President Ho Chi Minh" (a summary of his life and work).

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## THE DEGENERATION AND BETRAYAL OF THE REVISIONIST GARAUDY

[Article by Pham Nhu Cuong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 40-53]

The victories of the revolution during the past quarter century have very profoundly changed the face of the world and are opening new prospects for even more vigorous and violent expansion by the three revolutionary currents of the age. These victories prove that "Marxism-Leninism not only lives forever, but also continuously develops its creative strength and wins victories under all circumstances and in all fields of endeavor." (1)

But, on the other hand, it must also be realized that imperialism and the reactionary powers are seeking every possible way to counterattack in a vain attempt at retaining the positions they hold and regaining those they have lost. In this 2-front struggle, they have not only more clearly shown their warlike and violent nature, but also become more crafty, insidious, and meticulous in the use of their "spread peace" strategy and their motto of "protecting freedom and democracy."

Today, no longer able to deny the strong attraction of Marxism-Leninism upon the minds and hearts of the people of the world, one of the chief actions taken by the bourgeois class to counteract it is appealing, in the name of "the changing times", to communists to "change" Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the "change" taking place in the system of bourgeois ideology in order to jointly overcome the "ideological obstacles" lying on the road to the "harmony and togetherness" of mankind. Because

of this, we must, now more than ever before, uphold the principles and party nature of the class struggle on the ideological front.

The complex development of the revolution through sharp, steadfast class struggle and under the attack of bourgeois ideology during recent years has caused the emergence within communist ranks of a number of elements who have vacillated, degenerated, and changed. Garaudy in France is a typical example.

In his roughly 30 years of party membership, Garaudy was a Party Central Committee member, a member of the French Communist Party Political Bureau for many consecutive sessions, the editor-in-chief of the French Communist Party Central Committee's theoretical journal, and one of the founders and leaders of the party's "Marxist Study and Research Center." He also wrote a rather large number of books, the majority of which are philosophical.

Garaudy's past political and theoretical activities were highly evaluated by the French Communist Party. He had made noteworthy contributions to the propagandizing and protection of Marxism-Leninism in France in the arguments against the tides of bourgeois philosophy and sociology.

But, Garaudy deviated from a past of which he could be justly proud to become an element against the party, against Marxism-Leninism, and against the socialist camp; he is now along with other disdainful revisionists, competently supporting the anti-communism of the bourgeois monopolists. To carry out his sinister scheme, Garaudy stopped at nothing, no matter how low, resorting to everything from using the money and communications facilities of the bourgeois class to make public his views against the party to writing counterfeit documents distributed by the anti-communist propaganda apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

In his present state of degeneration, Garaudy takes great pleasure in the following editorial comment by a bourgeois journalist: "The mystery of Garaudy! (Mr. Garaudy!)...is the mystery of a man, a materialist, pledging to accept Catholicism as one of the jewels of mankind, the mystery of a man, a fighter schooled for 36 years in all the tenets of communism, discovering in the creativity of art one of the several bases for hope." The biggest mystery is "how a man, nurtured completely on Marxism, can consider the lines of the French and Soviet Communist Parties as matters requiring revision. Attention should here be paid to the fact that we now have proof that the communist party can purge from its corps anti-corps elements who continue to consider themselves communists." (2)

The French Communist Party purged Garaudy, thus keeping him from using its name and prestige to continue spreading the poison of revisionism and anti-communism. In addition, it should be noted that, although Garaudy once held a high position in the French Communist Party and has, since 1961, written nearly 20 books to explain and publicize his arguments, only eight of the 19,252 chapters of the French Communist Party supported these or the other arguments in his book "The Great Turning Point of Socialism"; 17 of the 22 members of the party chapter at Gabriel Peri, his place of residence, voted to purge him from the party (of the five remaining votes, three were placed by Garaudy, his wife, and his daughter).

Through a number of his books, we see that Garaudy's present day degeneration and change are the result of a process of gradually deviating from Marxism-Leninism and accepting with increasingly greater fervor everything "new" within the system of bourgeois ideology. He applied logic about which he himself had already correctly pointed out: "Each struggle against Marxism-Leninism within the party naturally leads conspirators to sooner or later become the lackeys of class enemies; this fact is neither completely surprising nor completely a matter of a personal mistake."(3)

In his book "Twentieth Century Marxism", Garaudy tells us that his "new" process of thinking began with the book "The Prospects for Man" published in 1961. "If 'The Prospects for Man' was the starting point, there is no prospect whatsoever for this draft of 'Twentieth Century Marxism' being the endpoint or conclusion, but rather, only a provisional summary of the things acquired by Marxism in the dialogue undertaken for the development of its creativity: not only did it acquire the very rich inheritance of research and discovery -- despite the fact that this research has, at times, been conducted in a mystical or deviating direction in relation to other streams of ideology and employed political or theological theories, scientific reasoning, or research methods of Catholic ideology or existential thought, psychoanalysis or mechanism ---but also the understanding that changes in realization, the world, and history are taking place in this 20th century at an unprecedented rate."(4)

Using the nature of the party and the viewpoint and stance taken by Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against the

bourgeois system of ideology to bring the above "summary" to light, 'we can clearly see the image of a Garaudy who has now become a prisoner of the system of bourgeois ideology and takes its stand to expand what he himself acquired in the dialogue.

Between 1961 and May 1970, when he was purged from the French Communist Party, Garaudy wrote many books in succession, of which the following are deserving of attention: "The Prospects for Man"(1961), "On a Boundless Realism"(1963), the discussion "Helping Lay the Foundation of Ethics"(1964), "From Anathema to Dialogue"(1965), "Twentieth Century Marxism"(1966), "Lenin" and "On a French Model of Socialism"(1968), "The Great Turning Point of Socialism"(1969), and "All Reality..."(1970).

The debate among the Marxists in France over bourgeois ideological movements and, particularly, over existentialism and Catholic philosophy has existed for many years. Garaudy himself made noteworthy contributions to maintaining the nature of the party and carrying out the strategy of discernment in the struggle against the different spokesmen for the bourgeois system of ideology. Therefore, why does he consider "The Prospects for Mankind" his starting point? Garaudy does this primarily because it marks for him the beginning of a "new" attitude in the dialogue. In this book, in contrast to a number of correctly drawn points, Garaudy began criticizing what he considers "the tendency towards self-isolation and self-restraint", "the co-existent attitudes of superiority and apprehensiveness, and the reaction, too much in the nature of unilateral defense," of Marxist philosophy during the past 10 years; he appeals for "a bold advance into the battlegrounds of the opposing parties..." and he further states that "among the different modern theories, even though there exists a fundamental opposition in class nature, the factors of harmony can be still seen."

The book "On a Boundless Realism" was Garaudy's first "creative" lash at "dogmatic Marxism" in the field of aesthetics. In this book, he seeks, through the general concept of "boundless realism", to abrogate the boundary between proletarian and bourgeois literature and art. Socialism's realistic creative method is considered the reason for the "dearth, insipidness, formalism, and monotony" of literature and art in the socialist countries and the origin of the philosophy of mistakes "discovered" by him in the transformation long ago by Marxist aesthetics of art's function from one of creation to one of reflecting realizations. To escape this dilemma, it is necessary, according to Garaudy, to take Western literature and art, of which Franz Kafka, Picasso, and Zohn Perse are outstanding models, as the father of literature and art primarily because only it can help us understand "the creative power of man" and make our literature and art "the pinnacle of the age."

The book "Helping Lay the Foundations of Ethics" is the result of a struggle based on the principles of "harmony", "togetherness", and "mutual acceptance" in the realm of ethics. In this work, Marxist axiology is considered the theory of "a formed system of ethics" (morale constituée) with tenets of a rigid, dogmatic nature; socialist ethics are described as ethics cognizant of only the discipline and sacrifice of man. Existentialism is accredited with having raised man to the status of a personality, an individual. According to Garaudy, Marxist axiology must switch from "a formed system of ethics" to "forming ethics" (morale constituante). To achieve this, it is necessary to return to the humanitarianism and the total man (homme total) of Marx in 1844 and take formed theory of individuality as the basis for the dialogue with existentialism.

The book "From Anathema to Dialogue" is seen by Garaudy as the conclusions drawn by a "Marxist" (that is, himself) from the 2nd Vatican Ecumenical Conference.

Garaudy states that in the dialogue between Marxism and Catholicism both sides see more clearly each day the need for a "return to their fundamentals" in order to reach "a common attitude and responsibility toward man."

According to him, it is only necessary to peel off "the religious shell" surrounding the faith of the Catholic and discard the present day dogmatism and scientism (scientisme) of the Marxist for Marxist theory and Catholic ideology to meet on a common ground: concern for man with the status of a creative individual and a longing for a better life. Garaudy adamantly calls for the rejection of our long-time "dogmatic, unilateral" method of interpreting Marx's words that "religion is the opiate of the people."

Also in this book, Garaudy begins to talk much about pluralism (pluralisme): the different cultures of the different areas of the present day world and in the cultural history of mankind are "different models of the basic relationship to objective existence"; scientific truth is achieved from these different models and hypotheses, of which none can "consider itself the sole possessor of ultimate truth" (Garaudy here puts Marxism, Catholic philosophy, and bourgeois idealist movements in parallel as hypotheses in dialogue with and supplementing one another); socialism must also be constructed in accordance with many different models and it must now bravely and resolutely overcome the painful crisis which has arisen and borne difficulties and suffering as a result of a quarter century of Marxism's inertia and rigidity.

The book "Twentieth Century Marxism" is introduced by Garaudy as a "provisional summary" of things learned after several years of "dialogue." Compared to his earlier books, "Twentieth Century Marxism" is more "general" and "total" in nature. It proves that Garaudy's thinking has become increasingly more "precise" and "refined". It should be mentioned that this book was published after the French Communist Party's Central Committee Conference met to discuss ideological and cultural problems at which Garaudy delivered a report entitled: "Dogmatism, Pluralism, and the Questions of Religion." Disregarding the heartfelt reprimands and the frank criticism of many members of the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee regarding his mistaken viewpoint, Garaudy, never changing, continued down his "private road" speaking his own "language."

Under the guise of returning to Marxism its "fundamental source of inspiration", Garaudy defines Marxism as "a world concept establishing a methodology of historical creativity"(such a definition of Marxism was first put forth in his book "Carl Marx" published in 1964). In this work, he contends that, as a result of the rule of "Stalinism", Marxism has been sunk for the past 25 years in the "dogmatic sleep" covering all of Soviet society and the entire international communist movement. He borrows the majority of his arguments from anti-communism and revisionism to strike at Marxism-Leninism and socialism in the Soviet Union which he gives the names "Stalin-style dogmatism" and "the Soviet model of socialism."

This time, Garaudy's prescription for curing Marxism of "the disease of dogmatism", is , in addition to an "open" and "equal" dialogue with Catholicism and existentialism on the basis of "mutual acceptance", the acceptance of "the newest successes of modern science." Here, he introduces mechanism as a philosophy consistent with the world view we can deduce from the development of all natural and social sciences in mid-20th century; from this world view will blossom a research method yielding very rich results in highly diverse fields of science..., "it is a very good dose of medicine for counteracting dogmatism and the dogmatic and theological method of explaining the dialectic", "it is also the best help available for establishing a new humanitarianism for which Marx laid the foundation"(pp71-72, 74, 82).

Rejecting "the Soviet model of socialism", Garaudy states that the principle of centralized democracy and the central management and planning systems contained within it have the potential for causing "the degeneration of the classes into the party itself and the degeneration of the party and the state apparatus into the personality of the leader"(p32). And,



borrowing Otta Sik's(5) revisionist economic theory, he states that in the face of new, present day demands "it is necessary to make deductions from the central theory in order to restate the problems relating to the organization of social labor and planning the role of market relationships and the effect of the laws of value within the socialist economy"(p30).

The revolutionary storms in 1968, particularly the violent waves of struggle launched by the workers, youth, and students in all capitalist countries, especially France and Italy, and the deep crisis over what was called the "democratization" and "humanization" of socialism, the change to "market socialism", and so forth which occurred within the communist party and society of Czechoslovakia still were not enough to cause him to change the course of his ideology and his political attitude. To the contrary, they inspired Garaudy to make a clearer, more public declaration of his viewpoints in the book "The Great Turning Point of Socialism"(1969) which he considered his contribution to the preparations for the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party. Through the arguments presented in it, Garaudy actually reached his own "decisive turning point" in his relationship to Marxism-Leninism.

For example, on party construction, Garaudy writes: "If the party does not want to be the faction of those who consider their own theories as dogma, but rather the catalyst of all forces in France seeking to establish socialism, it should not have an official philosophy; in principle, it can be neither idealistic or materialist nor religious or atheistic" (French version, p 284).

He also demands that the French Communist Party re-examine itself and bring about "a deep reform of its concept of the party and its organization"(p274): "democratic centralism... now, more than ever before, must be viewed in our highly developed societies not in a mechanical fashion, but rather as a matter for the science of management"(p278); this means that there must be a system of reciprocal actions "from top to bottom and bottom to top" and "lateral" activity, i.e., insuring that "the opinions of a minority are disseminated to and discussed by the entire party"; "democracy means supplying, not only the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee, but also each party member, with the objective information needed to grasp the situation

understand the problem, determine one's attitude, and, as a result, truly participate in common decisions"; democracy is also "making public the views of the opposition to enable a true debate"(p280). Thus, Garaudy demands that the party make all its secrets public and transform itself from the vanguard unit and fighting command of the proletarian class into a club for empty debate.

As the science of management is taken by Garaudy as the basis for reforming the principles of centralized democracy, so the present scientific and technological revolution is considered by him the basis for "reviewing" the basic and most pressing problems of the present day revolution. The viewpoint of technology replaces the viewpoints of class analysis, dialectical materialism, and historical materialism in all his analysis and interpretation.

After being isolated and tragically defeated at the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party, Garaudy still loudly declared that "I will remain a communist until my dying breath." But, at the same time, we see the appearance of "All Reality. May and June 1968" in which Garaudy presumptuously makes public incomplete, distorted versions of letters from exchanges with members of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party on matters pertaining to the political line of the party and his political attitude and ideological viewpoint. His ugly, insidious intention was to create the mistaken impression that an "ideological trial" was being conducted in which he was the victim of "dogmatic, factional elements" within the leadership of the French Communist Party. The party appropriately answered Garaudy's bold challenge by purging him from its ranks.

No longer obstructed or restrained, Garaudy could now openly and recklessly operate as an anti-communist and anti-socialist. Slightly more than 2 months after being ousted from the party, he wrote an introduction for and presented for publication what was called "The Will of E. Vargas", a forged document fabricated by anti-communist ghostwriters in order to distort and attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism. From this action, it can be seen that the common dignity of the writer is no longer even considered by him!

In proceeding from the above very brief summary, we will try only to present the succeeding stages in Garaudy's revisionist change.

In "The Prospects for Man" Garaudy speaks only of the manifestations of the superior attitude and the tendency toward self-isolation and self-restraint of Marxist philosophy and merely puts forth an appeal for a strong advance into the battlefield

of the adversary and the factors for harmony on the basis of a basic opposition in regard to classes.

"The new stages" in the books "On a Boundless Realism" and "Helping Lay the Foundation of Ethics" are seen in the statement that "dogmatic Marxism" and "rigid socialism" have been criticized in diverse fields of higher learning and thinking and Garaudy's presentation of the factors of harmony which have begun to develop into a harmony between ideological systems in the area of the nature of classes of which subjective idealism and capitalist art and philosophical movements are seen as models upon which Marxist aesthetics and ethics can reform themselves.

