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*Vietnamese Intellectuals
Against U. S. Aggression*

**VIETNAMESE INTELLECTUALS
AGAINST U. S. AGGRESSION**

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VIETNAMESE INTELLECTUALS AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION

In the Conference Hall which looks over historic Badinh square where President Ho Chi Minh had proclaimed Vietnam's independence twenty years ago, the Vietnamese intellectuals gathered from January 4 to 6, 1966, to decide the tasks which would devolve upon them now that the national struggle against American aggression has entered an arduous and decisive stage.

When in July 1955 General Maxwell Taylor was sacked from his post as ambassador in Saigon, "special warfare", a tool of U.S. neo-colonialism, was virtually lost. The 500,000 Saigon mercenaries under American command had proved unable to cope with the "people's war". Johnson and McNamara then hurriedly devised a new strategy marked by a frenzied intensification of the "escalation": massive introduction of G.I.'s into South Vietnam, 190,000 in December 1965 as against 34,000 in May 1965, extension of the war of destruction mainly by air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In this juncture, what contributions can Vietnamese men of culture, science and art bring to the work of national defence? The Vietnamese Intellectuals' Conference Against U.S. Aggression For National Salvation tried to find out a clear and concrete answer to this question.

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In this memorable meeting more than six hundred and fifty delegates took part representing tens of thousands of intellectuals. Impressive figures if one remembers that before the 1945 August Revolution 95 per cent of the population were illiterate, the colonial university turned out each year a dozen doctors for Indochina's thirty million people, and the feudal regime looked upon artistes of certain branches, theatre and choreography among others, as pariahs.

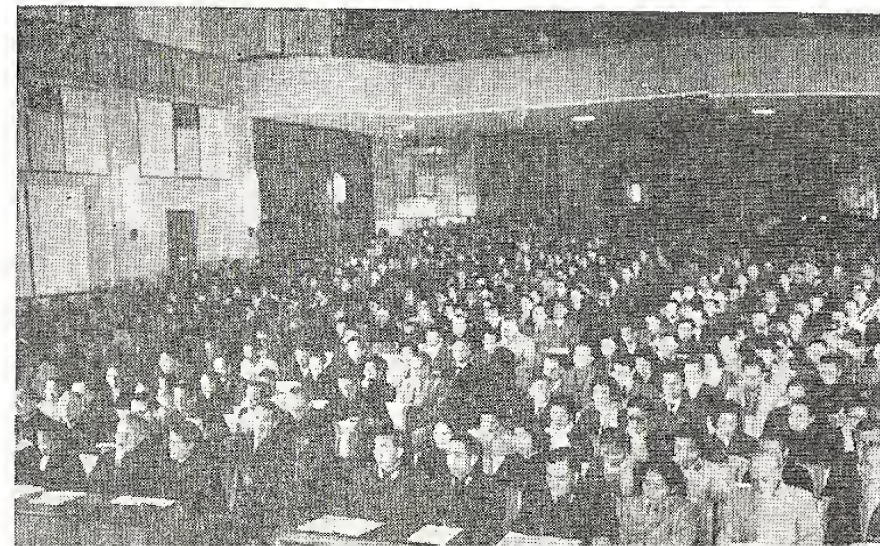
In the amphitheatre one met old people of the Confucianist school, middle-aged men trained in the establishments of the colonial period, youths newly graduated from the socialist university, woman engineers of poor peasant stock, technicians who had been workers, sons and daughters of the North and the South, members of mountain minorities; graduates back from Moscow, Peking, Paris, Tokyo...

In his opening speech, Engineer Nguyen Xien after stating the goals of the Conference declared on behalf of the Presidium: "Let us demonstrate our firm determination to spare no effort to contribute, together with our entire people, to defeating the U.S. aggressors. Let us demonstrate our will to strengthen our solidarity

SOME PICTURES OF THE CONFERENCE



President Ho Chi Minh speaking to the delegates





Engineer Nguyen Xien opening the Conference



Professor Ta Quang Buu, Minister of Higher and Secondary Vocational Education, reading the general report

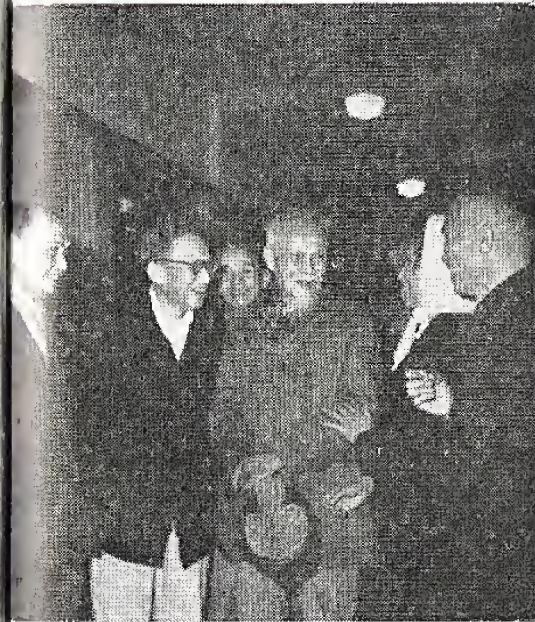


Prime Minister Pham Van Dong (2nd from left): a comrade-in-arms and colleague more than a statesman

THEY MEET WITH ONE ANOTHER AGAIN



Two generations: One graduated from the establishments of the colonial epoch and the other from the socialist university. Among them: Dr. Ton That Tung (1st from left), Dr. Hoang Thuy Nguyen (2nd), Engineer Tran Dai Nghia (5th), Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach (7th)



75 years old, always in the service of the country: Le Thuoc, a scholar trained in the Confucian discipline (3rd from left)

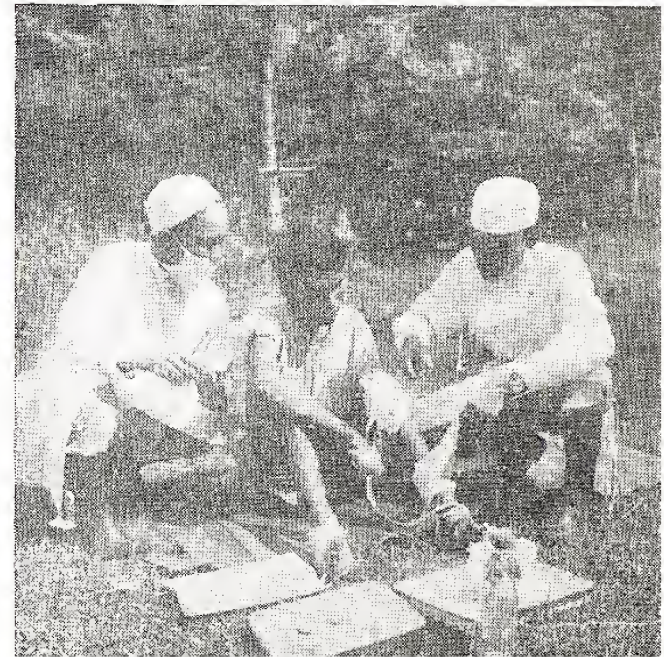


The women, side by side with men on all fronts. From left to right: Lawyer Bui Thi Cam, Dr. Tran Thi An, Dr Vu Thi Chin.

INTELLECTUALS AT THEIR COMBAT POSTS



Professor Staughton Lynd, a messenger from genuine America :
"We are determined not to wait until it is too late."



Under U.S. bombs and bullets, the doctors and nurses of the Quynhlap leprosy give a good account of themselves



Artistes performing before an A.A. unit between two alerts



Professor and students of the Hanoi Polytechnic College pledge to take part in the "Three Ready's" movement, i.e. to fight, to join the army, and to do whatever job and go wherever they are required to

with the Vietnamese intellectuals in the South and those living abroad, the intellectuals all over the world, in the United States, in particular, to help defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors."

In the general report, Professor Ta Quang Buu, Minister of Higher and Secondary Vocational Education, analysed the aggressive manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism and denounced the utterly savage atrocities of the neo-colonialist war. Not only do the extremists of the White House conduct an aggressive war against Vietnam, both North and South, they are also trying to extend it to the whole of Indochina in the hope of escaping from their quagmire in South Vietnam. They try to undermine the national liberation movement and jeopardize peace in Asia and the world.

Ta Quang Buu then laid bare the hypocrisy and double dealing of the Washington leaders who adorn their bellicose intentions with such sounding formulas as "will for peace", "unconditional negotiations", "respect of commitments", "return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam". He proved that it was they who had sabotaged the peace restored by the Geneva Conference, trampled upon a sovereign state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and hypocritically "promised" an end to the air attacks as a form of blackmail. Their "commitment" with the Saigon puppets, that of a master with his lackeys, is valueless whereas their offers of "unconditional negotiations" aim at compelling our people, victorious on the battlefield, to capitulate at the conference table. No nation with self-respect can tolerate or accept such an American diktat. The

Vietnamese intellectuals unreservedly approve of the four points put forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation stated in its March 22, 1965 declaration. They consider them as the only basis for a correct settlement of the Vietnam question. They wholeheartedly thank the intellectuals and peoples throughout the world and in the United States in particular, for their support to the Vietnamese people's just struggle. They call on them to multiply their efforts, together with the Vietnamese people, to defeat U.S. imperialism, arch enemy of mankind, happiness, intelligence, progress and life.

