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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 1347

HOC TAP, No. 1, 1973



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PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG'S LETTER OF NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS, WISHES

[Text of letter; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 1-3]

Dear compatriots and soldiers throughout the country,

On the occasion of the new year, on behalf of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the National Assembly, the government of the DRV, and the Vietnam Fatherland Front, I sincerely address the best wishes and the most cordial greetings to you compatriots and soldiers throughout the country; the families of dead heroes, wounded soldiers, and troops; the elderly people; the youths, adolescents, and children; the Vietnamese residents abroad; and the Chinese residents in our country.

On behalf of the government and our people, I address the warmest wishes and combat solidarity to the heroic Lao and Cambodian people, who have scored great victories in the resistance against the American imperialist aggressors. I also sincerely thank our friends and people all over the world, including the American progressive people, for having enthusiastically supported and actively assisted in our people's patriotic struggle for a good cause.

Dear compatriots and soldiers,

In the past year our people's resistance against America for national salvation was progressing very well. The offensive and uprising of the soldiers and people of the South under the leadership of the NFL and the PRGSV have since the spring of 1972 scored very great victories and brought enthusiasm and encouragement to my compatriots in the country and people all over the world.

The heroic people and soldiers of the North have overcome all difficulties and challenges, fought very bravely, secured communications and transportation, and done their very best to aid the front.

On behalf of the party and government, I warmly praise the glorious feats of war and proud achievements of our compatriots and soldiers throughout the country.

Dear compatriots and soldiers,

Our people's great resistance obviously defeated the American "Vietnamization" plan and compelled the American government to agree, on 20 October 1972, to sign with the DRV government an agreement on "ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam." Peace could have been restored in our land over 2 months ago, but because the Nixon administration cheated, changed its mind, and still refused to sign the agreement, our people's fight must continue and our compatriots still have to bear much suffering and sacrifice. Recently the American aggressors madly launched extremely ruthless air attacks against Hanoi, Haiphong, and the provinces in the North hopefully to force our people to submit to them. The savage aggressors have been appropriately punished by our soldiers and compatriots. Their military and political defeat has been a very serious one while our victory has been very proud and resounding. All of mankind has raised strong protests against the ruthless warlike Americans. Their crimes will still bring about resentment thousands of generations from now. Our victory is that of the good cause over unrighteousness, of civilization over savagery.

Our people are very eager to have peace, but a true peace in independence and freedom. As long as the American imperialists still refuse to respect the independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity of Vietnam, as long as they still refuse to end the aggressive war, to give up their military intervention in South Vietnam, and to respect the self-determination and other democratic rights of our compatriots in the South, our people throughout the country will resolutely be overcoming all difficulties; maintaining and speeding up their fight on three fronts -- military, political, and diplomatic -- to attain the noble goals of liberating the South, defending and building socialism in the North, and reunifying the country; at the same time strengthening our combat solidarity with the Lao and Cambodian people' and defeating the clique of American aggressors and their lackeys to liberate the whole of Indochina.

Carrying out President Ho's sacred last will and testament, all our army and people unite as one; uphold the determination to fight and to win; do very well the jobs of air defense, emulation in production, work, and learning; do our very best to aid the front of the South; and bring our nation's sacred resistance to total victory.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!

Our people will surely win!

Let our compatriots and soldiers heroically move forward!

Sincere and determined-to-win greetings,
Hanoi, 1 January 1973
Ton Duc Thang, President, DRV.

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DEVELOPING THE GREAT STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN
NORTH VIETNAM TO DEFEAT THE U.S. PIRATE AGGRESSORS!

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973,
pp 4-13]

In the history of the resistance of small, weak nations against the aggression of imperialism, rarely has a nation or social system experienced the severe challenges of war and displayed the great strength the socialist system of North Vietnam has.

As soon as it began to lay the foundation of socialism, North Vietnam had to contend with an aggressor enemy with economic forces a thousand times stronger than its own. History entrusted the people of North Vietnam with a very weighty national and international mission: they were to be the revolutionary base of the entire country, the great rear area of the frontlines in South Vietnam, and the forward bastion of the socialist system in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists, who think like robbers and know little else but the power of their bombs and shells, thought that they could use bombs and shells to achieve their immoral objective. During the 4 years of the first war of destruction, they dropped more than 1 million tons of bombs on North Vietnam in a vain attempt to crush our people's sacred war of resistance. However, they were defeated. The victory of the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation, in general, and the victory of the people of North Vietnam, in particular, brought Johnson's political life as well as his limited war plan to an end.

Failing to draw a lesson from Johnson's tragic defeat, Nixon charged headlong into new adventures. Heavily defeated

in their plans to carry out the "Vietnamization of the war" in South Vietnam, invade Cambodia, and carry out the Route 9 campaign to destroy the Lao liberated zone, they conducted another war of destruction against North Vietnam on an unprecedented scale. In particular, between 18 December 1972 and 30 December 1972, Nixon mobilized practically all U.S. strategic air forces in Southeast Asia and the Pacific and the majority of the tactical air forces of the U.S. in Indochina to launch a large strategic attack against North Vietnam, one which concentrated on the capital of Hanoi, Haiphong, and a number of other heavily populated areas. In 12 days, they dropped approximately 100,000 tons of bombs, the equivalent of five of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima. It is clear that the enemy sought to use their air force, primarily their B-52's, to deal us a decisive blow. They had hoped to heavily damage North Vietnam's material potential, kill many civilians, create a crisis, and, on this basis, force our people to meet their arrogant conditions and accept their neo-colonialism.

However, the insane plans of the U.S. aggressors were tragically defeated in the face of the valiant combat of the army and people of North Vietnam and the army and people of the capital of Hanoi who bear within them the heroic blood of the nation of Vietnam, the unshakeable determination to struggle for independence, liberty, and socialism, and the invincible strength resulting from the correct leadership of the party and who, in addition, have the socialist system as a strong base of support. In only 12 days and nights, the army and people of North Vietnam shot down 81 enemy aircraft, including 34 B-52's, killed and captured hundreds of arrogant pilots, and set nine U.S. warships afire. It can be said that this was the greatest victory ever won in the resistance against the war of destruction of the U.S. in North Vietnam. It was a victory of very important strategic significance, one which smashed the "prestige of the U.S. Air Force," particularly that of the B-52 -- the "monster" of the U.S. Air Force. It dealt a painful blow to the arrogance of the U.S. pirates who use their modern technological superiority in a vain attempt to coerce people. It was a basic defeat for the plot of the U.S. imperialists to use their B-52's to destroy the material potential of North Vietnam and intimidate our people. By launching strong and effective counterattacks, we very greatly limited the loss of life and property caused by the U.S. imperialists. And, the cruelty of the U.S. imperialists only served to deepen our people's hatred and heighten their determination to destroy them. Under the barrage of enemy bombs and shells, in combat as well as every other activity, from capturing

pilots to repairing the damages caused by enemy bombs, from air defense and evacuation activities to production, work, and so forth, our army and people displayed extreme bravery and calmness. Despite the destruction and loss of life, everyone hates the U.S. pirates and is proud and enthusiastic over the recent victory. And, as the enemy intimidated our people with cruel actions, they became panic-stricken in the face of the indomitable spirit and the fighting skill of the army and people of North Vietnam who are determined to fight and win in order to protect the beloved half of the country which has been totally liberated and build a beautiful socialist system.

The U.S. imperialists not only suffered the greatest defeat in the history of their Air Force. They were more heavily defeated politically. Their inhumane actions were an extremely serious affront to the conscience of all honest people in the world. At present, on every continent, from Europe to Asia, from America to Africa and Australia, an unprecedented wave of protest and condemnation is rising against the Nixon administration. Many violent mass demonstrations have broken out. Many governments, including governments in the capitalist countries of Europe and the nationalist countries, together with the opinion of the press in all countries, have condemned and cursed Nixon. Even many people in U.S. political circles have expressed indignation. Never before has the Nixon group been as tragically isolated as it has been during the past several days. This has got to cause them to do some thinking!

The great victory won by our people during the past 12 days, together with the overall victory of the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation will surely resound through time and space as an epic forever praising our heroic nation, our great party, and our beautiful system.

This victory once again eloquently proves the strong vitality of the socialist system of North Vietnam, the strong fortress and rear area, which has never been conquered by the bombs and shells of the U.S.; to the contrary, it has always risen to fulfill its glorious mission to the nation and mankind with the magnanimous deportment of a victor!

The great strength of the socialist system in North Vietnam has been prepared and built by our party over a long period of time. After the victory of the war of resistance against the French, our party pointed out: regardless of the situation, North Vietnam must advance to socialism. The

3rd National Party Congress officially established two strategic tasks, which are intimately related and stimulate one another's development, for the Vietnam revolution: carrying out the socialist revolution in North Vietnam and liberating South Vietnam from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; reunifying the country and winning independence and democracy for the entire country. The congress confirmed: "Carrying out the socialist revolution in North Vietnam is the task of most decisive importance as regards the development of the entire Vietnam revolution and the reunification of the country."(1)

When the resistance against the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists began, our Party Central Committee put forth four major economic policies:

1. Reorienting the economy by making every effort to develop the local economy which includes both local agriculture and industry; maintaining the production capacity of large enterprises primarily by actively protecting, relocating, and evacuating them.

2. Actively reinforcing the frontlines. Implementing the slogan "everything for the defeat of the U.S. pirate aggressors" and, at the same time, trying to meet the basic needs of the people.

3. Seeking, by means of a correct foreign policy line, as much international assistance as possible, primarily the help of the fraternal socialist countries.

4. Strengthening the potential of the economy, actively training cadres and manual workers, and stepping up basic investigations in order to prepare the conditions needed for post-war economic construction.

On the basis of the strongpoints of the socialist economy of North Vietnam and the assistance of the socialist camp and with the political and spiritual unity of the people who have developed their right of collective ownership, we have maintained and developed domestic production, defeated the war of destruction, maintained the people's standard of living, and supported the frontlines well.

The recent situation proves that the resolutions and policies of the party mentioned above are completely correct.

For more than 10 years, in keeping with the resolutions and policies of the party, our people have

1. "Congress Documents," published by the Vietnam Lac Dong Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1960, Volume 1, p 174.

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actively carried out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in North Vietnam, thereby making North Vietnam stronger with each passing day and creating extremely favorable economic, political, and social foundations for defeating the U.S. pirate aggressors.

Economically, we have universally established the socialist production relations within the national economy, particularly within agriculture. On the basis of the socialist production relations which have been established and continuously strengthened, the material-technical base of agriculture has been strengthened, many advances have been made in introducing science and technology within agriculture, and agricultural labor has begun to be redeployed in a more suitable manner. As a result of the strongpoints of the collective agriculture, we were able, during the years of resistance against the U.S. pirates' war of destruction, to mobilize a rather large force of young, healthy, and educated laborers from the countryside for combat and combat support tasks while still developing agricultural production and improving the material and spiritual life of the collective farmers more each day.

North Vietnam's socialist industry has developed continuously. Industrial output in 1964 increased more than eight fold in comparison to 1954. The first installations of many new industrial sectors have been established. Thousands of medium and small local industrial enterprises were built during the war and put into production. Although the U.S. pirates caused us to suffer many damages, industry, particularly our cooperative artisan and handicraft industries, continued to move forward to support agriculture, communications, transportation, combat, and the people.

Politically and socially, after the abolition of the various classes of exploiters, our laboring people, for the first time in our country's history, won the right to be the masters of society in half the country. The working class, the class of collective farmers, and the strata of socialist intellectuals have combined to form the social base of the political system in North Vietnam. The unity among the various nationalities in the common struggle for the interests of the Fatherland and socialism was strengthened. As a result, political and spiritual unanimity has become the basic feature of North Vietnam's society.

With the strong participation and support of all of the people, the people's democratic regime (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat) in North Vietnam was established,

consolidated, and strengthened. This regime, under the leadership of our party, has played an extremely important role in the organization and management of the economy, the management of each aspect of life in the society of North Vietnam during peace time, and, when the war broke out, it performed extremely large organizational tasks designed to mobilize and assemble each force of society in order to defeat the enemy. Without a strong regime based on the support of the people which has the alliance of workers and farmers as its foundation, a regime with the ability to transform North Vietnam into a strong fortress, it would have been impossible to defeat the large-scale war of destruction of the ringleaders of imperialism who have the greatest economic and military strength in the world. Stalin often said: "The lessons of war confirm that the soviet system is not only the best form for the economic and cultural development of a country during years of peaceful construction, but also the best form for mobilizing all of the forces of the people to retaliate against the enemy during times of war. In a short period of time, the soviet regime, which was established 26 years ago, has transformed our country into an indestructible fortress. Of all the armies in the world, the Red Army has the most powerful and the strongest rear area." (2) We can say the same thing about the socialist system in North Vietnam and about our state regime and, in comparison to the armies of the imperialist countries, we can surely say the same thing about our heroic people's army -- an army which is very deserving of the praise given it by the revered President Ho: "It is loyal to the party, filial with the people,...completes every task, overcomes every difficulty, and defeats every enemy."

Together with the profound changes in the economy, politics, and society mentioned above, more and more new Vietnamese people are being formed, people who are further illuminating the superior nature and strength of the socialist system in North Vietnam. These new people are armed with the ideology of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of 100 battles and 100 victories, they are people who have been trained by our party, President Ho Chi Minh, and the socialist system: they are as hard as rock, as strong as steel, their concepts and souls are very beautiful, and they are willing to sacrifice and struggle for their Fatherland and, at the same time, for their noble obligation to their brothers and friends throughout the world. Having inherited and highly developed upon the heroic tradition of the nation and the outstanding strategic talent of our forefathers, these new people are the products of the new system who carry within them the strength

2. "Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on the People's War"; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 415.

of the new system and fight for the ideal: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." Therefore, they have invincible strength. It is they who have won the shattering victories in the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. In the harsh realities of war, they have shown themselves to be much bigger than the cruel and cowardly U.S. pirates!

The strength of this system originates in the fact that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is an element of the powerful socialist camp and that North Vietnam is closely linked to the various fraternal socialist countries. With this strong and immense source of support, the strength of our system has multiplied.

As a result of all of the conditions mentioned above, socialist North Vietnam has the extraordinary strength of Phu Dong, the strength to defeat each enemy aggressor. In each storm, it has stood erect like a huge mountain in the South China Sea!

With socialist North Vietnam as a strong rear area, the war of resistance of all of our people against the U.S. has victoriously developed more with each passing day. Our position is the position of initiative, forward progress, and inevitable victory; the enemy's position is a position of stagnation, decline, and inevitable defeat. This is the inevitable trend of history and no insane effort by the U.S. imperialists can reverse this trend.

However, although they have been heavily defeated, the U.S. imperialists are still very obstinate and warlike. They have failed to abandon their aggressive designs against our country. For more than 2 months, along with displaying a vacillating attitude at the conference table, the U.S. has been hastily sending arms and means of war to South Vietnam, turning over their military bases to the puppets, and sending tens of thousands of disguised military advisors to South Vietnam for the purpose of strengthening the machinery of their war of aggression. On the other hand, the U.S. has encouraged its lackeys to implement an extremely cruel fascist policy by which they have brutally suppressed and terrorized the people, arrested tens of thousands of patriots, conducted sweeps in areas under their control in a vain attempt to destroy our revolutionary base, and launched offensives in a vain attempt to occupy the liberated zone; at the same time, it has urged Nguyen Van Thieu to publicly reject the fundamental contents of the agreement the U.S. has reached with us. This situation proves that the U.S. imperialists

are still obstinately carrying out the "Vietnamization of the war" in a vain attempt to maintain the ruling yoke of their neo-colonialism in South Vietnam and permanently divide our Fatherland.

At the negotiating table, the diplomatic struggle will be a very difficult one. Because, the U.S. still fails to abandon its plan to negotiate from a position of strength in a vain attempt to force our people to meet their insolent conditions. The vacillating attitude of the U.S. and the fact that they have brought up again practically every basic problem upon which agreement has been reached, proves that the U.S. still fails to recognize the basic national rights of the people of Vietnam, still fails to respect the right of self determination of the people of South Vietnam, still fails to completely end its military involvement in South Vietnam, and still fails to abandon its plan to establish neo-colonialism in South Vietnam.

As regards North Vietnam, although the U.S. has been forced to cease its bombing north of the 20th parallel and resume negotiations as a result of the very heavy defeat it has suffered during the past 12 days and our attitude of good faith, they have continued to conduct very heavy bombing raids from Thanh Hoa southward and have accelerated their war of aggression in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The fires of war still burn in Indochina.

Our people desire peace very much, however, it must be a true peace in independence and freedom. However, as long the U.S. pirate aggressors and their traitorous lackeys obstinately continue to try to divide our country and kill our compatriots, our people have no other choice but to determinedly maintain and step up the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation and struggle on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts until total victory is won.

The heroic compatriots of South Vietnam, the "Bronze Citadel of the Fatherland," are charging bravely forward, overcoming each difficulty and obstacle, continuing to launch attacks and stage uprisings, dealing the enemy heavy blows, and winning many new victories.

The people of North Vietnam, fully aware of the extremely important effect the socialist system of North Vietnam has upon the overall revolutionary undertaking of the nation at this time and in the future, must make every effort to protect and build a North Vietnam which is strong in

every area, politics, the economy, the military, ideology and culture, and so forth, in order to insure that North Vietnam can further heighten the role it plays as the great rear area of the great frontlines in South Vietnam and the role it plays as the strong source of support of the wars of resistance for national salvation of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

With this objective in mind, the people of North Vietnam must control and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and use it as an effective tool in order to step up the three revolutions, the key one being the technological revolution, in accordance with the line of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam put forth by the party. They must actively strive to gradually upgrade North Vietnam's small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in a manner suited to the circumstances of the war and, at the same time, prepare the conditions needed to carry out socialist construction on a large-scale when conditions permit. They must engage in production and combat, closely coordinate economic construction with the strengthening of the nation's defenses, and, at the same time, actively carry out their task of strongly reinforcing South Vietnam so that it can defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors.

The pressing tasks at hand for the people of North Vietnam are:

1. Always maintaining high vigilance and combat readiness, making every effort to strengthen their combat forces, conducting good military recruiting activities, carrying out rear area policies well, and conducting good air defense and evacuation activities.

At this time, each expression of a lack of vigilance is a serious mistake. We must strengthen our combat forces in every respect and gain experience from the recent battles in order to be able to deal the enemy more effective blows if and when they renew their aggression against North Vietnam on a large-scale. We must step up our military recruiting activities in order to meet the requirements of combat. We must determinedly evacuate the people from the various cities and other heavily populated areas with the exception of those people who must remain behind to engage in production, work, fight, support combat, support production, and support everyday life. The evacuation must be carried out in an organized and planned manner with the positive assistance of the state in coordination with wholehearted mutual help on the part of the people. In this way we can express our

determination to fight the U.S. and very greatly reduce the damages the enemy may cause.

2. Stepping up communications and transportation as well as the support of the frontlines.

Communications and transportation are of extremely important significance to the national economy and the defense of the nation. Therefore, we must, regardless of the situation, keep communications and transportation lines open, fully and continuously provide manpower and material for the frontlines, and meet the needs of production and the everyday lives of the people in the various localities.

3. Stepping up agricultural, industrial, artisan, and handicraft production in order to meet the needs of the state and the people for grain, food products, and so forth as well as for necessary consumer goods. We can and must, particularly during wartime, strongly develop our agriculture and gradually upgrade our agriculture to large-scale socialist production on the basis of regional zoning, intensive cultivation, specialized cultivation, the development of livestock production, and the establishment of new agricultural economic regions.

The key to performing the things mentioned above is organizing and managing the economy well, making efficient use of society's labor force, focusing attention upon the technological revolution and the consolidation of socialist production relations, and, on this basis, raising the labor productivity of society and accelerating the process of socialist accumulation.

4. It is necessary to try to maintain the standard of living of the people and organize their lives well. All of the agencies of the party and state and all mass organizations must display a high spirit of responsibility to the people and make every effort to organize their lives in the areas of their food, clothing, housing, medical care, education, and so forth well in order to lessen the difficulties encountered by our compatriots under the circumstances of the war. In particular, attention must be given to areas which have been heavily destroyed in the war, families who have lost people, the disabled, the old and weak, orphaned children, etc.

By doing the above well, we can effectively contribute to the strengthening of the socialist system in North Vietnam, make North Vietnam stronger, and excellently complete the weighty and glorious tasks entrusted us by history.

the Under the clear-sighted leadership of the party, with
the socialist system in North Vietnam as a strong base, and
with the wholehearted help of our brothers and friends throughout
the world, the people of Vietnam are determined to carry out
the sacred will of President Ho and advance the resistance
against the U.S. for national salvation to final victory.

No plan, no matter how crafty, and no action, no
matter how cruel, of the U.S. imperialists can prevent our
people from reaching their noble objective of defending
socialist North Vietnam, liberating South Vietnam, advancing
to the peaceful reunification of the country, building a
Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity,
and power, and making a deserving contribution to the revolutionary
undertaking of the people of the world.