In the book "From Anathema to Dialogue", Garaudy not only seeks to prove and defend the "harmony" and "mutual acceptance" existing between Marxist and Catholic philosophy in their original foundations, but also in their present attitudes toward the fate and future of mankind. He tries to create a new "theoretical basis" for ideological "harmony": pluralism. Here, pluralism is expanded to prove the need for "many models of socialism." In substance, what Garaudy calls "pluralism" is merely a camouflaged covering for his abandonment of the party nature of Marxism-Leninism. It is worthy of attention to note that whereas before Garaudy indirectly criticized the socialist system through his criticism of Marxist aesthetics and ethics he now begins to shift to the direct criticism of what he calls "the Soviet model of socialism."

"Twentieth Century Marxism", seen by Garaudy as a summary of 6 years of dialogue, is an attempt by him to better "perfect" his viewpoint and give it a higher general form. Marxism is attacked, under the name of "Stalin-style dogmatism", as being sunk for the past 25 years in an interminable sleep. Differing from his earlier books, Garaudy here laboriously cites the newest achievements of natural science such as management, the mechanical and model research methods, and so forth in order to give his arguments a scientific shell. He also relies on them to request that materialism and scientific socialism should undergo "a global reorganization of concepts"(p48) as he had.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, ancient philosophical history, Catholic history, and so forth are advanced as the basis of the "proof" that harmony exists between Marxism and religious philosophy in their attitude towards the fate and future of man. The mystical idealism of the capitalist schools of art is defended by the concept "the model of mystical art" which is described as "the third system of signalling"(p186).

The socialist system is not only reexamined from the viewpoint of higher learning and thinking as previously, but also criticized from the point of view of its principles of economic organization and its basic principles of economic management; harmony and unity between socialism and capitalism is not only advocated in the field of ideology, but also encouraged between those things making up the very nature of their economies: "Socialism...must foresee the crisis it faces in the degeneration of centralized democracy's principles of organization and management and take market relations and the law of economic value as its central theory!"

All these genuinely revisionist theoretical viewpoints and reactionary political opinions are loudly proclaimed by Garaudy as the elements making up the "new face" of 20th century Marxism!

In "The Great Turning Point of Socialism" Garaudy's sketchy but very confusing and unclear presentation of "robust pluralism" is openly, unequivocally, and clearly expressed as a demand that the party abandon Marxist materialism as the basis of its philosophy. But, if Marxist materialism is abandoned, how can the other elements of Marxism-Leninism be recognized, how can the party continue to take Marxism-Leninism as the basis for its strategy, tactics, and policies? In substance, it is a demand to destroy the ideological basis of the party. Garaudy's additions to the principle of central democracy at work in the organization and activities of the party are so "important" and "unique" as to completely change this principle into liberalism and sectarianism.

Whereas the enemies of the proletarian revolution and socialism always concentrate their attacks and sabotage upon the communist party, above anything else, its ideological and organizational unity, the unity of its policies and actions, and the party's leadership role, because these are the factors of the most decisive significance in the revolutionary undertaking of the proletarian class, Garaudy's demand has the value of a very well coordinated "internal and external" blow!

The experience of the entire international communist movement over the past 50 years and more has fully proven the following words of Lenin:

"Denying the nature and discipline of the party... also means completely disarming the proletarian class in the face of the capitalist class..."

"Any enemy who weakens the iron discipline of the party of the proletarian class the slightest bit (particularly

during its dictatorial period) in reality helps the capitalist class oppose the proletarian class."(6)

Garaudy often talks about "a basic direction for our work", "Marxism's basic source of inspiration", and "a return to the basics of Marxism." It is in these "basics" that we find the roots of all of Garaudy's other mistakes. They are his abandonment of the nature of the party in the proletarian system of ideology and of the viewpoint, stand, and methods of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the viewpoint of class struggle, while mentioning the problems of the age.

As Garaudy loudly proclaims himself the spokesman for "20th century Marxism", we once again unmask his revisionist, anti-Marxist face because there exists a difference between us and Garaudy in viewpoint and principle and in regard to the nature of the party. Although he calls for a "return", Garaudy has actually turned his back on Marxism and shifted his view on the nature of the party to a bourgeois one in order to enter into "dialogue" with Marxism and cleanse socialism with the poisons of anti-communism.

In the books of Garaudy, a self-appointed apostle in search of Marxism's "basic source of inspiration", we see hardly a trace of the most basic concepts such as class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership role of the working class exercised through a genuine Marx-Lenin party, proletarian internationalism, etc; nor is there hardly any concern for the basic and pressing problems of the age found in the 2-front struggle of the revolutionary peoples of the world to throw off imperialism's yoke of oppression and exploitation. Garaudy applies his full mental power and skill to put "new substance" in the general concepts of transcendentalism, faith, mysticism (of art and religion), pluralism, and open and fair debate (between different ideological systems, cultures, and civilizations) through which the face of Marxism will "change", etc.

Garaudy, like many revisionists before him, also throws a smoke screen around his rebellious attitude, calling it a "creative attitude, critical attitude, an attitude of quickly responding to the new."

In keeping with their role of standing shoulder to shoulder in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of the masses,

communists are encountering numerous new and complex problems which must be realized and solved; and, in their process of groping and testing, they cannot help but make some mistakes and manifest a certain number of shortcomings. Marxism-Leninism has never taught us that revolution is "a stroll" which always follows a straight path; consequently, genuine communists never harbor the illusion that each problem will only have to be solved once or that some miracle keeps them from ever making mistakes. While genuine communists, in their organized and disciplined ranks, are determinedly leading the people in attacks against class enemies, overcoming each difficulty, and rectifying their shortcomings, Garaudy takes these things as reasons for revising Marxism and negating the superior nature of the socialist system.

In what is called "pluralism" by Garaudy, Marxism is placed on an equal plane (in form only) with every modern bourgeois ideological movement and religious philosophy as the different hypotheses, designs, and models of man.

However, Marxists do not deny that among the disciples of bourgeois ideology and religion there is an increasingly greater number of people with progressive political views, whom we must make every effort to unite, and more than a few people reexamining their long-held beliefs and, with true intentions, seeking to understand Marxism-Leninism.

Due to the inheritance left them by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and the attitudes and methods taken and used by these men in the struggle against the bourgeois system of ideology, Marxists never understand the nature of the party as an arbitrary, crude negating of everything nor as an attitude disregarding every division objectively occurring within the ranks of the disciples of bourgeois ideology. But, it is necessary to affirm without qualification that each "dialogue" with the bourgeois system of ideology and religious philosophy must be conducted from the clear, unequivocal standpoint of the proletarian nature of the party. When the communist publicly affirms that Marxism-Leninism is the greatest truth of our age, the faith he expresses is very firmly rooted in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism and its testing under actual conditions. Fairness and openness in a dialogue means using the power of truth to persuade and to clearly differentiate between right and wrong; they in no way mean an agreement or bargain on principles along the lines of "I recognize and accept this particular principle of yours, so you must recognize and accept this one of mine." In the ideological struggle nothing is more wrong or harmful than compromising or reaching agreements on matters of principle. Garaudy's compromises and agreements with the bourgeois system of ideology lay in a process of continuous "escalation" from

"the factors of harmony" to "robust pluralism" and, finally, the demand that "the party should not have an official philosophy; in principle, it can be neither idealistic or materialistic, religious or atheistic." Garaudy seeks to establish a form of Marxism which would be equivalent of a synthesis of each old and new, Eastern and Western ideology, considering it the road leading mankind through our age to a better mutual understanding in order to build, through joint efforts, a world in which "the creative individual" has endless potential for development. In substance, this is nothing more than the policy of peaceful coexistence in the field of ideology.

But, in actuality, how can there be a third or middle ideology which is neither proletarian nor bourgeoisie? Historical experience has proven that every compromise or agreement in the realm of ideology which "lowers the standards" of proletarian ideology always means an encroachment or invasion by bourgeois ideology, it cannot mean anything else.

What is it that Garaudy calls "dogmatism"? At first, it was only "the tendency towards self-isolation and self-restraint", "the coexistent attitudes of superiority and apprehensiveness", and a lack of daring to boldly engage in the dialogue; this was followed by a condemnation of "dogmatism" in the fields of aesthetics and ethics and the attitude toward religion; later it became "Stalin-style dogmatism" and advanced to the point where Lenin himself was criticized as "misunderstanding" the basic spirit of Marxism when he presented his arguments for a new style proletarian party in his work "What Is to Be Done?". Garaudy states that "there is nothing worth calling a special Leninist characteristic in his discussion of 'the party as a vanguard unit'; the original concept was Trotsky's, Lenin merely developed upon it." And, according to him, Trotsky's concept which Lenin adopted includes an incomplete evaluation of the revolutionary nature of the working class; therefore, teaching and implementing it "from top to bottom" leads to replacing the historical creativity of the masses with the leadership of the party and, in the end, to the "dictatorship of the party", the cult of the individual, etc. (Garaudy: "Lenin", 1968). It is extremely hard to even imagine such a distorted, black-into-white change ever occurring! But, it is Garaudy's necessary preparatory step for the presentation of his "new concept" of the party in "The Great Turning Point of Socialism" as described above. Thus, Garaudy progressed from putting forth a "new" definition of Marxism, that is, "the methodology of historical creativity" -- which he calls "Marxism's basic source of inspiration" and criticizing, on behalf of Marxism, "dogmatism" to the most radical result of "this criticism", that is, the demand to abandon the concept of the party as the vanguard unit of the proletarian class!

It is impossible to present all of Garaudy's distortions here because he did, in fact, "totally reorganize the concepts" of Marxism. However, passing mention can be made of such things as his definition of Marxism as "a methodology of historical creativity"; his explanation that reflection and creativity are opposite and mutually exclusive in the process of an individual's creativity; the role he gives to mechanism and the way he employs the model method; his understanding of the nature of religion by separating "inner" and "outer" faith; his understanding of the creativity of art on the basis of "mystical art models" which he considers the "third system of signalling", and so forth, all of which are recounts of sophisticated arguments and deceptive substitutions of concepts in order to defend the bourgeois system of ideology, idealism, and religion.

Garaudy not only distorts and attacks theoretical Marxism-Leninism, but also Marxism-Leninism in its actual form. This is accomplished through criticism and negation of what he names "the Soviet model of socialism" in order to, on the basis of pluralism, cite the "potential and need for many models of socialism." His method and use of concepts in his arguments alone are enough to lay bare Garaudy's deceptions. One is that normal logic does not permit us to consider a thing which exists or a phenomena which has taken place (for example, socialism has been established in the Soviet Union) as a model and then compare it with a model which exists in only a design or hypothetical state (for example, socialism will, in the future, be established in France and other countries). But, this is a weakpoint because Garaudy's concern is never for the application of the model method to the research of socialism. His is only a scientific impersonation, a borrowing of the name of a valid scientific method to create a false scientific concept. By his concept of "the Soviet model of socialism" he throws the fundamental, universally significant experiences of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the specific historical conditions and circumstances which the Soviet Union was under while carrying out the proletarian revolution and socialist construction, and, the mistakes and failures experienced by the Soviet Union while opening a brand new road in the history of mankind into one basket and demands that it be discarded as an inferior product. Garaudy calls the socialism in the Soviet Union a distorted, perverted socialism not the least bit in keeping with Marx's image of socialism. In substance, his is a scheme to deny the general, universally significant laws of socialist revolution and construction in all countries (naturally, they must be creatively applied to the circumstances of each country) in order to encourage what he calls "national communism."

According to Garaudy, dialogue, in the pluralist meaning of the word, not only helps us rediscover the genuine nature and



change the face of Marxism and socialism, but also find the basic road on which mankind can avoid the threat of nuclear war and establish world harmony when the scientific and technological revolution has created the premises for a new explosion of individuality .(7) Allow me to present the following number of excerpts: "...our target is to point out the major points of the conditions needed for a dialogue, the essential nature of which becomes quite clear if society (or civilization) is to survive. If the dialogue we are conducting between Catholicism and Marxism has importance and is effective, we must make it the form of all great confrontations demanded by the world of man today and in the future...but, the dialogue will become sterile if we fail to include the major opponents: capitalism is opposed to labor, the East is opposed to the West, and the developed nations are opposed to the undeveloped nations of the world. We cannot limit the dialogue to one between Westerners alone nor can it be only between Easterners and Westerners. To be of value, our dialogue must encompass each and every civilization. These civilizations, if they wish to continue their existence, must learn to coexist; this means they must act under a common effort to assure the brotherhood of man. We hope that the dialogue we are presently conducting will help create the opportunity for establishing this brotherhood." "The direct and specific hope for the dialogue is making it an effective historical force in the joint building of the future of each of our countries and the establishment of world unity through a global organization of needs, raw material sources, and hopes."

Garaudy's viewpoint has been very clearly exposed: the class struggle and the revolutionary struggle will lead to the complete annihilation of mankind by nuclear war; only a dialogue with the participation of all opposing forces can build a beautiful future for all men! But what is difficult to understand when we view the entirety of Garaudy's "analysis" of the current problems of the French revolution, the international communist and worker movement, U.S. imperialism, and so forth is that it all follows one consistent line, that is, blurring the nature of classes, destroying the lines between classes, and demanding the abandonment of the class struggle and the revolutionary struggle!

In summary, the "20th century Marxism" Garaudy presents to us is:

"Returning to Marxism its basic source of inspiration" and, as a result, discovering a "common" ground with religion and idealist theory regarding individuality. To accomplish this, it is necessary to conduct a dialogue in the spirit of "robust" pluralism in which Marxism must cleanse itself of "dogmatism" and bring about a "total reorganization" of its concepts.

"Quickly responding" to "the new factors" of our age in order to find "new solutions": abandoning the class struggle and the revolutionary struggle and conducting a global dialogue for the sake of the brotherhood of all men so that they can, together, build a common future.

For such a dialogue to occur, the communist party must become a party which does not take the materialist world view of Marxism as its official philosophy and must apply the principles of central democracy in accordance with "the science of management", abandon the "Soviet model of socialism" as a "perverted socialism", and acknowledge that there are "many different models of socialism."

Therefore, there is no guesswork involved at all when we say that Garaudy has now become a revisionist from head to toe, from ideology to politics. The "20th century Marxism" he advertises is only a disguised revisionism bearing the Garaudy trademark.

Marxism is not an ideological movement of a temporary nature; it emerged as the inheritor and developer to a new stage of refinement of mankind's ideology and civilization up until the middle of the 19th century. As the scientific theory of a class occupying the central position of the age, the party and scientific natures of Marxism are organically united. Since its emergence, Marxism has never stopped developing. The revolutionary struggle and socialist construction of today are opposing many new and complicated problems; but, at the same time, they are opening good prospects for the development of Marxism's creativity. Thoroughly understanding the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking the strong strategic offensive of the proletarian revolution in our age, and deeply examining the realities of movements in order to realize that the new is always developing and appearing -- this is the only correct method for developing the ability to guide of Marxism-Leninism and, in the process, make Marxism-Leninism increasingly richer and more vital.

As the truth illuminating the revolutionary targets of the age, Marxism-Leninism is being accepted by increasingly greater numbers of people from all classes, including intellectuals, as their ideological banner. But, it is precisely because of this

that the bourgeois class is daily using every trick it can to distort facts, deceive the masses, and confuse unstable people. For the past several years, in order to support their "spread peace" strategy aimed at destroying socialism from the inside, the bourgeois class has been paying special attention to propagandizing what it calls "the theory of convergence": the development of modern capitalism and socialism is pointing toward their culmination in a "cross-bred" society: a united, highly developed industrial society with a high level of consumption and surplus for each person which could even be called post-industrial. The road by which both sides will advance to that point is mutual cooperation in developing science and technology because the present scientific and technological revolution has made Marx's blueprint for the change from capitalism to socialism through the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat outmoded. To overcome the present obstruction on the road of scientific and technological cooperation which is, in addition, always facing mankind with the crisis of annihilation from "a nuclear conflict between the two blocs", it is necessary to abandon "the ideological war" and eliminate the ideological nature of science and philosophy in order to discover the "genuine", "objective" voice of science, not that of an ideological system, for the pressing problems of the age.