An important part of the report was devoted to the Vietnamese intellectuals whose ranks have rapidly swollen under the clear-sighted leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party to become a revolutionary army worthy of a heroic people which has made valuable contributions to the building of socialism and the struggle against U.S. aggression. At present, our people standing in the first line of the world front against U.S. imperialism, are scoring success after success. Together with the people and their army, the Vietnamese intellectuals are determined to fight and to win, to devote themselves to production and national defence, and to struggle until final victory for the liberation of the South, the reunification of the country, and the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

The Conference listened with interest to thirty three addresses dealing with most varied themes on a common

background, made by the most qualified representatives of various cultural branches. *

Historians, economists, militarymen, analysed with the greatest objectivity the enemy's strong and weak points. United States commands an enormous industrial, military and financial power which the Vietnamese people, especially the intellectuals, are the last to underestimate. But in the final analysis, the giant shows himself ridden by many contradictions which undermine his strength, hamper his movements, and render him unable to defeat a united and determined people, who possess twenty years experience of revolutionary wars on top of two thousand years of struggle against foreign aggression, and are guided by a correct political and military line.

The U.S. crimes in South and North Vietnam — use of gas, dropping of toxic products, napalm bombs, destruction of hospitals and schools — were dealt with a precise and detailed way by doctors, chemists and

* Dr. Ho Dac Di, professor, Miss Dang Thi Nhung, student; Phan Anh, lawyer; Mrs Tran Thi An, doctor in chemistry; Dr. Do Xuan Hop; Quang Dam, journalist; Hoang Minh Giam, professor; Dr. Le Dinh Tham; Tran Huy Lieu, historian; Nguyen Van Huyen professor; Vo Thanh Long, engineer; Luong Dinh Cua, agronomist; Bui Huy Giap, engineer; Pham Van Bach, lawyer; Dr. Y Ngong; Nguyen Hong, writer; Nguyen Dinh Doan, engineer; Doan Trong Truyen, economist; Nguyen Khai, writer; Dr. Nguyen Khac Vien, publicist; Nghiem Xuan Yem, engineer; Dr. Vu Cong Hoe, professor; Le Thuoc, literary critic; Nguyen Xuan Khoat, composer; Do Xuan Sang, lawyer; Vuong Thi Hien, engineer; Tran Dai Nghia, engineer, Labour Hero; General Hoang Minh Thao, from the Institute of Military Studies; Pham Huy Thong, professor; Prof. Ton That Tung, Labour Hero; Ha Xuan Te, engineer; Tu Mo, poet; and Pham Khac Hoe, jurist.

jurists. Indignation and hatred were loudly expressed when the delegates heard about so many crimes. Hitler's name was frequently evoked, Johnson's hypocrisy about his will for peace and his offers of negotiation were thoroughly unmasked.

A retrospective review of a century of colonial domination and twenty years of revolutionary struggle shows that there is no culture, no art, nor literature, nor genuine science without independence and freedom. The seeds sown during the resistance against the French colonialists have begun to bear fruit in the eleven years of peaceful construction in North Vietnam : education at all levels in the national language, the creation of a whole scientific and technical terminology, medical discoveries (like the dead BCG or the surgery of hepatic exeresis) which have obtained world recognition, systematic prospecting for the country's natural resources, eradication of illiteracy and rapid diffusion of education even in remotest villages, literary and art blossoming as never before...

The analyses and experiences presented to the Conference clearly showed that the men of science and culture in Vietnam owe their successes to the people's determination to build a national and popular culture.

All the speakers also confirmed that they had found an invaluable compass in Marxism-Leninism concretized by the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party at each historical turn of the nation, in the daily practice of each profession and in each branch of activity.

In present-day Vietnam, politics and culture have mutual relations and impregnate each other, which helps to solve the most arduous problems. It is on this basis that the Conference was able to answer this crucial question : can the intellectuals undertake today's tasks ?

For the question is not to restrict their efforts to the maintenance of what has already been built but to go ahead and develop science, technics and culture vigorously in spite of enemy bombing.

Many schools, hospitals and research institutes have been bombed, and colleges, laboratories, libraries and machines have had to be dispersed throughout the country to preserve them from air-raids. Many doctors, researchers, professors and teachers have been mobilized. Can they at the same time continue to give care to the sick and education to the youth, and engage in scientific research ? The difficulties seem unsurmountable.

Doctors, engineers, professors and researchers reported on what they had done since the day the U.S. piratical planes first dropped their bombs. Neither medical, educational nor research work had stopped, to the great resentment of the Washington leaders who had wanted by bombing North Vietnam not only to try to retrieve a desperate military situation but also to strangle the underdeveloped country which had dared to build a modern economy and culture free from the influence of capitalism.

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★ ★

The delegates standing up gave an enthusiastic welcome to President Ho Chi Minh, and Premier Pham Van Dong who accompanied him. Simple and intimate as is his custom, the President won the hearts of all present. He said :

" In the struggle against U.S. imperialism for national salvation which is seething in the North, our army and people have recorded remarkable successes. Up to today some 850 U.S. planes have been downed. In the

general emulation movement for the patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism, our workers have started the campaign "Three for and three against"*, our peasants, the "Improvement of the management of production, co-ops, and technique", our women, the "Three responsibilities"**, our youth, the "Three ready's"*** and our old folk, in some places, the teams of "white-haired fighters". From these campaigns have emerged new men and women remarkable for their heroism. As for the intellectuals, they must participate in this general movement with a campaign of their own.

After President Ho Chi Minh, Premier Pham Van Dong spoke warmly and convincingly for two hours on the work and tasks of the intellectuals. Here he was less a statesman than a comrade-in-arms, a colleague well aware of the intellectuals' aspirations.

"We should not forget", he stressed, "that our sacred struggle — the struggle to defend the North, to liberate the South and to reunify our country peacefully, is directly

** Three for and three against :*

- For the heightening of responsibility, improvement of economic gestion and perfecting of technique
- Against graft, bureaucracy and waste.

*** Three responsibilities :*

- to assume production jobs while their husbands, sons and brothers are at the front
- to take good care of their families so that the men may feel reassured at their fighting posts
- to stand ready to serve the front when necessary.

**** Three ready's :*

- to fight
- to join the army
- to do whatever job and to go wherever one is required to.

aimed at freeing our nation and the working people from oppression and exploitation, at freeing science, technics, literature and art from all fetters. It holds before our people the prospect of developing all their capacities and building a radiant life, through the power of science, technics, literature and art.

Dear friends, let us live and struggle as valiant soldiers inspired by the will to fight and to win."

The analysis made by General Vo Nguyen Giap of the military situation — during six hours — was marked by its clarity and precision. It revealed the care for documentation of the former professor of history, the penetrating insight of the strategist of Dienbienphu and the veiled irony of a subtle scholar of Asia.

The Conference was profoundly moved by the visit paid by three American peace fighters. In the speech by Professor Staughton Lynd from Yale University, it recognized the true voice of the American people and progressive intellectuals, the voice of the America of Washington and Lincoln, of Hemingway, Arthur Miller, Linus Pauling, and Du Bois. About the attitude of American progressive intellectuals, Staughton Lynd said :

"The war in Vietnam has taught many intellectuals that they must get out of their ivory tower.

"We have before us the case of German fascism. In Germany very few intellectuals openly opposed Hitler. One of them, Martin Niemoller expressed their failure in these words : "When the trade union fighters were imprisoned I was not a trade unionist, when the communists were jailed in concentration camps I was not a communist. And when the Jews were brought to gas chambers, I

was not a Jew. But when I was put in prison, it was too late. We, American intellectuals opposing the war in Vietnam, are determined not to wait until it is too late."

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After three days of work the Vietnamese intellectuals, Conference wound up with the adoption of a declaration and several messages.

The delegates will bring to tens of thousands of their colleagues in schools and hospitals; workshops and studios, collective farms, and factories, the sacred flame of the Conference: to serve independence and peace. In their struggle against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese intellectuals feel proud of and grateful for the support and sympathy given by intellectuals all over the world. Therein lies the significance of their message to the intellectuals of all countries, which also constitutes a message of faith in progress, and friendship among the nation and the cause of peace.

"By publicly approving our national struggle, you declare your confidence in man, and make it clear that no material and technical force whatsoever can stamp out the will for independence and freedom of a people. On our part, we are deeply conscious that by defending our independence, we are contributing our share to the safeguarding of the most precious human values for all peoples."

REPORT DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR TA QUANG BUU

From our beloved South Vietnam, we hear news of victories every day. Our compatriots, there closely united in the National Front for Liberation, are dealing the enemy stunning blows which greatly rejoice their brothers and sisters in the North and inspire those peoples round the world who are struggling against U.S. aggressive imperialism. These victories clearly evidence a truth of our times, namely, a small people, united and determined, can victoriously resist any aggressive imperialism, even the most powerful and ferocious.