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A YEAR FILLED WITH BRILLIANT FEATS OF ARMS BY HEROIC MILITARY ZONE 4

[Article by Major General Le Quang Hoa; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 14-26]

In 1972, under the regular and close leadership and supervision of the Party Central Committee, the government, the Central Military Party Committee, and the High Command and with the warm feelings, encouragement, and support of the compatriots and comrades throughout the country, the army and people of Military Zone 4, deeply cognizant of their political responsibility and honor of being "the forward military zone of socialist North Vietnam and the immediate rear area and reserve unit of the great, heroic frontlines," continuously developed their Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and excellently completed the tasks assigned them by the party and people. The patriotic emulation movement to be determined to fight and totally defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors developed in the feverish, valiant atmosphere of "the entire military zone departs; the entire military zone begins the historic 1972 campaign with the determination to win the greatest possible victory." The feats of arms recorded during 1972 are a source of enthusiasm and pride for the army and people of the military zone and, at the same time, very valuable lessons.

1. The People's War in Military Zone 4 Developed Continuously and Reached New Pinnacles on the Basis of Thoroughly Carrying Out the Revolutionary Line and Task of the Party

Last year, the struggle between us and the enemy in North and South Vietnam was an extremely difficult, violent, and complex one. While making every possible desperate and

insane effort to "re-Americanize" the war in South Vietnam by means of their two strongest forces, that is, their Air Force and Navy, and carrying out a new and extremely barbarous and cruel war of destruction in North Vietnam, the Nixon clique concentrated on launching extremely heavy attacks against Military Zone 4 and rapidly expanded the scale of the attacks and very greatly increased their intensity. They have constantly changed from one crafty trick to another and experimented with many new pieces of technical equipment. Nixon has done what Johnson dared not do from mining the ports and the mouths of rivers to using B-52's to regularly and indiscriminately "carpet bomb" heavily populated areas. The intensity of the enemy's bombing of the military zone during the past 8 months far surpasses the intensity of the attacks ordered by Johnson in 1968, the year of the heaviest bombing during the first war of destruction. There were 2,400 B-52 sorties in Military Zone 4, dozens of times more than in 1968. On some days, more than 90 percent of the jet aircraft sorties flown by the enemy in attacks against North Vietnam were concentrated in Military Zone 4. Always the first people to deal with each plot and trick of the U.S. pirates in their war of destruction and each other military adventure against socialist North Vietnam, the army and people of the military zone have always had a strong stand and unshakeable will: they have pledged their lives so that the Fatherland can live and the policies, lines, and decisions of the party can be victoriously implemented.

This strong stand and determination were accumulated and built in the process of fighting and developing under the glorious banner of the party. Last year, the army and people of Military Zone 4 displayed greater initiative and confidence and maintained their combat readiness in a new stature and with the determination to carry out the two strategic tasks of the party embodied in the guiding concepts: "engaging in combat and maintaining combat readiness, engaging in production and stepping up production"; "a strong front, a steadfast rear."

Everyone has always received a regular education in the laws of change and development and the difficult, complex, and violent nature of the fight taking place within the military zone.

Last year, these basic features were very closely linked to the special characteristics and specific nature of the offensive and uprising on the great, heroic frontlines; at the same time, they were very closely linked to the task

of fighting and strengthening, defending, and building the great socialist rear area. The fight became more and more urgent, complex, difficult, and violent in intensity, scale, and time on the front as well as in the rear; this was a challenge of the spirit and will, of determination and forces, a military and political challenge, an economic and national defense challenge, a challenge of communications, transportation, and technology, tactics and means, and so forth. However, above everything else, it was a challenge and a test of strength on a new pinnacle involving new efforts in each area of the struggle between the two ways of life and the two social systems in each situation in the immediate future and over the long range as well. Therefore, the various party organizations in and outside the army taught everyone the spirit of taking the initiative and directly participating in the fight with a deep sense of political responsibility and glorious honor: joining South Vietnam in the nation's sacred war of resistance. The various party organizations within the military zone led the army and people in this new fight in 1972 from a position of victory, initiative, continuous attacks, calmness, and correctness.

The position of the people's war in each locality developed more strongly and steadily. The feats of arms recorded by the army and people of the military zone were deeper and more widespread.

At the very outset of the "entire military zone departs" campaign, the army and people of heroic Vinh City and its outskirts won a glorious victory on 30 December 1971 by shooting down seven U.S. aircraft and capturing two pilots. Shortly thereafter, the army and people of Quang Binh and Vinh Linh greeted spring with an outstanding feat of arms by shooting down seven enemy aircraft and capturing six pilots. Everywhere, new emulation movements and new campaigns were launched: "request additional weapons, build additional positions, find a place to record a feat of arms, and find the most violent of places and annihilate the enemy and work at them"; "all of the people will go onto the roads and all of the people will participate in communications and transportation activities"; "do not feel bad if a vehicle has not passed your house yet"; "if a road is closed, do not feel bad about the loss of time, feel bad about the loss of blood"; "give your houses for cargo and your villages for vehicles."

This beautiful picture of the entire military zone leaving as one to fight the pirates moved the combat efficiency, the reinforcement of the frontlines, the buildup of its

forces, and all other areas of work within the military zone to a new stage of development. During the past 11 months, the military zone shot down 238 aircraft and set 85 warships afire, thereby bringing the number of U.S. aircraft shot down in the zone to nearly 1,800 and the number of enemy warships set afire to nearly 200. In particular, 18 B-52's were shot down, three times the number shot down during the 4 years of Johnson's war of destruction. The number of enemy warships set afire was four times greater than during the Johnson period.

In 1972, the army and people of the military zone had to simultaneously carry out many weighty tasks: maintaining communications and reinforcing the frontlines on a large-scale and under urgent time requirements, hourly and daily fighting and defeating the enemy, quickly preparing to deal with each possible situation, and putting all economic activities, production, everyday life, and so forth on a wartime footing. The army and people of the military zone successfully carried out these tasks with unprecedented gallantry.

The air defense forces of all three military columns constantly developed resourceful, creative, flexible, and bold methods of attack. Many coordinated combat groups comprised of many layers of fire power were formed. The military zone organized a campaign to attack aircraft and, within each group and locality, individual campaigns were launched to attack aircraft. The self defense militia and local army made several very large efforts and strongly and effectively developed their low altitude anti-aircraft network. Last year, the number of aircraft shot down by the self defense militia in independent action comprised nearly 25 percent of the total number of U.S. aircraft shot down within the military zone (prior to this time, the average was 13 percent per year). Many local army units, while performing the key tasks of provinces, used infantry weapons to shoot down enemy aircraft. In particular, the P. Township militia and the 359th Quang Binh Infantry Company shot down two F-111's, the most expensive and modern aircraft in the U.S. Air Force, on the spot.

The artillery forces of the three military columns reached new stages of development. In particular, artillery group 4 fought very well and recorded excellent feats of arms.

Amidst 10,000 difficult challenges and hardships, new and brilliant pages of history were written on the communications and transportation front. Here, the spirit

of determination to fight and win, the bravery, and the resourcefulness of engineers, sailors, drivers, ferry men, communications personnel, anti-aircraft troops, self defense militia, and the compatriots of the various localities once again defeated the cruel U.S. pirates. The old, the young, men, women, everyone in the military zone feverishly went onto the roads. Even wounded and ill veterans and the supplementary training group asked that they be given a task to perform along a road or river section. Tens of thousands of cubic meters of "dirt and stone to be used to resist the U.S.," tens of thousands of pieces of lumber and bamboo and baskets of grass, and hundreds of thousands of mandays spent digging trenches for people and vehicles, blocking streams, filling in holes so that vehicles could continue on their way, hiding the cargo of the state, and so forth heightened the vibrant atmosphere during the days of Tet in historic Quang Trung on the communications and transportation front. This atmosphere not only reflects the great scale of the manpower, material, and equipment used, but also expresses, in the strongest manner possible, the great will, determination, and ability as well as the resourcefulness and creativity of the army and people within the military zone who, during each hour of each day, competed with the enemy, determined to defeat them, keep transportation lines open from the rear area to the frontlines, and rapidly reinforce the frontlines with the strength of the great rear.

A new feature in Military Zone 4 during the past year was the very close coordination between the gradual defeat of the new war of destruction of the U.S. pirates and active preparations in each area for staunchly defending the various localities within the zone and victoriously dealing with each commando activity, ambush, and all other military adventures of the Americans and the puppets. The formation of groups and adjoining combat defense zones was a correct policy and expressed a very high level of determination to fight. In only a very short period of time, when a thousand things had to be done rapidly and well, the various party committee echelons and local governments provided close leadership and supervision, adopted many very positive measures, organized the preparations being made for combat, conducted maneuvers in launching attacks against the enemy, and put preparations for attacking the enemy under the most complex and difficult situations on a regular basis. Air defense and evacuation activities were carried out urgently and effectively and with increasingly high quality. The localities within the key region, that is, in Quang Binh and Vinh Linh, performed these activities well and, as a result, limited the damages caused by the enemy to the lowest level possible. The

movements to dismantle houses and cut down orchards to make trenches, organize trench construction units, build trenches for each house, construct combat trenches and fortifications, ship bamboo and lumber from the rear to the front, make jars of rice for troops, establish rear service units to provide combat support, and so forth reflect the nature of the people's active participation in making true preparations, conducting drills, and forming a new, strong, and long range position for the people's war. Even the evacuation of people, economic areas, and so forth were carried out in the spirit of insuring the ability to fight in the immediate future and over the long range and combating stagnation and hesitation.

Another new feature was that the military zone party organization constantly made sure that everyone had a deep understanding of the close relationship between the rear area and the frontlines and a thorough understanding of the revolutionary-offensive concept of attacking the enemy when he is far away in order to protect their homes. Consequently, in addition to the various mobile main force army units, the local army and self defense militia units were always ready to go when ordered, go to any battlefield required by the Fatherland. Practically all of the units of the various provinces and Vinh Linh Zone which were sent into combat recorded feats of arms and not only recorded glorious achievements by annihilating the enemy, but also rapidly improved the understanding, thinking, feelings, technical and tactical proficiency, and so forth of their cadres and soldiers, thereby creating favorable conditions for the achievement of new and larger results in local preparations for combat, mobile combat, the development of their forces, and the creation of a source of cadres and a corps of key cadres.

In conjunction with engaging in combat, reinforcing the frontlines, conducting military recruiting activities, and transferring corvee laborers to that they could surpass their planned quotas by 7 to 11 percent, the army and people of the military zone focused very much attention upon the task of continuing to carry out economic construction and stepping up production. In the fires of the violent war, the superior nature and the strong vitality of the socialist system and the new production relations were developed even more. Agricultural production in the various provinces surpassed the planned quotas for output and yields. Practically all localities had two consecutive good harvests. Nghe An became the first province within the military zone to average 5 tons of paddy per hectare for two rice seasons. Both

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Nghe An and Quang Binh Provinces surpass their grain obligations. Ha Tinh Province became the leading province in fish output and the province which completed its plan for the first 6 months of 1972 with the highest percentages. Last year, even such areas as Vinh Linh, where the ground is hard and rocky, in addition to supporting the frontlines with 12 times more corvee laborers than required, also made many large efforts in production, the fulfillment of their obligations, and so forth. It can be said that the entire military zone became a strong offensive front in both combat and production and that each person became a valiant warrior determined to attack and defeat the enemy.

2. Collective Heroism Was Constantly Nurtured and Developed on the Basis of Being Deeply Imbued With the Truth "There Is Nothing More Precious Than Independence and Freedom"

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Vietnamese revolutionary heroism originates in the correct and creative independent and autonomous line of our party, in the staunch, unyielding tradition of our nation, and the noble qualities of the Vietnamese.

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In the process of fighting and building, each new stage of development of the revolutionary heroism of the army and people of Military Zone 4 has been closely linked to the process of heightening the awareness of the revolutionary ideals of the party and closely linked to becoming deeply imbued with the brilliant truth pointed out by the great President Ho: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

An outstanding feature, one which is in the nature of a law, is that the heavier combat has become and the more crafty, barbarous, and cruel the plots and actions of the enemy have become, the more strongly revolutionary heroism has been developed on the basis of very great efforts by our army and people.

Wherever the most difficulties and hardships were being encountered and combat was heaviest, the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" was expressed most clearly through the feverish revolutionary actions of the masses. It was also at these places that the completion of the political task reflected the newest features or revolutionary heroism.

The army and people of Vinh Linh had to overcome countless difficulties in order to perform many large jobs

at once in a short period of time and they fully performed each job and fulfilled their obligations to Quang Tri and beloved South Vietnam. Aware of their obligation and inspired, nothing stopped the compatriots and soldiers of Vinh Linh from helping reinforce the frontlines.

Quang Binh is the locality the enemy attacked first, the most persistently, and the heaviest. However, both life and combat in the province were orderly, there was optimism and confidence, and they patiently and gradually defeated the new war of destruction while steadily preparing a new battlefield position, determined to defeat all other military adventures of the Americans and the puppets. A "two goods" locality, Quang Binh is moving forward to achieve the "three goods" (good in combat, maintaining communications to reinforce the frontlines, and production).

The army and people of Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces, who constantly upheld the heroic tradition of the Nghe-Tinh soviet and who undertook a great responsibility for the Fatherland, developed the great strength of the rear area and competently supported the frontlines. Both Nghe An and Ha Tinh Made very large efforts and were very highly determined to conduct good military recruiting activities in one drive after another and send tens of thousands of their sons to the frontlines. Rapid and steady development was made in combat, the maintenance of communications and transportation, the buildup and development of forces, the acceleration and development of production, etc.

In the space of less than 1 year, the emulation movement to record achievements in Military Zone 4 reached new and very excellent stages of development.

Everywhere, in all units and localities and on the front as well as in the rear, new models and factors have appeared. In addition to the various "determined to win" and heroic units which have constantly maintained and developed their role, many new heroic collectives are being formed.

In the various key regions and strategic, important areas, there has been close coordination among many different combat forces for the purpose of achieving the same objective. In these places, skilled combat units have regularly appeared and formed large, heroic groups, areas, and collectives.

During the 4 years of the first war of destruction, there was one vanguard locality within Military Zone 4 which received the title "heroic" locality and, in Zone 5, there were five heroic units. Now, a short time later, there are

several more very brave collectives within the military zone in the form of very strong groups, areas, and districts, such as Quynh Luu, Ky Anh, Gianh, Dong Hoi, and Quang Ninh.

Hon La District in Quang Binh Province and Hon Ngu District in Nghe An Province are two model units which typify the formation of very new and very beautiful heroic collectives. In these districts, every township and unit is a collective which has fought very bravely and resourcefully and rapidly developed. Every township and unit has also carried out the task of "combined services" from transportation, engineer, naval, and artillery units to units shooting down aircraft. The army, the militia, and the people on the banks, in the water, those far away, and those near combine to form a combat trench and operate under specific orders from a centralized and unified leadership and command. It can be said that Hon La and Hon Ngu are two extremely vibrant pictures of the people's war within the military zone in microcosm.

In their many days of fighting on the battlefield, the cadres and soldiers of group B, group P, the 20 October group, the Ma River group, and so forth displayed absolute bravery, resourcefulness, and creativity, were continuously on the offensive, courageously clung to their positions, withstood each sacrifice and challenge, were deserving of the trust of the entire military zone, recorded very excellent feats of arms, and destroyed very many of the enemy's forces and means of war. Prior to this time, group B had one heroic unit.

The soldiers of the 27th Engineer Battalion have always been present at the most vitally important positions. In keeping with the examples set in the past by Nguyen Dac Diem, each soldier in the battalion volunteered to "be a pontoon bridge pier so that traffic can flow over all of the pontoon bridges linking the Fatherland's roads to the frontlines" and worked under very heavy bombings and shellings in order to completely support the timely and safe transportation of a large quantity of weapons and technical equipment. The battalion is determined to upgrade all of its companies to the level of its two heroic companies and establish a heroic battalion.

As soon as it was formed, the 15th Anti-Aircraft Battalion in Nghe An Province charged into combat and, in the spirit of "not being afraid to die, only being afraid that they would be unable to rise to the occasion," overcame the difficulties posed by their level of proficiency and shortages in each area, rapidly developed, and led the various

battalions within the military zone by shooting down the most U.S. aircraft in a short period of time.

Le Ngoc Truong and Nguyen Huu Ky of group B are in charge of an observation post. For 80 continuous days and nights, they clung to their position, each meter of which was hit with hundreds of tons of bombs; their trench collapsed 11 times and bombs threw them into the air and destroyed their ladder, however, they and their entire team formed themselves into a fortress and, when their observation post was destroyed, they found another one and, when their ladder was destroyed, they built another one or stood on top of one another to conduct their reconnaissance. The Truong-Ky observer team excellently completed its task of directing our artillery in killing many enemy forces and destroying many means of war.

Assistant squad leader Cao Thi Yen, a militiawoman in Thanh Trach Township in Quang Binh Province who fears no danger, singlehandedly disarmed more than 1,000 anti-personnel bombs so that her neighbors could work in the fields.

Company commander Ha Huy Ty of the 27th Engineer Battalion who was injured three times in one night and seriously wounded the final time in both hands, used his elbows to pilot a boat in place of the boatmen and take the members of his unit safely to the wharf.

Seventy-eight-year-old Tran Truong of Quynh Long Township in Nghe An Province, together with the militia, went out to sea in bamboo boats to capture a pilot.

The assistant political officer of the battalion, Nguyen Dinh Chat, together with company commander Le Van Hue and the radio team of the 2nd company of Artillery Group B spent 7 consecutive days buried in sand and being bombed by the enemy to direct and command our artillery which destroyed many enemy troops and means of war.

Collective heroism has formed the more than 3 million soldiers and compatriots within the military zone into a strong bloc, a bloc which cannot be conquered by the power or the destruction and terror of the enemy's bombs and shells.

The strong development of collective heroism is the ideological basis for the steadfast development of the people's war within the military zone. The process of nurturing and developing collective heroism is the process of building and training new people and building collectives which struggle, in the unity of one heart, for the interests of the party and the people. It is also the process of struggling without

yielding against each expression of personal considerations, the fear of difficulties and hardship, and the fear of engaging in heavy combat for a long period of time, it is the process of closely and fully examining the level of understanding, the thinking, feeling, political attitude, and revolutionary actions of each person and each unit.

3. Constantly Being Concerned With the Strengthening of the Primary Level, Primarily the Development of Strong Party Chapters, and Using Combat Efficiency and the Quality of Work as Accurate Measurements of the Revolutionary Actions of Each Person and Organization

The realities of the revolution confirm the important role played by basic organizations, particularly party chapters. Only with strong party chapters is it possible to have a strong party organization and a strong unit.

The heavier combat becomes, the more necessary it is to constantly strengthen the development of party chapters in order to establish the conditions needed to victoriously implement each program and line of the party and the directives, resolutions, and orders of superiors.

The various party organizations within the military zone focused much attention upon consolidating and developing party chapters and putting the campaign to build party chapters which meet the three standards and train party members in accordance with the seven requirements on a regular basis. The quality of the work performed by the various party chapters improved more with each day. The vanguard, exemplary, and determined nature of party chapters and party members was confirmed. Many party chapters, which were only average in quality during normal times, underwent extraordinary development through training and the challenges of combat. According to incomplete statistics, of the 400 party chapters which led their units in completing their combat, combat support, and training tasks, one-third recorded excellent feats of arms and were awarded medals.

The development of party chapters and the training of party members is the process of continuously striving to fully meet the three standards and seven requirements put forth by the Party Central Committee. It is incorrect to give light consideration to any one of these standards or requirements. However, in the realities of the violent and complex struggle which has recently occurred on all fronts and will continue for some time to come, the various party organizations within the military zone have placed emphasis upon two matters:

First, it is necessary to constantly build steadfastness and a thorough revolutionary will;

Secondly, it is necessary to constantly improve the leadership ability and the knowledge in each area of party chapters and party members by means of training.

Our combat objectives are the cruel and insidious U.S. imperialists, the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime, well known Vietnamese traitors, hoodlums, reactionaries, the dishonest, those who will sympathize with the U.S. pirates until they die, and those who specialize in killing their compatriots for money and selling the country cheaply in order to enrich themselves. In addition to being barbarous, cruel, and completely inhuman, the enemy has constantly waged a vicious and malicious psychological war. In the life or death struggle between us and the enemy, each challenge and test of strength is a challenge and test of strength between the two systems, the two ways of life, and the two classes, and, above everything else, a total challenge to our party and each of its chapters.

Clearly understanding this, each party chapter within the military zone constantly showed itself to be deserving of being an offensive spearhead, a strong combat fortress.