Bourgeois "Marxology" and "Sovietology" are presently astir with activity and from these "objective" systems of research have come countless slogans, some of which are: "The retreat to Marx" (that is, a return to the Marx of 1844 and earlier -- P.N.C.), "abandoning the orthodox and ideological nature of Marxism", "a restoration of Marxism", "a mature Marxism for a mature mankind", "open Marxism", "we are all Marxists", etc.

The extremely close relationship between Garaudy's arguments and the above bourgeois studies can be seen very clearly, because "the dialogue in the spirit of pluralism" is only another form of "the theory of convergence."

Genuine Marxists never follow in Garaudy's tracks of disgraceful surrender and betrayal. While solving the problems of the revolution and steadfastly, patiently, and skillfully using different methods and forms to win the hearts and minds of those who truly want to contribute their talents and energies to a just and progressive cause, we always publicly take the stand of the nature of the proletarian party of Marxism to criticize, expose, and defeat each movement and expression of anti-communism.

To state the matter differently, in looking for "a private road" apart from the above stand in principle and the nature of the party, one sooner or later becomes the prisoner of bourgeois

ideology and an assistant to the bourgeois class in its sabotage of the revolutionary undertaking of the proletarian class in the same manner Garaudy has. The major lesson we must draw is that in the class struggle between the two world systems which is now progressing with unprecedented sharpness in all fields, we must maintain the nature of the party and our principles in the ideological struggle. We cannot for one minute forget the following teaching of Lenin:

"As long as we cannot distinguish the interests of one class from those of another through speeches, declarations, and promises which are ethical, religious, political, or social in nature, we will always be the innocent victim of the deceiver and deceiving ourselves politically."(8)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Leninism Illuminates the Revolutionary Targets of the Age"; Hoc Tap Journal, No 6, 1970, p 6.
2. "Garaudy on Garaudy"; French version, the French Fighting Round Table Publishing House, 1970, pp 19-20.
3. R. Garaudy: "Freedom"; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 740.
4. R. Garaudy: "Twentieth Century Marxism"; French version, La Palatin Publishing House, Paris, 1966, pp 218-219.
5. Otta Sik, formerly economics professor and Vice Premier of Czechoslovakia, is now living in exile in Yugoslavia. He was one of the revisionists instigating and applying what was called "market socialism" to the Czechoslovak national economy.
6. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Book 2, Part 2, p 340.
7. Garaudy and Lowre: "The Directly Opposed Marxists and Catholics," Areteau Publishing House, Paris, 1969, French version, pp 18-19, 242.
8. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 1, Part 1, pp 65-66.

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## TRUNG HOA COOPERATIVE AND ITS STRUGGLE TO IMPROVE THE SOIL

[Article by Song Le; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 54-60]

### Encouraging Results

The Trung Hoa cooperative is part of the midlands of Hiep Hoa District in Ha Bac Province and lies in the fading soil along the Cau river. Its 173 hectares of cultivation area include several thousand lots on various levels, which are disbursed among five barren hills. The hilly nature of the land and the currents from the Cau river irrigation system causes regular erosion in the fields. The quality of the soil is bad. Only rice can be planted and that only produces a yield of about 40 kilograms per sao. The soil is as white as a sandy beach during the dry season after the initial plowing.

The peasants of Trung Hoa previously spent hungry years and their housing was shabby. Indebtedness and the sale of poor quality rice were fairly common. The poor soil could not support anyone and the poor people could not have the strength to nourish and improve the soil. As was the case with many individual peasants in the poor quality soil regions, the peasants of Trung Hoa were caught in that vicious cycle. They believe that "Our poverty comes from the impoverished soil."

Following land reform, they followed the appeal of the party and the peasants of Trung Hoa voluntarily reorganized and followed the collectivized way. The cooperative was built up but it was first of all necessary to do whatever possible to alleviate the difficult living conditions. That was a "difficult to resolve" problem.

Under the guidance provided by the resolution issued by the Fifth Conference of the Party Central Committee, many active party members and progressive cooperative members in Trung Hoa recognized that they could not obtain full life, enrich the country, or make a significant contribution to the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the building of socialism in the fatherland with a per capita soil cultivation area of 0.08 hectares of poor quality soil: sand was mixed with the bad

scill; "To wade in the mud without dirtying the feet"; "To fall without dirtying the clothing"; and "To increase the level" of the fields every year. It was necessary to improve the quality of the fields and to increase fertility so that a capability would gradually develop to carry out farming with economic effectiveness. This was the key problem which Trung Hoa had to resolve in earnest, and it was a difficult responsibility which demanded that the people of Trung Hoa adopt a high degree of determination if it was to be successful.

After eight years of persistence and adversities in the struggle under the determined leadership of the party chapter, and with the active assistance of the state, the collectivized farmers of Trung Hoa attained very encouraging results. The soil which had always been bad, that is, the pH factor was four, the clay content was 13 percent, and the waste content was 0.57 percent, became looser and relatively fertile; the pH factor was six, the clay content was 20 percent, and the waste content was 1.2 percent. From a position where it cultivated only rice with low productivity, Trung Hoa began producing subsidiary crops and industrial crops as well, and stockraising developed fairly quickly. In comparing 1969 with 1965, we note that the rice yield increased 75 percent (from 3.2 tons per hectare to 5.6 tons per hectare) and that there was a three- to four-fold increase in the yield of all potatoes. In 1965, there were only 557 hogs in Trung Hoa and in 1969, this figure had increased to 1,152, or an average of 2.9 hogs per hectare of cultivated soil.

Through soil improvement and production expansion along the proper lines, the cooperatives became stronger and in a relatively short period of time, Trung Hoa had attained the three goals of agriculture. The gross output in 1969 as compared with 1965 increased by 67 percent, including a 46 percent increase in cultivation, a 162 percent increase in stockraising, and a 160 percent increase in other areas. The fixed assets of the cooperative increased from 36,000 dong in 1965 up to 194,000 dong in 1969. In addition to the progress registered by the collectivized economy, there was a fundamental change in the living conditions of the cooperative members. The people of Trung Hoa no longer had to eat purchased rice or buy their rice from the state. Nor did they have to buy sweet potato peelings and cabbage or turnip leaves to eat during the off season as was once the case. The income of a cooperative member family grew from 358 dong in 1965 to 541 dong in 1969. All of the families had wells and partitioned privies and nearly all of the families had brick yards, while nearly 200 families had built brick houses.

In 1969, Trung Hoa contributed 148 tons of paddy, 22 tons of peanuts, and 34 tons of pork to the state. Therefore, on this traditionally poor soil, the average per-hectare contribution to the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the building of socialism in 1969 amounted to 829 kilograms of paddy, 124 kilograms of peanuts, and 196 kilograms of pork. The average per-worker contribution was 221 kilograms of paddy, 33 kilograms of peanuts, and 52 kilograms of pork.

The success in Trung Hoa, the place where not too long ago the production and living conditions of the people were the worst in Heip Hoa District, demanded the attention of many other cooperatives in the midland region. Cadres and representatives from many cooperatives came to visit and learn specifically about the rapid and stable progress of Trung Hoa.

#### High Determination, Proper Direction of Production, and Good Technical Methods

With the willing help of higher echelons and under the determined leadership of the party chapter, the Trung Hoa cooperative turned its hand to soil improvement during the winter-spring season of 1961-1962 with a view toward constantly increasing the fertility of the soil, increasing the effectiveness of soil utilization, and improving the yield and gross output of crops; and in that way, to progressively improve the living conditions of the cooperative members. This was a difficult, troublesome, and complicated procedure. From the moment the question of soil improvement was raised, some people thought that "Our poverty stems from the traditional poverty of the soil" and that "no one has ever been able to improve the soil"; they therefore did not believe that it could be accomplished. Those who were afraid of difficulties and did not dare to persist in the struggle to improve nature believed that "trying to improve this low quality soil would be like banging one's head against a rock," or "to improve the low quality soil in Trung Hoa would take 30 years," and so forth. Even within the party chapter and the cooperative management section, not everyone gave instant approval to the policies and methods for soil improvement. Therefore, it was necessary to make everyone understand the reason for the poor quality soil and that improving this soil was an urgent problem for the cooperative. They also had to be convinced that the collectivized strength of the cooperative under party leadership could carry out soil improvements, for only in that way could the broad power of the people be willingly mobilized to stand up in the struggle to improve nature.

The leading cadres prepared an analysis for the cooperative member farmers so that they could see that the soil in the cooperative fields was getting worse and worse. They pointed out the relationship between the poor soil and the requirement to improve the living standards of the families, as well as the requirement to enrich the cooperative and make an ever-increasing contribution to the common revolutionary undertakings of the entire country. The people previously knew little about protecting the soil and allowed natural conditions (rain, heat, and the hilly terrain) to gradually take their effect. Moreover, farmers used the same methods of farming as their ancestors who had also allowed the soil to erode quickly. Single crop cultivation, that is, the cultivation of only rice for a long time, and such farming methods as "strip plowing and harrowing for transplanting," "recklessly increasing crops," and "allowing the water to overflow the banks" over a period of many years also seriously damaged the soil in Trung Hoa.



Poor quality soil is a disaster to the cooperative. They did not improve the soil in the old days because everyone worked individually. Now, given the great strength of the collectivized cooperative, and the active help of the state, they can surely enrich the soil and gradually improve it. The people became more ready to believe that the soil in the cooperative could be improved through scientific analysis of soil damage and the introduction of progressive experiences and good models of soil improvement. Resolving the ideological problems for all cooperative members so that they could stabilize their spirit of enthusiasm for carrying out soil improvement was not a one-time affair. The constant revolutionary spirit of the working class could not instantly penetrate the mentality of the farmers and get them to immediately begin large-scale collectivized operations. Being aware of that fact, the Trung Hoa party organization devoted attention to progressively utilizing the soil improvement process so that it could continuously educate and improve the awareness of party members and cooperative members and actively help them to carry out all soil improvement measures.

Soil improvement in Trung Hoa was closely tied to changing the direction of production. This was done by eliminating single crop cultivation, reducing the cultivation area devoted to rice, increasing the cultivation area devoted to subsidiary crops, implementing crop rotation systems, and adding crops. Everyone recognized that these were valid measures to improve soil but in the initial years, cultivation was improperly carried out because of lack of experience. Soil conditions remained poor, there was little fertilizer, and cooperative management standards were low. The cultivation of some food crops demanded a great deal of fertilizer and better technical standards. As a result, productivity was low and the quality of goods produced was poor. The living conditions of the cooperative members grew worse. Pessimism and complacency reappeared among some cooperative members. It was often said, "Before soil improvement we were only poor while now we are impoverished." The spirit of enthusiasm for soil improvement among some cooperative members had reached its limit. Faced with that situation, a party organization and the Trung Hoa cooperative management section promptly called a meeting to learn from the experiences. There was a great deal of criticism about the old course of production. The cooperative members believe that in order to successfully improve the soil, make the soil fertile, and quickly enrich the cooperative and its members it was necessary to "move in the areas of growing potatoes and raising hogs" because with a great deal of potatoes the people would have enough to eat and the peace of mind necessary to engage in production; this would also create conditions under which the number of hogs could be rapidly increased. In this way, the cooperative would generate a great deal of fertilizer which would support intensive cultivation and improve the soil. Through widespread democratic discussions, Trung Hoa determined that the course of production was "rice, potatoes, peanuts, and hogs." This course was appropriate to the hope of the masses, and to the soil, fertilizer, and other conditions in the cooperative.



The actual experience of Trung Hoa in conjunction with the ideology of the masses so that they will believe in and carry out soil improvement with determination and fixing the proper course of production are vital issues aimed at obtaining rapid and stable results in soil improvement.

The mobilization of great numbers of cooperative members in enthusiastic efforts in water conservancy, fertilizer, strict adherence to increased crops systems, and crop rotation was decisive to soil improvement in Trung Hoa.

In the area of water conservancy, Trung Hoa combined the experiences of many progressive cooperatives and at the same time, made great efforts to research their own soil conditions. As a result, they quickly outlined an overall plan. They combined water conservancy with work on roads and breeding fish, thereby avoiding redigging and rebuilding, as well as wasting manpower and money, while bringing about good economic results. The implementation of water conservancy plans was divided into many steps. The first step was aimed primarily at managing the irrigation system, building fields with lot and area dikes, and putting an end to the problem of water overflowing the dikes. The second step called for the cooperative to cultivate such crops as tea, pineapple, santalum album, japanese lilac, bamboo, and green manure plants along the road that bordered the hills. These would be used to block soil erosion and to transform previously fallow ground into a highly cultivatable area. To prevent soil erosion on the slopes, the cooperative dug canals and planted bamboo. The cooperative also built a lake which would hold fresh water for those areas without an irrigation system. The third step called for the cooperative to concentrate its efforts on leveling the fields and organizing irrigation for each area of the fields. So far, the rice and subsidiary crops cultivation area is almost all irrigated in an appropriate manner.

They worked earnestly at water conservancy in Trung Hoa, and "working during the day was not enough and they strived to work at night." The cooperative gave a priority to water conservancy with lime, bricks, and cement, under the slogan "Beautify the fields first and the village afterwards." In order to promptly manifest the effectiveness of water conservancy efforts in Trung Hoa, their policy was to "complete one thing at a time," and they worked methodically in each section and area. While digging canals, building dikes, and leveling fields the families of Trung Hoa devoted attention to protecting the topsoil and were determined not to use it for building dikes. Through each year of brave labor, Trung Hoa virtually completed its water conservancy efforts and created advantageous conditions for soil improvement and intensive cultivation to increase the output of crops.

Along with water conservancy efforts, the cooperative worked to rapidly increase fertilizer, considering it one of the key technical measures necessary for soil improvement and intensive cultivation. They devoted attention to expanding all three sources of fertilizer: manure,

green fertilizer, and alluvial soil and mud. Chemical fertilizer played only a supporting role in Trung Hoa and it was used appropriately and conservatively. ,

In order to acquire a great deal of animal manure, they forcefully expanded hog raising in Trung Hoa. The greatest problem previously faced by them in the expansion of hog raising was a shortage of feed. Since the cooperative determined and accelerated its production direction (rice, potatoes, peanuts, and hogs), in which rice production was primary and potato production was an incentive, not only was the problem of food for people resolved but the problem of feed for collectivized stockraising and family stockraising also acquired a stable foundation. The cultivation area and output of potatoes was rapidly increased and this created conditions for a concomitant expansion in hog raising. The average volume of animal manure per hectare gradually increased as a result: in 1965, it was 6.3 tons; in 1966, it was 6.7 tons; in 1967, it was 7.3 tons; in 1968, it was 8.2 tons; and in 1969, it was 9.2 tons.

In addition to animal manure, the cooperative rapidly increased the use of green fertilizer. Through many years of working persistently on duckweed, the farmers in this poor quality midland soil area spread duckweed on all of the winter-spring cultivation area in 1967, buried the duckweed twice, and developed even hot-season duckweed. The duckweed was also used as fodder for hogs and composted to make fertilizer for the potatoes and peanuts. Sesbania was cultivated everywhere along the dike and in seedling beds, while other green fertilizer plants were cultivated in the hills, thereby providing the cooperative with about 700 tons of green fertilizer for the fields. In order to quickly improve the soil, the cooperative initiated a mass campaign aimed at getting the people to enthusiastically and regularly transport the alluvial soil from the Cau River to the cooperative 3 kilometers away where it was poured on the fields. Since 1965, Trung Hoa has spread 135 tons of alluvial soil on each hectare of cultivated ground. Because it knew to fully apply all types of fertilizer in the intensive cultivation and improvement of the soil, the cooperative spread an average of 22 tons of fertilizer per hectare in 1969, and nearly half of that was animal manure.