In North Vietnam, now seething with patriotic mettle, our people emulating in production and fighting have demonstrated that the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction by air force cannot check our socialist construction. They made brilliant achievements and increased our economic and national defence potential. At the same time, they downed many up-to-date planes, captured many pilots, thus filling our Southern compatriots with enthusiasm, rejoicing and bringing confidence in our final victory to our friends in the socialist camp and the world.

In many countries, even in the United States itself, broad strata of the people are protesting more and more strongly against the aggressive war in Vietnam and supporting our just cause more and more actively.

Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggression in the South, expanding their war of destruction in the North, stepping up their "special warfare" in Laos and threatening Cambodia and our other neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia. At the same time, they make hypocritical "peace" proposals in an attempt to placate the world-wide people's movement of struggle and to cover up their frenzied preparations for new military adventures.

In consequence we deem it necessary to make a correct appraisal of the situation, to formulate our tasks and strengthen our determination to fight the U.S. aggressors for the defence of the North and the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland with a view to a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

PART I

To try and extricate themselves from their predicament in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are frantically intensifying and extending their war of aggression, placing our entire country in a state of war, seriously jeopardizing peace in Indochina and Asia

1. U.S. imperialists' aggression against Vietnam, their intensification and extension of the war

The U.S. imperialists' dark design of invading our country dates from twenty years. After the Second World War, the German, Italian and Japanese imperialists were defeated and collapsed, the British and French imperialists, though victorious, were seriously weakened. Taking advantage of this, the U.S. imperialists schemed to bring the world under their sway, and to play the role of the international gendarme. They built a network of military bases and a system of military alliances aimed at encircling the socialist countries, quelling the national liberation movement, and preparing for a nuclear war, a world war.

Following the victorious August Revolution in 1945, the Vietnamese people founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign state with its territory forming a single, united bloc from North to South.

A few days later, however, the U.S. imperialists brought in 200,000 troops of their lackey Chiang Kai-shek, occupied

the country down to the 16th parallel, to use them as a tool of their intervention in our country. Under the resolute and talented leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party and President Ho Chi Minh, we succeeded in driving this army out of our country, thereby brushing aside the danger of an American intervention.

After the French colonialists had widened their aggression to the whole of Vietnam and embarked on a dirty war, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of the increasing defeats of the French to intervene once again in our country as well as in Laos and Cambodia. They supplied the French with dollars and weapons while preparing to replace them in Indochina. In 1950, they took Ngo Dinh Diem to the United States to train him into an active agent. In face of the imminent fall of Dienbienphu, the American imperialists sought by all means to involve Britain and a number of other countries in an attempt to prolong and expand the Indochina war. They sent General O'Daniel to inspect the Dienbienphu battlefield and worked out the so-called "Vulture operation" plan for a heavy bombing of North Vietnam. More brazenly still, they declared Indochina was placed in the "inviolable" area of the U.S. strategy and dispatched two aircraft-carriers into the North Vietnam Gulf. But the resounding victory of our army and people at Dienbienphu foiled their dark designs and played a decisive part in the success of the Geneva Conference on Indochina notwithstanding sabotage manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements restored peace in Indochina on the basis of the recognition by the participant countries of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and non-interference in the internal affairs of these

countries. With regard to Vietnam, the Geneva Agreements stipulated that it was temporarily divided into two zones to facilitate the cease-fire and should be reunified by July 1956 through free general elections all over the country. That was a great victory for our people and the peace-loving people of the world, and defeat not only for the French colonialists, but also for the U.S. interventionists.

Having failed in their scheme to prolong and extend the war, the Americans plotted to protract Vietnam's partition and occupy South Vietnam with the purpose of turning it into a military base to attack North Vietnam and establish their domination over the whole of Southeast Asia.

However, in view of the growth of the national liberation movement, the U.S. imperialists like all other imperialists, cannot maintain the colonialist regime under its old forms. They have had to resort to neo-colonialism which is rightly described as "invisible colonialism" that is, colonialist domination through an administration run by native puppets, and "American aid" used to manipulate the reins of power in all fields.

To this end, no sooner had the Geneva Agreements been signed than they set up the S.E.A.T.O, coolly placing Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos under the so-called "protective umbrella" of that organization to cover up their dark machinations.

Gradually replacing the French colonialists, through their military and civilian "advisers", the U.S. imperialists rigged up the Ngo Dinh Diem administration. They used it to sabotage the holding of general elections for peacefully reunifying our country, savagely repress our compatriots and frenziedly increase their military force in South Vietnam. They thought they could rapidly

stabilize the situation to carry out their « march to the North » plan. They displayed much optimism and repeatedly claimed they were not bound by the Geneva Agreements.

However, things did not happen in the way they wished. The heroic South Vietnamese people resolutely stood up to struggle against them and their lackeys to defend their lives and property and safeguard their national independence. The U.S. plan for quickly « pacifying » South Vietnam was a complete failure and the « march to the North » was abandoned.

The U.S. imperialists then went a step further in South Vietnam with their armed intervention. They launched the so-called « special warfare » which is in essence a neo-colonialist war of aggression. They have been experimenting with the blood of our Southern compatriots so that they can apply the same in other places against national liberation movements and establish their world hegemony.

They sent American combat troops to South Vietnam and put forward the Staley-Taylor plan, then the Mc Namara-Taylor plan. Maxwell Taylor, the promoter of « special war » was appointed ambassador to Saigon to carry into effect his own plan aimed at « pacifying » South Vietnam within eighteen months. This plan met with failure and so successively did others intended to « pacify » eight provinces around Saigon - Cholon, then five and finally three only. As a matter of fact, they had to limit themselves to the defence of Saigon-Cholon. The system of « strategic hamlets » — backbone of the ruling machinery, the puppet army — main tool of « special warfare », the towns and cities which the U.S. imperialists consider as their safest rear, all these three props are on their way to disintegration.

In such a situation, the Saigon administration naturally can by no means be stabilized : after the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, thirteen coups d'état have taken place and given rise to nine successive puppet governments. The United States changed its commanding generals and ambassadors in South Vietnam but sustained ever-heavier setbacks. During the same period the National Front for Liberation has been leading the South Vietnamese people forward to one victory after another, and liberated the major part of the South Vietnam territory and population.

Though seriously bogged down the aggressors nevertheless ran headlong into new military adventures with the illusion that they could intimidate our people, regain the upper hand and extricate themselves from a desperate situation. They resorted to blackmail to threaten the governments and people of the peaceloving countries in the world.

President Johnson's decision to regard both zones of Vietnam and their adjacent waters as a « combat area of the U.S. armed forces » was an act of utter arrogance, which once again testified to the U.S. authorities' scheme of expanding the war throughout our country.

To intensify their aggressive war in the South, the American imperialists have feverishly and brazenly carried out a series of measures. They have increased the puppet army, massively brought in additional U.S. troops and pressed their satellites such as South Korea, Australia, New Zealand to dispatch troops to South Vietnam. The number of American forces soared from 30,000 in early 1965 to about 180,000 at present, not counting 70,000 men of the Seventh Fleet permanently active off our coast, nor some 30,000 mercenaries from satellite countries. The Americans introduced into South Vietnam nearly 1,000 up-to-date aircraft, used strategic

B.52's based at Guam and their naval forces in the South with very rapid units to intensify patrol along the Vietnamese coast. They put in ground-to-air "Hawk" missiles, and arch heavy artillery. Tens of thousands of U.S. marines and paratroops were sent to occupy a series of bases such as Danang, Phubai, Chulai, Ankhe, Bienhoa, Camranh.

With a huge war machine comprising the local mercenary troops and the U.S. forces in South Vietnam, the Pacific and other places, the American imperialists have massacred large numbers of our Southern compatriots. They used B.52's and artillery of the Seventh Fleet to wantonly rain bombs and shells on populated areas. Taking advantage of scientific and technical achievements, they openly used toxic chemicals and even war gases, strictly banned by progressive mankind for over half a century now. No honest people can tolerate these savage acts nor allow the Pentagon to plead that poison gases are "more humane" than other weapons.

By air raids on North Vietnam, the American imperialists "escalate" the war under the pretext that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has provoked the patriotic self-defence struggle of the South Vietnamese people. This constitutes an overt attack on the socialist camp, creating a precedent of aggression against one of its member countries. This is undeniable evidence of the sabotage of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, a gross violation of international law and human morality.

The more bitter their defeats in the South, the more ferociously and extensively they bomb the North with aircraft from the Seventh Fleet and military bases in South Vietnam and Thailand. They have attacked almost all the provinces in North Vietnam. They spared no targets, hitting populated areas, dams, factories,

churches, schools, hospitals and crèches alike. Johnson impudently declared that "the U.S. must fight to live in a world where every country could run its affairs according to its own desires and needs", that "such a world cannot be established with bombs and bullets, but the vagaries of man demand that violence must go before reason, the destruction of war before the projects of peace". How disgusting indeed these perfidious words of a thorough-going war criminal are. But what can he say about the destruction of the Quynhlap leprosarium, the Quynhtam church, the Vinhlinh school, the Zung and Soi markets, and countless other loathsome crimes the U.S. Air Force has been perpetrating in the northern part of our country?