Fighting in key areas under very heavy enemy attack and launching mobile attacks against the enemy under conditions in which many difficulties were being encountered with roads, equipment, and vehicles, the party chapters of the Gianh River group and the Hoa Lu, Ba Dinh, Dong Da, and Quang Trung groups led their units in determinedly clinging to their positions and displayed the spirit of initiative and creativity as well as determination to fight and win. Many units excellently completed their tasks. All of the companies in the Dong Da fire power group recorded feats of arms and practically all of them received medals. The party chapters of the 2nd Battalion, which clung continuously to their key position at V., contended with hundreds of bombing sorties and attacks by enemy B-52's, jet aircraft, and warships. The battalion continuously smashed many of the enemy's malicious tricks, shot down seven enemy aircraft, and displayed the spirit of determination to defend its strategic position. In some battles, in the space of 3 minutes, the battalion shot down two enemy aircraft on the spot.

The 7/47 Vinh Linh Party Chapter, the Con Co Island Party Chapter, the M. Island Party Chapter, the N. Party Chapter, and the party chapter of the 442nd Company, which are located far from the mainland and the rear area, constantly

took the initiative, overcame their difficulties and dangers, fought well, achieved high efficiency, and developed themselves and prepared to fight the enemy under the most complex and severe conditions.

The U.S. pirates blockaded the seacoast and mined and used torpedoes in a long belt 2 to 3 kilometers wide. Their artillery fired indiscriminately into villages and hamlets. Every stove fire and flash of light was a target for enemy attacks. It was during this time that the Quang Phu Party Chapter in Quang Binh Province, the leader of the fishing industry, mobilized the masses to organize spearhead teams and immediately send boats out to sea where they burned lanterns and caught fish. These first "determined to win lanterns and catches of fish" of the party chapter lighted the way for all cooperatives through the enemy's bombs and resulted in a victorious fish harvest: by October, they had surpassed their planned norm for the year by 5 percent.

The V.C. Township party organization in Vinh Linh entered the fight and had to simultaneously perform a series of tasks, each of which was extremely urgent: it had to make preparations for combating the enemy's commandoes and ambushes, receive more than four times as many evacuees as there were people in the township, and contribute more than five times as many corvee laborers than the number of laborers in the township. However, the strength of the spirit of "working wholehearted for one's homeland and the victory of South Vietnam" which was advocated by the party chapter inspired and attracted everyone to the township-wide "people charging to the frontlines and people, together with the party chapter, overcoming difficulties" movement. And, the V.C. Township not only completed each assigned task, but also shot down an enemy aircraft, captured two pilots, and surpassed its planned production quota. During the 5th month-spring season, it surpassed its grain obligation by 50 tons and its total output for 1971 by 80 tons.

In the development of party chapters, the party organization of Military Zone 4 gained another valuable experience, namely, that of constantly focusing attention upon improving the leadership ability of each party cell and party member by means of training. The heavier and more complicated combat becomes, the more attention must be given to the role played by the individual party cell and party member. If not, the results achieved will be limited no matter how many good resolutions are adopted by the party chapter.

The anti-aircraft batteries of the Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Nghe An, and Ha Tinh militia went to fight on a distant battlefield. Many of the platoons and squads were 5 to 6 hours away from their batteries. The areas in which many platoons were stationed were carpet bombed by B-52's five to seven times. Although they had not had time to deploy their positions, the party cells promptly used the spirit of the resolutions passed by their party chapters to encourage and lead the masses and, despite the sacrifices involved, were determined to occupy and cling to their positions in order to protect the forward formation of infantry troops and ready to attack the enemy spreading out to launch counterattacks, thereby helping the party chapter lead the battery in excellently completing its task. All batteries shot down enemy aircraft, and the 2nd battery shot down four.

If they did not take the time to improve the ability of each party member, party cell, and, in particular, each cadre party member to engage in independent action, it would have been difficult for group B (artillery), group P (infantry), and the 20 October group (infantry) to excellently complete their tasks and become collectives very clearly symbolizing a period of historic victories.

The observer team of Hoang Lam Thien hid in the water, stayed awake for 8 continuous nights, stayed close to the enemy, assessed the situation, and accurately called in artillery fire which killed many troops and destroyed many of their means of war.

Transmission line station a4, 103 is in charge of a line which was continuously attacked by enemy B-52's. Whenever the lines were cut, the station repaired them immediately and, even though their houses and furniture were destroyed and all of their clothing lost, those at the station performed their task first.

Party cell number 2 of the 1st Motor Vehicle Transport Company, a heroic unit, which operates on a new battlefield, led its unit in effectively coordinating with friendly units to "open roads and move forward," clear and lay dozens of kilometers of road, cut down lumber to repair bridges, and cut through rocks to build tunnels; it also constructed dozens of transshipment warehouses for three supply routes. Whenever the enemy attacked their formation and their vehicles were set afire and the road was damaged, cadres and party members were immediately on the spot to rescue vehicles and cargo, repair the road, and fill in holes so that vehicles could pass. As a result, party cell number 2 made a deserving

contribution which helped the company complete its combat transportation task in a very excellent manner: it surpassed its technical parameters by 16 percent, finished 32 days ahead of its deadlines, and surpassed its cargo volume norm by 15 percent.

The few examples presented above rather fully depict the role played by the party cell and the party member.

On the other hand, as we know, our combat objective is the leading imperialist power which has a very modern war industry and very great potential. The combat task, the scale of the organization of the forces, and the level of technical equipment of all three of our military columns have continuously developed. The requirements of coordinated combat are very high. The entire rear area is moving forward to large-scale socialist production, the key to which is the technological revolution. The leadership objectives of our party are comprised of individuals with experience in the realities of the three revolutionary periods and even youths who are educated, have a knowledge of science, and are quick to understand.

Therefore, a very pressing requirement of each party chapter is that of urgently and continuously deepening the overall knowledge of party members, beginning by giving them a deep knowledge of the lines and policies of the party, military science, technology, and their profession and specialty.

High combat and work efficiency are the combined results of many factors, among which the ability to lead and command and the level of understanding of science and technology play an extremely important role.

As a result of taking the lead in this field, constantly using combat and work efficiency to check their political responsibility and leadership ability, and regularly heightening the scientific and technical level of cadres, party members, and the masses, many party organizations led their units on to record resounding feats of arms and glorious victories.

The 273rd Battery in Ha Tinh Province, which occupies a strategically important position, adopted the correct policy of technical versatility. In only a short period of time, each cadre and soldier was able to skillfully use seven types of weapons and, in three battles, they set afire two enemy warships and shot down one enemy aircraft.

The 212th Battery of the Hoa Lu Anti-Aircraft Artillery Group was the first unit in the military zone to patiently

engage in research and cling to its position to shoot down "guided reconnaissance" aircraft and foil the enemy's attempt to use laser bombs.

The Dong Da Anti-Aircraft Artillery Group went from an average position in the ranks of the various units within the military zone as regards the feats of arms recorded by shooting down enemy aircraft to take over first place in four categories: the highest number of battles in which U.S. aircraft were shot down, the most aircraft shot down on the spot, the most pilots captured, and the most ammunition economized. The 43rd Battalion, after rapidly overcoming its difficulties, shot down four enemy B-52's in the space of 1 month.

Although the enemy improved their various types of delayed action bombs and used new mines, the soldiers and engineers of the 25th, 27th, and 37th Battalions, B. ferry, the Tien Dien Township militia, Vuong Dinh Nho, and so forth spent much time studying and learned how to dismantle them.

In summary, the process of developing party chapters in military Zone 4 has been the process of regularly and fully implementing the resolutions, directives, and principles concerning party development, closely linking party development activities with the implementation of the political task of the military zone's party organization, the locality, and the unit, and correctly orienting party chapter development activities giving them rich contents and carrying them out by means of effective measures. This process has also been the process of closely linking the development of the corps of party members with the development of the organization of party chapters with attention to people engaged in combat and people supporting combat, main force as well as local army troops, and old units as well as newly established ones.

4. Strengthening Unity and Unanimity. Following the Mass Line, and Developing the Spirit of Self-Reliance

The people's armed forces of Military Zone 4 are extremely enthusiastic over and proud of the unanimity and unity between the military zone party organization and the party organizations of the various localities, between the army and the people, between the rear and the front, between the top and the bottom, and among the various battlefields. This unity and unanimity have been strengthened with each passing day and become a glorious and extremely valuable tradition. In particular, the unity between the military

zone party organization and the party organizations of the various localities as well as the unity between the army and the people has become even closer as the fighting has become more difficult and heavy. The greater the difficulties have been, the higher the unanimity and the deeper the confidence have become.

The regular and emergency meetings between the military zone party committee and the standing committees of the various provincial party committees and the party committee of Vinh Linh Zone in 1971, particularly those during the past year, to study and appraise the situation and discuss policies concerning important matters in the new situation with a high sense of responsibility to the Party Central Committee and the masses had a very great effect and created broad unity and unanimity within the military zone.

The growth and the happiness in victory of the localities, units, and the branches and services of the armed forces within the military zone are closely related to this unity and unanimity.

The strength of the unity and unanimity of the 3 million soldiers and people within the military zone has provided a foundation upon which the people's war has developed in many areas on a larger scale and with higher quality. Each feat of arms recorded by shooting down a B-52, each trip of cargo which reached its destination, and each drive to welcome and take care of wounded and ill veterans as well as the process of carrying out all other tasks received the attention, intelligence, and deep gratitude of the party organization and compatriots of the various localities. The strength of this unity and unanimity is the strong foundation of the strength of the unity and close coordination among the various branches and services and among the three columns.

On these foundations, excellent models have appeared everywhere. Everyone, regardless of the difficulties and dangers involved, enthusiastically volunteered and signed pledges to carry out tasks. When they saw that neighboring units and localities were encountering difficulties, they were ready to charge forth and help them.

As a result of the requirements of the situation, combat groups were formed from the individual combat organizations in the various townships. Each township contributed manpower, material, and time to construct collective battle positions and linked areas which coordinated the combat of engineers

and communications troops, the army and the various sectors, and the armed forces and the people. Seeing that they were needed, the people actively participated in jobs which were not part of their responsibility or task; housework and personal matters were temporarily set aside.

The recent spirit of unity and unanimity was also expressed in constant confidence in the masses, reliance upon them, and full compliance with the mass line.

On the basis of the guiding slogan "the people can do anything no matter how difficult" which was adopted by all localities, the Nghe An Provincial Party Committee adopted the policy of "speak to the people so they can gain an understanding and have the people discuss matters in order to implement them." Fully displaying this spirit, the Quynh Luu party organization launched a feverish revolutionary movement among the masses which yielded results very deserving of pride: their military recruiting quota was surpassed by 2 percent, 250 youths joined the assault youths, they far surpassed their 1971 grain quota in just one season, saved 5 million more dong, built the momentum needed for communications activities to be five times more successful than projected, and so forth. When it came to shooting down aircraft, setting warships afire, and capturing pilots, Quynh Luu had a bumper harvest.

In many other districts, such as Ky Anh District in Ha Tinh Province and Quang Ninh District in Quang Binh Province, there were similar movements and excellent results were also recorded.

Confidence in the masses had the effect of giving them a clear understanding of the task, line, and decisions of the party. Confidence in the masses made the masses confident in their leaders. As a result of this mutual confidence, there was greater confidence and unity. Confidence in the masses and insuring that the masses are confident in their leaders, confident of one another, and respect one another is a very basic factor. Having confidence in the masses makes it possible to put the masses in the spearhead of the struggle and create a hightide of activity, this is the art of organization and leadership.

The "all of the people discuss the affairs of the state" and "all of the people take to the roads" movements, the "Dien Hong conferences," the "all of the people participate in the buildup of the reserve army" conferences, the "all of the people care for wounded veterans and the families of war dead" conferences, the "find a place to record a feat of arms"

movement, the "find the most dangerous place and go there" movement, the "keep vehicles moving and keep the artillery firing rapidly" movement, and so forth in the various units and localities reflect the feverish, broad nature of the actions of the masses.

The 2nd Company of the 15th Battalion in Nghe An Province launched a movement to sign three pledges (a pledge to work the stipulated number of productive mandays and work hours and do high quality work; a pledge to be a person deserving of one's native village and family; and a pledge to be a disciplined cadre and soldier and become an emulation warrior). The company rapidly overcame its weaknesses, rapidly developed, independently shot down two enemy aircraft, one of which crashed on the spot, and coordinated with the battalion to shoot down four other aircraft.

Unit 3 of group 200, a convalescent unit, received 85 percent of the wounded veterans who were disabled. After having their thinking remolded, everyone in the unit determinedly engaged in training and came to realize that his combat position was to defeat his disability, consequently, more than 43 percent of them regained their health and went on to accept new tasks.

Self-reliance is an excellent tradition of our entire party, our entire army, and all of our people. Developing the spirit of self-reliance means developing the spirit of ownership and the creativity of each individual on the basis of unswervingly carrying out tasks, effectively overcoming each difficulty, surmounting each hardship, and finding every possible way to achieve the highest possible combat and work efficiency.

Recently, in all of the units and localities within the military zone, there have been very many beautiful expressions of this spirit under the new conditions: they sought difficulties in order to overcome them and requested additional tasks, but not additional people, money, or equipment.

The 1st and 2nd Automobile Transportation companies attacked the enemy in order to move forward, opened roads in order to advance, and, when they lacked materials and spare parts, they obtained or produced them themselves. Without requesting additional vehicles, they increased and surpassed their planned transportation quotas. They also retrieved damaged vehicles and launched a movement to collect scrap iron and scattered spare parts and make forges to

produce many replacement parts for vehicles. In particular, the 1st Company spent 4 continuous days retrieving a bomb damaged vehicle at a dangerous position and took it to be repaired after which it was one of the units best vehicles.

The 27th Battalion performed its mission at night and, during the day, dug trenches to hide its equipment. In the space of a few months, the battalion dug 70 trenches, thereby insuring that its equipment could not be destroyed by the enemy.

The students and teachers of the military zone cultural school, who traveled for days to cut lumber and thatch, built 70 houses to be used by the students as eating and studying facilities.

The compatriots and comrades in Ha Tinh Province launched a movement to protect convalescent group 7. Each township prefabricated one house and transported it to the group for the wounded veterans.

Shop 30, the automobile spare parts processing shop, the wounded veterans trade instruction shop, and so forth made many important innovations and raised their productivity 150 to 300 percent.

The number of deeds mentioned above and countless other fully significant actions by the units and localities of the military zone once again prove that by having confidence in the masses, knowing how to mobilize the masses, and creating a high degree of unity and unanimity, any difficulty can be overcome and any task can be excellently carried out.

The army and people of the military zone are extremely happy over the victory they have won, however, they are fully aware that this victory is only an initial one. In light of the extremely great sacrifices being made by the compatriots and comrades of Tri-Thien and South Vietnam and the achievements being recorded by the army and people of North Vietnam and in comparison to the requirements of the present and upcoming revolutionary tasks, the army and people of the military zone must make new and even greater efforts.

During the past several days, the U.S. pirates have committed many serious war crimes against North and South Vietnam. What is even more monstrous and insolent is that they have recklessly used B-52's to attack the capital of Hanoi, the heart of the Fatherland, committing tens of thousands of barbarous crimes.

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These actions have even more clearly exposed their
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The hatred they have held for so long is now swelling
within the heart of each compatriot and soldier in Military
Zone 4. Hatred and determination to retaliate are the
daily thoughts, feelings, and actions of each person. Now,
more than ever before, the army and people of Military Zone
4 are determined, together with the rest of the country,
to maintain and step up the fight until total victory is won.

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WHAT IS AMERICA PLOTTING IN REFUSING TO SIGN THE TREATY AGREED TO ON 20 OCTOBER 1972?

[Article by Huong Nam; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 27-32]

Because of the declaration of 26 October 1972 of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the whole world knows that on 20 October 1972 the DRV and America reached an agreement on both the substance and the wording of a "treaty to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam." If America had honored its commitments, then after 1 November 1972 the sound of gunfire and bombs would have ended and the various sides would have undertaken the specific implementation of the provisions of the treaty, thus responding to the aspirations for peace, independence, national concord, democratic freedoms, and national unification of our people in the South, to the benefit of the Vietnamese people, the American people, and the people of the world.

However, peace has still not been restored, and America is continuing to step up the war in both parts of our country and in the neighboring fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia. Although the DRV has shown a correct attitude and the highest degree of good will, and have joined the American side in resuming the private meetings between special adviser Le Duc Tho and the American Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, the negotiations in Paris have been prolonged. Peace is not "at hand," as the American side has declared, but on the contrary, as the world press has commented sarcastically, that arm's reach is extremely long indeed.

Reneging has always been a common trick of the imperialist aggressors. Below we shall clearly point out why the American side agreed to the treaty and then reneged. What was America's plot in reneging, and what are the prospects for America's plot?

First of all, America had to pledge to respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity. These national rights were recognized by the Geneva Treaty of 1954, but America, making the excuse that it had not signed the Geneva Treaty in order to sabotage it, rudely intervened and committed aggression, and trod on the sacred national rights of our people. Today, if it signs the treaty of 20 October 1972, America will be forced to recognize those national rights, in a document that is valid under international law. In demanding that the treaty be revised the American side is plotting to revise a number of provisions in a way that would violate the basic national rights of our people. America's pledge to respect the national rights of our people means that America must end all acts which violate those national rights, and must completely and permanently end its military involvement in South Vietnam. America brought its own troops and those of its vassals into our country to commit aggression, so America must withdraw all of those troops without being able to demand any conditions, and must also withdraw all military advisers and personnel under all forms, dismantle all American military bases in South Vietnam, and pledge that it will not renew its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of the people of the South.

Another basic principle is that America must recognize the actual situation in the South at the present time, one in which there are two administrations, two armies, and three political forces. On the basis of that actual situation, forms must be determined to achieve the true right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. An administrative structure called National Council for National Reconciliation and Concord, consisting of three equal components, must be established at all levels to supervise the implementation of the treaty and to organize general elections, and achieve national concord, freedom, and democracy, so that all classes of people in the South can completely eliminate hatred and positively participate in the political life of the South. And finally, America must accept responsibility for the destruction and damage caused by their war of aggression in both parts of our country; America must contribute to healing the wounds of war and rebuilding the places destroyed in the war.

Refusing to sign the treaty of 20 October within the agreed-to time, the American side is seeking all means to sabotage those basic principles. Of course the American leaders dare not make a public declaration to that effect. After our Government made public a summary of the contents of the treaty in its Declaration of 26 October, the American side had to publicly admit that those summarized contents were correct and that the American side had to hold further discussions with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding a number of technical matters and details. But since

then, although the two sides agreed not to make public the contents of the private meetings in Paris, the matters revealed by America in the press conference held by Henry Kissinger on 16 December, in the Western press, and especially through the loudspeaker of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, added to actual deeds, prove beyond doubt that the matter of America amending "technical" points and "details" is actually the amending of major, very important substantive matters which relate to the above-mentioned basic principles.

Violating the basic national rights of our people, the American side demands the permanent division of Vietnam. After 18 years of preventing the unification of our people and demanding "the extension of the American border to the 17th parallel" but failing to do so, the American side now continues to brazenly demand the restoration of the status of the Demilitarized Zone and demand that the "two parts, the South and the North, respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty." By doing so the Americans and their lackeys demand the abrogation of our people's sacred right of self-defense, the right of all patriotic Vietnamese to fight against aggression in any part of their Fatherland. For their part, the puppets cynically demand the complete withdrawal of "North Vietnamese" troops from the South, and the Americans "echo" that demand with more cunning arguments, demand that all "non-South Vietnamese" military forces withdraw from the South, that "all four nations of Indochina" (the South is thus recognized as a separate "nation") "must respect the principle that the military forces of each nation must return to within "the borders of their country."

In order to assure that their demands are accepted, the American side, acting through the puppet Thieu administration and a number of other lackeys, such as the Indonesians, demand the formation of a "strong" International Commission, with the right to supersede the Vietnamese sides, and with a large international guard force to transcend the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people in controlling and inspecting the implementation of the treaty in a manner advantageous to the Americans and their puppets.

In the South itself the Americans, in violation of our people's right to independence, have violated the provisions prohibiting America from military involvement before those provisions are signed. America has impetuously brought arms into the South in such quantities that the puppet military force has been unable to assimilate them all. America hastily changed military advisers into "civilian" advisers and sent the puppets an additional 10,000 advisers wearing "civilian" clothes, in the guise of employees of private American companies hired by the puppets to come to Vietnam under contract. America has not dismantled its military bases in the South, but has urgently handed them over to the puppets, who

have been assisted in their operation by American advisers wearing "civilian" clothing. By its actions in South Vietnam, combined with its demands that the treaty of 20 October be amended, it is clear that America is plotting to continue its military involvement by means of new, very cunning schemes, and to continue its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war under new forms, starting now and continuing after the various parties have signed the treaty.

With regard to recognizing the actual situation in South Vietnam, as reflected in the treaty of 20 October, America and its lackeys are plotting to obliterate that recognition both in that document and in actual practice in the South. As Nguyen Van Thieu declared, America and its puppets will not accept the formation, at all levels, of an administrative structure called the "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord" and made up of three components, and demand that the authority of that Council be limited. They also refuse to recognize the existence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam as one of the two actual administrations in the South, but take the position that in South Vietnam there is only one "legal," "constitutional" government, that of the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration, and one opposing political organization, the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. With such a scheme they on the one hand demand at the conference table that the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration and the NFLSV jointly select the members of the "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord," and insist that the intermediate, independent political forces have no role to play, while on the other hand in the South, by means of fascist laws and cynical acts of terrorism, they are endeavoring to annihilate the resistance forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the forces sympathetic to the Resistance, to annihilate the political, social, and religious forces which approve of peace and national concord.