By combining water conservancy and fertilizer, Trung Hoa applied a crop rotation system appropriate for soil improvement. The cooperative applies the crop rotation systems to each area of the field which has been zoned every year. In the highlands, they cultivate early sweet potatoes, then peanuts, then early tenth-month rice. In the midlands, they cultivate late tenth-month rice, then late sweet potatoes, then fall rice. In the lowlands, they transplant fifth-month rice, follow it with sesbania, and tenth-month rice; or duckweed followed by spring rice and tenth-month rice. Trung Hoa has devoted attention to learning from production experiences every year in order to more properly structure cultivation with a view toward attaining higher yields. The cooperative has gradually increased the cultivation area devoted to spring rice and gradually decreased that

devoted to fifth-month and fall rice. With improved soil and other necessary conditions being well prepared, during this winter-spring season in Trung Hoa they have plans to completely replace the fifth-month rice with spring rice. They are determined to attain a very high yield in the soil which eight years previously was of very poor quality.

Progressive technical standards on plowing, fertilizing, and irrigating have been established in a manner appropriate to each crop location formula for each type of crop. As a result, the cooperative practices intensive cultivation, improves the soil, and significantly increases the fertility of the soil.

### Greater Progress Required

Soil improvement policies and measures in Trung Hoa are stable. The working spirit of cadres, party members, and cooperative members is brave. In a relatively short period of time, they have reported great accomplishments in soil improvement, increased yields, and the expansion of stockraising. The living conditions of the people have been significantly improved because of increased production. By making such improvements in only eight years, forcefully developing agriculture, and gaining a 5.6 ton per hectare yield, Trung Hoa, a cooperative in the poor soil midland area, "overturned" the thinking of some conservatives who did not believe in the creative strength of the farmers in carrying out the party agricultural expansion line.

They recently initiated an all-province campaign designed to "study, keep pace with, and surpass the Trung Hoa cooperative" in Ha Bac Province. That is a great honor for Trung Hoa but it is also a great responsibility and as a result, is most important. In order to uphold the leading banner of the midlands, Trung Hoa will not be satisfied with the accomplishment it has made but will strive to make greater progress and resolve the remaining weaknesses in order to make great leaps forward in coming years.

The most obvious production problem in Trung Hoa is hogs. Although they have greatly expanded hog raising over previous years, they have not yet acquired a balance between sweet potatoes and hogs and have not yet insured the rapid increase in the volume of animal manure necessary to support intensive cultivation and continue soil improvement. Stockraising is not yet considered one of the major sectors of production in the Trung Hoa cooperative. The number of hogs raised collectively was seriously reduced following an asthma epidemic, but the management section has not yet been fully concerned with restoring and expanding that number. Stockraising techniques are still backward in Trung Hoa and the sows are not yet good. If they do not quickly reorganize the ranks of those engaged in stockraising, do not strengthen the leadership over stockraising, especially in the collectivized sector, and do not select good sows, stockraising problems will seriously increase and this will surely have an adverse effect upon plans for the intensive cultivation of sweet potatoes, peanuts,

and rice. It will especially influence plans to quickly introduce new, fast-growing rice seeds with a high productivity into the fields of the cooperative, and in the final analysis, will more adversely affect the living conditions of the cooperative members and disrupt the new distribution of labor within the cooperative.

The raising of domestic fowl in Trung Hoa could also forcefully expand if the cooperative actively engages in the study of selection and breeding of good chickens and adopts a scientific system of raising them. There are lakes and ponds suitable for fish breeding in Trung Hoa, but the cooperative merely stocks fish and has not yet truly made plans for raising them.

Generally, the spirit in favor of expanding stockraising and the cooperative stockraising plans for 1971 do not clearly illustrate the aggressive revolutionary spirit of a progressive cooperative. That is something to which the party chapter and the cooperative should give some thought. They should find a way to overcome it in order to manifest the superiority of the midland cooperative.

Another weakness which the Trung Hoa cooperative should strive to overcome in order to move forcefully ahead is its bad performance in the economic and financial management field as compared with many progressive cooperatives in North Vietnam. In each cooperative, the structure of fixed assets has a major effect upon improving the effectiveness of capital. The Trung Hoa cooperative (and some sectors at higher echelons responsible for helping Trung Hoa) have not yet devoted attention to appropriately setting up this structure. The survey conducted by an economic-banking-finance study group of the Ha Tinh provincial administrative committee showed that the fixed assets in Trung Hoa directly supporting production were slight, while the fixed assets indirectly supporting production were great. Of the gross fixed assets in 1962, 92.4 percent directly supported production while only 7.6 percent indirectly supported production. By 1969, that ratio had climbed to 28.7 percent and 71.3 percent. Such an inappropriate structure badly affects the production of the cooperative and the income of the cooperative members.

There has also been laxity in the management of the cooperative's production expenditures, as well as some inappropriate budget items, thereby wasting capital. As a result, the ratio of expenditures as compared with income over the past several years has regularly increased: in 1964, it was 37.6 percent; in 1968, it was 42.3 percent; in 1969, it was 52.2 percent.

In 1969 the cooperative did not operate on real income, but rather upon projected income and expenditures, to establish distribution levels according to workdays. Therefore, the level of distribution in accordance with workdays was much greater than reality would allow and as a result,

badly affected the capital accumulation used for expanding production and the collectivized welfare treasury.

Auditing in stockraising is also unclear. The cooperative does not calculate every variety of domestic animals, keep actual track of how much paddy and potatoes is used for feed, and there are other irregularities. They do not closely watch the income and expenditures in stockraising and the income is not centralized in the cooperative. The stockraising elements have a separate treasury and receipts and expenditures are handled arbitrarily. There was once an eight-month period in which accounts were settled with the cooperative only once. Such bad management gradually led to a point where receipts and expenditures were totally arbitrary. These things gradually led to excessive production costs in stockraising, there were operational losses in the stockraising sector, and there was a dependence upon cultivation.

The cooperative has not yet come to fully understand self-reliance and has therefore not yet concentrated upon the exploitation and use of private capital in the cooperative but rather has greatly relied upon capital assistance provided by the state.

We note that the cooperative has generally not made an all-out effort in leadership. It has only just begun to concentrate its attention upon production (in production it has paid a great deal of attention only to cultivation), and for the most part has taken finances lightly.

The shortcomings and weaknesses of Trung Hoa in specific leadership are not the only problems. The above-mentioned examples are only some of those which come to mind in Trung Hoa. The direction of production in the cooperative must receive additional study in order that prompt changes can be made with a view toward fully developing the superiority of a cooperative in the midlands where the soil has been initially improved and the problem of food for the people and feed for the animals has been fundamentally resolved.

The success in Trung Hoa is great, and the weaknesses and shortcomings are those generated by the growth process. Therefore, with a determined party organization which clearly recognizes its strength and weaknesses, and given the stability of many things in the cooperative, Trung Hoa will surely develop the success it has won continuously, strive to overcome difficulties, and strive to reach the apex of progressive cooperatives.

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## ON THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPING TRADITIONS IN THE NATIONAL OPERA

[Article by Tran Bang; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 67-69, 89]

### The Special Features of the Vietnamese Traditional Opera

We are proud to have a long-standing and fine, traditional theater.

The traditional theatrical arts of our people are rich in their folk nature and reflect its particular reality.

First of all, they belong to the narrative style. From the comedies up to the traditional folk plays -- "Only with a story can the play be written" -- then the "plays which were written," and the popular narrative poems, the traditional theater became more and more closely tied to the narrative style poems of the people. Along with the expansion of social concepts and to keep pace with the narrative poems, the narrative style of traditional opera gradually developed. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it had gained greater acceptance as a romantic and dramatic element. It was used to describe the complex mentalities of the people of those times and became an intricate narrative style. The best classes of plays within the traditional theater (satirical drama as well as traditional drama) were those in which the actors knew how to combine romantic story telling with dramatics. To consider the traditional opera as only a simple narrative is to disregard its richness in variety. Conversely, to emphasize the dramatic and romantic without considering a narrative as the primary factor and the factor which decides the content of traditional arts is wrong.

The traditional theatrical art in our country is the conventional art. The play is the translation of the story. The events which transpire during a play are not limited to a fixed time or place. A fight for example may take place on a boat and end up in the water with the loser climbing up on the bank, stealing a horse, and fleeing with the winner in pursuit. How can actors create such an illusion on a small stage? The traditional theater uses conventional methods. The stage used in traditional theater is not fixed and therefore does not employ scenery. Anyone looking at a

stage in which scenery is employed would think that it was a nursery or an office if there were no actors. In the traditional opera, space combines with the actors. If the actor rows a boat, the stage is water. If an actor moves up onto the bank, it is at once water and becomes a road. Time is also used uniquely. Generally, the traditional opera respects the order of time, and periods of time are handled in accordance with the requirements of the performing arts. Seconds and minutes may be prolonged extensively because of the need to create an illusion through song. After one sentence, the audience can imagine that three years has passed. The conventional and special characteristics relative to the handling of space and time by the traditional opera of our country is completely different than the artistic principles governing the naturalist theater on the stages of Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the most conventional traditional operas, such as : "Nanh Long Catches the Horse" (traditional drama) and "Tuan Ti Dao Hue" (satirical drama) has strongly effected modern audiences because of their realism.

#### A Traditional Theatrical Art in Our Country Is the Sentence Form

In the traditional theater of our country, the real is always combined with the romantic. When reality is portrayed in traditional opera it does not maintain its natural form. The distance between artistic forms and real life is no different than that between singing and dancing and talking and standing in life. The objective is studied selectively by the performer and when he has assimilated the main features and primary characteristics which illustrate its fundamental nature, he eliminates the other details and emphasizes, exaggerates, and utifies those major points through song and dance created with the people in mind. The sentence form is like this. The sentence form is one of the primary artistic methods of the realistic-romantic style of the traditional opera. It is an artistic method which has created such beautiful, sincere, and vital artistic forms as: Dong Kim Lan, Ta (traditional drama), Say, and Thi Mau (satirical drama). It must also be said that this reflection of reality is not a characteristic peculiar to the traditional theater. It is also the method that our ancestors often used for description in poetry and in other creative arts.

#### The Traditional Theater Is an Art of Actors

Nowadays we usually consider the performer as the focal point of the theater. It is not quite enough to say this in regard to the performer in the traditional opera. The entire theatrical art in this case is the performer. The performer in the traditional opera must employ his artistic methods to create the illusion of time and space in the theater. With an oar in hand he must make the audience see a boat and water. Carrying a torch in the normal light of the theater, the performer must make the audience see the enveloping shadows of night. Although the stage is bare, the audience accepts the illusions created by the performer. The script is merely the "body of the play." Interpretation in the traditional theater is done primarily through movement.



Poetry is first of all the poetry of movement. The poet of the theater is mainly the performer.

The traditional theater is the theater of the festival and the masses. The performers are peasants. They set up in communities and perform at temples, theaters and festivals. The place of performance is often the temple yard. There is no "fourth wall" here (and neither is there a second or third wall) to separate the performers from the audience. Under such emphatic conditions, the audience is not passive but rather constantly participates in the role being portrayed by the actor on the stage. The most vital indication of this relationship is the repartee during the classic satirical drama.

The above-mentioned special characteristics of the traditional theater are also the fundamental principles which guide every method and artistic procedure in both traditional forms, the satirical drama and the traditional drama. The differences between satirical drama and traditional drama lie in the manner of their presentation and in the varying degrees to which those principles are applied. These special characteristics are organic to each other. One demands the other or creates conditions for the survival of the other. For example, the narrative form demands the conventional form and the two forms create conditions for the survival of the sentence form. All of these things together form the concepts reflecting the particular reality of the Vietnamese theater and the Oriental theater.

As those working in the Vietnamese theater today, especially those working in the national opera, what do we think about this concept of portrayal in the traditional opera?

There are those who believe that realism is the most advanced method and regret that the realism of the traditional art has been limited by the "shackles of current day aesthetics"; conventionalism, the sentence form, and symbolism. Of course, we are now capable of more fully portraying realism than were the people in the olden days. However, "if there are many ways to lie there are also many ways to tell the truth." The Vietnamese have their own way of thinking and talking. The problem is that we must stick close to the traditional Vietnamese arts through study and determine its patterns rather than slipping into the habit of using any part of western aesthetics as a standard for evaluation and criticism.

Rejecting the idea that special characteristics of traditional opera are old fashioned and no longer have any reason to survive in these times of "space science," many people, including theatrical and artistic specialists from foreign countries, see many elements of a modern theater in our traditional opera. Is it possible that the world theater has now "returned" to the artistic principles of the folk theater and the oriental theater? Innovators in the theatrical arts of the twentieth century are demanding that theatrical arts return to their basic nature and to the primary characteristics

of these forms, such as the art of the actor. They are demanding the elimination of all barriers separating the stage and the audience and boldly returning to conventional theatrical arts and the sentence form employing new and highly creative methods.

Our country has not yet been forced to go through the phase of capitalist expansion. The folk traditions of our theater have not yet been deeply adulterated. Traditions still survive among many actors and the art appreciation habits of the masses. That is an advantage for those working in our theater. However, merely reviving the traditional theater does not mean that we have created a modern theater. We must understand that the economic and social foundation of the traditional theater has already been lost. In order to portray the new man of the time and to reflect current day reality, the traditional opera must experience a process of forceful change upon the basis of developing the essence of the traditional arts. Fortunately, the problem of developing tradition in the national opera received early attention as a result of the brilliant leadership line of the party and therefore, the national opera has had 20 years of actual expansion under the democratic republic regime (1). Experience is the measure of truth but what has this abundant experience proven, disproved, and asserted?

#### The Expansion of the National Opera in the Past Twenty Years

The national opera includes various types of long standing traditional entertainment, such as the traditional drama, satirical drama, and the various types of operas that have come about since the 1920's. These all comply with the special characteristics of the traditional theater arts, such as: reformists, the music of Hue, and comedy. At present, about 80 per cent of the Vietnamese theater is national opera. The satirical drama from the Bac Bo delta is now meeting favorable conditions and have expanded rapidly: 16 professional groups and thousands of non-professional units. Traditional and reformist drama is also expanding. The music of Hue and comedy are more and more enjoyed by people throughout North Vietnam. This expansion has taken place because the national opera has not stopped with traditional production but has kept pace with the times. It has presented new themes and performances about the new man fighting on the front lines and working in production enterprises or the fields.

The development of the national opera has taken place rapidly during the past 20 years of fighting and building up. However, carrying on and changing the traditions of the people is a difficult and complex matter which presents many problems in various areas: productions, plays, music, and scenery. Some people have said: "As we meet the problem, we see the bear intricacy and complexity better." In fact, the situation is very good. The national opera has acquired a new quality. Traditionally dealing with the old and backward society, the national opera has now become the new theater with socialist contents. This great change with such a revolutionary significance is definitely changing the entire structure of the performing

arts by destroying its old balance and organization. There are traditional artistic procedures which are no longer appropriate and new procedures are being introduced to audiences. The fact that the old and the new are not yet properly blended has created some disorganization in the arts. However, that is no reason to reject the new and return to the old and no longer timely organization.

The expansion of the national opera in the past 20 years can be divided into three phases:

1-From 1950 to 1958, there were two outstanding features of the national opera:

First, right from the beginning of the restoration, the national opera became involved in the revolution. It promptly supported immediate political missions and began on an entirely new road for it by portraying the realists of the revolution with totally new characters: members of the armed forces and liberated peasants. Nearly all of the items performed by artistic groups were new. Some classic traditional dramas were restored and immediately rewritten so as to be appropriate with the political requirements of the times. There were excesses in this area, such as in the taste of the satirical drama "Tam Diem".

Secondly, although the new themes are appropriate to the times, there have not generally taken on the special characteristics of the traditional opera because of the lack of understanding. The satirical drama (often called "folk plays" and "musical plays") does not follow the narrative style, is overly attentive to detail, and give little attention to the sentence form. It is therefore difficult to have good songs and dancing. Machinery is nearly natural and therefore, at conflict with the conventional form with its dancing and songs, the primary form of the national opera.