Once more, the U.S. imperialists have exposed to the American and all peace-loving people in the world their aggressive and warlike nature. Never has the protest movement against their aggression in Vietnam developed so widely and powerfully and never have they been as isolated as at present.

The Vietnamese people in both zones have not only not shrunk before the aggressors' bombs and bullets, they have dealt them telling blows. Our Southern compatriots have valiantly fought the enemy everywhere, in the delta as in the mountain regions and right in their dens in Saigon, they have repeatedly won resounding victories at Danang, Chulai, Thuanninh, Vantuong, Pleime, Iadrang, Dateuoc, Baubang, Dautieng, Dongduong, etc. In the North, our people with utter hatred for the U.S. pirates, are making all-out efforts in production and fighting, have downed over 850 most up-to-date aeroplanes and captured many pilots.

In fact, the U.S. aggressors have been ignominiously defeated in both parts of our country. Their "special

warfare" having gone bankrupt, they are now seeking other means to preserve their neo-colonialist rule in South Vietnam.

Strategically reduced to the defensive, they however continue obdurately plunging into new adventures. By the end of November 1965, Johnson decided to raise the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam to 225,000 in Spring this year. Following McNamara's recent visit to Saigon, he declared that the American effectives would be increased as required by the situation. According to many sources, the Pentagon generals are raving for a ceiling of 350,000 to 400,000 men. The Americans have also decided to bring in about 1,000 more planes of various types and a large quantity of weapons and other war material. U.S. military bases in South Vietnam have been feverishly augmented. The Seventh Fleet has recently been reinforced with the aircraft-carrier "Enterprise" with nearly 100 up-to-date planes and the destroyer "Bainbridge", both nuclear powered. The aggressors are scheming to move American troops from Europe and other places to the South Vietnam theatre. Meanwhile, they are exerting pressure on the Australian and Filipino governments for a more active participation in the war.

The U.S. imperialists are preparing for further "escalation". They have bombed and strafed a number of areas around the Haiphong industrial centre, and intensified the use of barbaric war means to massacre the South Vietnamese people. More brazenly they have bombed Lower Laos with B.52's, sought to dispatch their troops to this country and threatened to cross the Cambodian border.

It is clear that the U.S. imperialists who have invaded South Vietnam and bombed the D.R.V. are scheming

to extend the war to the whole of Indochina in the hope of getting out of a desperate situation in the South. Once again, they have shown themselves as an extremely bellicose gang, the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples, the most dangerous enemy of the movement for national liberation and peace in Asia and the world.

2. Johnson's offer for so-called "unconditional discussions" is but a swindle

In the past few months, Johnson and his followers have unceasingly prattled about "goodwill for peace", "unconditional discussions", "return to the Geneva Agreements". These last years, Johnson has repeatedly declared that "the U.S. will exhaust all possibilities of peace", "push at all doors for peace" and "will pursue peace relentlessly". At the same time he has been sending many U.S. Statesmen to approach other countries.

For what reason have the U.S. imperialists shown such an ardent "desire" for peace?

Simply because they are being defeated and bogged down in South Vietnam.

Because they have incurred ever-stronger protest from the world and American people.

Driven into a quagmire, they blare out series of hypocritical allegations to soothe and deceive the peace- and justice-loving people, cover up their defeats and intentions, and seek a pretext for further escalation.

In proposing "unconditional discussions" after having started armed aggression against South Vietnam and air attacks on the North the U.S. imperialists suggest that neither belligerent should impose conditions on his opponent. This means that the Vietnamese people

should not pose conditions to the American aggressors; nor demand that the aggressors 1) cease considering South Vietnam as a separate nation, a neighbour of North Vietnam, 2) give up their scheme of perpetually partitioning our country, 3) recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, and 4) end for good and without condition their war of destruction against North Vietnam. Thus Johnson's real intention in proposing "unconditional discussions" is to induce the Vietnamese, before they go to the conference table, to admit the U.S. imperialists' right to invade South Vietnam, station their troops there and transform it into a U.S. military base, and interfere freely in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. The U.S. President's move for peace also means that the American imperialists must be given the right to scrap the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and trample under foot international law and human morality. The Vietnamese people who are winning on the battlefield should come to the conference table to surrender unconditionally to the pirates who are being defeated in the war they have provoked. The Vietnamese people like any other self-respecting people can never accept such preposterous conditions.

The U.S. has also called for a "return to the Geneva Agreements". But who has undermined them so that a return is needed. These accords were the result of the Vietnamese people's long and hard struggle for independence and peace, for their sacred national rights. They concretize a natural law of our epoch in which colonialism is disintegrating and the movement for national liberation mounting. The Geneva Agreements which

were aimed at abolishing old-time colonialism and preventing neo-colonialism taking its place, are in harmony with the Vietnamese people's interests and aspirations, and run counter to the wicked schemes of the aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialists. It is not fortuitous that the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have always respected the clauses of these accords. The U.S. imperialists, on the contrary, have been systematically sabotaging them since they were made and intend to go on doing so. Therefore, to call for a "return to the Geneva Agreements" merely means to put in the same bag the aggressor and the victim of aggression, the saboteur of the Geneva Accords and those who have always observed them. But their manoeuvres cannot cover up the hard fact that the U.S. has time and again declared itself not bound by the Geneva Agreements, wrecked their basic provisions through their support of the Saigon puppet administration, introduction of their own and satellite troops into South Vietnam to conduct a war of aggression and even making use of its air force to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, thus encroaching more and more crudely upon Vietnam's territory.

Among the hypocritical farces put up by the U.S. imperialists there is the so-called "commitment" trick. L.B. Johnson has said: "We have committed ourselves to the Republic of Vietnam. We must stay in South Vietnam to defend the Vietnamese people". But their only commitment ever known and recognized by the world was the one solemnly made by General Bedell Smith, head of the U.S. government's delegation, at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina to the effect that the U.S. would refrain from the use of violence or threat to disturb the implementation of these agreements. There is not a

single provision in the agreements allowing the U.S. to commit aggression against Vietnam and to encroach upon the D.R.V. On the contrary, all these provisions have clearly stated that all the participating countries of the 1954 Geneva Conference including the U.S. have no right whatsoever to meddle in the Vietnamese people's internal affairs. But the U.S. imperialist aggressors have brazenly and systematically denied this solemn commitment. As for the so-called South Vietnamese administration, judging from its origin, its juridical basis as well as the treacherous activities of its members, everybody must be aware that they are agents promoted and discarded at will by their bosses, the U.S. imperialists, who even have them murdered if need be. Between the Yankee bosses and their stooges such as Diem and Nhu in the past, and Thieu and Ky at present, there is not any valid commitment with regard to the Vietnamese people and international convention. All contrary allegations are but fantasies created by the U.S. imperialists to justify their aggression against Vietnam and camouflage their sabotage of the Geneva Agreements.

Facts nowadays have proved that each time they talk of "desire for peace", "unconditional discussions", "return to the Geneva Agreements" and of "living up to their commitment", the U.S. imperialists introduce more troops and weapons into South Vietnam, step up the bombing and strafing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, kill more of our compatriots and sow more destruction on our country. Ever since April 7 last year when L. Johnson called for "unconditional discussions" in his Baltimore speech, not a single month has passed without additional U.S. and satellite troops being dispatched to South Vietnam. For instance, last year, in May, a batch of as many as 15,000 troops and

17 warships were brought in, while in July, September and October, a force of about 20,000 men was introduced each month. Since the day when L. Johnson made his Baltimore speech, 100,000 U.S. troops and 30,000 South Korean, Australian, and New Zealand troops have been dispatched to South Vietnam. Bombing raids against North Vietnam have been extended farther inland and have become all the fiercer. At the same time, "special warfare" is being stepped up in Laos and provocative acts against Cambodia intensified.

As Premier Pham Van Dong said: To the U.S. imperialists, "peace" means war, "peaceful stand" means war goals, "peaceful means" signifies war means, and "unconditional discussions" means acceptance by the Vietnamese people of U.S. terms.

In opposition to the U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention and war, the stand of the Vietnamese people and government is to struggle to the end for independence and peace. But to have genuine peace, there must be genuine independence.

Thoroughly understanding the significance and value of the Geneva Agreements, the South Vietnamese people who have again and again in different forms expressed their legitimate aspirations for peace, independence, democracy, welfare and above all, the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, have always strictly implemented the Geneva Agreements and demanded their strict application by the other side.

Confronted with these ardent aspirations and legitimate demands, the U.S. imperialists and their puppets have been using bombs and shells to massacre several hundred thousand people and detaining millions of others in prisons and more or less disguised concentration camps. Under the most sinister and blood-thirsty regime

in their national history, the South Vietnamese people are deprived of human fundamental rights and their lives are constantly threatened.

U.S.- puppet repression and terror became extremely fierce by the end of 1959. Having no other alternative, the South Vietnamese people had to rise up in arms and fight the enemy resolutely.