Along the same lines America, with regard to its responsibility of contributing to the healing of the wounds of war, is plotting to use "aid" as a "carrot" to force our people to make concessions, so that they can then use that carrot as a means of violating and restricting the national rights of our people.

Why did America reach an agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding the substance, wording, procedure for signing, and time for signing, of a "treaty to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam," but then renege and refuse to sign it, prolong the negotiations, and prolong and intensify their war of aggression?

The reason must be found in the internal contradictions of the present Vietnam policy of the American imperialists, in the

obstinate, cunning nature of the imperialist leader, who would "rather die than change." The present Vietnam policy of the Nixon administration is a policy of "Vietnamization," of applying the "Nixon Doctrine" to Vietnam in order to both maintain its neo-colonial rule in the South and allow America to retreat from its military involvement so that it can have a free hand to expand the "Nixon Doctrine" throughout the world during the coming years. Everything will go smoothly for them if "Vietnamization" progresses satisfactorily, if the puppet armed forces are sufficiently strong to replace the American troops, and if the puppet administration is sufficiently strong to keep the people of the South under America's neo-colonial yoke. But in actuality the situation has not developed in that manner. The puppet army and administration are rotten and cannot stand alone, as America wants, while America must end its military involvement in the South and rid itself of the heavy burden of its war of aggression in Vietnam, which is condemned by the entire world, and eliminate an enormous obstacle for the expansion of the "Nixon Doctrine"! That is the greatest contradiction of the American imperialists regarding Vietnam, and is presented by them as a contradiction between America and its puppets. The puppet administration of Nguyen Van Thieu, which was created by America to wage war, can exist only with war, so it protests all peaceful solutions, which to it are matters of life-or-death concern. The draft peace treaty of 8 October 1972 of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was regarded by America as "important and very basic" because it created conditions which would allow America to withdraw but would also allow the Saigon puppet administration to continue to exist as an actuality in the present situation in the South. If America truly wants such a solution it is entirely capable of forcing its puppets to do as it wishes. But with their obstinate, cunning nature, the American imperialists not only want their puppets to exist, but to have complete control. That is the reason why America, basing itself on the so-called demand of its puppets to delay the signing of the treaty, demands the revision of various basic provisions of the treaty. In doing so, America is plotting to, in practice, rapidly strengthen its puppets by providing weapons, equipment, and military advisers in "civilian" clothing, and increase their attacks in both the South and the North, while at the conference table relying on that position, which they wrongly imagine to be a strong one, to force us to make concessions on the basic principles and create a legal basis on which the Americans and their puppets can later base themselves to sabotage the peace in a manner beneficial to them. If the American imperialists are allowed to carry out their plot to revise the treaty of 20 October, then after an initial period of endeavoring to achieve the withdrawal of troops and the taking back of all American military personnel captured in both parts of our country, America would make the excuse of "entrusting the solution of the internal affairs of the South to the South Vietnamese" in using the puppets to sabotage the provisions of the

treaty, then hide behind the "legality" of the treaty to continue to carry out Vietnamization by new, more cunning schemes.

We have exposed the nefarious plot of the American imperialists from the very beginning. Immediately after the American imperialists reneged and refused to sign the treaty of 20 October at the agreed-to time, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 26 October 1972 issued a declaration condemning that reneging, while also making public a summary of the famous Nine Points, the main content of the above-mentioned treaty. Those nine points caused world opinion and American opinion to see clearly the correctness and justness of the treaty of 20 October and the correct attitude and good-will of the Vietnamese side. World opinion unanimously welcomed the nine points, and the American side also had to publicly admit on 26 October that the nine points were "correct." Therefore, in actuality our Government's declaration of 26 October was a milestone signifying the results of 4 years of discussions between Vietnam and America; it recorded on paper and in world opinion basic agreements regarding the peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem achieved by the two sides. Nixon's debating point that there must be a "just and correct" treaty, and Henry Kissinger's accusations that the Vietnamese side has not respected the agreements, cannot change white into black and cannot lessen the pressure of world opinion, which demands that America keep its promises, correctly observe the treaty of 20 October, and quickly sign that treaty, and which demands that the war be ended and peace be restored in Vietnam.

The American imperialists cannot achieve their plot to delay the signing of the treaty of 20 October. That is true not only because at the negotiating table the American side is facing an adversary that is steadfast and experienced, and that has the sympathy and support of the peace-loving, justice-loving people of the world, but principally because America cannot overcome the limitations of the real situation in the South at the present time. That actual situation is not only disadvantageous to the aggressors and their lackeys, but is also changing in a direction that is irreversible and increasingly to their disadvantage. The administrative apparatus of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, with its strong Liberation Army and vast liberated area, is a reality the Americans and their puppets cannot eliminate or obscure. The intermediate political forces which approve of peace, national concord, freedom, and democracy are realities which are now developing despite the efforts of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique to terrorize and suppress them by the most barbarous fascist methods.

Based as it is on the principle of respect for the national rights of the people of Vietnam and the right of self-determination of our compatriots in the South, the treaty of 20 October correctly

reflects that actual situation. The Nixon administration must choose between two paths: either acknowledge that actual situation, honor its commitments, and quickly sign the agreed-to treaty, in order to remove America from its quagmire in Vietnam; or close its eyes to that actual situation, refuse to sign the treaty, employ rude and obstinate measures to negotiate from a position of strength, in hopes of forcing the Vietnamese side to make substantial changes of important provisions of the agreed-to treaty, and thus prolonging the war, plunging deeper into a tunnel from which there is no escape, and bringing upon themselves even heavier defeats.

The obstinate attitude of the Americans and their lackeys at the Paris conference, the measures America has taken to increase the number of puppet troops and bring more weapons and disguised military advisers into the South, the police campaigns and barbaric terrorism and suppression of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, and the declarations of the American leaders which confused white with black regarding the obstacles encountered in the negotiations, followed by an insane escalatory step -- the use of B-52 bombers to attack Hanoi and Haiphong -- prove that the American warmongers are plotting to lead America onto the second, extremely dangerous, path.

Our people desire peace and have shown the highest degree of good will to achieve with the American side a correct political solution. But peace must be accompanied by independence and freedom. The cruel, cunning schemes of the American imperialists cannot force our people to give in, to be diverted from that noble goal.

During the past several days the whole socialist North, symbolized by Hanoi, the heroic capital, has, millions of people acting as one, developed to a high degree revolutionary heroism, crammed the flame of hatred for the enemy into its gun barrels, and been determined to smash the insane hope of the blood-thirsty Nixon clique, which is plotting to use the cruel force of weapons, principally the B-52, in hopes of overcoming our people.

The American aggressors have received well-deserved punishment. How can Nixon deny the truth that during the past 12 days (from 18 to 29 December 1972) 81 modern American jet airplanes, including 34 B-52's and five F-111's, were blown apart, many more enemy crewmen were put into the jails of the North, and dozens of American warships were hit and set afire?

Our vehicles and supplies continue to go continuously to the front. The more our steel-like will has been tempered the harder it has become and the more our hatred for the enemy has urged us forward. Our position has become stronger day after day. The more our forces fight the stronger they become.

That America was forced to reach an agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam regarding a "treaty to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam" signified an unsalvageable defeat for America's neo-colonial aggressive venture in Vietnam.

America's strategy has always been to set up in South Vietnam a lackey administration nourished by American military and economic aid, to use that administration as a neo-colonial tool, threaten the socialist North, and achieve the permanent division of our country. After the administrations of four presidents and many different strategies, America has suffered a bitter defeat in the achievement of that strategy. It has not only failed to overcome the Vietnamese people, but has weakened the position of American imperialism in America itself and all over the world. The general offensive and uprising of our soldiers and people in the South since the spring of 1972 has smashed the illusions of the success of the "Vietnamization" strategy and of Nixon's worldwide diplomatic activities relating to Vietnam. Although it has "re-Americanized" the war and used the American air force and navy to impetuously participate in the war to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and the control apparatus of the puppet administration, the Nixon administration has realized that it cannot defeat "guerrillas," but that, as Henry Kissinger wrote in his article "Negotiating on Vietnam," guerrillas win if they are not defeated; the regular army is defeated if it does not win." Continuing the war under the present conditions will not lead America to an escape route, but on the contrary will only cause the situation of America and its puppets in the South to worsen, while also creating serious obstacles for the Nixon administration's plans to improve the internal situation in America and expand the "Nixon Doctrine," its new global strategy.

The most rational, most "honorable" course for America is to withdraw from Vietnam on the basis of recognizing the real situation in the South at the present time. That is the course delineated in the Declaration of 11 September 1972 of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and manifested in the draft treaty brought forth by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 8 October 1972. It was for that reason that the American side regarded that draft treaty as important and very basic, and joined the DRV side in stepping up the negotiations and in rapidly reaching final agreement regarding the "treaty to end the war and restore peace in Vietnam" on 20 October 1972.

By agreeing to the treaty of 20 October 1972 the American side recognized a number of basic principles regarding the peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem.

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Nixon has been condemned by all mankind.

For the sake of the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and for the sake of our international duty, our people and soldiers throughout our nation are increasing their determination, achieving unity and solidarity, overcoming all sacrifices and hardships, implementing the sacred Testament of President, and steadfastly pursuing the struggle on all three fronts -- military, political, and diplomatic -- to complete victory.

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A DOCTRINE UNABLE TO FIND VITALITY

[Article by Thanh Tin; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 33-41]

The Nixon Doctrine was born nearly 4 years ago.

In theory, Nixon and the scholars in the White House has many times stated continuous perfection of the theme, principle, and foundation of this doctrine.

In practice, the Nixon Doctrine has been applied in an increasingly wider manner. The foreign policy of the Nixon administration in the relations of the United States with its allies and the socialist nations as well as nations of the third world during the past few years has developed the themes of the Nixon Doctrine in a fairly urgent manner.

Nixon and the principal components of the U.S. Government and the most bellicose, reactionary, despotic, and capitalist organizations in the United States have placed countless expectations in the Nixon Doctrine. They consider it as an escape route from the stalemated and defeated situation of the United States in its foreign policy, a valuable asset to restore the position of strength and prestige of the United States which has seriously declined on the international arena, and a brochure to effectively pursue a counterrevolutionary global strategy during the 70's. They also consider it an incredible miracle to restore the deeply divided unity of the United States and stabilize the confused internal situation.

Such are the great hopes of Nixon and his companions. However, a great distance exists between desire, expectation, and actual results. Completely contrary to these desires and expectations of the U.S. imperialist leaders, the Nixon Doctrine, born during a general crisis of imperialism, has been unable to find vitality.

Admissions

Recently, the psychological warfare machine of Washington loudly advertised an article by Nixon published in the 26 June 1972 issue of the magazine U.S. News and World Report. This magazine is usually considered a semi-official spokesman of the U.S. Government. This was a special article because the author

signed his entire name and official function: President Richard Nixon, and the title is extremely alluring: "The Correct Road to Peace." Through 10 pages of the magazine, a seal in the shape of an eagle was printed in the left hand corner surrounded by the words "Seal of the President of the United States of America." This is a special article because, according to the editor's introduction, Nixon drafted this article before February 1972 and corrected it after returning from the capital of an Asian nation. In May, Nixon again supplemented and corrected the article while on a return flight from a European capital to the United States. The article is more than 12,000 words long and consists of 10 parts.

The advertised intent of this article both in theme and form is truly clear. Nevertheless, the more disguised it is, the more clearly revealed is the true face of the Nixon administration. Even while bombastically raising his voice to brag, Nixon cannot help but make chagrined and bitter statements. He admitted, "During the past 10 years, the position of the United States in the world economy has grievously changed. The United States is being competed with and challenged by the principal industrial nations." "In 1971, the first year since 1888, the U.S. balance of payments indicated a deficit." Concerning the national liberation movement, Nixon lamented, "When we (the United States) review our policy concerning the developing nations of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, we clearly recognize the necessity for consideration and action along new lines. The United States cannot play the role of a commander as before." Concerning the U.S. internal situation, Nixon cannot help but sigh, "The past 10 years have been 10 years of division and occasionally of bitter mutual resistance."

The International Information Forum, a newspaper which has in the past usually praised Nixon, published an editorial during December 1972 which observed that, "Nixon is approaching the second term of his government with the spirit of a man who has taken over a corporation which has and is suffering losses." This is a picture close to the truth.

Recently, when the United States launched the Apollo 17 space ship to the moon, U.S. commentator Frederick Uynsip /transliteration/ disgustedly sighed that, "The conquest of space has clearly indicated that it is easier than winning a military victory in a country only the size of Missouri in the United States!"

Many well-known U.S. intellectuals, artists, and writers have observed that the Vietnam war, totally contrary to previous wars, has not created a bit of inspiration and cannot be a source of creativity for any literary work in the United States. Recently, in the newspaper Star News, Milton Viorst sarcastically and bitterly wrote that, "To the United States, this is a war with no heroes or champions. The best known soldier to us is Lt. Calley!" (Calley is the barbarous murderer at My Lai convicted by a U.S. court but harbored and saved from jail by Nixon!).

With the admissions above, where is the "victorious war" and "glorious mission of the United States in Vietnam" which Nixon unabatedly and shamelessly declares.

Recently in a summarization of the "accomplishments" during 4 years of the Nixon administration announced by the White House, Nixon resorted to the hackneyed and boastful arguments that he had brought the U.S. troops home, reduced the number of U.S. casualties, reduced war expenditures, is withdrawing from Indochina, etc. These are extremely shameless and deceitful arguments aimed at soothing U.S. and world public opinion which is angrily condemning the stubborn attitude and policy of prolonging the war of the Nixon warmongers. This is also an extremely insolent challenge to the people of the United States and the world because Nixon deliberately failed to mention a long series of actions: the United States has brought back the war of aggression against Vietnam, propelled additional U.S. aggressor pilots to death and prison, extended the list of U.S. soldiers killed and wounded in both South and North Vietnam, trod on the honor of the United States with extremely barbarous crimes committed by U.S. aircraft, especially B-52 strategic aircraft, and plotted to more deeply and unrestrictedly involve the United States in this hopeless war of aggression.

French critic Giang Danien /transliteration/ correctly observed in the newspaper New Observer that, "Nixon's gigantic laboratory in Vietnam is one of unreasonableness."

The public admissions of Nixon concerning the difficulties and defeat of the United States are always very many. The entire world and people of the United States increasingly understand that the crime-filled and defeated war of aggression in Vietnam is the most tragic and longest war in which the United States has ever become involved.

"Vietnam! Too Late Already!"

In Nixon's article noted above is a special section entitled "Vietnam." This part begins with a fairly bitter observation, "Vietnam is an area in which the new concept of the United States in foreign policy has been confronted with an extremely special challenge. This is a challenge continuously occurring throughout the past 3 and one-half years." Nixon was forced to sigh that "During the past 7 years, more than 45,000 American soldiers have been killed in action in Vietnam." Naturally, these figures are much lower than reality. Faced with the obvious defeat of the Vietnamization policy, Nixon stubbornly and blindly stated, "We are withdrawing from Vietnam but are doing so to retain our objectives intact(!)." It is clear! The greatest dream of Nixon is to withdraw from Vietnam but to still retain his objectives of aggression and to achieve his neocolonialist ambitions!

Nixon's greatest error at this time is this very calculation.

Through more than the past 10 years, the United States has plunged into the war of aggression in Vietnam, expanded the war to the entire Indochinese Peninsula, poured in more than a half million U.S. troops, flung out an extremely large air and naval force, expended 400 billion dollars, etc. Nevertheless, they are still unable to subdue the people of Vietnam and Indochina and cannot prop up the puppet army and administration. Even so, Nixon intends to withdraw from Vietnam, bring the U.S. troops home, reduce war expenditures,

and in a calculated plan, to both shift the mission of the air force and navy to the puppet while still retaining South Vietnam as a neocolony of the United States. Ingenious! Is there any more unreasonable calculation? Is there any more blatant challenge to reality and the conventional developed law of matter!

Many western critics have observed that although Nixon has truly withdrawn from Vietnam and ended the war of aggression in Indochina to "put a confused home in order," to "reunite a divided nation," to "develop the primary theme of global strategy," and to "shift from a period of hostility to one of negotiation and moderation," it is now already too late! They accurately observed that even if Nixon had fully utilized the opportunity to end this odious and defeated war 4 years ago, it would still have been already too late!

Nevertheless, the Nixon warmongers are still blindly continuing to escalate the war and to apply military pressure in an attempt to subdue our people. They have been appropriately repaid. Series of B-52 strategic aircraft have been destroyed, many aggressor pilots have been captured, and Nixon's list of tragic "achievements" and U.S. tragedies in Vietnam continues to grow.

During the past, members of the Nixon group have attempted to create a false impression that "peace was at hand" and that "the war has already reached its conclusion." Many well-known researchers and journalists have presented articles of a summary nature concerning the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. They have observed that the United States has not only lost hundreds of billions of dollars with more than 300,000 Americans killed and disabled but even more expensive: this war has caused the United States to lose its entire soul; this war has struck the nerve center of the United States, trampled the honor of the United States, and caused the image of the United States to decline to its lowest level in the eyes of the world; and brought shame to the United States by calling not without basis President Nixon a murderer, brute, and betrayer of promises. In the streets of the United States are posted wanted notices for murderer Richard Milhous Nixon next to the wanted posters of the most dangerous criminals in the United States; many courts in the nations of Europe and Asia have held special sessions to try and deliberate the crimes of the Nixon group. Many well-known intellectuals who previously were undecided and hesitant about comparing Johnson with fascist Hitler because this was excessive have now decisively observed that "Nixon has exceeded the Hitler fascists with prolonged crimes of brutality and murder against the common people."

Nixon often mentions the honor of the United States but truly, that honor has been trampled by him. Now, he mentions the honor of the United States to continue plunging further into crime! He is displaying odious obstinacy, extreme blindness, and unlimited immorality.

Recently, well-known U.S. intellectual David Landau wrote in a research project that, "The United States has bogged itself down as well as caused its entire policy to be bogged down in a brutal and idiotic war against a valiant and unyielding people."

One clear point is that in continuing the war of aggression in Vietnam, Nixon cannot stabilize the situation in the United States, cannot resolve the

mounting economic and financial difficulties, and cannot consider restoration of the U.S. position in the imperialist camp nor bring back the prestige of the United States in the world.

Many western journalists have reasonably observed that countless American lives have been lost, untold wealth has been poured into the bottomless bucket of the Vietnam war, and the worn out prestige and honor of the United States can attain only one objective of maintaining for a time the corrupt Nguyen Van Thieu traitor group but this group can surely not escape being overthrown.

Records of the United States on losses during more than 10 years of the war of aggression in Vietnam are clear. Records of the Nixon administration on losses during nearly the past 4 years are increasingly apparent. The time has come to observe whether Nixon is clever enough to immediately end this war although it is too late or to continue plunging in to incur defeat and stalemate and to firmly entangle the United States in a war of aggression with no way out.

Four Dark Years

Recently, in an attempt to create a gaudy layer of paint for Nixon, the psychological propaganda machine in Washington unceasingly boasted of the outstanding and appealing accomplishments of Nixon in the foreign relations arena.

Television films show Nixon setting foot on one place and another with his face attempting to appear happy in locations where a U.S. president has previously never set foot, photographs are taken of Nixon shaking hands in a few capitals of Asia and Europe, etc. Even in the middle of the Republican Party convention, Nixon presented these pictures to attract customers!

Nevertheless, everyone who follows and clearly understands the face of the world and the U.S. situation during the past few years can make an accurate and complete conclusion on the decline of the position and strength of the U.S. imperialists on the international arena. The western press is filled daily with observations and comments on the decline of Uncle Sam. It is possible to present at least the primary features of the following two principal problems:

The role of the United States in leading the imperialist camp, a vitally important matter to the U.S. authorities, is severely wavering and clearly declining. The traditional allies of the United States such as France, West Germany, and Italy have all openly criticized the United States and propagated the defeated and stalemated difficulties of the United States to challenge and compete with the United States in every aspect. Even a part of the British authorities, originally echoing every policy of the United States, have also contracted this disease of the U.S. western allies. Japan, a younger generation ally of the United States, has also risen to openly struggle against U.S. influence and to compete with the United States in economic and financial aspects. The U.S. dollar's loss of a leading position in the capitalist world

is an outstanding event in the total decline of the United States in that world. This decline originated from the pattern of irregular development of capitalism. Washington now has only a small band of truly close friends and truly reliable allies: Pak Chung-hui, Marcos, Thanom Praphat, Lon Nol, the Israeli authorities, the racist administration in South Africa, and naturally the indispensable Nguyen Van Thieu group! All are corrupt and ineffective lackey satellites established by the United States and nurtured by U.S. dollars and munitions.