2-The period from 1958 to 1965 was an abundant period of expansion in the national opera. In satirical drama, there were many new professional groups added in the provinces and a wide spread campaign for non-professional groups. The music of Hue was revitalized and began to build a modern repertoire. Comedy opera asserted its position through such production as Thoai Thanh-Chau Tuan in the 1958 festival and grew like a strong plant. Research departments were established for additional drama, satirical drama, and reform drama, as well as in the school of national opera. It was clear that following three years of economic restoration the new factors of the socialist economy had stimulated the expansion of the arts in general and of the national opera in particular. From that came a new spirit of emulation, experimentation, and many artistic trends.

Dependency was toward the traditional through the repetition of artistic procedures and forms of the traditional opera (The Two Way Road, Flowers Blossom As The Moon Rises, The Girl Of The Lam River, The Eight Seeds,

and so forth). This method was very effective. The vital form and traditional presentation was appreciated by the masses. However, this was only the short run because the traditional theater had to acquire enough rolls to prevent constant repetition and it would just be trite if every satirical drama had a drunken old man and jugglers or every traditional drama had a Kim Lan and a Ta. The arts must be constantly creative because they cannot expand repetition. That is way the tendency today is toward the new times.

The second tendency to be considered in the national opera is the type of music and dancing. The traditional forms of singing and dancing do not have the power to illustrate the new man and must therefore boldly expand and introduce into the traditional theater such new and modern elements of the arts as ballet, large choruses, and so forth. These appeared at the 1962 festival with the experiental presentation of two productions: Our Blood Has Been Shed (satirical drama) and The Nam Ky Revolution (reformist). The most experimental in the area of music were two plays: The Liberated Girl (satirical drama) and The Rockets Glare (reformist). These created feverish and violent controversies. In looking back, we now recognize the active nature of those plays and see that they asserted the changing requirements of the traditional theater, created new artistic methods, and improved artistic equipment in order to present the man of the new period. There basic shortcoming was that they did not fully rely upon a firm technical knowledgibility about the traditional theater. The experimenters were overly concerned with the songs, dances, and music and they failed to recognize that these were merely the means to present the play. In that roll, they had to submit to the leadership of the basic principles and special characteristics of the type of play being presented. Is it necessary that the music in a narrative opera depend upon heavy voices for high drama and should large groups of singers be the primary goal? The dancing in a narrative opera cannot be "independent dancing" as though it were a dance play. It is merely one of the many means of presentation and all of those means must demonstrate a common interpretation. We simply cannot have the theme of a satirical drama and the dancing of a ballet.

In addition to the above-mentioned artistic trends, "satirical drama" and "folk drama" is also expanding. There are many plays which have been warmly welcomed by the masses, such as: The Orange Grove, Along Both Sides of the Road, The Red Kerchief, The Embroidered Kerchief, The Fragrance of Raw Rice, and Taos Family. The third trend, the trend toward the initial expansion of national opera, has survived because of its acceptance by the masses.

3-From 1965 until the anti-United States professional theater festival for national salvation at the beginning of 1970, the bombs of the aggressor could not end the thinking and searching underway in the national opera. The excitement of a wartime way of life and production gave a new urgency to the problem of the national opera. Conflict between contents and form became more clear. Along with the trend toward opening the doors of the

national opera for acceptance of all good elements from various other art forms, including plays (the traditional drama: exploration and the satirical drama: the Red Silk), the salient feature of the trends was not concerned only with traditional methods and art forms, but rather with patterns and the fundamental special characteristics of the traditional theater (such as the satirical dramas: Over The Waves and The Girl Waver).

In looking back over the expansionary trends of the national theater in the past 20 years, we see:

The pattern of expansion in the national opera has been a pattern of change aimed at transforming it into a weapon of the revolution and making it promptly support political missions of each phase. The trends aimed at changing art forms arose from the requirement to request the beautiful and abundant realities of the struggle against aggression and the building of socialism, as well as the requirement to describe the new man and the flowers of revolutionary heroism. Primarily within that process, the national opera asserted its position in socialism and moved ahead to modernization. That was a proper course.

The guiding ideology throughout the following two phases was one of concern for manifesting the essence of position in the national opera. The searching and experimentation with its successes and failures gradually increased the awareness of the complexities and difficulties to be met in making these changes. Recognizing that the development of tradition tends to repeat traditional procedures and art forms and then changing (sometimes arbitrarily) the forms of presentation and returning to the origin, basic principle, and special characteristics of the traditional arts took more than ten years. If we had not been busy fighting the United States, we could have done it faster and better. Departments engaged in research of traditional, satirical, and reformist, established in 1958 researched and introduced a great many traditions. There was no small amount of film, tape, and scripts in storage. Not a great deal of analysis and research had been done to collect the special characteristics and patterns of expansion in the traditional opera. Experimental projects and the results of thinking and searching by a group of authors, performers, and directors had not been studied sufficiently to allow for the formation of valid opinion.

The relationship between the national opera and a play over a period of nearly 20 years was very complex. How did they cancel out or supplement each other? If they were to supplement each other, what should be used as a guiding principle? Was it necessary to include a "satirical drama" or "folk drama" as a means of encouraging expansion in the national opera? Must the limitations between the artistic procedure of plays and opera be absolutely clear? Those are the problems which must still be continuously researched, discussed, and tested.

In short, many artistic trends have developed over the past 20 years of expansion in the national opera. Each of these trends had its good and bad points. The good has remained and the bad has gone. However, all of those good and bad points help to pave the way for the entry of the national opera into modern times.

### Building a New Image For the National Opera

The process of expansion in the National Opera during the past twenty years has been a process of searching for a new image for the National Opera. Eager discussions today even are aimed at resolving that problem.

Today's National Opera is a continuation of the traditional theater. Therefore, expanding a changing it is not something that is done arbitrarily. It must rather be based upon the special characteristics and fundamental principles of the traditional arts.

The image of a particular art is created by the particular way in which that art portrays reality. The concept of portrayal includes not only fundamental principles but all artistic measures and methods. When all of these elements change, the art itself takes on a new appearance.

To speak of the image of an art, it is first of all necessary to review the principles and forms of that art. It was not natural, but in the past, the relationship between the National Opera and plays was very complex and caused endless arguments. There was a tendency to completely separate these two art forms. That was at odds with the pattern of expansion of art forms in the history of the performing arts. In the process of their expansion, the forms never retain their original appearance but constantly take on new elements of other forms. By the 20th century, according to many theoreticians, there has been a trend toward integrating forms. The traditional Vietnamese theater belongs to the narrative form. Just as with narrative poetry in Vietnam which expanded and took on romantic elements and elements from plays, the National Opera also became more and more integrated. Having inherited traditions, should we just reject elements from plays and just continue the narrative in its unadulterated form? Having accepted elements from plays, it is impossible not to accept the artistic methods of the play form. In the history of the expansion of the National Opera, when elements from plays were introduced, there was an immediate change in the artistic methods. When the elements of plays were introduced into the classic satirical drama "Tuan Ti Dao Hue," the structure of the music was changed and there were changes made in organizing the action of the various events.

However, there is one very important principle requiring attention: The principle of limitations. Integration does not require totally free and arbitrary mixing of elements from the narrative, romantic, and play forms. Integration requires that one element rise to play the leading role. The National Opera is an integrated narrative form. Therefore, the narrative form plays the leading role in the organization and presentation.

When the leading role has been established as the narrative form, the acceptance of romantic and play elements is no longer limited and it may be great or slight depending upon the type of drama and the presentation. It has been suggested that the "satirical drama" and "musical play" forms do not fall into that category because they have accepted the artistic elements of the play form but rather because they have given the leading role to the fundamental principles of the play within the national opera, thereby replacing the fundamental principles of the narrative form. No matter what the future of these forms, for that is a different problem, it is abundantly clear that they are not a part of the national opera form. This is a major experience in the expansion of the various art forms. During recent discussions about the national characteristics of the play form, there was apparently a tendency toward making it follow the fundamental principles of the narrative form. While the play form may accept the good and unique artistic elements of the national opera, it should not be transformed into national opera any more than national opera should be transformed into a play.

The narrative form has arrived at different fundamental characteristics than those of national opera, such as conventionalism and the sentence form. These fundamental characteristics are the origin of its artistic image while the artistic forms and methods are the rich and vital illustrations and adornments of that artistic image. Without roots there can be no blossoms, and without blossoms it is not clearly a plant. The blossoms must keep up with the times in order to develop and change. During a recent festival, they attempted to return to the fundamental characteristics of the national theater with some presentations. They were unsuccessful because the artistic form and the presentation were not sufficient and some of the old things were outdated. The national opera is conventional theater. But now the problem of conventional space has been put into an entirely new context and it is necessary to adopt totally new methods to take advantage of the newest scientific and technical accomplishments in the theater. The same is true with the sentence form in the modern theater. It demands vital and changing methods of presentation which are appropriate to the new conditions.

Respecting the fundamental characteristics of the art is a problem of principles while artistic methods and forms of presentation are the daily creation of performers. To say this does not mean that the new creativeness is separate from artistic methods or the forms of presentation in the traditional arts. It does not mean that all of the old things are backward and must be replaced. Actual experience in the theater has proven that there are many good songs, dances, and old forms of presentation which are still capable of manifesting their effectiveness. That is why those working in the national opera today must first of all understand the fundamental principles. They must have a broad and deep knowledge about the methods and forms of presentation in the traditional theater in order that they can fully apply them to new plays and when necessary, can create good new ideas. One of the special characteristics of the traditional arts is that the old and the new are constantly;

blended with one another. To carry out this continuity without leaving any traces of the old would indeed require a talented performer. The tendency toward changing forms of presentation during the period of from about 1962 to 1965 did not receive mass approval because this organic continuity was not taken into account. In order to overcome that problem, the best and only way is to study so as to gain a thorough knowledge about the forms of presentation in the traditional arts. The continuity will be easy and natural only if the pattern of development is fully understood.

The participation of writers, musicians, dancers, and artists in the national opera is becoming more and more important but the theater in the final analysis is the art of the actor. All of the above-mentioned ideas about the fundamental principles, methods, and forms of presentation fall within the realm of the actor's creativeness. The actor in the national opera has a particular kind of creativeness. It is regrettable that this method has not been perfectly studied and consolidated into a theoretical system because, in actual experience, it is easily replaced by other methods. For a long time in the schools and among theatrical arts groups (which were for the most part national opera groups) the prevailing artistic method was the Stanilapski method (2). It was held in awe and considered an integral part of the form. In fact this is not true. Both methods follow their genuine inclinations and arrive at the final goal of the arts: transmitting the spiritual life of the role to the audience. In the actual experience of the performing arts, experimentation and expression cannot be separated. The time has come for us to clarify this problem, that is, to clarify the method of creating forms in our traditional theater.

Valuable forms of presentation in the traditional theater are still receiving little concern and research today. Performers of many ages are concerned that the professional values will disappear. The young performers do not study diligently or carry on those traditional values. They are mainly afraid of difficulty and adversity and have not yet become fully aware of the special characteristics of methods of presentation in their art form. They are inclined to revert to the methods of presentation of the traditional theater. Only when they are fully aware of the importance of this problem will they see the necessity for study, study diligently, and carry on those valuable traditions. Only on the basis of understanding their profession will they acquire the ability to develop their traditions and create a new image for the performing arts in the national opera.

Creating a new image for the national opera is not a simple problem as we have seen. The new image must respond to the following three requirements:

- 1- The requirements to support the political mission, portray the new life and the new man, and respond to the aesthetic requirements of today's people.

- 2- Continue the present image of the traditional theater art.

- 3- Accept the newest scientific accomplishments in the theaters of the world.



It is necessary to acquire a deep and broad understanding if the artistic image is to meet those closely related requirements; and first of all, a knowledge about the new life and the new man of modern times. This is true because the goal of changes in the arts is to describe the new life and the new man. The new life and the new man must be the inspiration for artistic creativeness. For the arts to acquire a new image, they cannot only make progress in the area of ideological content but must also make progress in the area of theatrical science. The expansion of the traditional theater was halted for nearly a century. During that period, science recorded many accomplishments in the theaters of the world. In order to be worthy as the arts of an heroic people, and at the same time help to expand the theater of the world, the national opera must move to meet modern standards. Accepting the best of the world without losing its own identity requires a great capability and we must first of all control our own traditional arts.

In order to build a new image for the national opera, a vitally important method is to fully apply the artistic tradition of the party so as to accelerate research efforts in the traditional arts and through that expansion in the actual activity of the theater today, to improve the quality of research efforts.

It is necessary to regularly carry out preliminary reviews and critiques after each play and after each period of activity in artistic units.

Theoretical research must also be closely tied to experimentation. Only through experimentation can theoretical concepts be asserted. Experimentation must be planned and closely tied to theoretical efforts.

The new image of the national opera is the image of a socialist theater. The extremely beautiful life of today combined with rich traditions represents the finest conditions under which the national opera can achieve results. The actual experience of the past 20 years of expansion in the national opera has provided a great deal of experience and trained a large group of performers and artistic cadres, among which a great many are talented. In the spirit of the eager revolutionary struggle of our people today, those working in the arts should unite, reach the apex of the arts, lead the national opera in ever-more brilliant expansion.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The party line on national arts has existed for a long time. However, during the early years of the anti-French resistance, work became bogged down and it was 1950 before attention was paid to developing the traditional theater.
2. Stanilapski (1863-1938), a famous Russian performer, director, and dramatic theoretician, advocated experimentation and expression in the arts.

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## A BOOK TO GUIDE THE STRUGGLES OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE

[Article by Phan Tien Tich; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 70-77]

In the process of leading the people in the revolution, the party and President Ho devoted special attention to leading, educating, and motivating young people. Through every phase of the revolution, the party issued directives and resolutions on campaigns among the young. President Ho and other party and state leaders were very concerned about the young people, held their role, position, and capabilities in high regard, and pointed out their obligations and valuable lessons. When he died, President Ho reiterated: "Youth group members and young people are good. They do everything enthusiastically, do not mind difficulties, and are ambitious. The party must be concerned with teaching them revolutionary ethics and training them to become the heirs of building socialism who are both 'red' and 'specialized.'"

"Training the revolutionary generation for the future is a vital and important matter."<sup>1</sup>

When he visited the All-Army Determined-to-Win Youth Conference on 18 May 1966, Le Duan, first secretary of the Party Central Committee, addressed the conference. That address has been printed into a book entitled "The Youth of the Armed Forces Should Move Ahead More, Strive for Revolutionary Ideals, and Lead in the Anti-United States Undertaking for National Salvation," published by Su That publishers. This is a book with a great theoretical and practical value to the young people's campaign and party efforts relative to those campaigns. It is also important to educating and training a new generation of young people in our country during the current phase of the revolution. It is an important document for educating and training those who are striving to become party members, as well as for every cadre and party member.

In this book, Le Duan once again highly evaluates the role, capabilities, and strength of young people and he points out that the source of that strength is revolutionary ideals and struggle ideals taught by the

party and President Ho. He deeply analyzes the contents of revolutionary ideals among the young people and puts forth the requirements for training revolutionary heroism among young people so that they can attain those ideals.

### The Major Role, Great Potential, and Great Strength of the Young People

At the beginning of his book, Le Duan wrote: "Our young people from north to south have recorded and are now recording great accomplishments. The Party Central Committee is very happy over their accomplishments in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation, the building of socialism, and the building of the new man. The party and the nation are very proud of this glorious young generation. The people and the young people of the world sing the praises of our youth."<sup>2</sup> In fact, on all production and combat fronts as well as in all other activities, the young people have manifested, and are forcefully developing, their revolutionary assault role and their worthiness as the reserve forces of the party. The young people represent the majority in the People's Army, 40 percent of the agricultural labor force, and from 60 to 80 percent of the labor force in industry and in many other sectors. Young people have clearly demonstrated their extreme heroism, intelligence, and creativeness while upholding a brilliant example of revolutionary heroism and making a major contribution to the great victory of the army and people throughout the country. Le Duan pointed out that the young people represent a key force, who together with the people, have continuously defeated the U.S. aggressor since its invasion of our country.