It was just because of this powerful movement involving millions of our compatriots and as a response to the urgent demands of the people that the National Front for Liberation came into being on December 20, 1960. As was pointed out in its Manifesto, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, founded in the supreme interests of the Fatherland, pledges its determination to fight to the end for the most urgent and legitimate aspirations of the people in keeping with the progressive trends of the world.

The Front's goals are to unite the people of all strata, classes, national minorities, political parties, mass organizations, religious and patriotic personalities, irrespective of political tendencies in order to overthrow the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and advance towards peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation with this correct programme has raised aloft the glorious banner of unity and national salvation, mobilizing and organizing all patriotic forces in South Vietnam for the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Under its leadership, the South Vietnamese people have within a few years, won greater and greater victories and successively frustrated all aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists. At present, it is controlling more than four-fifths of South Vietnamese territory

and a population of over 10 million. It is taking in hand the destiny of South Vietnam. As the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, it must have the decisive voice in the settlement of the South Vietnam problem. It has largely contributed to the enhancing of Vietnam's prestige before the world.

Today, when the 5th anniversary of the founding of the Front has just been enthusiastically celebrated throughout our country, and the world, and in an atmosphere of affection and joy in which the delegation of heroes and outstanding fighters of the South were welcomed by their Northern compatriots, I want to express, on behalf of our conference and the Northern intellectuals, our fraternal love, boundless confidence and profound gratitude to the Front and its Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho and to the Southern army and people. I wish that the heroic South Vietnamese people may win greater victories and succeed in defeating the U.S. aggressors, liberating the South, defending the North and achieving peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

In face of the U.S. imperialist aggressors' frantic efforts to step up and expand the war, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation solemnly declared on March 22, 1965 that the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces are resolved never to slacken their hold on their arms until they have reached their goals: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They are determined to continue dealing thunder blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and will surely win final victory.

At the same time, the Front also made it clear that any negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment would be utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw

from South Vietnam their troops and all kinds of war materials together with those of their satellites, if they do not dismantle all their military bases in South Vietnam, if the South Vietnamese people have not yet won back their independence and democratic rights, and if the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation — their only authentic representative — does not have the decisive voice.

This is the unshakable will of the South Vietnamese people and the essence of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

The unswerving principle of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has always been strictly to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Confronted with the extremely serious situation created by the U. S. imperialists through their expanding the war in South Vietnam and cynical aerial attacks on North Vietnam, Premier Pham Van Dong solemnly declared at the April 8, 1965 session of the D. R. V. National Assembly: "The unswerving policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is to respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and to strictly and loyally implement their basic provisions embodied in the following points:

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. must withdraw from South Vietnam all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, and cancel its military alliance with South Vietnam. It must in fact end its policy of intervention and aggression in

South Vietnam. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. government must also stop its acts of war against the D.R.V. and end for ever all encroachments on the latter's sovereign territory.

2. Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries and there must be no foreign military bases, troops and military personnel on their respective territory.

3. The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves, in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation without any foreign interference.

4. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

This stand springs from the 1954 Geneva Agreements and is aimed at the full respect for, and thorough implementation of, their basic provisions.

This stand is fully in agreement with the present reality when the U.S. imperialists are committing an aggression against Vietnam. It urgently demands of the U.S. imperialist aggressors an immediate end to their bombing and strafing of North Vietnam and to their war of aggression in South Vietnam, and the withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops from this area.

This stand stems from the profound aspirations of the Vietnamese people in both zones, which have been expressed in the programme of the Vietnam Fatherland

Front and of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, viz : the construction of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam. The Vietnamese people have been struggling for this noble goal, they will struggle to the finish to obtain it.

This stand originates from a primordial necessity of our time that all nations, big or small, have the right and capacity to decide for themselves their own destinies and that no foreign country should be allowed to meddle in their internal affairs. The Vietnamese people will fight to the end fully to exercise this unalienable right to self-determination of all nations.

Any solution which puts into the same bag the aggressor and the victim of aggression, which does not compel the aggressor to stop his aggression, which does not respect the right to self-determination of all nations, which does not recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, is not in keeping with the fundamental spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements nor can it satisfy the deep aspirations of the Vietnamese people in both zones of the country and the world people's aspirations for peace and justice. Such a solution will not lead to the settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Johnson's mendacious and fallacious allegations are not aimed at finding, nor can they help find, a solution to the Vietnam problem.

As the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement of January 4, 1966 on the U.S. "peace efforts" has reaffirmed once more : "So long as the U.S. imperialists carry on their aggressive war in Vietnam, use troops of the U.S. and its satellite countries and conduct air raids against the D.R.V. the Vietnamese people in both zones will resolutely resist to the end and fulfil their sacred

task of defending their Fatherland's sovereignty and national independence, and contributing to the defence of world peace."

The 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the sole correct basis for a settlement of the Vietnam problem.

3. The whole world is resolutely opposing U.S. aggression and actively supporting the Vietnamese people's just struggle

In fact, the Vietnam problem has become the focal problem of international political life and a fundamental question posed to the conscience of our time.

The Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle is closely linked with the revolutionary struggle waged by the world peoples, with the cause of national liberation, that of socialist construction and the safeguarding of world peace. In short, it is closely linked with the most fundamental goals pursued by all mankind at this present stage of history.

✓ The world peoples have fully realized that should the U.S. imperialists win the war in Vietnam, not only would the independence of Vietnam be lost but the independence of other peoples would be violated and world peace seriously threatened. On the contrary if the U.S. imperialists are completely defeated in Vietnam, if this country strong with the support of the whole world succeeds in smashing their aggressive will, not only will the independence of Vietnam be safeguarded but the independence of other peoples will also be consolidated, world peace will be strengthened and the threat of another world war pushed back.

In Vietnam, independence and peace are inter-related. Independence and peace in Vietnam are closely linked with independence and peace in the whole world.

The Asian-African Peoples' Solidarity Conference, held in Winneba in May 1965, has pointed out :

"The just and sacred struggle waged by the entire Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression for national liberation is the struggle of all Asian and African peoples."

The World Conference for Peace held in Helsinki in July last year also expressed its deep gratitude to the heroic Vietnamese people for their great sacrifice in the just struggle for their own independence, for the liberation of all other peoples and for world peace.

The Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle is of great international significance.

It has won deeper and broader sympathy and support of the world people. The more the U.S. imperialists' warlike and ruthless nature is revealed, the stronger the world people's opposition to them.

It is being realized more and more clearly that the U.S. imperialists are the common enemy of the peace- and justice-loving people in the world and the most dangerous enemy of mankind at present.

Prompted by their noble proletarian internationalism and clear realization that the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression is also a struggle for the defence of socialism, national liberation and world peace, all the brother socialist countries are doing their utmost to supporting the Vietnamese people morally and materially. Protests against U.S. aggression are being voiced everywhere in the socialist camp. The Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries have been active in supplying the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with necessary means to increase

her defence potential, and will continue to give the Vietnamese people all necessary means to deal counterblows at the U.S. imperialists' aggression. The recognition of the Permanent Representations of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation by socialist countries and by several other countries in Asia and Africa and the promotion by Cuba of the Front's Permanent Representation to the rank of an official diplomatic representation have greatly rejoice the entire Vietnamese people. The wholehearted support of these countries constitutes a strong prop to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

In all other countries, the popular movements in support of Vietnam are keeping pace with the movement against imperialism and old and new colonialism led by U.S. imperialism. In Laos, Cambodia, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, in the newly-independent countries in Africa and Latin America and among the progressive people in the capitalist countries, these popular movements are gaining scope and momentum, combining political struggle with armed struggle and will irresistibly come out victorious.

At important international conferences resolutions have been adopted voicing support for the Vietnamese people's struggle and opposition to the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war. Special conferences on Vietnam, moreover, have been organized, such as the Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Vietnam (Hanoi, October 1963 and June 1965), the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and For the Defence of Peace (Hanoi, November 1964), etc,

In the U.S.A. the popular movement in support of the Vietnamese people by American intellectuals, students, youths, women, democratic and progressive organizations, peace and religious organizations, Negro and White Americans, is surging and closely combined with the struggle against Johnson's "dirty war" which is outraging the conscience of large numbers of American citizens, against military conscription which leads the American youths to shameful death in Vietnam for the benefit of a handful of weapon dealers, against racial discrimination which has grossly violated the basic rights of the American Negroes and has caused the murder of a great number of them during savage repressions, against the Johnson clique's extremely dangerous policy of war and for the realization of democratic freedoms and the improvement of the American people's material and moral standards.

This was correctly pointed out in an open letter sent by 650 American professors to L.B. Johnson on October 31 last year:

"The American people themselves," it said, "are undergoing a brutalizing and degrading experience...

Only by opposing your present policy in Vietnam openly and vigorously can we do our part in trying to bring about peace and to protect the moral integrity of our nation.

Let us give the people of Vietnam the chance to work out their own peace "as has been provided for by the Geneva Agreements, whatever the political regime they may choose."

At present, a world people's front against U. S. aggression has been practically formed, and a Vietnam-U.S. popular front against U.S. aggression in Vietnam has also come into being. These are factors of very great importance in

the struggle now taking place for peace, independence, democracy and social progress on a world-wide scale.