The United States is faced with an extremely great rearrangement of forces occurring on the international arena in a manner extremely unfavorable to the United States.

The socialist forces are becoming increasingly stronger. The economic potential of the socialist countries unceasingly rises at a rate far exceeding that of the developed capitalist countries; and the science and technology of the socialist countries, originally substandard, has rapidly shortened the distance from the United States and is leading the world in many important areas. The national defense forces are becoming steadily stronger and are gaining a position of superiority over the United States in a number of vital aspects.

The national independence forces resisting old and neocolonialism have become a political and material force in the modern world.

The important victory of the people of Bangladesh, the existence of the people's alliance administration in Chile, the progressive methods of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian governments to protect their national resources and rights, the persistent war of the Arab peoples against the United States and Israel, and the combat full of glorious victory of the people in the three nations of Indochina are deeply significant events and progress indicating the inevitable trend of the present era. These are bitter defeats to the Nixon administration. Recently during August 1972, delegates from 64 countries and six national liberation movements met in Georgetown to adopt a resolution "to resist old and neocolonialism and the wars of aggression by the imperialists for peace and national independence," accepted a delegate from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and a delegate from the Cambodian Royal Government of National Unity to participate in the status of an official member of the convention, and marked a new step in development in both quantity and quality of the national liberation tide and the movement of resistance to imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which is rising on all continents. The U.S. authorities were extremely embarrassed and concerned when the Prime Minister of Sweden, the Prime Minister of India, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Minister of the Economy of Tanzania, etc. openly condemned the brutal policy of aggression of the Nixon administration in Indochina primarily because through this, the image and position of the United States to the people of the world have disastrously declined.

Immediately after Nixon was reelected, a series of black events again knocked at the door of the White House. The Labor Parties of New Zealand and

Australia defeated the pro-American parties in power and declared a total withdrawal of troops from the filthy and unpopular war in Vietnam. The government of Chile united with the governments of Peru, Zambia, and Zaire to establish a commission of governments exporting copper, dealing a strong blow to the monopoly of the North American financiers and opening an effective form of struggle against the intervention and expansion of U.S. imperialism.

The hopeless escalation by Nixon at the end of 1972 increasingly sank the Nixon administration in the end to defeat and dishonor.

A situation of from bad to worse of the United States in foreign relations is obvious. The past 4 years have truly been black for the Nixon administration. No photograph or television film can conceal this obvious truth. Clearly, the world situation continues to occur along the objective pattern of human social development. The destructive process of imperialism, the monster of the present era, cannot be stopped.

Bitter Glasses of Wine

Nixon was reelected as president in November and began to develop the work of a new term in the joy of victory mixed with many bitter elements. According to the U.S. press, of the nearly 140 million registered voters, only 77 million voted and of that number, Nixon received 47 million votes. This means that nearly 100 million U.S. voters declined to vote or did so but not for Nixon. This is clearly a poor victory in the framework of U.S. democracy and clearly Nixon is still only the president of a U.S. minority!

One no less bitter element to Nixon is that the U.S. Republican Party tried to win a majority in Congress, at least concentrating efforts to win a majority in the Senate, a location of power regarding foreign policy. Nevertheless, despite busy election activity and a long-established intention to win additional seats, Nixon's Republican Party lost additional seats with a decline in the ratio from 45/55 to 43/57. Nixon's subordinates are extremely worried because during the past few years, many important resolutions and legislative acts concerning foreign affairs have been rejected by the Senate and a number have passed with the thin margin of one or two votes!

The dismal departure of Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, the little concealed writhing of Rogers, Secretary of State, the melancholy resignation of Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, as well as the dislike of many persons in the U.S. governing machine for Nixon have increasingly indicated the dismal prospects of Nixon's new term. Many prestigious U.S. commentators have observed that this is not only dissatisfaction over the despotism of "super-secretary Kissinger" but is also discouragement over the defeated and unpopular policy of Nixon. The U.S. press is full of dismal observations concerning Nixon, clearly indicating special disappointment over the deceitful and apparently becoming disabled attitude of the Nixon administration, concerning the odious dishonesty of Nixon in abandoning the agreements with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the matter of resolving the Vietnam war, etc.

During the past few months, Nixon had often mentioned the "Spirit of 76," the famous revolution giving birth to the United States of America nearly 200 years ago. In order to advertise himself, Nixon has named the number one aircraft of the U.S. Air Force which transports the U.S. president from one place to another "Spirit of 76." Nixon has sent formal invitations to governments and delegations from all countries to visit America and take part in the 200th anniversary of the United States.

However, as the proverb states, the truth is extremely obstinate. Imperialist America begins its 200th anniversary under conditions of economic recession, financial crisis, and social decadence. These are the obvious truths in the nature of the United States in the midst of a general crisis. Those standing up to organize this commemoration are the very ones with accomplishments in waging the criminal crusade in Indochina condemned by all mankind and cursed by future generations.

In the article noted above, aimed at outlining the course of his new term of office, Nixon completed the final portion with the title "Spiritual Strength" to wind up the spiritual spring of the American people. He boasted, "Looking at the past, the American people have a right to be proud and can hold up their heads," "American youths have participated in four wars during this century not to invade and occupy land but to protect the rights of freedom against invasion (!)." Such unnatural and false moral statements! In the near future, although Nixon has solemnly organized commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the United States in order to gain a political profit for himself and although Nixon and his subordinates have used charming statements with many selected extravagant titles, the sweet glasses of wine surely are mixed with many bitter elements. Those who directly ordered the murder of thousands and tens of thousands of ordinary people, those personally responsible for the tens of thousands of criminal flights by B-52 strategic aircraft to scatter bombs over the cities and heavily populated villages, and those responsible for the series of crimes to destroy dikes, smash routes of communication and schools, destroy the life medium, etc. are those who increasingly speak of peace and principle but only provoke the conscience of mankind and insult the conscience of genuine Americans. It is not by chance that the more Nixon presents performance of the "Nixon Doctrine," the more many wholesome forces of the United States raise their voices to demand a change in U.S. policy, to demand social equality, to demand that the United States respect principle in foreign relations, and to demand an immediate end to the brutal war of aggression and Indochina.

The Correct Road to Peace

The road of the Nixon Doctrine is one of criminal aggression, the blood and tears of people from all nations including the United States, and a road dishonoring and betraying the fine traditions of the United States.

It is also a road of inevitable defeat. This is because the world has changed. The arrangement of forces in the world has and is occurring on a large scale in a manner favorable to the revolution, socialism, and social

progress. The present era is one of deep awakening in spirit and reason by thousands and millions of people, including the progressive people of the United States. It is because the world at the present time is a world of civilization resisting brutality and truly connected with the inherent spiritual values of mankind: social equality, long-term peace, and genuine friendship between nations.

The first support of the Nixon Doctrine is strength. However, the great material potential of imperialist America collided with the blows of invincible people's war of the people of the Indochinese nations. The strength of the United States is limited. This strength during the present period cannot be developed in a brutal and unpopular war of aggression. In the world balance of forces, the United States during the past few years has held the absolute superiority of the atomic bomb, the absolute superiority of dollar strength, and the absolute superiority of industrial production potential but all three of these potentials have now been totally lost! The United States cannot find the strength to subdue or subjugate the people of any nation!

The second basic theme of the Nixon Doctrine is the division of responsibility, forcing allies and satellites to shoulder part of the increasingly heavier load to achieve the dark plots of the United States. However, this is only an illusion because the allies of the United States are openly taking advantage of the weakness of the United States to compete in every aspect. The United States increasingly unilaterally plunges in to receive a bumped head to the glee of its allies who only worry about themselves.

The third basic theme of the Nixon Doctrine is to force other nations to negotiate along the requirements of the United States. However, because the United States is unable to find the strength to subdue the people of other nations and because the United States is receiving competition, being isolated, and constantly living in a position of political weakness of an aggressor, when encountering resolute adversaries, the United States is unable to achieve the ambition of negotiating from a position of strength.

The very points above explain why during the past few years of advocating the Nixon Doctrine, this doctrine has still been unable to find vitality. The application to begin the Nixon Doctrine, the policy of "Vietnamization," has become irretrievably bankrupt!

With the salient event at the end of the year of using B-52 Stratofortresses to begin a strategic attack on the Hanoi-Haiphong area and surrounding provinces, the Nixon warmongers have again suffered an extremely serious defeat.

This is a defeat of strategic significance, the heaviest defeat of the United States in their war of destruction by air.

The political defeat is even greater. The most harmful effect to the Nixon Doctrine has not yet been measured. A storm of anger all over the world vehemently condemned the Nixon clique as being more brutal than the Hitler fascists. Many governments throughout the world declared they were "sickened,"

"disdainful," "nauseous," and "disgusted" over the "villainous" and "barbarous" action of the Nixon administration. In only a little more than 10 days, the position of the United States seriously declined. The "military strength" support of the Nixon Doctrine is creaking because it has been cracked and broken. The deceitful and perverse attitude in negotiation is increasingly exposing the lie of the basic "negotiation principle" of the Nixon Doctrine. Nixon began 1973 and his second term with the disdain and hatred of all mankind. Never has a president began a term of office in such a tragic situation filled with bad omens.

"The Proper Road to Peace," the title of the article signed by President Richard Nixon, is only a screen concealing the stubborn and aggressive nature of the author. Contrary to the points written by Nixon, the people of Vietnam, Indochina, and the world understand clearly the correct road to a legitimate peace. It is the road of thorough revolutionary struggle to direct thrusts at U.S. imperialism and the Nixon Doctrine. It is the road of truly uniting all revolutionary and progressive forces on this earth, uniting all socialist forces, uniting the national liberation movements, uniting the movements of struggle for democracy, and firmly uniting these three revolutionary tides of this era.

The mounting difficulties and stalemates of U.S. imperialism and the Nixon Doctrine during the past few years are a sincere appeal to all revolutionary and progressive forces to grasp the favorable opportunity to resolutely attack imperialism, direct thrusts against U.S. imperialism, win increasingly greater victory for national independence, democracy, and social progress, and firmly protect the road to peace.

This is a glorious road, the victorious road of each nation, and the victorious road of the peoples of all countries.

By firmly stepping out along this correct road and overcoming every challenge, we will swiftly propel U.S. imperialism into a totally irretrievable defeat.

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ALL MANKIND IS ORIENTED TOWARD US

[Commentary; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 42-46]

During the final days of 1972 while everyone was preparing to greet the new year, an event occurred in Vietnam: the B-52 carpet bombing of Richard Nixon against the capital of Hanoi which caused the anger of the entire world to explode.

Nixon's action has created a great surprise and arousal of public opinion. After deceitfully and dishonestly refusing to sign the agreement reached on 20 October 1972 with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Nixon and the White House propaganda machine unabatedly issued a smokescreen that peace "was in sight and at hand." On 16 December, Kissinger, Special Representative of Nixon in the negotiations held in Paris from 20 November to 13 December, held a press conference in Washington to state that the two parties has reached 99 percent agreement, that the meetings had been temporarily suspended for the two delegation heads to return for instructions from their governments on the remaining details, that during the waiting period, specialists from both sides would continue to work to complete the protocols, and that the two delegation heads would continue contact by message. Subsequently, while Nixon and his wife returned home to prepare for the Christmas holiday, 140 strategic Stratofortresses and 700 U.S. tactical aircraft received an order by "message" from Washington to attack Hanoi, each word in the message of Nixon a murderous bomb. This strategic air attack occurred only 2 days after the press conference in which Nixon's representative stated the "peaceful intentions" of the U.S. imperialists.

In October 1972, world opinion thought the nature of the U.S. imperialists expressed in the policies and attitude of Nixon had been fully discovered. Throughout 4 years as president, Nixon set many world records:

A record in lying, saying one thing and doing another, and talking peace but making war;

A record in insidious plots, coordinating the policy of using strength with a strategy of global diplomacy, and summarizing and highly developing the virtues of Hitler and Churchill under new conditions;

A record of deceit and shamelessness in international relations with bilateral agreement followed by excuses to break away.

However, world opinion could not imagine that while every "Vietnamization" and "Americanization of the war" strategy had been bankrupted one after another, while the political and economic positions of the U.S. imperialists were demanding a withdrawal from the war of aggression in Vietnam, and while there was an opportunity to leave the war in an honorable manner, Nixon again resorted to deceitful actions and openly plunged into an extremely barbarous crime.

The U.S. imperialists intended to strike a strategic blow aimed at smashing the determination to fight and win of Vietnam and forcing a victorious people to kneel and accept conditions of surrender. However, the results attained were entirely contrary to their desires. The crime-filled attack by the U.S. imperialists not only collided with the decisive blows of the people of Vietnam and caused the people of Vietnam to determinedly strike back but also created a continuous reaction and explosion of hatred throughout all progressive mankind which stirred every conscience. The worldwide movement to condemn U.S. imperialism and support Vietnam took a great, wide, and deep leap forward.

First of all was the swift and broad reaction of every person of reason from east to west. The just struggle of the people of Vietnam against a gigantic invading imperialist for more than 10 years received the sympathy and support of the entire world. All fair and honest individuals in the world are oriented toward Vietnam. This time, the leading imperialist has disregarded principle and elementary law in international relations and has openly neglected and challenged public opinion. Therefore, public indignation has exploded over all five continents from the common citizen in each nation and nationality to the governments, politicians, rank and file, and religious personalities, including those who have long been unsympathetic or intentionally defended the aggressive policies of Nixon.

Strong condemnation accompanies extremely rich forms of struggle. From Asia, Australia, Africa, and Europe to America, shouts of opposition resound: Nixon is a butcher! Nixon is the Hitler of this era! Stop the blood-soaked murdering hands of Nixon -- the greatest criminal!

The public opinion of socialist countries condemned the blatant provocative actions of the Nixon clique and by statements and practical actions indicated solidarity and support for our people in defeating the invading American aggressors.

The President of Uganda, the Prime Minister of Sweden, and many leaders of nationalist and capitalist nations have expressed horror, nausea, concern, and shock. Series of U.S. ambassadors in all nations have been called to receive the strongest protests. Hundreds of messages expressing the public indignation of governments, organization, and famous individuals throughout the world have been sent directly to Nixon.

Stevedores in Australia, Italy, and many other locations have washed their hands of offloading U.S. ships and threatened to expand their protests to other areas if the United States continues to bomb Hanoi. The working class and progressive organizations in France and many nations of northern and western Europe and Asia have demonstrated in front of U.S. embassies and economic and cultural agencies, burned effigies of Nixon, and burned U.S. information offices. Many locations have also organized sit-down demonstrations, sleepless nights, and telephone threats to bomb U.S. embassies in opposition to Nixon. Five political parties from the extreme left to the extreme right in Sweden have joined to organize a movement to obtain the signatures of 2 million people to express the attitude of the entire nation in condemning U.S. imperialism.

Many world-famous personalities, writers, journalists, scientists, and the rank and file struggling for peace have sent letters and protests, and issued signed declarations demanding that Nixon cease his brutal and barbarous actions. Some have appealed to nations to cut diplomatic relations with the United States. The Stockholm conference on Vietnam, conference of world peace, and many other world organizations have issued resolutions organizing phases of widespread protest. The World Council of Churches, many other religious organizations, and even the Pope have stated their attitude of concern and regret over the criminal actions of Nixon.

Delegates of nonaligned nations present at the United Nations issued a resolution opposing the U.S. imperialists and intentions to organize an extraordinary session.

A number of nations in northern Europe with long relations with the United States have expressed an attitude of public indignation by open methods and by establishing diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A number of nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and other alliances dominated by U.S. imperialism, and a number of nations which have long stood on the side of the United States or directly participated in the U.S. military adventure in Vietnam have also raised their voices against the blatant criminal actions of Nixon.

Organizations struggling for peace in the United States, student movements, and many professors in U.S. colleges have initiated phases of protest and demonstration in front of the U.S. Congress and offices of the United Nations, staged sit-down demonstrations in front of the White House and Pentagon, issued statements, and sent protests to Nixon. Many U.S. congressmen of both the Democratic and Republic Parties have also demanded that Nixon deescalate the war and advance toward signing the agreement to end the war, threatening to cut the military expenditures budget.

The world press continuously has great headlines on the first page expressing public indignation by the most moving and strong statements. Many well-known journalists have considered every silence or weak reaction during this period as complicity with the crimes of Nixon. Even a number of western and U.S. newspapers which have long stood on the viewpoint of U.S. imperialism can now find no reason to support Nixon. Many Americans have written in newspapers to openly condemn the actions of Nixon besmirching the United States.

Thousands of people from all directions have sent telegrams and letters to agencies, organizations, and friends in Vietnam to indicate their arousal and indignation. Many have clearly stated their inability to find words to speak of Nixon and have clearly indicated their respect for the heroic Vietnamese people.

Worthy of attention is that after being defeated and forced to deescalate, Nixon has been unable to achieve his stratagems and has created an illusion to appease public opinion as he has previously done. The world movement to condemn Nixon and praise the people of Vietnam continues to rise like the tide. All mankind is conscientiously and continually struggling to demand that Nixon cease committing crimes and seriously enter negotiations to end the war. Many well-known personalities of the Bertrand Russel International Court, international organizations investigating the crimes of the United States in Vietnam, and many world and U.S. religions wish to travel to Vietnam to obtain additional proof of Nixon's crimes, to remain in Hanoi and the outskirts if Nixon again carpet bombs with B-52's, and are prepared to sacrifice themselves to insist in protecting justice and man's right to live.

The widespread reaction of world public opinion is an unprecedented occurrence due to the tyrannical actions of the Nixon clique which has created hatred throughout all mankind.

By blatant escalation during a time in which an agreement to end the war was being negotiated, Nixon has been totally contemptuous of all public opinion, deceiving millions of U.S. citizens who just reelected him as president with the belief that he would truly bring the United States out of the war. By delivering bombs to commit murder while the entire nation of the United States and many others on the earth were preparing to celebrate Christmas and waiting to greet a new spring season, Nixon has trampled all reason. Therefore, the international explosion of anger is the natural reaction of right and human conscience.

Openly using force to suppress the opposition of a people struggling for independence and freedom, Nixon has directly struck the sacred right to live of every nation and people. Therefore, the resolute and strong voices of people and governments are an expression of the international solidarity of people opposing subjugation and resolutely refusing to excuse Nixon for applying jungle law in relations between countries.

By escalating to the highest level and using the strategic air force to attack and destroy the capital of Hanoi, the U.S. imperialists have provoked all revolutionary forces and challenged the conscience and dignity of everyone. Therefore, every revolutionary force and individual must select a place to stand and a clear attitude between justice and tyranny, between civilization and barbarity, between revolution and counterrevolution, between a legitimate peace and an unjust war, between democracy and fascism, between freedom and slavery, and between international law and the law of the jungle. Mankind has become oriented toward Vietnam in the struggle for truth, the right to live, dignity, and conscience. Our Vietnam and capital have once again been worthy of their historic mission. The U.S. imperialists, by their tyrannical and

insane actions, have strongly aroused the rebellion of the revolutionary tide throughout the world, provoked all progressive mankind, and caused the worker class and oppressed peoples to join all forces struggling for right on the earth to reunite and to direct thrusts toward the U.S. White House.

Imagine the situation if after many years of struggling to overcome savage challenges that Vietnam could not withstand and must kneel before the recent strategic blows of the Nixon clique. The conclusions gained would follow the logic of a wolf. Justice would be forced to retreat before brute force. Oppressed peoples and small weak nations would still require permission to pray and repeat the name of Buddha while waiting for the wolf to arrive. The counterrevolutionary global strategy and "warnings and intimidations" to rely on strength policy of Nixon would become master.

No, "no matter how brutal and unimaginable the strength of U.S. imperialism," there is no way to upset the direction of history or to upset the truth. The victorious fight of Vietnam is supported by all progressive mankind and once again, has upheld the shining truth of the era.

In the past, a great majority of mankind was oppressed [but had] hope and confidence in right over injustice and principle over brute force. Therefore, there has risen and constantly live in the storehouse of folk tales the images of Angte transliteration, Davis, Aladdin, Sacco, Ton Ngo Khong, and in Vietnam, Thach Sanh and Phu Dong. Our people through thousands of years of building and maintaining the country have matched strengths with adverseries twice as strong and are today facing a gigantic imperialist. With the strength of a modern super power and under complex international conditions, the U.S. imperialists have integrated the brutality of oppressive forces from Nero to Hitler, a picture of spiritual intimidation many times the size of the mythical python and roc. However, history has also selected U.S. imperialism as a new Hun which must suffer the most painful defeat from a legendary Thach Sanh and Phu Dong.

In the land of the divine bow of An Duong Vuong, the sacred sword of Le Loi, and the spirit of Ngoc Hoi and Dong Da with the bearing of Quang Trung, the U.S. imperialists have become ineffective animals before the iron whip of Phu Dong and the arrowhead of Thach Sanh.