"The youth campaign has special features within the revolutionary history of the country. The party was born and founded from the revolutionary youth association. That means that there was a period in which the young people lighted the first torch for the revolution in our country."<sup>3</sup> "We note that the people bearing the most difficult and heavy, but also the most glorious, responsibility were for the most part young people during the 1930-1931 campaign, the high point of the Nghe-Tinh Soviet, the 1936-1939 and 1940-1945 campaigns, the August Revolution, the nine years of sacred resistance, and the six years of economic restoration and economic and cultural improvements and expansion."<sup>4</sup> "During the current building of socialism, as well as in future progress toward building communism, the young people are the land guard."<sup>5</sup> The young people are the pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the very high and overall evaluation of the party relative to the role, capabilities, and great accomplishments of young people. The young people have recorded constant progress and growth since the party was formed and since they have been organized, led, and educated by the party. From a small organization with only eight members, we now have revolutionary ranks crowded with millions of youth group members, young people, and millions of children's groups members. Those ranks have helped to create the great strength of the nation. Le Duan emphasized: "It is necessary to assert that the nation is very strong and the young people are very strong. Within the strength of the nation,

we have the strength of the young people. The nation can only be strong if the young people are strong." This is vitally important to train the new young generation at a level sufficient to meet the ever-growing needs of the revolution because "the revolution is large, difficult, and constantly expanding and changing. Where its ranks are not full with loyal young people who enthusiastically accept new ideas and actively carry them out, the revolution cannot be accelerated."<sup>6</sup> "The party must rely upon the workers, peasants, and all other classes of workers in leading the revolution but it must be totally concerned with controlling the young people."<sup>7</sup>

### Revolutionary Ideals Are the Source of Strength for Young People

The strength of young people has always stemmed from revolutionary ideals. Revolutionary ideals are no different than a guiding star. They are a leader who guides us forward and a force which motivates us ahead. Young people have traditionally been enthusiastic, ardent, rich in capability, and thirsty for ideals. With the proper guidance, young people will act properly and acquire the capability to create an extraordinary strength. It is therefore very important to assert the proper ideals for young people. Under the old colonial and feudal systems, all classes of young people faced a difficult and dangerous struggle, imprisonment and misery, and who knows how much blood was shed in search of ideals. That does not even count the young people who were culturally enslaved and poisoned by the colonialists and turned into men whose spirits were paralyzed, whose ethics were degenerated, and, who even on occasions, became blackies for the enemies. Since the party was born, it has outlined the goals of the Vietnamese revolution as: national liberation, the winning of independence for the state, the implementation of democracy, the right of the farmers to the land, and progress in the building of socialism and communism in our country, as well as throughout the world. Those are the lofty goals for which the entire party and all of the people are determined to fight. Those goals of the party are also the primary revolutionary ideals of the young people. The road of ideals for young people exists only because the party and the working class has led the way. Countless numbers of the finest members of the party and the nation, many of them young people, have fought heroically and made every sacrifice for those ideals. Thousands of people from previous generations have given their lives for the country so that they could present that invaluable legacy to the current generation. Fortunate and honored to be able to stand under the banner of the party and to follow the revolutionary road outlined by the party and President Ho, the present generation of young people must "charge ahead, stand up and be counted, and shoulder their responsibility to build the state into a powerful socialist fatherland. To refuse or avoid that responsibility is a disgrace in the eyes of history and a demonstration of ingratitude to our ancestors."<sup>8</sup>

However, in the process of moving toward the goals of the revolution, we have specific goals in the struggle during each period. Le Duan has pointed out that the immediate goal of the party, all of the people, and the young people is to be determined to defeat the U.S. aggressor,

liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, and move toward the peaceful unification of the country. That is a vital step on the road toward successfully attaining our ideals because at present, the imperialist United States and its lackeys present an obstacle to the people on the road to independence, freedom, and socialism. Only by defeating the United States and regaining independence and freedom for the fatherland can we create the conditions necessary to liberate the classes, eliminate systems of oppression and exploitation, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, and make a significant contribution to the world revolution. Each and every youth must train himself and struggle constantly to attain that goal. The young person with ideals is not one who has only beautiful dreams but rather one who knows how to train himself to acquire the capabilities and bearing necessary to attain those dreams.

### Uphold Patriotism and Socialism and Be Determined to Fight for National and Class Liberation

In order to train themselves so that they will have sufficient capabilities and qualifications to attain revolutionary ideals, the young people must first of all acquire "an ardent patriotism and a great sense of class awareness and they must be determined to fight for national and class liberation." In this book, Le Duan has deeply analyzed the power of patriotism, a national spirit, and the close-knit relationship between patriotism and class awareness. He believes that our people have traditionally held to a great spirit of self-belonging. That spirit has been maintained and expanded through thousands of years of history and has become a valuable tradition and a wonderful material strength through our nation. As a result of that spirit, our ancestors recorded countless battlefield exploits and crushed a great deal of powerful military aggression against the country, including three invasions of our country by the wicked Nguyen. Since it was born, the party, under the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism, has known how to apply the traditional determination of the people to the framework of current day classes. The ardent patriotism of the Vietnamese, a tradition that is thousands of years old, was strengthened by the totally revolutionary spirit of the working class and became more ardent and deeply ingrained and was thereby transformed into a powerful and wonderful force which no vicious enemy or insidious plot could destroy. That is, the proper combination of national independence, democracy, unity of the fatherland, and socialism. It is the new context of patriotism today, the patriotism of the working class. Therefore, in order to acquire a sincere patriotism, the young people must train themselves in the proper concepts of the working class and they must train themselves to follow the position of the working class.

Le Duan deeply analyzed the reason behind and the intimate relationship between those requirements. He pointed out that class rights are always closely tied to national interests and that national spirit is always tied closely to class awareness. If national liberation is not

attained, the classes cannot be liberated and if independence is lost, freedom, democracy, and even the necessities of life are also lost. Winning independence for the fatherland is the most sacred mission and the primary mission at this time. While the fatherland is divided, not only is independence incomplete but it is constantly threatened as well. The independence of other people is closely tied to the unification of the fatherland. The liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the fatherland are the fondest hopes and the sacred feelings of every patriotic Vietnamese. Additionally, in order to strengthen and maintain national independence, it is necessary to enrich the state and that means it is necessary to build socialism. We cannot rest with the national and democratic revolution but must continue onward with the socialist revolution. We cannot struggle only to eliminate oppression and exploitation but must also build up a prosperous fatherland and thereby enable the people to enjoy a full and happy life. Therefore, the feeling of the people throughout the country with regard to national independence, unification of the fatherland, and socialism are in total agreement. Those feelings are deep and sacred. The young people must not only uphold that spirit in the anti-United States struggle for national salvation but must constantly uphold it in the building of socialism and it must be first of all demonstrated by a constant improvement in their labor output and effectiveness in work.

Our people do not live only for food and clothing but must also have family and national ties. The new context of current day patriotism is the closeness of the family and national ties. Le Duan said: "Sincere family ties have always been blended with national ties. Family compassion is the foundation of compassion for one's compatriots and the country." In the old days, the people believed that the country and the home was one. The home was within the country and if the country was lost, the home dissolved. Those feelings have never run as strong or as deep as they do now when the working people have gained control of the country and own their destinies. Le Duan pointed out that, "Family compassion and national ties have been forged through thousands of years of history and become a major feeling and a need in the spiritual life of every patriotic Vietnamese. Those feelings are one of the driving forces in the struggle of the young people. If the people understand that the reason they control their families is that they control society, whenever they think of their family, their parents, their wives and children, and their brothers not only will they not be discouraged in the face of difficulties but rather they will become more enthusiastic.

The new context of patriotism today is also a close association between sincere patriotism and lofty proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution. Without the support of the world revolution, the Vietnamese revolution could not succeed. At the same time, every victory in the Vietnamese revolution is a victory for the world revolution. All mankind support our people with an ever-growing strength in its attempts to totally defeat the U.S. aggressor and build the free and independent economy. That is a precious illustration of the international unity help for our party and people.

In short, "the nation, the classes, and the family mean unity. Love of country, human compassion, love of classes, and love of family mean unity. Independence, democracy, freedom, and socialism mean unity. Sincere patriotism and proletarian internationalism mean unity. None of those things can be separated but are intimately related to each other and create a totally profound and beautiful sense of patriotism among our people and the young people."

Highly Developing Revolutionary Heroism and Moving Ahead Toward Completing Every Revolutionary Mission Assigned by the Party and the People in an Outstanding Manner

In order to attain their lofty revolutionary ideals, young people must have an ardent sense of patriotism and class awareness. The young people must also highly develop revolutionary heroism and the ethical qualities of the new youth, the youth of the Ho Chi Minh era. Only with revolutionary heroism does the patriotism of the new youth take a specific and effective meaning. In order to help the young people to acquire a basis for study and training, and to help them develop revolutionary heroism, Le Duan pointed out the following three requirements for them:

First, the young people must have a fierce determination to struggle and be pious, unafraid of difficulties or sacrifice, and be prepared to give their lives for the revolution, the people, and righteousness.

The revolution is extremely glorious but it is also very difficult and complicated. The road on which we travel in building a beautiful society is a road full of obstacles and danger. If the revolutionary does not have a fierce determination to struggle, a willing spirit, loyalty, and a willingness to sacrifice himself for the revolution it cannot succeed. A loyal spirit, willingness, and a willingness to sacrifice is an integral part of every revolutionary effort, whether it be in combat or production. "Without a willingness to sacrifice, a man is not a legitimate revolutionary. The desire to attain high ideals without a willingness to sacrifice is devoid of meaning." The willingness to sacrifice and give one's life for the revolution is the primary virtue of a revolutionary and an advantageous spiritual weapon in the hands of our soldiers which strikes terror in the enemies. It is also an urgent requirement of the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and a basic issue in greatly improving the combat posture of the people's farming. That quality must be present even on the production front and in the building of socialism. In his article entitled "Building a Sense of Collective Ownership Upon the Proletarian Viewpoint," Le Duan wrote: "The struggle to destroy the enemy for national salvation is not alone it its demand for sacrifice. The building of socialism also demands a high sense of sacrifice and a willingness to make the supreme sacrifice."<sup>9</sup> To sacrifice means to sacrifice the individual in favor of the fatherland, the people, and the revolution.



In order to strengthen that sense of sacrifice for the revolution, young people must be properly aware of the relationship between the individual and the group and between life and death. Le Duan pointed out: "The revolutionary differs from the non-revolutionary in that he places the group and the common interest before himself. He always thinks first about the revolution and the group and always places the interest of the fatherland and the group before individual's interest." "If a cause is undertaken only for the small, ordinary individual that undertaking will not only belong to the realm of the small and commonplace but will sometimes lead to serious errors." The revolutionary primarily desires a glorious life and one with ideals and he wants to live for the fatherland and for the revolution. Therefore, he is also prepared to die for the fatherland and the revolution. That is the most proper revolution philosophy which every youth must foster and uphold.

Secondly, youth must be accustomed with a high sense of organization and discipline, as well as a stirrup of socialist collectivism. A sense of sacrifice alone is not enough for a revolution. Organization is also required because strength comes only with organization. A sense of organization and discipline is a quality which cannot be lacking in the revolutionary. It is in total agreement with a sense of sacrifice. The working class is the product of industry and it is the only class with a built-in sense of organization and discipline and a group spirit. Industrial production and the effort to build socialism very much requires the revolutionary to uphold that spirit. The young people have traditionally felt a high sense of self-respect and that is appropriate to the requirement for the technical revolution. The young people must expand that self-respect into a sense of respect for organization, the group, and its discipline. They must willingly join the group and consider themselves as one cell of the group. They must willingly complete their missions and willingly become a part of the organization. Those are the highly disciplinary requirements for the young people.

Thirdly, the young people must have revolutionary knowledge and a sense of independence and freedom. They must also be creative in every effort and in every environment. Le Duan has often reminded the young people that in order to create a revolution they must not only have revolutionary feelings, courage in struggle, a willingness to sacrifice, and a sense of organization and discipline but they must understand revolutionary knowledge as well. Only with revolutionary knowledge can we clearly understand the goals of the struggles and the direction of activities and help revolutionary feelings to constantly grow stronger and expand. If we are enthusiastic but do not follow the proper lines, we may become bogged down and in that way, not only damage ourselves but the revolution as well. Therefore, one of the most important missions of young people is that they must strive to study revolutionary, scientific knowledge, study Marxism-Leninism, and study the lines and the policies of the party. Depending upon the specific requirements of each aspect of each individual's work, he must train himself in the necessary scientific and technical

knowledge. For example, young people in the armed forces must study to understand the military line of the party, the principles of operational and strategic leadership in the people's war, and military scientific knowledge while training to become skillful in combat. Scientific and technical study is an urgent requirement of the revolution for the young people today. Only with science and technology can we rapidly and successfully build socialism in the country.

However, during the process of studying to fully understand revolutionary scientific knowledge and in the process of the struggle, young people must always be creative. Creativeness is an important problem without which a revolution could not succeed. Le Duan emphasized: "Creativeness is an indication of a spirit of independence and autonomy and an indication of a patriotic spirit and a high revolutionary sense." The revolutionary line of the party is accurate and invincible because it is highly creative and applies the best of Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions of the Vietnamese revolution. Our nation has traditionally had a great spirit of independence, a deep sense of patriotism, and a determined revolutionary spirit. As a result, it has been very creative. It can be said that creativeness is also a precious tradition of our people. Without creativeness we could not have established and maintained the country, one's independence and freedom, or built a happy and full life. The people's war in South Vietnam has highly developed the creativeness of the people. We have also been very creative in building socialism in North Vietnam. If we had not been creative in moving from our position as an underdeveloped agricultural nation toward socialism without passing through a phase of capitalist expansion we could not "hold up our heads as men." To say this does not mean that we repudiate or take lightly the study of experiences of foreign countries to determine what things we had to study and how they could appropriately be applied to the conditions and environment of our country.

The young people are rich in ideals and ardor. They constantly look to the future and are therefore very creative. Guided by the party and given the fine national traditions inherited by them, the young people will surely acquire an even greater creativeness in the process of the revolution.

In order to be worthy as a decisive and strong force of the nation, as well as the competent right arm and reserve unit of the party, the young people must clearly assert their revolutionary ideals, uphold sincere patriotism, highly develop revolutionary heroism, and move ahead to accomplish every revolutionary mission assigned by the party in an outstanding manner. In the process of struggling to attain their ideals, young people must strive to train themselves and become the new and totally expanded young people of Vietnam, as well as "a symbol of the finest combination of the best from the past and the height of modern culture; a combination of the vitality of today with the lofty ideals of tomorrow; and a combination of the most profound patriotism and sincere internationalism."<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, party organizations, mass groups, all sectors, and all echelons must briefly strengthen their efforts to educate and train young people through day to day activity. This is necessary because the revolutionary ideals, quality, and ethics of young people can only be shaped through the process of the revolution in production, the war, and self-training. If we do this, we are truly complying with President Ho's will by training the next generation to be both "red" and "specialized" for the revolution.