This is a great encouragement to the entire Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Intellectuals the world over.

Intellectuals in the U.S.A.,

From our combat positions in Vietnam we are following with deep emotion and boundless admiration the development of the movement of the people and intellectuals of the brother countries in the socialist camp and of the whole world in protest against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression and in support of our people's just struggle.

We cannot mention here the names of all the countries, organizations and individuals supporting us. They are so numerous. We can only say that there has never been such a world-wide movement of intellectuals in support of our people's struggle. Many scholars, scientists, professors, political personalities, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists, engineers, public figures, clergymen, etc. have participated in this movement in most varied forms from moral and political support to material assistance. A large number of intellectuals in the socialist countries and other countries in the world have volunteered to fight on our side in Vietnam.

The message that the British scientist Bertrand Russell addressed to the First Asian, African and Latin American People's Solidarity Conference in Havana has moved us profoundly. It particularly emphasized:

U.S. imperialism is an imperialism that lives on plunder. Particularly in Vietnam, its brutal and arrogant acts have reached a shocking point. After 25 years of

resistance to three big industrial powers, the Vietnamese people are still carrying on their fight. The Vietnamese are a heroic, indomitable people, their struggle is an epic. It moves the heart of people, and reminds us that when man dedicates himself to a noble ideal he will manifest a spirit which people can hardly imagine. Let us pay tribute to the Vietnamese people.

The militant sympathy of the British scientist and of other intellectuals of the world have strengthened in us the conviction that our people's struggle is an important contribution to the national liberation movement and the consolidation of peace waged by progressive mankind, an integral part of the common struggle in favour of the noblest human values with a view to making science serve man, and frustrating the criminal manoeuvres intended to exterminate mankind and human civilization.

✓ In the U.S.A., American intellectuals together with other American citizens have been actively supporting the popular movement in various ways, such as the large rallies held in various places, the teach-ins at many universities, the open letters to L.B. Johnson to protest against his "dirty war". We are particularly impressed by the joint statement by 4,500 American intellectuals including such prominent personalities as professors Gordon Christianson and Morgenthau, poet Robert Lowell, playwright Arthur Miller, scientist Linus Pauling, by the motion issued by the American "Lawyers Committee for the study of American Policy in Vietnam" and by the valiant campaign conducted by American Negroes against racial discrimination and the "dirty war".

✓ The "March on Washington" for peace in Vietnam organized by several mass organizations and famous

intellectuals in the U.S.A. on November 27, 1965 was an event of great significance. The Vietnamese people have followed it with emotion and learned with enthusiasm that the heroic struggle of their American friends has thrown the warlike and aggressive U.S. imperialists into embarrassment, exerted a great influence in the U.S.A. and strengthened the coordinated movement in various countries of the world.

✓ Whenever we think of Americans, we cannot help recalling with great emotion the noble examples of self-sacrifice set by Helga Herz, Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte and Celene Jankowski who have burnt themselves in protest against the aggressive war in Vietnam.

The strong support and the noble gestures of the American people and intellectuals clearly show the correctness of our stand when we distinguish the American people from the American aggressors as President Ho Chi Minh taught us. We have the firm conviction that the American people, by upholding the fine traditions of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, will succeed in obtaining an end to a war which is being waged contrary to their interests, to the constitution and honour of the U.S.A., to peace, freedom and equality among nations.

Dear friends,

Any words, actions and gestures of yours in support of our struggle will be a great inspiration to us.

Please accept our people's and our own profound gratitude. We highly value your attitude. We are very happy to wage jointly with you this struggle for the happiness of all nations, peace, social progress and world peace.

At present, the U.S. imperialists have still not renounced their aggressive schemes against our country. On the contrary they are carrying out new moves to intensify and expand the war, to bring pressure to bear on our people by their escalation and to mislead world opinion by their "peace negotiations" swindle, hoping to make our people lay down their weapons and capitulate at the conference table.

Therefore we earnestly call on the intellectuals all over the world including the American intellectuals to:

— Rise up more vigorously in protest against the barbarous and criminal aggressive war in Vietnam which sabotages peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

— Support more strongly the Vietnamese people's just struggle for independence and peace in Vietnam and in the world.

We suggest that you:

a) Fully support our struggle "against the U.S. aggressors for national salvation" morally, politically, materially and by every appropriate means.

b) Voice energetic support for the 4-point stand put forth on April 8, 1965 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the statement of March 22, 1965 of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in order to force the U.S. imperialists to end their sabotage warfare against the D.R.V. and their aggressive war in South Vietnam, withdraw all their and their satellites' troops from South Vietnam, respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, refrain from interfering in our internal affairs and let the Vietnamese people solve their own affairs by themselves.

c) Denounce President Johnson's "peace" and "unconditional discussions" hoaxes, in order to awake the world people's vigilance.

For our part, we will do our best to respond to your extremely valuable sympathy and support and that of the world people. We are determined not to abandon our fighting position, to stay within the ranks of the world people's front against U.S. imperialist aggression, to fight until complete victory for the independence, national reunification and peace of our country, for peace and security of the world peoples and for friendship among nations.

PART II

Developing their glorious national tradition, thoroughly understanding the Party's line of struggle against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese intellectuals are resolved to serve production, and stand ready to fight, to contribute to the victory of the anti-aggression struggle and of socialist construction

1. For 25 years now the Vietnamese people have carried aloft the banner of national independence, peace and social progress

The Vietnamese people cherish freedom and peace and have their independence at heart. In building and defending their country during the several thousand years of their history, they have always united, which has enabled them to oppose and defeat an aggressor superior in number and strength.

Since the middle of the 19th century when the French colonialists began to invade the South of our country, our people upholding their glorious tradition of indomitability put up a grim and unrelenting resistance despite fierce repression. The patriotic banner of Truong Dinh, the first national hero in our people's history against

colonialism and imperialism, has been handed down from one generation to another. This tradition is symbolized by the red flag with the shining golden star of the August Revolution, the banner of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first democratic state in our history, which has ushered in a new era in the life of our people.

Voicing our whole nation's aspirations for freedom, independence and peace, President Ho Chi Minh solemnly declared to the world at the Ba Dinh square in 1945:

"Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence, and has in fact become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are resolved to devote all their strength, their lives and property, to maintaining that right to freedom and independence."

This oath of independence is echoing not only in our hearts now but will echo for ever in the hearts of future generations.

For the sake of freedom, independence and peace, we signed the Preliminary Accords of March 6, 1946, and the Modus Vivendi of September 14, 1946 to rid ourselves of an intervention by U.S. imperialism* and to consolidate the gains of the August Revolution.

For the sake of freedom, independence and peace, we unanimously responded to the call of President Ho Chi Minh: "Rather sacrifice everything than lose our independence and be enslaved". We stood up as one man against the "dirty war" launched by the French colonialist aggressors. We waged a nine-year hard resistance war and carried the day.

For the sake of freedom, independence and peace, we fought and won a brilliant victory at Dienbienphu and

* Through the channel of Chiang Kai-shek (Publ.)

signed the 1954 Geneva Agreements, bringing an end to the hostilities all over Indochina, completely liberating half of our country, foiling the French colonialists' attempt at aggression and checking the U.S. imperialists' scheme to prolong and expand the war. Thus we have contributed to the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, and laid a juridical basis for the abolition of the colonialist system while preventing the emergence and development of neo-colonialism.

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Since peace was restored in 1954, under the clearsighted leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our people entirely liberated North Vietnam, quickly healed the wounds of war, put into effect land reform, completed in the main agricultural and handicraft cooperativization and carried out by peaceful means the transformation of private industry and trade. At present, we are bending all our energies to achieve socialist industrialization, gradually lay the material and technical bases of socialism, develop agriculture and industry, science and technology, speed up the cultural and ideological revolution, advance steadily and step by step in building an independent economy, continuously raising our living standards, and bringing into full play our role as a rear base in the struggle to peacefully reunify our country.

The brilliant achievements recorded in the eleven years of construction in North Vietnam unquestionably prove that once they have become masters of their destiny, the Vietnamese people led by the Party, are fully capable

of building socialism without having to go through capitalist development. The marked progress made by our people in the social, political and ideological fields, in the building of the material and technical bases of socialism and in the training of a new contingent of cadres, and the emergence among all strata of the people of new men, socialist, industrious and valiant, optimistic and creative, constitute eloquent demonstrations of our people's great vitality, the excellency of our regime, and the spirit of solidarity and mutual assistance among the socialist countries. These achievements have exerted a deep and broad impact inside and outside the country. A young American woman has expressed from the bottom of her heart this wish to President Ho Chi Minh: "I should like to live one day in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; that is my earnest aspiration because in my opinion the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the most beautiful, progressive, democratic and justice-loving country in the world."

We are well aware that we shall experience many more difficulties. But the young American's confidence in our future further confirms the correctness of the road we are following. We feel all the more proud of our Party; more resolute to defend the fruit of the revolution, more conscious of our responsibility towards the cause of peace, independence and progress of our people.

These brilliant achievements have overjoyed our compatriots in the South, given them more confidence and enthusiasm, stimulated them to fight still harder against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and eventually reunify our Fatherland.