By the light of burning U.S. B-52 aircraft, all mankind has encouraged Vietnam to seek a new confidence illuminating the truth. The fight of Vietnam has affirmed many times the stubborn, bellicose, and brutal nature of the U.S. imperialists, and the rebellious strength and victorious capabilities of small weak peoples with a proper political line, standing on the ideological target of the era, firmly grasping the attack strategy position, possessing a spirit of self-reliance, and knowing how to rely on every revolutionary and progressive force throughout the world. The heat of tens of thousands of bombs dropped on the capital of Hanoi has incinerated the net concealing the arrogant face of aggression and brutality of Nixon and the vague arguments supporting U.S. imperialism in the present era. The explosive force more powerful than the Hiroshima bombs which Nixon has recently poured on Hanoi during the past

10 days cannot destroy the will of the Vietnamese people. On the contrary, it can only arouse the widespread struggle of all mankind for independence, freedom, peace, democracy, conscience, dignity, and the clarity of Marxism-Leninism. Through decisive challenge, the people of Vietnam increasingly more clearly understand the foe, further understand their homes, increasingly understand their own strength, become increasingly more confident and proud of their glorious and historic mission, and become increasingly more determined and firm on the road to victory.

7300

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ENDEAVOR TO PROMOTE THE PRODUCTION OF ARTISAN INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFTS
DURING WARTIME

[Article by To Thien; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973,
pp 47-54]

Give Timely Reorientation to Production To Serve Wartime Needs

At present the potential of artisan industry and handicrafts is still very great, and we have not yet fully exploited them. Therefore, in order to create conditions favorable for the stepping up of production to meet wartime needs we must make the fullest use of and exploit all of those potentials.

Artisan industry and handicrafts, which have always been an adaptable production sector, in wartime must be even more adaptable and keen. It must strongly transform all production activities, so that they can be appropriate to the needs of wartime political, economic, and military missions. That is a condition for developing the latent capability of artisan industry and handicrafts.

Serving agriculture is the foremost mission of industry. In wartime, artisan industry and handicrafts must firmly maintain the production and repair of the various kinds of ordinary labor implements and improved implements for agriculture, forestry, water conservancy, salt manufacturing, and fishing, and must especially strongly develop such non-mechanized transportation facilities as animal-pulled carts, hand carts, etc. Furthermore, artisan industry and handicrafts must be promoted in order to be of extensive and timely service to the processing of staple foods and food products.

Serving communications, transportation, and national defense is a very important and urgent mission of artisan industry and

handicrafts at the local level. In wartime, the needs of communications, transportation, and national defense increase greatly, and there are many new requirements which demand that artisan industry and handicrafts serve both production and repair.

Under wartime conditions the needs of construction change. With regard to large construction projects, the State temporarily suspends them or reduces the rate of construction, but the needs of small construction projects at the local level, the building of material and technical bases in the agricultural cooperatives, and the building and repair of houses for peasants increase. Construction units and house-building and repair cooperatives have conditions under which to develop.

The production of consumer goods to serve the lives of the people, the principal activity of artisan industry and handicrafts, encompasses a large number of production sectors, which produce tens of thousands of different products and employ tens of thousands of handicraft workers. Great effort is made to maintain the production of a number of products which are included in State plans or which the economic sectors have signed contracts to produce. And it is essential to greatly develop the production of ordinary items which are appropriate to wartime.

Therefore, the requirements of the various production sectors, combat, consumption, and export undergo changes. With regard to specific items, the situation becomes quite complicated. Of the old products, the production of some must cease, the production of some must be reduced, and the production of others must be increased both quantitatively and with regard to variety. Furthermore, because of the requirements of the new situation, artisan industry and handicrafts must also meet new needs and quickly produce new products. In general, the volume of production, value of production, and number of products all tend to increase.

The actual situation described above requires objectively that artisan industry and handicrafts reorient their production. The reorientation of the production of artisan industry and handicrafts is the joint responsibility of all relevant economic organs; it requires close coordination, and close, urgent, and specific guidance.

Coordinate the Reorientation of Production With Assuring Employment

In the reorientation of production there has occurred the situation of a number of installations which, because they changed from the production of old products to the production of new ones, continued to produce old products but in smaller quantities than in the past, or found it necessary to shift entirely to the production

of new, high-quality products in a short period of time, has more or less caused the lives of the handicraft workers to be adversely affected. In such cases we must seek all means of assisting those installations to maintain production, firmly maintain their employment, and assure their income. This is an important matter which has important political, economic, and social significance, and which we must resolve well, especially with regard to such large cities as Hanoi, Haiphong, and Nam Dinh.

If we do not resolve well the matter of employment for handicraft workers that will mean that we have insufficient understanding of the Party's line regarding the reorientation of production, that we squander one of society's labor forces, and that we lack a sense of responsibility toward the handicraft workers and their families. From that situation could arise social evils which we ourselves will have to resolve. Therefore, assuring employment for the production installations, especially those that encounter difficulties in reorienting their production, and employing more handicraft workers on the production front, is a very important aspect of the wartime reorientation of artisan industry and handicraft production.

Reorientation of Production Must Be Coordinated With Air Defense, Dispersion, and Evacuation

During the past several months many cities and towns, carrying out the instructions of the Party and the Government, have, on their own initiative, urgently reoriented their production in coordination with the implementation of air defense, evacuation, and dispersion policies.

The production installations evacuated to the countryside have organized their production so that it can be appropriate to wartime, and have rapidly stabilized their production. That is very good. However, in some cities and towns there is still the situation of some installations not carrying out strictly orders to evacuate and disperse, or of installations which have been evacuated but are still disorganized, which have been preoccupied with defense and avoidance and have not yet stabilized their production. Therefore, the responsible organs must cause those installations to clearly realize the situation and missions; they must continue to assist the installations to resolve the difficulties they encounter when carrying out dispersion and guide the installations so that they can clearly realize that dispersion is not done only as a preventive measure but that the most important matter is that they achieve appropriate organization of production and both assure the safety of the installations and continue to promote production.

Reorientation of Production Must Be Coordinated With the Development of New Products and the Improving of Production Quality

In wartime, the many new needs require that artisan industry and handicrafts develop new products. The development of new products is also a very important and urgent content of the mission of reorienting production. We can categorize products into three groups. The first group consists of dozens of products which are in the domain of State plans and the supply-and-demand of which are directly balanced. The second group consists of about 400 or 500 products specifically balanced by the various sectors and commercial corporations. The third group, the production of which is determined by the production installations and by the demands of consumption, consists of more than 10,000 ordinary miscellaneous products of many types, the production volume of which is small and the economic value of which is not high, but which are very essential to the daily lives of the people, such as backpacks, satchels, rubber-tire sandals, bicycle parts, various kinds of kerosene lamps, etc.

In the work of guiding production attention must, of course, be paid to all three groups of products, but we must pay the utmost attention to the third group of products, for that group includes a large number of new products which are of real service to the broad masses. Furthermore, those products are usually made from rejected products and waste materials, provide employment for tens of thousands of people, and make rational utilization of the production capabilities of the installations.

Assistance by central, state-operated industrial enterprises and local industrial enterprises, the retailing corporations of the commercial sector, the marketing cooperative stores, etc., is an important condition with regard to production and consumption, and for the development of products in the third group at artisan industry and handicraft installations.

A very important aspect of the reorientation of production is the improving of the quality of production. This is a matter of decisive significance to the development of the entire artisan industry and handicrafts sector in general and of each production installation in particular. Only goods produced at a reasonable price, with improved utilization value, with a high technical level, and with a definite artistic level are desired by consumers and avoid the waste of raw materials. Actualities prove that in the artisan industry and handicrafts sector the installations which develop production quickly are usually the installations which pay much attention to the quality of production. Those installations have the confidence of the customers, and the relations between such installations and the purchasing organs are good and long-lasting.

Of course, the matter of improving the quality of production applies equally to all products. But we give primary attention to a number of products which we are capable of producing first, such as products for export, new-style woven products, new-style ready-made clothing, kerosene lamps, ceiling lamps, storm lanterns, etc.

If the quality of production is to be raised, all production installations must organize their production well, organize their management well, develop the capabilities of skilled workers and technical cadres, pay attention to good suggestions, and assist in the implementation of those suggestions.

There are the viewpoints that "in wartime it is sufficient that products are serviceable," or that "in wartime it is difficult to produce products of high quality." These are incorrect viewpoints which are not in correct accord with the lines and policies of the Party and which are harmful to the future prospects for the development of the artisan industry and handicrafts sector.

Reorientation of Production Must Be Coordinated With Promoting of Technical Improvement

In peacetime as well as in wartime, the matter of technical improvement must be brought forth. Under wartime conditions, because the installations must disperse and evacuate, because some elements must change from mechanized production to hand production, because of the need to develop new, high-quality products, or because of the need to lower the production costs of products, the matter of technical improvement has an especially important significance.

Overcoming difficulties in production, maintaining and improving labor productivity, improving the quality of products, and lowering production costs are the direction of struggle of many installations in many provinces and cities. In some sectors, such as the plastics sector in Hanoi, there is now a movement to study the changing over from the use of electricity-powered machinery to foot-pedal-driven and hand-driven machinery, and from electric heating to coal heating. Many provinces and cities are achieving well the self-equipping and self-manufacture of simple, man-powered machinery, under the conditions of not having sufficient electricity to increase labor productivity. The close inspection of products before releasing them has also been achieved by many installations. Actualities clearly prove that in wartime conditions the installations which pay attention to improving technology, in coordination with other managerial measures, are still capable of maintaining and improving labor productivity, improving the quality of production, and lowering production costs.

Endeavor To Strengthen and Perfect Production Relationships

The development of production and the strengthening and perfecting of production relationships are closely related and inseparable; they stimulate each other and interact with each other to build and develop strong installations. Only with the development of production can the handicraft workers have employment, have an income, and social welfare funds, and only then can their daily lives be achieved. Only thereby will they be earnest toward the organization, enthusiastically participate in the building of collective economic organizations, and, although they encounter temporary difficulties, not waver and not have "one foot in and one foot out" or leave the organization. Only with the development of production can the installation accumulate funds to achieve expanded reproduction and cause the handicraft workers to have increased confidence in their future, which is bound to the future of the development of their installation. The development of production also creates favorable conditions for the installations to strengthen and perfect their organization and economic management.

Clearly, the development of production is a very basis, advantageous condition for the work of strengthening and perfecting production relationships. The reverse is also true: the strengthening and perfecting of production relationships serve to open the way for the installation to develop production. The good strengthening and perfecting of production relationships are a pre-condition for the good resolution of the internal relationships of the production installations. Fully achieving democratic management, achieving just and rational distribution, perfecting the entire leadership element, so that it consists of people who are virtuous and capable, and strengthening the various aspects of management, are very important contents of the work of strengthening and perfecting the production relationships. The good performance of those tasks will develop the handicraft workers' spirit of collective mastery, create an atmosphere of enthusiastic labor, and create confidence, unanimity, and internal solidarity. Only on that basis can collective economic organizations develop favorably. Furthermore, the good strengthening and perfecting of production relationships, the developing of the positive elements of handicraft workers, and the overcoming of their negative elements, will create between the installations and the State economic organs good relationships regarding the implementation of policies and will assure that the installations can develop stably and on a long-term basis.

During the past several months many cooperatives, because of the fierce enemy attacks, have encountered difficulties in production, in evacuation, and in dispersion. Some of the cooperatives have been directly attacked by the enemy but have

firmly maintained their organization. For example, the Kim Son machinery cooperative in Haiphong was bombed three times by enemy airplanes. Its director was killed, the secretary of its Lao Dong Party chapter was wounded, and the installation was damaged, but the cooperative still was able to firmly maintain its organization, held democratic discussions to resolve its difficulties, assigned part of the cooperative to remain in place and part to evacuate and continue to develop production. After the enemy directly attacked the Ba Don brick-manufacturing cooperative in Quang Binh the cooperative members were not shaken, but manifested solidarity and unanimity, maintained the installation, and within 5 days had resumed normal production. By not retreating when encountering difficulties, by heroically standing fast on the production front, and by firmly maintaining their organization under all circumstances, many cooperatives have manifested the fine nature of the collective economy, for those cooperatives give the utmost attention to the work of strengthening and perfecting the production relationships. On the other hand, during the previous war of destruction a number of cooperatives were disturbed; their members left the cooperatives and worked as individuals. This caused such cooperatives to fall apart, for the cooperatives regarded lightly and neglected the work of strengthening and perfecting the production relationships.

During the present war of destruction Nixon escalated rapidly and attacked impetuously, fiercely, and extensively, which created certain dislocation with regard to artisan industry and handicrafts. With regard to the places on which the enemy concentrated their attacks, such as cities and towns, lines of communication, and coastal areas, the artisan industry and handicraft installations experienced much more dislocation. The rural areas and mountain areas were relatively stable.

In the places where there was much dislocation, all the installations, to differing degrees, encountered difficulties in production, such as unstable production plans, shortages of raw materials, and difficulties in the consumer market. In addition to difficulties in production, the installations also encountered difficulties in the achievement of the dispersion and evacuation policies.

In general, because we were able to gain experience in the previous war of destruction, during the present one the artisan industry and handicraft installations have proved to be steadfast. Many brilliant examples of heroism, steadfastness, and ideological and organizational firmness have occurred in increasingly large numbers. But in addition to the above-mentioned good points, which are the dominant aspect of the artisan industry and handicrafts movement, at present in a number of installations in a number of localities there exist negative phenomena with regard

to some aspects. With regard to ideology there have occurred instances of fear of difficulties, fear of hardships, and dependence. With regard to organization there has appeared the situation of a number of handicraft workers having "one foot in and one foot out," who have abandoned the collective economy to work individually. And a small number of cooperatives and production units have been broken up. With regard to economic management, because we gained experience in opposing the previous war of destruction, immediately after the enemy began their renewed attacks we paid attention to opposing the slackening of management. Therefore, in general the quality of management has essentially been firmly maintained. But in some localities strongly attacked by the enemy, a number of installations have encountered difficulties with regard to employment, and in addition have had to disperse or evacuate, which caused their production to be unstable. Therefore their management, especially their labor management, their property management, etc., has been considerably upset, and has tended to become lax.

In the situation of the war being intensified we must pay even more attention to the strengthening and perfecting of the new production relationships in artisan industry and handicrafts. Some comrades believe that "in wartime it is difficult to maintain good management practices" or that "in wartime we must be concerned with many problems, so the work of strengthening and improving the new production relationships should be temporarily suspended." Those are mistaken opinions which create obstacles for the maintaining and accelerating of artisan industry and handicraft production in wartime.

Strengthening and perfecting production relationships encompasses many contents, but in wartime we must firmly grasp, and achieve well, the following principal contents:

Firmly maintain collective economic organization. Cause the handicraft cadres and workers to, no matter how difficult the circumstances they encounter, continue to determinedly remain with the production installation and assure that production continues to be maintained and accelerated.

The most important matter is that the installations continue to assure employment and be concerned with the daily lives of the handicraft workers and their families. With regard to the handicraft workers who leave the installation to work as individuals, education and persuasion must be regarded as the principal means to bring them back into the collective economic organization. There must be positive measures to continue the close management of people who work as individuals. Because of the challenge of war the installations must pay even more attention to perfecting

organization. If the leadership elements, such as management boards and control sections are undermanned they must be supplemented, and if they include bad people then the Congress of Cooperative Members must elect in their place people who are capable and virtuous, and have the confidence of the cooperative members.

When carrying out troop recruitment, the recruitment of Assault Youth, etc., the various echelons and sectors must pay attention to the rational selection of those who are to go and those who are to remain. It is especially important that the key cadres, the professional cadres who have experience in the installation, should not be transferred excessively, for that would cause the installations' leadership work to become upset or excessively weak. Even in wartime we must be concerned with selecting, strengthening, and urgently training a corps of cadres in all respects -- management, technology, and specialization -- in order to strengthen the installations' leadership during the present time and be prepared to replace core cadres who must be transferred to other work, while also preparing for the future development of artisan industry and handicrafts.

Firmly maintain and strengthen economic management and oppose the slackening of management. Making the excuse of wartime conditions, the installations often tend to relax labor discipline, to slacken the management of property and materials, to cancel technical rules and regulations, to cancel the previously established labor quotas, etc. The slackening of management in wartime not only causes economic harm but also creates conditions which give rise to the phenomena of corruption, waste, "collusion," or disturbing the socialist market. It not only causes immediate damage, but also leaves long-term adverse after-effects. Therefore, firmly maintaining and strengthening economic management from the very beginning is a principal content of the work of strengthening and perfecting the new production relationships in wartime. We must learn from our experiences in the slackening of economic management during the previous war of destruction in order to give timely correction to the present deficiencies.

In the work of wartime economic management we must have tight labor management, strengthen labor discipline, assure the necessary number of work-days and work-hours, and continue to achieve the system of contracting out production. We must stress the close management of property, monetary funds, raw materials, fuel, and finished materials, and oppose all manifestations of corruption, waste, and "collusion." We must continue to establish and implement labor quotas and technical rules and regulations, assure quality, and lower production costs. We must encourage a working method which calculates economic efficiency and oppose all manifestations of an "at any cost" working method.

In wartime, firmly maintaining and strengthening economic management at times and at places, of course, encounters difficulties. But there are ways of overcoming them. The actualities of the present period show that some exemplary installations, although attacked by the enemy, continue to firmly maintain good management practices. This is a very basic condition for the creation of internal solidarity and unanimity in the installations, for enabling them to continue to firmly maintain their organization, for assuring the daily lives of the handicraft workers, for assuring the implementation of policies, and for the installations to have the confidence of their customers.

Strengthen the ideological and political work. Because of the make-up of the sectors and trades, and the structure of the social composition of artisan industry and handicrafts, there are many complicated aspects and the level of socialist awareness of the workers in this sphere of production is generally still low. Therefore, the permanent and continuous carrying out of the ideological and political work with regard to the handicraft workers, especially in wartime, is an extremely important task.

We must educate all handicraft workers, so that they can clearly realize their responsibilities toward the enterprise of resisting America for national salvation and the enterprise of defending and building socialism in the North, and on that basis teach patriotism and the spirit of collective mastery, and determination to overcome difficulties, overcome all hardships, and fulfill the missions of the production front. In wartime, with regard to handicraft workers the teaching of the concept of self-reliance must be especially stressed. Recently the Office of the Premier issued instructions regarding the resolution of a number of difficulties regarding employment, raw materials, consumption, etc., to the artisan industry and handicrafts sector. That is a very basic advantage. But only if cadres and handicraft workers develop a spirit of self-reliance can they assimilate the assistance given by the State. For example, the State sets forth the direction for giving assistance regarding raw materials, but if the installations do not on their own accord organize transportation or organize the exploitation of raw materials, then there can be no raw materials. The State gives assistance regarding consumption, but if the installations do not improve their products, if their products are of poor quality and have high prices, then in the end the consumption problem still cannot be resolved, etc.

Because of the fierceness of the present war of destruction artisan industry and handicraft production occupies an extremely important position, and the handicraft workers have a very heavy responsibility toward society. The more fierce warfare is the

more difficulties are encountered in artisan industry and handicraft production. Therefore, in addition to the subjective efforts of the artisan industry and handicrafts sector, if artisan industry is to be promoted in wartime, a matter of decisive importance is that the leadership and guidance of the Party and State toward this collective economic sector must be strengthened.

First of all, the Party committee echelons, the local governmental administration, and the economic organs related to the artisan industry and handicrafts sector must clearly realize their responsibility toward production and the daily lives of the handicraft workers. With regard to the specific resolutions, instructions, and policies the Party and State promulgate in wartime regarding artisan industry and handicraft production, the various echelons and sectors must study them in order to thoroughly understand them, organize their achievement, and assure that they are strictly implemented.

Because of the heavy and complicated responsibility, and the fact that the organization of the various echelons of the Federation of Cooperatives is still very weak, the matter of increasing the number of capable cadres and stabilizing organization at the various levels, especially the provincial and district levels, is an important part of the strengthening of the leadership and guidance of the Party and State with regard to the artisan industry and handicrafts sector in wartime. By exploiting all latent capabilities of artisan industry and handicrafts, developing to a high degree the subjective efforts of the entire sector, and requesting the assistance of the various sectors and echelons, it is certain that we will further advance artisan industry and handicraft production.

5616

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IMPROVING LEADERSHIP IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THE PRESSING JOBS AT HAND WELL

[Article by Nguyen Huu Doi; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese,
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Lying on the tip of Nghe An Province adjacent to Thanh Hoa Province, Quynh Luu District is a place where many important communication routes converge. Ever since the U.S. pirates insanely renewed their attacks against North Vietnam in a vain attempt to reverse their situation in South Vietnam, Quynh Luu has been a key location heavily attacked by them. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the direct supervision of the Nghe An Provincial Party Committee and with the experience recorded during the 4 years of resistance against the first war of destruction, we urgently put each activity on a wartime footing more promptly and easily than we did before.