With its abundant contents and its profound and scientific analogies the book entitled "The Young People in the Armed Forces Should Move Ahead More, Strive for Revolutionary Ideals, and Lead in the Anti-United States Undertaking for National Salvation," by Le Duan, is a valuable supplement for the young people and for all of us.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. President Ho's will.
2. Quotations in this article without footnotes are taken from "The Young People in the Armed Forces Should Move Ahead More, Strive for Revolutionary Ideals, and Lead in the Anti-United States Undertaking for National Salvation," by Le Duan.
3. Le Duan: Address in a meeting on the resolution issued by the Eleventh Party Central Committee conference in July 1965.
4. Le Duan: "Young People and the Socialist Revolution," Thanh Nien publishers, Hanoi, 1966, p 24.
5. Le Duan: Address in a meeting on the resolution of the Eleventh Party Central Committee conference in July 1965.
6. Le Duan: "Young People and the Socialist Revolution," Thanh Nien publishers, Hanoi, 1966, p 24.
7. Le Duan: Address in a meeting on the resolution issued by the Eleventh Party Central Committee conference in July 1965.
8. Le Duan: "Young People and the Socialist Revolution," Thanh Nien publishers, Hanoi, 1966, pp 125-126.
9. Op. cit., p 148.
10. Le Duan: "Move Enthusiastically Ahead Under the Banner of the October Revolution," Hoc Tap, November 1967, p 23.

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## A GREAT AND TOTAL VICTORY OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE

[Article by Huu Nghi; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 78-84]

For more than a year now, the U.S. imperialists have ruthlessly pushed the fires of their criminal war into Cambodia, destroying the land of peaceful temples. Trampling on international law and disregarding the strong protests of the people of the world and even the people of the United States, the bellicose and stubborn Nixon administration carried out a coup d'etat in Cambodia and afterwards widened the war of aggression into Cambodia. The action of the U.S. imperialists in Cambodia is the product of a passive and collective strategy, the product of a position of defeat and the harsh position of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina. This is an action born of defeat, aimed at saving them from defeat.

Executing the coup d'etat in Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists intended to fire an arrow at many targets. They have long hoped to establish a U.S. lackey, fascist, reactionary administration in Phnom Penh, make peaceful and neutral Cambodia -- long a sty in the eye -- a satellite of the United States, and convert this "island of peace" into a military base. With this, they could solidify their "line against communism" in Southeast Asia.

By extending the war to Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists also aimed at surrounding, isolating, and limiting the development of the revolution in South Vietnam, saving the inescapable defeat of their "Vietnamization" of the war, and strengthening the decadent Saigon regime, hoping to create a psychology of a strong United States and create a "position of strength" on the battle to create a "position of strength" at the negotiating table.

This is the problem that the United States has set forth in hopes of finding a solution for carrying on its neocolonialism in Indochina. It is clear that the U.S. scheme in Indochina is connected with its aggressive scheme in Indochina and Southeast Asia. It is also a part of the counterrevolutionary "global strategy" of the U.S. imperialists aimed at

stemming the rush of revolution that is successively attacking the imperialist camp which is headed up by the United States.

The dim-witted U.S. imperialists did not foresee the disastrous and unexpected consequences that their adventurous acts would bring about. They thought that they had found "the key to victory." U.S. Secretary of Defense Laird leaped with joy: "The entire character of the war in South Vietnam will change" (UPI, 4 May 1970). However, immediately after that, the U.S. authorities had to admit in confusion that defeat in this aggression is "unavoidable." The French bourgeois newspaper Le Figaro dated 5 May 1970 observed: "What they consider to be the final opportunity for the United States to win in the war of aggression in Indochina, ultimately may only be a different method of defeat." The British newspaper Financial Times wrote on 30 June 1970, "What (the United States) calls a victory in Cambodia and Vietnam is only a catastrophe."

With a determined and consistent spirit of attack, the army and people of Cambodia have changed the "hopeful mood" of the U.S. imperialists for a "decisive victory" into a "really great hope" because they have met with new defeat.

For more than a year now, the army and people of Cambodia have been winning endlessly great victories.

Militarily, the Cambodian national liberation army has been built up rapidly and has developed by leaps and bounds. Attacking the enemy while building up its forces, continually attacking, it has won great and very basic victories pushing the enemy deep into a very harsh position. Right from the first, the Cambodian liberation army has quickly and continuously opened many prongs of attack deep into enemy lairs. Combined with the uprisings of the masses, they have wiped out the enemy, gained power, and developed strongly from the east to the west, from north to the south, from the mountains to the delta, and from the rural areas to the cities.

The people and the Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces have used many creative methods and stratagems in close conjunction with the three types of forces to wipe out and eliminate many enemy forces. In the past year (23 March 1970 to 23 March 1971), the Cambodian national liberation armed forces put out of action nearly 170,000 enemy, including nearly 70,000 U.S. and Saigon troops; shot down and destroyed nearly 900 aircraft; sunk more than 250 ships and combat launches, destroyed 5,200 military vehicles; and destroyed more than 500 artillery pieces. The army and people of Cambodia have collected nearly 32,500 weapons of various kinds, nearly 300 military vehicles, and thousands of other modern weapons.

Along with surrounding, attacking, and destroying enemy forces in their lairs, the people and the Cambodian Liberation Army have broken up many large-scale enemy operations. "Search and destroy" operations conducted by the Americans and the Saigon puppets with as many as 92 infantry

battalions and armor with strong air and infantry support have been seriously defeated. Their efforts to "lift sieges" with scores of battalions belonging to the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Son Ngoc Thanh clique have also been thwarted. The Cambodian Liberation Army has fought many large battles, such as the Kirirom battle (July 1970) routing 10 enemy battalions in only 10 days; the Sakhoun battle where 4 enemy battalions were wiped out; and the Sang Ke Satop battle where 2,000 enemy soldiers were killed or captured. Notably, in February 1971, the Cambodian army and people defeated the "Total Victory January 1971" Operation conducted by the Americans and the Saigon puppets with direct U.S. air support, dealing another strong blow to the so-called "Nixon Doctrine in Cambodia."

One point worthy of note is that the people and the liberation army of Cambodia are still regularly attacking very violently and are cutting the lines of communication and the waterways, the lifeline of the enemy. They are surrounding and closing in on the enemy on many fronts. Important enemy positions on Routes 1, 5, 6, 7 and so on are under repeated attacks by the Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces. Especially Route 4, their main supply route, is under determined attack at key points such as the Kirirom intersection, Pich Nil, Veal Renh, and so on. The enemy forces must cope with confusion and has plunged into complete passiveness. When they deploy their troops to protect Route 4, other roads are cut, many sections right at the entrance to Phnom Penh. When they hold the roads, the waterways are attacked causing a backlog of ships. When they send out reinforcements, they are attacked. When they set up defenses, they are defeated and when they resist, they are ambushed.

The Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces continue to record glorious feats of arms, strongly attacking strategic points such as the Pochentong airfield, completely wiping out an enemy branch of service, and the Kompong Som oil refinery, paralyzing a segment of the enemy transport service.

In coordination with the main forces, the local forces and the guerrilla and militia also strongly attack the enemy. Last year, they resolutely held the localities and fought many small battles with the enemy by laying mines, setting spikes, fixing booby traps. They protected the villages and kept to a minimum the amount of damage that the enemy caused to the people's property and created favorable conditions for the main forces to fight larger battles and win greater victories.

While the Cambodian people and the National Liberation Armed Forces are attacking strongly and rapidly maturing in every aspect, the combat strength of the Phnom Penh puppet army is declining. Although Nixon has used nearly 300 million dollars to build up the military apparatus and save the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang, and although the Phnom Penh forces dredged their capabilities to raise their troop strength from 36,000 (before the coup d'etat) to 170,000 the situation of the U.S. lackeys in Cambodia grows blacker.

It is a disorderly army; everytime it is attacked it becomes more and more confused. The Phnom Penh puppet army is not strong enough to resist the stormy attacks of the Cambodian Liberation Army and is forced to crawl back into defensive positions in the towns and cities. Phnom Penh is heavily encircled from all four directions and the defense perimeters are under constant attack. Following the 22 January 1971 attack on Pochentong airfield by the Cambodian National Liberation Army, "Premier" Lon Nol fell ill and had to be taken to the hospital in the United States for treatment. General Hu Hong Sin, Commander of the Phnom Penh Special Region was removed. Enemy troops are very confused and frightened. Desertions, AWOL's, and disassociations from the ranks are fairly widespread. In the battles at Saang, Banam, and Neak Luong, 4,500 enemy soldiers deserted to the ranks of the liberation army. In the battle at Prey Totung, 500 enemy soldiers deserted at one time.

Politically, the Cambodian people have also won very great victories.

The establishment of the Cambodian National United Front and the Cambodian Royal Government of National Unity was a very basic political victory of the Cambodian people. The National United Front adopted a historical political principle that reflects the ardent aspirations and the determined will of the Cambodian people who are united in their fight to oppose the United States and their lackeys and build an independent, peaceful, democratic, and prosperous Cambodia. The front has received the warm support of each strata of the people, Buddhist monks, and the tribesmen and has provided guidance resulting in the struggle of the Cambodian people to gain independence. At the present time, the Royal Government of National Unity controls a large liberated area, comprising 70 percent of the land including district capitals, cities, and towns and parts of the delta and mountains with a population of 4,550,000. Importantly, controlling provinces adjacent to Vietnam and Laos, the Cambodian people have a very stable, common base which is very advantageous for the Cambodian revolution.

In the liberated area, the people attack the enemy while building on every front. The people's armed forces are developing strongly; the people's government at all echelons continues to grow and be strengthened; and the economy, the culture, and the society in the liberated areas is developing beautifully. The people of Cambodia truly control the villages and the fields. They are creating a broad, rich liberated area as a source to supply the needs of the people and the resistance. The literacy and cultural education movement is developing. General education is gradually spreading. In five completely liberated provinces, each village has a school. A people's health apparatus has been established from the village level to the province level. In agricultural production, small mutual aid and cooperative teams comprised of from three to five people have been organized. Political education has received attention so that the people will clearly understand the political situation in the country, the criminal policy of the enemy, and their own rights for independence and democracy. The program will also heighten their awareness of their



political power. Everywhere in the liberated areas, young men and women are enthusiastically joining the army to kill the aggressors. The women enthusiastically perform household chores and encourage the husbands and sons to join the army. Youth and teenagers vanguard units have been established and are developing.

Unlike the aforementioned situation, the various echelons of the traitorous clique are rapidly falling apart. The area temporarily controlled by the enemy grows more and more restricted. Many areas become guerrilla areas or are attacked by the liberation army. The enemy lives in a state of fear and anxiety. The intervention of the U.S. and Saigon puppet armies exposed the false face of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang. The people hate the U.S. lackey administration more and more each day. Many personages and intellectuals have recognized their anti-people and country-damaging aspects and many people will not work for them. Some follow the National United Front. Within the ranks of the U.S. lackey clique there is doubt. Internally, they contend with each other for power and contest one another in a very compelling manner in order to exist.

Hoping to cover their fascist face and relieve their political isolation, the Phnom Penh authorities fabricated, in a very hasty and hurried manner, a so-called "Khmer Republic" regime, but this act did not fool anyone. Instead it has been laughed at and scorned.

They are also facing a very serious economic situation. Their finances are in a state of paralysis and the main economic sources -- rice, rubber, fish and pepper -- are in the liberated areas or have been destroyed by the U.S. imperialists. Exports are completely paralyzed and inflation is rising. In order to exist, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique has to rely on American "aid" and increase the massing and exploitation of the people.

In the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, the customs and morals of the Cambodian people are being trampled. The decadent culture of America is spreading. Schools are being converted into military outposts and the students and teachers are being forced to become soldiers. Gambling, prostitution and stealing are widespread. Even more damaging is the fact that the racist Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique has murdered Vietnamese nationals in a very savage and barbaric manner. Most inhumanely, they have killed hundreds of innocent Vietnamese nationals by forcing them to serve as "human shields" for them in the battle at Saang on 24 April 1970. This act only further isolated and hastened the decline of their fascist regime.

On the basis of their correct political policy and their winning great victories on every front, especially militarily and politically, the position and prestige of the Cambodian National United Front are daily enhanced inside the country and abroad. In only a short period, the Royal Government of National Unity has been recognized as the true, only, and

legitimate government of the Cambodian people. Many other countries are taking steps to recognize the government. Many international congresses and organizations have issued resolutions and have performed actions expressing the unity and support for the Cambodian revolution. Many mass organizations of several countries such as the Soviet Labor Unions, Soviet Women, Democratic Women of America and Canada, and so on have invited representatives of the Cambodian National United Front to visit their countries. Progressive peoples of the world, with many varying forms, have expressed their sympathy and support to the Cambodian revolution.

The great and total victories of the Cambodian people during the past year have caused the U.S. imperialists to be dizzy. These victories have given birth to great hopes and are assuring the stability for the advancement of the Cambodian revolution. They have created many basic factors and serve as a base from which the Cambodian people can progress to newer, greater, and more comprehensive victories in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

These victories have created a stable posture militarily and politically for the Cambodian revolution and have raised the position of the Cambodian people throughout the world.

The victories of the Cambodian people began the defeat of the "Nixon Doctrine" on the Cambodian battlefield. This was the warning of the unavoidable collapse of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism in Indochina. At the same time it was the warning signal marking the decline of Nixon's political career, the leader of bellicose colonialists and bloodthirsty president, who is accustomed to using military force to intimidate people. The brilliant feats of arms of the Cambodian people are important contributions to the national liberation movements of the peoples of the three Indochina countries and to the revolution of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the world.

The aforementioned great victories are the victories of the stubborn, resolute struggle traditions, of the ardent patriotism, deep hatred, and singleminded unity of the Cambodian people united under the flag of the Cambodian National United Front, determined to fight and determined to win over the U.S. aggressors. They are also the victories of the political principles of the Cambodian National United Front. They are also the victories of the friendship and unity and combat readiness that is continuously solidified and developed of the 50 million people of the three Indochina countries who are standing shoulder-to-shoulder in the struggle against the common enemy -- U.S. imperialism. These victories are not at odds with the sympathy, support, and aid which becomes greater each day from the countries from the socialist camp, the revolutionary movements in various countries, and the peace-loving, just and progressive people throughout the world, including the people of the United States.

The U.S. imperialists staged the coup d'etat in Cambodia thinking that they could change the international and foreign policy to be more favorable to themselves. However, something that they never suspected happened -- following the coup d'etat, the revolutionary movement in Cambodia grew stronger than ever before. The Times (a British newspaper) on 2 July 1970, acknowledged, "The revolutionary overthrow of Prince Sihanouk has become a force uniting all of Indochina...." Truly, by moving troops into Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists not only encountered the combat strength of 7 million Cambodian people but also that of a united bloc of 50 million people of the three Indochina countries. They have changed Indochina into a battlefield and the people of Indochina have coordinated their struggle, extending them throughout the Indochina Peninsula and attacking them. It is clear that the comparison of forces shows the advantage to be with the revolutionary forces of the countries of Indochina and no advantage for the U.S. imperialists. Although they are very stubborn, dangerous, and crafty, theirs is a position of defeat and the position of the people of Indochina is a position of victory and objective offensive. Although we must fight long and hard, the people of Indochina will certainly win.

While the people of the three Indochina countries are closing ranks, cooperating together in a front against a common enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- and creating a combined force developing the factors that will assure a complete victory for the people of the three countries of Indochina, the U.S. imperialists are encountering difficulties and contradictions that have no solutions.

They are suffering defeat and heavy losses from the attacks of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces. Having to concentrate forces to be sent to the Cambodian battlefield, the U.S. imperialists created vacant holes in their defenses. The contradiction between the concentration and dispersal of forces stems from the limited capabilities of the United States and the huge demands of their war of aggression. This has been evident on the battlefield in Vietnam, especially following the general offensive and uprising of the people of South Vietnam during Tet of the Year of the Monkey and again when the U.S. imperialists extended the war into Cambodia. At a time when the U.S. imperialists are being forced to withdraw troops and the Saigon administration and army are weak, the U.S. imperialists cannot solve this contradiction.