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Since early last year, after sustaining bitter setbacks, the U.S. imperialists have been intensifying their aggression in South Vietnam and attacking North Vietnam with their air force. Our people's revolution has switched over to a new phase now, that of our whole country being in a state of war.

All our thirty-one million people have stood up in response to the appeal of President Ho Chi Minh: "Our people are living a glorious epoch of our history. To oppose the U.S. aggressors and save our country is today the sacred task of every Vietnamese patriot."

The South Vietnamese armed forces and people are fighting ever harder and more bitterly to liberate the South and defend the North. Our compatriots in the North are eagerly emulating one another in production while engaging in a valiant fight to defend the North and support the revolution for the liberation of the South.

The entire Vietnamese people united as one man are determined to defeat the U.S. invaders.

With their destruction warfare in North Vietnam and the massive introduction of troops into South Vietnam, the aggressors think they can intimidate our people in both zones and at the same time threaten the people of the socialist countries and the world people. But far from flinching, our people with more hatred are closing their ranks and fighting still more vigorously. Aware of the brutal and machiavellian nature of the U.S. warmongers, people all round the world have firmly stood up against them and support our cause more energetically.

In their determination to defeat the American aggressors, the armed forces and people in the North have shot down over 850 American modern planes of various types, shattering the myth of "U.S. air supremacy", protected people's lives and property and defended the material

and technical bases of socialism. This is an encouragement for people throughout the country and a source of joy and confidence for our friends in the world.

Eager "to carry out production while fighting", the army and people in North Vietnam keep firm hold of their hammers, ploughs and guns while doing their best to surmount all the difficulties created by the U.S. sabotage from the air. They continue to boost agricultural and industrial production, ensure communications and transport, maintain and expand the flow of goods and have increased the national income in spite of the state of war. Never have our peasants, by applying science and technology, reaped such good harvests as in the last two years. Over 20 per cent of our cooperatives have attained their target of 5 tons of rice per hectare per year. The provinces in the former Fourth Zone (from Thanhhoa to the demarcation line-Pub.) have brought in record harvests in conditions of fierce fighting. Buffaloes, cows, pigs have grown in number. In industry, we have multiplied capital construction and enlarged industrial establishments. In particular, we have expanded and increased the network of local industry and handicrafts, thus strengthening the relations between industry and agriculture and helping various localities realize "on-the-spot logistics". Our communications and transport service has kept going in spite of the enemy's fierce attacks. As a result, the communications between various areas within our country and with foreign countries have not only been ensured but also developed in certain regions. Although North Vietnam is at war, the prices of goods remain stable, the people's living conditions are not only maintained at normal level, but also improved in certain fields. Along with the technical revolution the socialist relations of production in all branches have

been improved steadily and satisfactorily. Due to a reform in education and an intensified training of cadres, this school-year (1965 — 1966) has opened with the greatest ever known number of pupils and schools. The number of cadres trained at home and abroad is higher than in the preceding years. In production, examples of heroism are found everywhere. After ten months of sabotage air attacks by the U.S. imperialists, North Vietnam, the rear of the revolution for the whole country, has been further consolidated.

In the South, the Johnson-McNamara plan has already met with a serious setback. The U.S. massive military build-up has failed to change the relation of forces and hinder the people's revolutionary movement. The more U.S. troops are dispatched to South Vietnam the higher their losses. The American imperialists have boasted that with the end of the rainy season their position has improved whereas the "Viet Cong" 's activities have declined. But in reality, in the first nine months of last year, the Liberation armed forces annihilated 27 enemy battalions, wiped out 8,080 American officers and men, destroyed over 600 planes, and disintegrated hundreds of thousands of puppet troops. It is to be noted that as the U.S. put in massive reinforcements, the South Vietnamese army and people recorded greater and greater victories. At the beginning of the dry season they boasted that from then onwards the "Viet Cong" would have to "phase down" from large-scale actions to small-unit operations. But, the truth is that during last October and November, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people hit the enemy harder, with more concentrated forces than ever, completely wiped out 19 U.S. and puppet battalions including 4 armoured U.S. battalions and 4 U.S. infantry

battalions, that is three-quarters of the total of enemy battalions annihilated in the first nine months of 1965. The South Vietnam Liberation armed forces have made big progress in tactics and technique. Their combat skill has remarkably increased. At the beginning, they could destroy only small units here and there, they are now capable of wiping out battalions and entire tactical groups. Regional armed forces and guerillas have also been able to annihilate whole enemy companies. Several units considered as the most modern and among the best have been knocked out of action. Meanwhile, the Liberation Army, especially the regional armed forces and guerillas have continued to thin out American and puppet troops, preventing them from supporting each other. Also in October and November last, the Liberation forces strongly attacked the enemy's logistic and air bases and destroyed 300 American aircraft, half as many as those destroyed in the first nine months of 1965. In December, the South Vietnam Liberation Army won big victories at Dautieng, Dongduong not far from Saigon; were active in all theatres of operations and annihilated hundreds of pilots right in Saigon.

As President Nguyen Huu Tho said in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the fifth founding anniversary of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on December 20, 1965, "Our position is now more stable and our forces stronger than ever before. The big victories we have won bear a profound political and military significance. All this constitutes a firm basis for us to utterly foil the bellicose and aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and achieve the complete liberation of our beloved country."

Now that we look back to the year 1965, the first year of our people's fight against the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, we feel more confident with the coming

of the new year. The big trial in 1965 has clearly shown us the factors which make our final victory certain:

1. Our people's struggle for national salvation is a just and revolutionary one. It is carried out under a clear-sighted leadership and along a correct political and military line in accordance with Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the specific conditions of our country.

2. Our people have a noble tradition of solidarity in the fight against foreign invasion. Tempered in the flames of the August Revolution, the resistance war against the French colonialists, and the present struggle against the American aggressors, this solidarity has grown stronger than ever.

3. Our people's war has an ever-mounting force and extremely varied forms of action. We keep the initiative in all circumstances, continually driving the enemy into a defensive position. With the South, the Brass Wall of the Fatherland, as the great front and the socialist North as the great rear, our people's war in both zones sweeps like a storm.

4. We enjoy the sympathy and support of the socialist camp, the international communist and workers' movement, the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world. As for the U.S. imperialists, they have been driven into more serious isolation every day and everywhere even in the United States.

Our people will certainly win.

The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated.

However, at present, the U.S. warmongers still persist in their scheme of intensifying and extending the aggressive war in South Vietnam, and are stepping up escalation against North Vietnam, in an attempt to intimidate our people in both parts of the country. At the same

time, they are fanning up the flames of war in Laos and increasing provocations against Cambodia, thus threatening the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of our two neighbouring and friendly countries.

Facing such a situation, our people have to make deep changes in their way of thinking and style of work so as to develop to the utmost their ability to take initiative in all circumstances and further heighten their fighting spirit and their sense of responsibility and have a truly revolutionary attitude in their work. This will help them strengthen their solidarity and determination to defeat the American aggressors and carry on the building of socialism with a view to bringing to complete victory their cause of national salvation and socialist construction.

What shall we, intellectuals, do?

2. The Vietnamese intellectuals in the resistance war against the French colonialists

The past twenty years constitute a decisive turning point in our history. Through the unflinching struggle against the Japanese, the French and then the American imperialist invaders, our people have been tempered into an iron bloc, firmly holding the destiny of the country in their hands. Our people have been successfully, step by step building socialism in the North, defeating one after another all the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists in the South. At present, they are becoming stronger and stronger in the fight against the enemy's design of intensifying, expanding and prolonging the war. Formerly few people knew about our nation. Now the world is looking towards Southeast Asia, expressing its sympathy with our people, and giving an ever more vigorous support to our great struggle.

During these twenty-five arduous and glorious years, we, Vietnamese intellectuals, have kept pace with our people in their march forward.

Before the August Revolution, in response to the call and under the leadership of the vanguard Party of the proletariat, many of us took part in or supported the extremely hard struggle waged by the labouring people for national independence, freedom and democracy. This struggle aimed also at achieving a national, scientific and popular culture.

When the August Revolution triumphed many more intellectuals rallied around the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, and earnestly participated in the building of the people's democratic regime in the whole of liberated Vietnam. For the first time, our brain was set free together with the creative labour of the entire people. But a month later, the French colonialists started aggression in the South. The resistance war began and on December 19, 1946 it assumed a nation-wide scale. The intellectuals sided with the resistance, full of enthusiasm and confidence. The example of President Ho Chi Minh, comrades Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, symbols of the intelligentsia, the working class and the nation, encouraged them to follow the armed revolutionary struggle. Many joined the army, and together with the peasant-soldiers marched southward or westward or went to the maquis or remained in the capital to fight the enemy. A number of them fell but their deaths filled their comrades with greater determination and strength. Many became medical workers, arms producers or engineers putting their knowledge and creative activities at the service of the front. Others taught in schools from anti-illiteracy classes to universities, swelling the ranks of cadres and fostering them while

endeavouring to create a contingent of intellectuals from among the workers and peasants. Others again worked in government offices, contributing to the building of the State machine and to the intricate management of the people's democratic regime which had to tackle the problem of production while conducting the war.