Centralization-Urgency-Completeness

Quynh Luu is a heavily populated district with many agricultural areas, an ocean fishing trade, a large salt industry, and a developed artisan and handicraft industry (total artisan and handicraft output value comprises one-third of the total output value of the industry and agriculture within the district). Quynh Luu is also a place through which many inter-provincial land and water routes pass. During peace time, the leadership activities of the district party committee were rather complex. Under the conditions of heavy enemy air and naval artillery attacks and in view of the possibility that the enemy can launch commando attacks, ambushes, and amphibious landing against the locality, the work of providing protection against air attacks, attacking the enemy, maintaining communications and transportation,

reinforcing the frontlines, maintaining and developing production, and organizing the wartime lives of the people has been even more urgent, weighty, and complex.

While leading the entire party organization and all of the people in simultaneously carrying out the "four tasks" and the "eight jobs" put forth by the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, our district party committee has, depending upon the specific situation at each point in time, concentrated its efforts upon providing urgent leadership in order to rapidly and systematically complete each major job. During this year's 5th month season, our district had a good harvest and the volume of crops harvested increased many times; we mobilized more than twice as much grain as we did during the previous 5th month season at a time when all of our large warehouses had been destroyed by the enemy and our manpower had to be used on many jobs at once. We actively solved the warehouse problem and encouraged the people to practice thorough economy in order to repay their debts to the state and save much money. As a result, in only a short period of time, we put more grain into warehouses than required under our obligation, surpassed our planned norms for the repayment of debts and the mobilization of savings, and, at the same time, maintained market prices. When the enemy launched attacks deep in the heavily populated areas far from the main communication lines during the most hectic time of the 10th month season, we concentrated our efforts upon leading the various basic party organizations in heightening their responsibility for the life of the people, determinedly mobilized all of the people to work during the day in production and construct trenches at night, relied on the labor of the people to resolve each difficulty being encountered with raw materials and building materials, organized the forces of the people well, and organized the labor within cooperatives well in order to build trenches rapidly and cultivate 10th month crops on schedule. In only 1 week, all families and public places had trenches and there were trenches which fully met with specifications and technical requirements along all main communication routes. From that time on, casualties were limited, the people confidently engaged in production, and the trench network made it possible for the militia to cling to their position and fight the enemy if they recklessly launched commando attacks, surprise attacks, or amphibious landings. On the other hand, our district met and surpassed its planned quota for the amount of area under the cultivation of 10th month rice which was assigned by the province and stepped up the cultivation of autumn subsidiary food crops in a new and feverish atmosphere. When we were about to begin

the third military recruiting drive, our district party committee directed the entire party organization in launching the "everyone goes to fight the Americans in the feverish autumn revolutionary atmosphere" emulation drive. Each ideological educational activity to develop the exemplary-vanguard spirit of cadres and party members and the enthusiastic assault spirit of young men and women and deepen the patriotism of each individual was stepped up; the implementation of the various rear area policies was reviewed in order to implement them better; the organization of the reserve forces, the organization of troop support activities, and health care for young men and women of military age were carried out in a comprehensive manner. As a result, in the space of only 3 weeks, we established one district reserve regiment; in particular, the people of the various townships also voluntarily contributed money, rice, and food to improve the health and treat the common ailments of youths prior to their departure for the army. Also on this occasion, we mobilized enthusiastic young men and women to join the assault youths and, as a result, we met and surpassed the locality's quota in this area.

Since our district is comprised of many different regions, we have, in our leadership, delved into assigning clear responsibilities and specific jobs for each region. Within each region, we have, depending upon the position and specific characteristics of each township, established clear responsibilities and specific jobs for each township. During each period of time, each region and township has different jobs upon which they must concentrate their efforts and carry out. The members of our district party committee have divided their supervisory responsibilities on the basis of regions and individual localities and regularly hold meetings to report on their investigations or expedite work in order to help one another complete the task.

Correctly selecting work spearheads in order to launch attacks during each period of time, providing leadership on the basis of regions, maintaining close contact with installations, centralization, urgency, working rapidly and strongly, and completing every job in each region and township are the present leadership methods of our district party committee. By means of these methods of leadership, we have begun the full implementation of resolution 220 of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and the various resolutions of the Nghe An Provincial Party Committee. And, with these methods of leadership, we have continuously completed each task of the locality well.

Helping Sub-Par Places Make Progress

Quynh Luu is a district which has always been considered the best in Nghe An Province. However, the number of sub-par townships and installations is not small and a number of townships have been slow to make progress for many years. A number of weak, sub-par places which had been slow to develop for a long time were places with great economic potential and abundant manpower as well as strategically important places as regards the defense of the nation and communications and transportation. The standard of living of the people in these places was improved slowly and difficulties were encountered mobilizing manpower, money, and materials to meet the needs of the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation and the needs of economic construction. Because of this, even though many townships regularly met and surpassed the quotas of each task, our district as a whole was unable, on many jobs, to complete its state task.

The problem of strengthening sub-par townships and bringing about a rapid change in the slow development at these places so that they can undertake each task in wartime was raised as an urgent and pressing requirement in order to uniformly and fully develop the movement throughout the district.

By examining the number of sub-par townships within the district, we found that, in general, in these places the three revolutions had not been carried out in a uniform manner, the thinking of the masses had not been remolded, and the right of collective ownership of the people had not been respected and developed; the awareness of communist ideals, the consciousness of the party, and the vanguard-exemplary role of the party member was extremely low and the majority of party members, although they were good people, could not play their positive role; they lacked a strongly militant and educated nature; the role played by local governments was vague and had not been strengthened and the contents and methods of the activities of the various mass organizations were ineffective; among the core cadres, there were many devoted people, however, they did not know how to provide leadership and lacked the ability needed to carry out good party development activities and mobilize the masses to carry out the two strategic tasks and the three revolutions; at the same time, there were some cadres who failed to set examples, thereby influencing the confidence the people had in them. However, after careful examination of each place, we found that the weaknesses varied from place to place and the reasons for these weaknesses also differed.

the other hand, we showed them specific ways to organize forces and production and, at the same time, the leaders of the district's government promptly resolved some of the specific difficulties a number of places were encountering in the area of technical materials and other areas within the scope of the authority and ability of the district in order to step up production and, by means of this, expand the revolutionary movement of the masses in all other areas. At places where the task of maintaining communications and transportation far exceeded the supervisory ability of the basic party chapter and required more materials than were available within the locality, we sent "experienced" district party committee members to help basic cadres and party organizations lead the people in their daily and hourly combat with the enemy on the communications and transportation front and, at the same time, launched a district-wide movement to heighten the spirit of unity and mutual help and provided these townships with raw materials and building materials in order to create the material base they needed to complete their task well and, by this means, created an atmosphere of enthusiasm and eagerness to make progress for the local party organization and people.

At present, we have only completed the drive to provide education throughout the entire district concerning the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation which was closely linked to stepping up each activity and effectively helping weak places as mentioned above. These jobs had the effect of bringing about an initial change in the situation at weak places and stimulated the general movement throughout the district. During the coming period, there are still many things we must do in order to bring about a total and fundamental change in the situation at weak places and insure that they can make steady, long range progress and these things which must be done may involve many more difficulties and be more complicated. We have actively prepared the organization needed for the party organization and people of the district to study "the three revolutions" "to upgrade agriculture from small-scale to large-scale socialist production" and the wartime agricultural task in coordination with the struggle to fully implement collective ownership of the primary instrument of production, land, and the full implementation of the socialist economic mode of management within agricultural production cooperatives (patterned after the experiences of advanced cooperatives within the district and province and at other places) in order to open the way for the introduction of science and technology to agricultural production. Then, we will continue the drive to educate cadres and party members and raise the level of party and mass activities. Following this, we will carry out a series

of organizational activities in order to improve the quality of party life, insure the purity of the party organization, improve the leadership and organization of basic party organizations, and streamline the leadership apparatus on the primary level. We have already sent many party committee and party chapter committee members from these places to study at provincial and district level party schools.

The jobs we have performed in weak, sub-par townships are the same jobs we have performed at all other townships; the only difference is that the district party committee's supervision, help, and inspection of weak, sub-par places is more intense and closer.

As a result of the leadership methods mentioned above, a number of weak installations have undergone rapid change. This change has not only resulted in initial experiences for the strengthening of weak places, but it has also had the effect of opening the eyes of places which have always been good or rather good but have become subjective and satisfied with their immediate achievements and caused them to make continuous efforts in order to keep from becoming backward. Among the number of sub-par townships, there are townships which used to be rather good, however, because of many reasons, they have recently become sub-par townships. The various basic party organizations within the district and the district party committee unanimously agree that it is necessary to determinedly struggle to make continuous progress so that good places improve with each passing day and become strong, steadfast progressive banners, that ordinary places become good and very good places, and that weak, sub-par places undergo true, rapid, strong, and steady change. Surely, the struggle to meet these requirements will involve many difficulties and require much time, however, we feel confident that they can be met.

Holding "All of the People Discuss the Affairs of the State" Conferences

"The people can do something which is extremely difficult just as they can do something which is very easy." Having gained this experience, we determinedly improved our leadership and fully implemented the leadership principles based on the mass line of the party.

In order to implement resolution 220 of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and the resolution of the Provincial Party Committee concerning the present wartime situation and task and after the district party committee

adopted specific policies and measures for each region, we actively directed and helped basic cadres hold "all of the people discuss the affairs of the state" conferences and, through them, deepened the revolutionary fervor of the people within the district and launched a feverish revolutionary actions movement among them. When this matter was raised, cadres at places in which the movement has always been good or very good welcomed it and enthusiastically carried it out. However, at weak, sub-par installations, not one cadre accepted the idea with enthusiasm nor did anyone consider it a good measure for bringing about a change in the situation. Even in the ranks of district level leadership cadres, there were some people who did not truly believe that this method of leadership could help the various levels of the party organization within the district overcome their difficulties in order to complete their task well.

Our district party committee decided to personally supervise one of the district's "notorious," long-time sub-par townships, determined to change the situation within the township in order to persuade the entire party organization about the method of leadership and the work methods based on the mass line. Within each weak area of X. Township, the most significant aspect was that the mobilization of manpower for the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation was never smoothly carried out. Our district party committee first of all actively helped the basic party organization attack this problem. We helped the party committee, the party chapter committees, and the party chapters engage in research and discussion in order to gain a clear understanding of the present situation and task as regards the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation and in order to have cadres and party members participate in self-criticism and criticism and determine the reasons underlying the locality's difficulties (they were primarily the result of the failure on the part of cadres and party members to set the example and the failure of the party organization to determinedly mobilize the masses); as a result of which, the following specific and practical resolutions were adopted: 1. Cadres and party members must set the example in joining the army and the assault youths as well as in encouraging their sons of military age to eagerly fulfill their obligation; 2. It is necessary to truly begin to mobilize the masses, educate and motivate the masses through the various mass organization, and, at the same time, personally mobilize families and people slow to make progress in order to persuade everyone to fulfill his obligation. Cadres and party members went to the various organizations of the youths, women, and elders as well as militia and production units and held meetings with families

with children of military age; they also determinedly and patiently motivated individuals in order to organize and direct each organization, house, and individual in "discussing the affairs of the state" and give all of the people a clear understanding of the present situation and task as regards the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation and a clear understanding of their honor and responsibility to make worthy contributions to the common victory of the nation.

When "the people understand and work, even mountains can be moved." By working in this manner, in only a few weeks, X. Township underwent a rapid change. By means of discussions conducted within each organization and household, the thinking of the masses was rather strongly remolded. Young men and women have eagerly volunteered to go fight the Americans; one family has submitted a fervent request that all three sons be allowed to go to the frontlines and two young men of a Catholic family have volunteered to go fight the Americans at the same time; a 16-year-old has also volunteered for the army and requested a liaison task, determined not to be turned down. Villages and hamlets remind and emulate one another; within households, parents encourage their children and wives and husbands encourage one another. The movement is surrounded by a new and feverish atmosphere. As a result, this time, township X. turned over to the district more than two companies (one reserve army company and one company of assault youths) at the same time and all of the people, those who have much as well as those who have little, contributed more than 3,000 dong for the support of the local youths during their training period and health care so that they will be ready to be turned over to the army. "Those who leave are enthusiastic, those who stay behind are also excited." The residents of X. Township energetically cultivated more than 600 hectares of 10th month rice on schedule and enthusiastically cultivated more than 100 hectares of autumn potatoes in order to provide more grain to the state and maintain the standard of living of the people in each situation; the elders have enthusiastically planted crops along kilometers of "roads" to the front in order to celebrate the day their sons leave to kill the Americans; many poems and songs praising X. Township have also appeared within the movement.

Y. Township was once a sub-par place like X. Township which, in addition, encountered even greater difficulties. However, this time, as a result of the leadership methods and work methods based on the mass line, Y. Township also mobilized an assault youth company and a reserve army platoon, mobilized the people to construct many trenches and enthusiastically

repair roads and bridges on inter-township roads, and actively organized people's transportation units to competently help ship cargo to the frontlines regardless of the situation.

The changes brought about and the results achieved in X. and Y. Townships have had a very persuasive effect. The person who is the deputy secretary of the party committee and the chairman of the administrative committee of X. Township said: "In the past, because we did not know how to operate, we used many administrative measures, but work did not go smoothly and both lower and upper level cadres were criticized as lacking in determination. Now, as a result of correctly implementing the methods of leadership based on the mass line, we have not only completed our military recruiting and frontline corvee labor tasks ahead of deadline, but have also stepped up many other important areas of our work. We were becoming more and more infected with bureaucracy and bossism in the past and we now firmly believe that, with these new leadership methods, we will more rapidly advance my township's movement." The secretary of the Y. Township Party Chapter also said: "Previously, because our cadres and party members failed to truly set an example and did not have faith in the people, none of our jobs went smoothly. Now, having rectified these two things, cadres and party members, on the one hand, set examples by their actions, and on the other hand, by having 'all of the people discuss the affairs of the state,' we have carried out the tasks at hand well. We will actively develop upon these valuable experiences in order to bring about a more rapid change in each aspect of the township's situation." The experiences of X. and Y. Townships, which have been reviewed and promptly disseminated by the district party committee by means of local meetings, are encouraging other places to follow their example.

Also as a result of relying completely upon the people and knowing how to mobilize the masses as mentioned above, we have completed many jobs which used to be impossible rather well. These jobs are: the organization and support of an entire reserve army regiment, the strong development of trenches in key combat regions and along communication routes without the need for money or materials from the state, and so forth. Many similar jobs have given the cadres of the various sectors within our district a new awareness of the work methods based on the mass line. The thinking of "it is first necessary to know from where the money is coming," that is, asking the party and the state "where is the money" before starting any job, which slowed down countless jobs for a long period of time, has become outmoded in the new situation.

As regards the district party committee itself, we have also learned a new and important lesson. In the past, in our leadership activities, we generally placed heavy emphasis upon our role as those who "lead the troops into battle" and sent the various members of the district party committee to installations to supervise the various localities in each job they performed; the result was that, although we temporarily stepped up a number of the jobs at hand, we failed to help localities bring about a fundamental change in their situation and did not improve the ability of installations to work independently. A situation in which "good and very good places were unstable and lacking in permanence and sub-par places were slow to develop" existed for many years and could not be corrected. There were times when we were able to upgrade one place or another from sub-par to good and very good as we did with Quynh Ba Township by transforming it from "Quynh Be to Quynh Ba Township" and Quynh Hau Township which was upgraded from its sub-par status to become one of the best townships in the district; however, to do this, we had to work in a groping manner for a rather long period of time and were unable to gain experience in order to expand the scope of our success.

This time, our district party committee has determinedly delved into guiding the development of basic party organizations in a comprehensive manner and has actively helped basic party organizations carry out good mass activities so that they can perform their wartime tasks well and then carry out the three revolutions well in order to help gradually upgrade the district's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and, as a result, advance the movement within the district more rapidly, strongly, and steadily. At the same time, we have actively developed the collective leadership of the district party committee and have used the development of collective ability to promptly review the experiences recorded within the locality in order to continuously improve the leadership ability of the entire district party committee as well as that of each member of it.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE HUNG KINGS' PERIOD IN THE NATION'S HISTORY

[Article by Pham Huy Thong; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 1, January 1973, pp 62-71]

In recent years, responding to the appeal of the party and government urging the scientific sectors to "choose realistic subjects and concentrate on specific research projects," a large group of cadres of archaeology and other related sciences was making joint researches on the subject of "the Hung Kings built the country." Also in recent years, the savage American imperialists were bombing the North and threatening to bomb us "back to the stone age." In the face of this enemy threat, we had no other choice than resolving to defend at any cost independence and freedom. We were doing our best to carry on the scientific research project just as we were trying to fulfill a combat task, for in our ears and our hearts were still echoing these words full of nationalistic sentiment and revolutionary fervor that President Ho had uttered at the Hung Temple -- "The Hung Kings had been credited with having built the country, and now you and I must jointly defend it" (1954).

The Hung Kings' Period Does Exist in History

Getting to know well the Hung Kings' period is for us, above all, a sentimental matter -- nationalistic sentiment. We are the people who honor loyalty; as we drink water, we always remember its source. We are also eager to make contributions to fulfilling the important tasks that history has assigned us and to continue our ancestors' traditions aimed at building the new man and the new life of prosperity, and as an immediate task mobilizing "40 centuries together in war" for our successful resistance against America for national salvation.

But doing research on the Hung Kings' period is also a scientific matter. Who would not want to understand accurately and scientifically the origin of the nation and the history of our ancestors' early nation-building periods, which, as in the case of any national origins, have long been lost in a maze of epic poetry and mythology? For under the French rule in the past, and today, in foreign countries and in the cities of the South, many

scholars, with different motivations, have raised doubts about the actual existence of the Hung Kings' period in our history. They have advanced seemingly scientific reasons for their doubts. They have claimed that believing in the stories about "water buffaloes that are ghosts and snakes that are gods" would be plain superstition.

Therefore, our people in both the South and the North more than ever have been eagerly waiting for a new book of history capable of reflecting our most progressive concept about our country's history, in which the Hung Kings' period in particular would be determined and correctly evaluated on the basis of accurate and scientific documents.

By checking the regular basis of history -- the old books of history -- up to the recent periods, we must admit that these books, contrarily to what we usually think, do not provide any clear affirmations, nor any scientific bases, which we expect, for the traditional pride of our people about the nation's distant origin and 4,000-year-old culture which they constantly talk about. Le Van Huu's books written in the 13th century have been lost, but we know that Le Van Huu considered that our written history only began after the conquest of Trieu Da; from the time of Ngo Si Lien, who lived under the dynasty of Le Thanh Tong in the end of the 15th century, historians did not dare to act against the people's wishes and did record briefly the old stories, but it was only a matter of conveying their own doubts to other people -- "By just repeating the old stories, one still retains the unsolved cases." The scholars, who record historical facts, did not themselves believe in the stories of supernatural powers about the Hung Kings' period and consequently judged them as "extremely weird and unfounded" ones. Ngo Si Lien's attitude was very clearcut: referring to events in the Hung Kings' period, which he had just recounted, the historian wrote, "If one believes in them, there is no need for one to read at all."

Thus the historians themselves, whose writings serve as a basis for our research, did not believe in what they had recorded. Then how can we today believe in what the people of ancient times, without an ability to conduct a scientific judgment, had considered as unfounded?

A strange and interesting document is a history book of unknown author, probably written in the 14th century and found in China, Concise Viet History. What strange about the Hung Kings is that this book records that the first Hung King was enthroned in the period of King Chuang in the Chou Dynasty. And yet King Chuang of the Chou Dynasty did not live earlier than the 7th century B.C. That assumption is therefore against the verbally circulated stories. Then how do we understand books?

There we have evaluation of the old books of history. To be complete, we can count on the stories of demons and gods found in pagodas and temples, which by the way were recorded late, only in recent centuries, based on the stories verbally circulated among the people. It is not true

to say that these stories themselves do not contain any historical facts, but one must rely on something else to make a distinction between what is true and what is false. So what does one rely on?

By relying on archaeology, on the physical traces of life in the past, we recently found the answer, a definite answer, to the question about the true existence of the Hung Kings' period and were able to determine the true and the false between the arguments of scholars and the traditional belief of our people in our ancestors' origin and the nation's age-old civilization. To satisfy that need, our country's archaeology recently:

1. Determined the method to prove the existence of the Hung Kings' period by means of physical evidences, that is actual traces of the time;
2. Found such traces;
3. Proved that those traces did belong to the Hung Kings' period, and first of all without time discrepancies.

What are the archaeological traces that we have found to have been left from the time of the Hung Kings?

In 1958, we discovered in Phung Nguyen Hamlet of Kinh Ke Township in Lam Thao District, Vinh Phu Province, less than 10 kilometers from the Hung Temple, the site of an ancient village. The site yielded archaeological remains proving two characteristics of our ancestors' life: the advanced techniques of making stone objects and the outstanding way of decorating pottery ware. Then, more than 10 years later, the Vietnamese archaeologists found nearly 100 more sites containing similar or related remains in the piedmont and the deltas of the Red and Ma rivers. By examining the remains (mostly tools of production and weapons) we were able to guess that they generally belonged to the bronze age, possibly in the case of the earliest objects to the end of the ground stone age, and certainly in the case of the later ones to the early iron age. Chronological classification according to classical archaeological methods (mainly a combination of two methods of comparing techniques and way of making objects, and observing the depth of layers representing cultural phases) permitted us to determine that this process of events lasted about 2,000 years, with the latest phase being comparable to the era bearing the Eastern Han cultural remains (in China), which existed just before Christ. That process of events thus existed in the 2,000 years before Christ.