Politically, Nixon also made a bad move. Being in power more than 2 years now, Nixon has wooed the American people and the people of the world with promises and deceitful peace propositions hoping to distort public opinion and decrease opposition to their war policy. But Nixon's act of widening the war into Cambodia and Laos has exposed his deceitful promises and false peace proposals. Nixon has revealed himself to be a very bellicose president, extremely stubborn and crafty. Therefore, not only has Nixon encountered the determined opposition of the people of Cambodia and the other countries in Indochina but he has also run up

against the strong opposition and anger of the progressive people of the world, the people of the United States, and even some people in U.S. government circles. Never before has the opposition to the U.S. war of aggression been so strong. Never before has the ruling circles in the United States quarreled with one another as they do over the issue of the war of Indochina. The contradictions between the American people and the U.S. government, the contradictions within the U.S. government, the contradictions between the two parties -- the Democratic and the Republican -- the contradictions within the Republican Party, and so on are becoming acute. The International Information Platform paper of 2 May 1970 wrote: "Nixon is being opposed more with regard to foreign policy than any President of the United States during the last 10 years."

By widening the war into Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists thought that they could find a way out. In reality, they are on a road to further indecision and stalemate. They want to get out of the fight but they continually move into the war; they want to rapidly withdraw U.S. troops from Indochina, but they continue to prolong the presence of U.S. troops in Indochina; they want to reduce the cost of the war but they must increase military spending because of the widening of the war; and Nixon and the lackeys want to avoid defeat, but they continue on the road that led to previous defeats. Their passive strategy and their stalemate on the battlefields of South Vietnam and Laos and their extension of the war to Cambodia will certainly lead them to further defeat. The serious defeat of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys on Route 9 recently has proved this.

Although seriously defeated, the U.S. imperialists are stubborn and refuse to drop their intent to invade the countries of Indochina. Currently, faced with the complete destruction of the "Vietnamization" of the war plan, Nixon's bellicose group is carrying out a new and extremely serious military venture in Indochina. In Cambodia, not only have the U.S. imperialists taken direct command of the war and bringing in tens of thousands of Saigon puppet troops but they are also using all types of aircraft, including B-52's to bomb the liberated areas of Cambodia. They have mobilized helicopters and the ships of the Seventh Fleet in direct support and to supply the Saigon puppet army and the Lon Nol army. They have even sent U.S. soldiers to fight in under the label "training personnel."

Clearly recognizing the dangerous and crafty scheme of the Nixon clique the people of Cambodia, as well as the people of Vietnam and Laos, are more and more strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance, developing their revolutionary heroism, and stepping up the resistance against America for national salvation. They are not ceasing to attack, dealing punishing blows to the enemy, and defeating every one of their new military ventures.

Also a bulwark against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the people of Vietnam are pleased by the great victories of the people of

Cambodia, and view these victories as their victories. The clear-cut victories of the Cambodian people greatly encourage the people of Vietnam in their resistance against America for national salvation. Faithful to the joint communique of the Indochinese People's Summit Conference, the people of Vietnam, along with the people of Laos and Cambodia, are determined to "strengthen solidarity, fight together, win together, and bring the just task of the three countries to complete victory," as affirmed in the joint communique of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia on 7 June 1970.

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## ON HUNGARIAN AGRICULTURE

[Article by Nghiem Xuan Yem; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1971, pp 85-89]

For hundreds of years, the horse was the main production tool of Hungarian agriculture. Before liberation, the horse remained as the major source of draft power in agriculture. Today, the horse is no longer the main source of draft power. Hungary has built up a socialist agriculture base that grows more modern each day. In 1963, the rural areas in Hungary were provided with electrical power. By 1968, all the sowing of crops done by the state farms and 97.3 percent of that work done by the cooperatives that produce agricultural products had been mechanized. Wheat production in 1969 reached 3.6 million tons, an average of 350 kilograms per capita. This does not include other grains. Hungarian agriculture has developed in a balanced way; the planting sector is strong and stable and the animal husbandry sector is developing along modern lines. Animal husbandry has become a main production sector of agriculture. The value of animal husbandry products has surpassed the value of the planting sector products. In 1969, Hungary had more than 2 million head of cattle, 3 million sheep, and the domestic fowl numbered more than 30 million.

Agricultural production is developing, at once meeting the domestic food products and grain needs and providing ample raw materials for the light industries, especially the food products industry, and meeting export needs. On this basis, life among Hungarian farmers has not ceased to improve.<sup>1</sup> The aforementioned clear-cut accomplishments, first of all, are the result of Hungarian party and government policy for developing agriculture during the past 25 years, especially following the completion of socialist reform with regard to agriculture.

Deciding on the important position of agriculture in the national economy, the Hungarian government immediately set aside a relatively large amount of capital to be poured into agriculture. And, the percentage of capital increased daily.

In the period prior to 1960, the amount of capital devoted to agriculture comprised 17 percent of the total amount of capital returned to the economy. That percentage is less than the percentage of agriculture in the gross national product (22 percent). In the 1961-1965 period, the amount of capital designated for agriculture rose to over 19 percent of the amount of capital returned to the economy, higher than the percentage of agriculture in the gross national product (17 percent). In the 1965-1970 period, the figure was 20 percent. Of special note is that during the 1965-1970 period, the percentage of agriculture in the gross national product did not decrease, but gradually rose, maintaining a mark over 20 percent. This reflected the great effect of increasing the amount of capital being poured into agriculture. Thanks to the state's earmarking large amounts of capital and, at the same time, having an appropriate investment and loan policy, conditions have been created for the strong development of agriculture.

After agriculture was totally developed, the subject of equilibrium was raised. First of all, there must be a balance between the production of wheat and other grains. Hungary's yearly requirement for wheat was around 2.5 million tons. A shortage of 10 percent would cause great strain. In reality, by 1964, Hungary was having to import wheat to meet needs. In a country with a small energy and raw material base, the need to import modern items and technical equipment is very urgent. But every year the state had to set aside a certain amount of foreign currencies to import wheat. This had an adverse effect on the lives of the people and on production.

In Hungary the wheat-growing area is gradually being reduced. In the 1961-1964 period, the average yearly reduction was 12 percent compared with the 1956-1960 period. During this period, wheat output per unit of area increased but not sufficiently to compensate for the amount of area reduced. Generally speaking, wheat yield was low; wheat strains had not been improved. In addition, there were other causes and wheat production remained around 2 million tons. Faced with this situation, the state decided on the correct relationship between area and planting. At the same time, the state closely regulated the use of cultivated land in production and limited the growing of other crops on wheat-growing area. As a result, the wheat-growing area was stabilized at over 1,100,000 hectares.<sup>2</sup>

The state sought ways to improve the wheat strains. In the 1956-1965 period, wheat yield was only 16.7 quintals per hectare. Thanks to improved strains, by 1967 the figure had risen to 25.8 quintals and by 1969, it was 27 quintals. At the present time, 80 percent of the wheat-growing area in Hungary is planted with new wheat strains. The seeds do not have beards and the yield which is high is as much as 40 quintals or more per hectare.

Mechanization also received very special attention. On the basis of complete electrification, the state continued to put more electricity



into the rural area. At the same time, it stepped up the pace of mechanization. In Hungary, agricultural production has developed to a point where unlimited mechanization can be carried out. The question is, what is the capability of the state to carry it out. At the present time, Hungary produces around 50 percent of the agricultural equipment it needs. The state imports additional equipment to guarantee the high pace of mechanization. Specifically, in 1970, Hungary had 94,000 tractors. Estimates are that during the 1971-1975 period, the number will increase one and one-half times. As of 1968, Hungary had completely mechanized the planting and harvesting of grain crops. At the present time, Hungary is mechanizing the planting and harvesting of grasses and the planting of sugar beets, potatoes, and corn. With regard to the individual cultivated areas, the state is mindful of supplying small pieces of equipment. Agricultural production in this area currently accounts for 22 percent of the total agricultural output of the entire country. It has been estimated that the amount of capital poured into the mechanization of agriculture during the 1971-1975 period will account for one-third of the capital earmarked for agriculture.

Concerning water conservancy, in addition to the traditional irrigation systems, Hungary is increasing the use of modern irrigation systems. That is an irrigation system using pipes to carry and spray the water (used on 70 percent of the area) and a system of moving the water on the surface of the land (used on 30 percent of the area). The spraying system assures a steady supply of water and allows a more accurate regulating of the water flow as needed by production. Therefore, it is concentrated in the key production areas. In 1970, 440,000 hectares were irrigated using the aforementioned methods. In the coming 5 years, that figure will increase to 562,000 hectares of which 81 percent will be irrigated by the pipe method. In addition, the state is striving to solve the problem of land improvement and the problems of wasting land and erosion, with good results.

All the aforementioned methods have assured the steady increase of grain production. In the period before 1961, the rate of increase was only 0.6 percent. In the 1961-1965 period, the rate was 2 percent. In the 1965-1971 period, the rate was 3 percent. Notably, since 1965, Hungary has been self-sufficient in terms of wheat and has had wheat to export. This is a basic change in Hungarian agriculture.

Accompanying the changes that have taken place the organization of the domestic consumer needs vis-a-vis grains and foodstuffs and exports requirements, the Hungarian animal husbandry sector is developing along modern lines. At the present time, the worth of the products in animal husbandry accounts for more than one-half of agricultural production.

Pig raising occupies a very important position. In pork, Hungary emphasizes the production of lean meat. In 1960, lean pork accounted for 60 percent of the pork; in 1970, it was 95 percent. This is the result of a process of crossbreeding and improved pig-raising techniques. The state

is striving to raise the output of beef. The output of cow's milk is also increasing, but the increase is being brought about by methods for improving milk output not by increasing the number of cows.

Speaking about the pace of development, the poultry industry has grown the fastest. Among the domestic fowls, the percentage of hens hatched from eggs has increased the fastest; the percentage of geese, ducks, and turkeys -- although the numbers of fowl have decreased -- the output of meat has increased. At the present time Hungary leads Europe in the amount of poultry meat consumed per person. In agricultural commodities exported, animal husbandry products occupies a leading position. Other meat products account for two-thirds of all agricultural products exported. Of this, beef and poultry meat is important. In Hungary, the total value of foreign trade in 1969 accounted for 42 percent of the national income. This fact points out the great importance of animal husbandry.

In an effort to strongly develop animal husbandry, Hungary was very concerned about solving the following problems.

First, continue modernization of animal husbandry. At the current time, Hungary has 440 poultry enterprises that have modern processes. Other domestic varieties also have modern pens. The labor links have been mechanized and automated. This means that animal husbandry has moved from a period of "broad cultivation" to a period of total "intensive cultivation." Because of the ever increasing domestic and foreign markets for animal husbandry products, both in quality and in quantity, modernization has become a very pressing issue. In the next 5 years, the state will invest 61.5 billion forint for the development of agriculture, of which 40 percent will be earmarked for animal husbandry. And, 90 percent of the capital designated for animal husbandry will be used for the modernization of the sector. In an effort to respond to these animal husbandry principles, the state is stepping up the construction of state enterprises and helping and encouraging the development of collective animal husbandry endeavors on a large scale with a view toward increasing the percentage of the socialist area of animal husbandry, especially with regard to swine and cattle.

Second, assure a stable feed base for the domestic animals. To do this, first of all, an ample amount of cultivated area must be set aside for the growing of animal feeds and an intensive cultivation system must be applied to the grasslands in a scientific and a rational manner. At the present time, Hungary has set aside approximately 50 to 60 percent of its total area for planting crops to serve animal husbandry. Of this, around 2.3 million hectares is planted in corn and the entire corn yield is used in animal husbandry. In conjunction with raising the area and the quantity of crops to be used as animal feed, Hungary is also mindful of applying methods aimed at lowering the feed index but raising the meat output on an output per feed basis. Previously, to get 1 kilogram of meat

from poultry, 3 kilograms of feed were needed. Now this figure has been reduced to 2.2 kilograms.

One important thing that has allowed Hungary to achieve these good results in agriculture, including both planting and animal husbandry is the importance given to the task of agricultural science and technology. Hungary has outlined long range and short range plans for scientific research and experimentation with a view toward concentrating on solving key problems in agricultural production. At the same time, the most modern techniques are used in pork production. The scientific and technical agricultural work in Hungary has recorded great accomplishments in creating new strains with high yields such as corn and wheat strains, soil nourishment, modernization of domestic fowl raising, and so forth. Thanks to this, at the present time, the poultry industry and the corn and wheat production sectors are the sectors that have achieved the highest levels of technology and have the best results. Today, Hungary has fields that have an output of over 3 tons of corn per hectare, double the average yearly output per hectare in the period 10 years prior to the war. This corn is a single and compound hybrid that has been studied and experimented with for more than 10 years by scientific agencies. After developing this corn strain, the state promulgated an order to use and protect this corn hybrid strain and set up a system comprised of a research institute and 13 state farms to carry on studies and experimentations and produce hybrid corn strains to supply seeds for several million hectares. Hungary has also planted millions of hectares in the Me grass to be used as animal feed. This endeavor has met with success.

Cadre forces engaged in scientific and technological agricultural research total nearly 12 percent of the scientific and technological research cadre in the country.<sup>3</sup> At the present time, in an effort to raise the effects of agricultural scientific and technological research, the state has organized to concentrate on managing research and experimentation plans and is stressing collective systems.

Presently, in Hungarian agriculture there is a fairly large technical cadre and worker force. However, the state continues to stress the training of technical workers and cadres for agriculture. In the next 5 years, Hungary will acquire an additional 21,000 high and middle-level agricultural cadres and 40,000 agricultural technical workers. It is estimated that during that time period, around 150,000 agricultural laborers will transfer to other economic sectors.

In an effort to assure the steady growth of agriculture, Hungary is striving to increase the socialist area in agriculture. This is a very basic trend in building up the socialist economy in Hungary. Individual business enterprises, small businesses, and family based endeavors will be maintained at the current level while large agricultural cooperatives will be developed for a total effect. Of this, the state-owned enterprises will serve as a pivotal point. The state farms in Hungary manage over

1 million hectares of land including 700,000 hectares of cultivated land. Each year, the state farm supplies all its grain and food products output to the state. This accounts for nearly 20 percent of all agricultural products purchased by the state. But the importance of the state farms is not limited to area or to products supplied to the state. In Hungary, the state farms are also a basic system to supply good seeds and livestock for the entire agricultural sector.

The state farms are the main installations for carrying out large-scale experiments and applying progressive agricultural techniques.

The Hungarian state-owned agricultural area is comprised of hundreds of animal husbandry enterprises all of which are large-scale and modern business installations.

In Hungary, the state-owned agricultural area, the agricultural cooperative area, and the agricultural food products sector are in a united management organization. This management embraces links from production to purchasing; from the planting sector to the animal husbandry, forestry, marine products, and food processing sectors; and from the state-owned area to the collective and individual areas. This is a general leadership system, in keeping with the strong, balanced development of the Hungarian agricultural base.

The Vietnamese people are very happy over the brilliant achievements of the Hungarian people in the field of agricultural production as well as in other areas. We sincerely wish the Hungarian people continued victory on the road to building a strong and progressive socialist agricultural base.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In 1968, the average monthly income of an agricultural worker was 1,350 forints. For a worker or official, it was 2,000 forints.
2. Currently, the general agricultural area is 9.3 hectares. Of this, the area under cultivation is 73 percent. The remaining 27 percent is divided as follows: grasslands and animal husbandry area, 18 percent; orchards, 4.6 percent; and small gardens, 3.5 percent. Of the cultivated area, 24.3 percent is used for growing wheat and 36.6 percent is used for fodder crops (of which 24.4 percent is used for growing corn), 17.8 percent for growing grasses, 6 percent is planted in industrial crops, and 6.6 percent is planted in white potatoes.
3. Does not include technical cadre directly serving production.

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