It was an estimate based on logic, and a scientific one as well. However, to avoid subjective factors, we checked our estimate by the method of natural science. The method used (called C^{14} for short) is a dating technique based on modern nuclear science. C^{14} is radioactive carbon, or carbon with an atomic weight of 14, is contained in the bodies of all organisms -- men, animals, and plants -- in definite amounts when they are alive, and decays at a constant, definite rate after their death. This characteristic of radioactive carbon and its decay in the bodies of the organisms are used by archaeologists to determine the age of the remains under consideration.

The first two samples sent away for dating by this method were found to be close to our estimates: the first one, which had been estimated to be 3,500 years old, was found to be 3,328 years old, with an inaccuracy of ± 100 years; the second one, which had been estimated to have existed about 3,000 years ago, was found to be 3,046 years old, with an inaccuracy of ± 120 years. The year that was used for calculation was, by convenience, 1950, right in the middle of the century.

Three more samples taken from other sites were sent away for dating; they were found to be 3,405, 3,070, and 2,350 years old, as against the estimates of, respectively, 3,500, 3,000, and about from 2,500 to 2,200 years of age.

Finally a piece of wood taken from the famous Viet Khe boat tomb site in Haiphong, which had been estimated to have existed toward the end of the Hung Kings' period, i.e., about 2,500 years before our year (1950), was found to be 2,480 years old.

With such a complete system of data checking, the way we looked into the events of 2,000 years of the ancient Viet culture, from the opening stage, the Phung Nguyen stage to the flourishing stage and the Dong Son stage, from 4,000 to 2,000 years before our year, was accurate and correct. Many contradictions or many things hard to understand contained in the old books of history or referred to in the verbally circulated stories are no longer contradictory or hard to understand. It is due to the actual remains of ancient times that both determine and explain.

As legends refer to our 4,000-year-old culture, the remains we found prove that this culture began actually about 4,000 years ago. The old books say that 2,800 years ago the society here suddenly flourished at a tremendous rate; the remains we found affirm that tremendous progress really took place about 2,800 years ago. Thus the number of 18 famous Hung Kings is understandable and does not contradict the 2,000-year-old ancient Viet culture. From the appearance of the Dong Son (Thanh Hoa) culture 2,800 years ago to the disappearance of the country of Van Lang 2,300 years ago, in that period of five centuries there could have been 18 generations (a century includes an average of four generations). It is now true that our nation has 4,000 years of culture, 4,000 years of history, and that there actually were 18 Hung Kings who succeeded one another and ruled over the country in a period of strong social and political organization, which has been most remembered by our people.

Thanks to archaeology we have found that the two facts -- our 4,000-year-old culture and 18 Hung Kings -- do not eliminate each other and we now understand history more clearly and more accurately.

The Phung Nguyen-Dong Son Culture: A Superb Ancient Culture

The Hung Kings' period has been proved by archaeological documents. But if these documents have not yet established that life in that period,

as evidenced by the remains we found, had reached a high level, the dating of such remains would not have full value, for we understand that the Hung Kings' period was the very first one after the nation had been founded, and that a nation could not be founded at any level of civilization.

The material remains of that era would be sufficient to prove the high level of material life. Many Western scholars have long ago praised the Dong Son culture from that standpoint. But because of some sort of racial discrimination and also because of lack of scientific data, they believed that that civilization had had a distant foreign origin, in the basin of Huai River in China, and even in Western Asia or Central Europe, and had been established by the white Tocharians.

Now that we have discovered the Phung Nguyen culture, we can affirm the following as an absolute truth: the origin of the Dong Son culture was no other than the Phung Nguyen culture, which was an aboriginal one starting around the current locations of the Hung Temple and the Viet Tri City. The Dong Son culture was highly developed because 1,500 years before it the Phung Nguyen culture had been highly developed. What were the characteristics of the Phung Nguyen-Dong Son culture?

We refer here only to the most outstanding and basic ones. Of the men-feeding activities, let us talk only about agriculture -- cultivation and animal raising. And of the handicrafts, let us underline only metallurgy. The two major activities, or the essence of the material civilization in the Hung Kings' period, were growing rice in flooded field and casting bronze.

In the Phung Nguyen period 4,000 years ago, rice growing, particularly growing rice in flooded field, was the principal production and a leading sector in agriculture and in the entire ancient Viet economy. We are very moved when we see the display in the Museum of History of a handful of rice which had existed 3,500 years ago and was later found. At that same time, the technique of stone cutting had become quite advanced. And the pottery articles, which were certainly used to contain agricultural products, reflect a need for beauty and a likable way of life of the people at that time. The inscriptions, with fine symmetry and gentle curves, on the vases and jars were probably made with the help of potter's wheels to go with their fine designs.

As agriculture had been developed in the early stage, it was even more highly developed in the Dong Son stage. At least the people who lived in the Red River basin had known by that time how to use plows. Several plowshares made of bronze have been found and are of various designs and shapes -- triangular, heart-shaped, and spread-butterfly-wing-shaped. The remains of ancient lodgings, animals, and plants allow us to guess about the crop-planting activities and to restore a scene of life in a hamlet at that time. Water buffaloes and cows, which had been domesticated, were very probably used as draft animals. Even elephants could have been used in the field. The villages at that time were perhaps different from those

of today in the wide-spread raising of elephants as a draft animal and the popularity of houses built on stilts, which had existed everywhere, from the delta to the river banks. What is strange is the fact that so far we have not found any chicken bones, although this area was known to be the native place of this domestic bird. Although we have not found any bones, the existence of chickens has been known in the symbolic chicken figures that we found along with those of cows and water buffaloes. Dogs had long been domesticated; pigs were raised in larger and larger numbers.

In addition to raising those animals that had become familiar, the people living in the Hung Kings' period had planted the crops that still exist today, including bottle gourd, melon, soybean, na [*Anona squamosa*], tram [a species of olive], etc. While we do not have everything because we have not carefully looked around, we may later list in a systematic way and completely the grain crops and foods that existed at that time, and even the types of beasts in forests and fish in the rivers. Do not think that we are in the dark and just make arbitrary guesses! About animals, it is easy to recognize them by just looking at the bones, teeth, and shells that we have found. And it is not difficult to recognize the plants either. We may find a na seed here and half a tram seed there. Flowers are delicate and may bloom in the morning and wilt in the evening, but pollen may be indestructible; for the flowerless plants, spores may survive and will also appear under the microscope.

The techniques of growing rice in flooded field were different in the Phung Nguyen and Dong Son stages. The difference was even greater in metallurgy. Soon after our ancestors had acquainted themselves with metals in the first stage, in the next one they learned to cast bronze very well, got to know iron, and began to alloy steel. As an overall judgment of the entire period, we can observe that the technical base of this 2,000-year civilization was the technique of working bronze. (This is referring to archaeological terminologies: archaeologists usually call the alloy mainly consisting of copper and tin as dong thau (bronze). But metallurgists usually call this alloy dong thiec (literally, copper-tin), and the alloy that mainly contains copper and zinc (brass) as dong thau.) The first nation-founding period actually fell into the period of highest development of bronze moving into the early iron stage.

How advanced was the technique of working with iron? We can be positive about working soft iron, but we have to wait for further research before we can tell whether they actually cast iron and how they made cast iron articles and alloyed steel. We can temporarily assert one thing: iron had been used back in the Hung Kings' period. Why can we say so? Not because we have such stories as Dong wearing an iron helmet and brandishing an iron whip and Tan Vien stringing an iron net that we say so, but actually we have found iron remains among the ones from the Hung Kings' period, and even before King Thuc, hence, the legends about Dong and Tan Vien using iron should not be baseless.

As to the technique of working with bronze, it is obvious that the people in the Hung Kings' period were mastering it. We have found a number of two-compartment molds cut into stone or shaped with clay that were used to cast axes, spears, daggers, and two arrows simultaneously. The casting engineers of today have closely examined those remains and admitted that they had been cleverly made. The way the holes for pouring, sticking, and ventilation were arranged on the molds points to a good knowledge of the actual characteristics of molten bronze. As we examine the large containers, bowls, and drums made of cast bronze with thin shells and clear engravings, we cannot truthfully imagine how the artisans made them with the raw materials and means available at that time. Particularly the bronze drums should be made in such a way that they would make good sounds, and different sounds for the inner and outer shells. Another thing that points to the skills of those ancient craftsmen is that, through experience, they had mastered the techniques of making and using alloys; for instance, in the case of containers, they had put in some lead to facilitate melting in large molds and to make engraving easier, but in the case of weapons and tools that would have to be hard, sharp, and pointed, they mixed copper and tin as the major metals. Here we have not talked about the esthetic features of the remains.

The old books say that the Hung Kings, about in the 7th century B.C., had used sorcery to unify the tribes and to maintain a strong administration. What sorcery was it, if not the advanced metallurgical techniques that would strike man's imagination as magical and supernatural powers?

The high level of development of the Dong Son culture and of the people and society in the Hung Kings' period is not less obvious when we come to the field of spiritual life. However, in order to study the superstructure, esthetics, thoughts, social concept, and dream of happiness of man, archaeology must closely cooperate with other scientific branches. If, on the one hand, the material remains always are useful, at least to test other historical data as stone is used to test gold, on the other hand archaeology must be coordinated with many other scientific branches in order to restore all of the spiritual life, concepts, thoughts, intentions, and dreams of ancient people.

Now we have come to know the ancient Viet spiritual life, which consisted of many rich aspects. We can mention the most basic features in three aspects: 1. arts and esthetics; 2. thoughts and ideals; and 3. direction of social organization.

1. About arts: Even in the case of small bronze statues, romantic or comic, we have found, the bronze ax blades in the shape of a boat or a shoe, or an attractive bronze ladle with engravings showing a flute musician, which we have found in Viet Khe, do not think that the people living in the Hung Kings' period had cast those articles as objects of art. Beauty was linked with actual needs. Thousands of years before that period

men had created lively and attractive designs on pottery. We can say that was the character of the ancient Viet people -- they loved and needed beauty, right in their everyday life.

Another remarkable thing is that the beauty that our ancestors wanted did not satisfy only a peaceable need, or their appreciation of round or square symmetry, and attractively right size, but it symbolized the attachment to a peculiar character that had taken shape after 1,000 years and had been gradually enriching itself with sentiments that grew in scope and depth, generation after generation. In other words, we can think of a national emblem in esthetics, in the way arts were expressed in the Hung Kings' period. A peculiar national trait has thus been seen flourishing from the curved shapes of a boat and a house on stilts to the strong yet gentle designs of spears and daggers, particularly the symmetry and peaceable coordination of the components that made up the Dong Son bronze drums -- the rim parts, of full rounded design, blended with the drum bodies of beveled shape, and the pedestals stretching out to provide sturdiness. The deep engravings, of varied and attractive designs, on the drums, containers, and even weapons always bore in their own way a peculiar pattern, something that could not be mistaken for something else, which had derived from an uncommon spirit of elegance and enthusiasm.

Is it also the impression one gathers from other expressions of arts like music, dance, story telling, etc.? That was the first impression of researchers, but further study is needed if we want to understand more. Anyway, this impression is common among readers of old stories about the Hung Kings' period, which Vu Quynh and Kieu Phu in the Le Dynasty time collected and advised other people to just "grab them and read," and are still being circulated among the people mostly in the formerly called "ancestors' land," or the area of Phu Tho and Son Tay.

2. But let us go a little further. Let us go into the realm of thought. The people whose image has gradually become clearer in front of our eyes and in our concept in recent days -- were they basically really naive and easy-going? Typical are the flute player on the curved stern of a boat and a couple of village youths dancing happily, or the couples looking enthusiastic, optimistic, and happy on the Ngoc Lu drums.

Is it something to be surprised about if they really were that way? For this is the time when, as we look into the culture of the time, life was flourishing at the dawn of history, the construction of civilization was progressing well, class struggle had not become bitter, and the communes were working in harmony against common calamities to step up crop cultivation. In those days how could they help feeling happy and comfortable in their work, lighthearted in harvest festivals, and inspired by the beautiful sky and vast land that they occasionally embraced one another in a dance?

But archaeologists first of all pay attention to this question: As excavation continues year after year and moves from one place to another,

what are the major remains that we have so far collected? A large quantity of labor tools and a large quantity of weapons. Stone axes, bronze axes, sickle blades, plowshares, daggers of various sizes, spears, lances, and arrows. Ten thousand bronze arrows put in a pile on the bank of Hoang Giang River that served as moat for the old three-layer Co Loa fortress. On the basis of those objects, what do we think about the people of ancient times? They were people who worked hard in production and fought hard in order to overcome numerous and great obstacles caused by difficult natural conditions and piracy and foreign invasion. Every year -- as the old stories still tell us and as it still happens -- the country was rocked by the glorious but hard-earned feat of Tan Vien defeating the Water God. And horse-riding Thanh Giong led the young villagers, perhaps more than once, in an attack on the invaders, in their march from Dong Village to Soc Mountain to protect hamlets and ricefields.

Was it an urgent or easy-going way of life? As we think about it, we do not see any contradictions between the reality of the months and days of enthusiastic and hard struggle against nature and invaders and the dreams of peace and a longing for a peaceful easy life, with unending continuation of the species, in favorable weather conditions.

3. It was with such a level of thought, such feelings, such a courage in labor and combat, and such dreams of happiness that our ancestors in the Hung Kings' period had begun to create a civilized society, the first nation having discipline and a well-established system. We should make further studies, researches, and serious consideration before being able to determine the nature and characteristics of the "country" of Van Lang. However, we can hypothesize that the economic and cultural development, as well as the need for promoting progress in a progressing society, were the driving force that led to the establishment of a power over the communes -- the state.

In the communes there appeared a small class of people who became dependent on others and a handful of others who became rich and powerful, but beside that phenomenon the free farmers, members of the communes, remained the principal productive force. Above the communes and between them and groups of communes and the central administration there were intermediate levels, the primary ones being the "Lac generals" who ordinarily were children of military chieftains. Communes and tribes were linked together in a common machinery, which had probably resulted from a need for fighting flood and natural calamities. Supreme power was entrusted in the leader called "Hung." "Hung" was assisted by the "Lac aides," just like not long ago, in the Muong society, the leader, or "Cun," of the entire system of tribes was aided by the "au," or assistants. By making comparison of the Viet-Muong dialects and the ones in the Mon Khmer system, we have affirmed the existence of Lac ricefields and Hung kings as our people have been talking about and books have recorded. Lac ricefields were flooded ricefields, and Hung meant leader, chieftain, king.

Now we have realized that our long debate over a possible misunderstanding of Lac and Hung was really a waste of time and useless. For the way we raised the question would not satisfy the need for scientific research and the method used was not appropriate either. As we come to think of it, whether the books have correctly or incorrectly recorded about the Lac and Hung Kings would be of no importance if the matter were only to determine the right name to use more accurately. What is important is the fact that Hung means king and Hung was in power. The state led by Hung was an "Oriental-style state," without much complexity nor carefully devised decentralization of power, but a state. Simple but not rudimentary. The country of Van Lang was the true country of a community of people having literature and was on its way to becoming a nation. National construction was thus creating conditions to promote a higher level of civilization.

Historical Scope of Ancient Viet Civilization

In these days, as we in both the South and the North are happy about the victories that have been won, we channel our thought to our forefathers and ancestors, and praise the scientific achievements in our effort to trace the national origin. We are happy because we have been able to affirm that our national history began with the Hung Kings' period. Actually there is nothing new in this affirmation. Have we ever said differently? And now as we can affirm it, why are we happy?

The reason is that today every understanding and belief must have a sound scientific base. And in recent years we have proven by scientific means, not by popular belief alone, that the Hung Kings' period did really exist in our national history.

Another reason is that, as we tried to know our ancestors' life through the material remains that have been scientifically tested, we have realized in a more positive way that the ancient Viet civilization, in the Hung Kings' period of national construction, had reached considerable height and had been unique in many aspects, which we should be proud of.

Still another reason is that, as we accurately know the early stage of our national history, we can more accurately and more deeply understand the stages that followed, and understand more generally and totally the development process of Vietnam's history and civilization.

By reminding ourselves of the nation's long history and remembering our ancestors' glorious life thousands of years ago, which gave rise to the first national construction period, we can also test the great vitality of life in the Hung Kings' period right in our thought and feelings today.

Typical of the Dong Son culture and the one-time spreading of this culture throughout Southeast Asia, as the archaeological remains indicate, is the "Dong Son drum," which researchers called "type I He-go" bronze drum. The Dong Son people's dream of happiness and peace had been engraved

for posterity on the Ngoc Lu specimen, which is the most typical Dong Son drum in terms of technique, art, and the scenes of the time recorded. After it is carefully examined, it will certainly reveal many things that we have only outlined so far, i.e., about the levels of knowledge and esthetics, moral values, science, concept of the world, and reason. The Dong Son drum is fine and very unusual. The culture in the Hung Kings' period was very unusual and very nice.

However, as we deal with culture as a whole, we may think of the great achievements that some ancient civilizations in the world have left behind. And we cannot help feeling bad when we see that our Dong Son drum is too modest. As we consider the whole ancient Viet culture and its evolution in the entire historical process of the nation, we find that it lacks splendor and greatness.

Why? Can it be that our country was not large, its population was small, and for a long time it had been poor and frequently at war? It is not true that our people lacked industry and talent. Then how should we evaluate our own civilization's depth after we have known that it was meticulous but lacked splendor?

Or we can think that the glory of a history full of heroic exploits against foreign invasion should fill the gap. Are we correct? Let us consider some details: on the one hand we have a heroic history, and on the other a culture that was elegant and noble, but not so great. We are incorrect to think that way. A great civilization does not necessarily rely on splendor, and even less on weight and large dimensions.

While evaluating the height, depth, and greatness of a civilization, we cannot fail to look into the moral values and the lessons left for posterity about human qualities. What lessons about the meaning of life and values of man did the Dong Son culture and life in the Hung Kings' period of national construction leave behind for the last 20 centuries and for today's man, the Vietnamese man, of course? Every civilization has its own characteristics, which are more or less unique. The civilization that our ancestors have built in a long process of hard struggle against nature, foreign invasion, and oppression goes deeply into man's soul, will power, feelings, and qualities. It helps develop intelligence, skill, and creative talent to serve man's happiness and to serve life. Its essence is the love for one's country and people, the dream of peace for the sake of the people and the nation, and the desire to work enthusiastically.

Thanks to this 4,000-year-old civilization that we have had a glorious history marked by brilliant victories, both in "military feats" and "the rule by the books," and that in the last quarter of a century we have made great and amazingly unusual achievements, including the successful August uprising, the seizure of power for the masses, and then the victorious war of resistance against the French and the Americans. It is because we

live in the depth of history, because we have inherited the work of the Hung Kings, and because we still are the men of the Dong Son culture that we have scored such brilliant victories. Who dares to say that a civilization that has created such men is not a great one?

The first results of a research into the nation's origin have allowed us to know and to write for the first time on the basis of science the first chapters of the national history. After having affirmed this early phase of history, we can from now on have a clearer, sharper, and more accurate understanding of the succeeding phases. Also of us as the men of today. Of the entire history of the nation, from the earliest time to now.

Credit should be given to all the scientific sectors that have jointly conducted the research along our party's correct line, a research that has made the Hung Kings' age gradually appear as 2,000 years of growth, development, and spectacular flourishing in the land that is now the North of an outstanding ancient agricultural civilization and a nation full of vitality and men of great capabilities. Of these scientific sectors archaeology has been given and has been playing the key and leading role, and has been serving as the principal support to make this collective research of great significance a success.

In the first years of its operation, the Vietnamese archaeological sector has tried to fulfill part of the expectations from this modern branch of science, which, according to a well-known scholar, is coming to historical studies as the telescope has come to astronomy, the microscope to biology, and the discovery of radiation to chemistry.

Is it because of the revival of the ancient Viet civilization and its beauty, depth, strength, and attraction, which actually derive from the interesting nature of this civilization itself and from the fact that everybody has recognized that it continues to exist and to develop in the Vietnamese involved in the current revolutionary struggle, that the people in the North are more and more interested in protecting archaeological remains and the people in the South, as well as many foreign scholars, are following with great interest the archaeological activities in the North?

But the archaeologists themselves, in these days when the initial results have been obtained, fully understand that this achievement is closely linked with the party's leadership and the concept of serving the revolution and the people. Without following the party line, without upholding the party views, without struggling for the noble revolutionary goals, we could still gather remarks and observations having some scientific value by using the same modern methods that we have used and the same efforts and intelligence that we have mobilized, but we could not correctly and totally capture the significance of the Hung Kings' period, the scope of our nation's history, and the depth and strength of the fine traditions that have been born thousands of years ago and that today we still proudly inherit and display.

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