For the first time, we came to realize that: in the face of a rash enemy with large numbers of troops and weapons and many experiences in the technique of repression and war making, our people imbued with deep hatred, closely united into a solid bloc and having a high spirit of self-reliance and boundless confidence in the Party, could win more and more victories as they fought and became stronger with every passing day.

Also for the first time, we realized clearly that under the new regime, the intellectuals had practically served the people and given substantial contributions and that the more they served, the more their abilities developed.

We have clearly seen the decisive role of the collective and the profound significance of the Party's line. The collective is our sweet home, the source of our strength and the melting-pot to temper our virtues, style of work and thoughts. It is a fertile soil to foster and develop every individual. The Party's line is the compass showing the way to all victories; it is the weapon of our struggle, the basis to achieve solidarity and the inexhaustible source of all strength. It is not a God send, it stems from the people then returns to the people to serve them.

Together with the people, we join in building the the Party's line in the process of grasping and implementing it. In applying it, our people and we intellectuals are the real masters of our country.

Our regime is really democratic. That is why nobody can deceive us with the faked democracy of the bourgeois regime. Armed with this conception and those feelings, we warmly hailed democratic reforms such as reduction of land rent and agricultural taxes which were put into effect in the last few years of the resistance war. We particularly acclaimed and made active contributions to bringing the land reform to success, thus putting an end to the age-old feudal regime which had existed in our country. This increased our strength to defeat the French aggressive army and march forward to win historic victories at Dienbienphu and in Geneva.

3. The North Vietnamese intellectuals in socialist construction

Since the restoration of peace, in completely liberated North Vietnam, we intellectuals have, together with our people, emulated one another in rehabilitating our country and enthusiastically engaged in the social, cultural, ideological and technical revolutions to build socialism by steady steps. The fine aspirations we have been nurturing in our heart for a long time have now become part of the great goal of the struggle of our people, namely, to abolish the exploitation of man by man, to put an end to poverty and backwardness and rapidly make our country catch up with advanced countries in the world. Deeply aware that revolution is the cause of the masses, our people's democratic regime on the one hand has vigorously broadened the contingent of intellectuals from among the workers and peasants, and on the other, brought science, technology, culture and art to the masses of the working people.

We have rapidly and basically eliminated illiteracy and practically popularized primary education in the whole of North Vietnam.

We have made efforts to apply modern medicine to the conditions of our country by giving priority to prophylaxis and by combining Eastern and Western medicines, which is possible only under the new regime. We have recorded big achievements in developing medicine and in improving the people's health. Such chronic diseases as trachoma and malaria have been basically wiped out, such epidemics as cholera, diarrhoea widespread in the South no longer threaten the North. The average life expectation of our people in the North now approximates 59 years. The infant mortality rate has been reduced to one of the lowest in the world.

Beside these two fine realizations of the regime — education and public health — others embellish the spring of socialism in North Vietnam.

In agronomy, our intellectuals persistently combine teaching and research work with their activities in the agricultural cooperation movement. In this movement, together with the peasants, they engage in production and carry out technical experiments and improvements. In so doing they are firmly confident that they bring knowledge to the peasants so that they may apply and develop it, and, at the same time, they themselves learn long-standing experiences which they strive to raise to a theoretical level and help them determine the basic themes for agronomic research in our country. The big result of this orientation is that after ten years of hard but enthusiastic work, our agronomy has played a worthy part in increasing productivity, crop yield and in multiplying our cattle, thereby contributing to the elaboration of

the scientific basis of our Party's revolutionary policy of intensive cultivation to raise productivity. On the other hand, we have, through our direct participation in the transformation of the relations of production in the countryside, tempered our character, strengthened our class stand and mass viewpoint, and acquired a dynamic and practical style of work.

In industry, building and communications, during the past eleven years of peaceful construction, there have been built almost from scrap in funds, raw materials, knowledge and experiences, about 2,000 big and small factories for heavy and light industries, millions of square metres of housing space, thousands of bridges, tens of thousands of kilometres of roads and railways and irrigation canals. During the first years of construction, we enjoyed at home and abroad the assistance of the scientists, engineers and workers of the socialist countries in guidance, teaching and training. At present, except for some new and big projects, all others are designed and built by ourselves. We have designed electric pumps, diesel motors, locomotives, carriages, tank-cars, small and medium-sized ships, post and telecommunication machinery, and many machines for equipping our agriculture, light industry and handicrafts.

Thanks to these enthusiastic efforts exerted by thousands of engineers, technicians and workers who have stood shoulder to shoulder with, and learned from one another in designing as well as in building, only ten years after the restoration of peace, we are proud of having made worthy contributions to the big achievements recorded by North Vietnam in equipping by ourselves over 20 per cent of our national economy, providing ourselves with almost all items of light industry that

we need. In the movement aimed at promoting innovations and improving technique, and that of the "Three for" and "Three against" we have trained a new contingent of intellectuals with high class consciousness, increasing technical level, ardent revolutionary zeal and strong will to go forward. The two-year water conservancy drive of great revolutionary significance which involved millions of technicians, workers, peasants, and leading cadres, shows the inexhaustible strength of the masses "marching into science and technology" to fulfil their production task and transform nature.

A task quite new for us, formerly regarded as the exclusive hunting ground of the French colonialists, is prospecting the natural resources and investigating into the natural conditions of our country. It will help our people in a fundamental way become the real masters of their destiny. This task has been stepped up.

With an enthusiasm unknown before, our workers in geology, hydraulics, meteorology, pedology, oceanography, map drawing, researchers in medicinal plants, forestry, botany, zoology, entomology, have dug into the secrets of our tropical country, so diversified and so beautiful. Working near impetuous rapides, on remote high peaks, in dense jungles or on the high sea, they have collected many documents and drawn up data serving production, national defence, prevention against typhoons, floods, tides and crop insects to help efficiently work out long or short-term State plans and create favourable conditions for our peasants, fishermen and other labouring people to struggle against natural calamities, to best arrange their work and thoroughly tap their country's wealth.

In a word, we can say that thanks to the efforts exerted in basic prospection in the past eleven years, our

scientists and people now know more, and more accurately, the natural conditions of our country than in the bygone several thousand years.

In recent years, we have not overlooked the development of those branches dealing with theoretical studies, aware that without theory we cannot promote the revolution in science, technique, culture and ideology, go forward to meet the requirements of the socialist revolution, nor bring out and demonstrate the superiority of our regime and gain the upper hand in the vital struggle between the two paths in the world at present, socialist and capitalist. Failing this, we would encounter avoidable difficulties in leading our country on the glorious but very difficult path toward socialism by bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Though at the present stage the task of those branches is to train cadres and carry out organizational work, we have already made initial steps full of promises in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology and geography. Some of the works done are of high quality. Besides natural sciences, we have set up and developed many branches dealing with literature, linguistics, economy, history, ethnology, archeology and Marxism-Leninism. We have not only raised our theoretical level but also begun turning our attention to serving and making ever more effective contributions to the cultural and ideological revolution in North Vietnam. At the same time, we have been combating the backward and reactionary viewpoints which the U.S. imperialists are trying to spread in South Vietnam.

Since their First Congress, cultural and art workers have made steady steps forward. From serving the broad masses they have become able to produce good works as to their artistic value, ideological level and national character.

In the resistance war, leaving their towers of ivory where their activities were to serve a small number of amateurs, the writers and artists engaged in a new life. It was the life of the heroic fighters of the powerful people's army, of the workers endeavouring to innovate and produce arms and munitions which helped us to cope with and vanquish the crack army of a big industrial country. It was the life of the devoted war supply workers, of the peasants striving to obtain better crops in order to cater for the front and the protracted war. It was the beautiful and many-sided life of tens of national minorities which contributed to the formation of the age-old and rich culture of the Vietnamese people. Theatrical and dance troupes have enriched our traditional heritage and made painstaking efforts in creation and training to serve the workers, peasants and armymen, while helping them engage in art creation and performance for their own pleasure. Moreover, our cultural and art workers have done an extremely valuable thing by depicting to bequeath to the future generations, the finest and most stirring images of our people in fighting and production during the resistance war in their musical notes, poems, paintings and folk songs.

Since the restoration of peace, they have enthusiastically entered a new period with a nobler goal in view: to serve the grand socialist construction and the building of a culture and art national in character and socialist in content. In the past eleven years, culture and art have strongly developed. They have expanded, attained a higher level and gone deep into our people's great life, in harmony with it and with the far-reaching transformation of our society.

The cultural and art movement of the masses has been promoted more vigorously than ever, reflecting the enthusiasm of the labouring masses in building the material and technical bases of socialism, warmly welcoming the big changes advocated by the Party in the way of life and thinking, in the relations between man and man, and praising the new man of our society.

Our people's cultural patrimony has been searched, restored and exploited. Though only an initial step it is enough for us to see that under the deep influence of the French colonialists' distortions we greatly underestimated our cultural heritage. We have discovered that five thousand years ago, at Vaudien for example, we had already extremely fine stone jewels; three thousand years ago, we had an original and highly developed copper culture. In the eleventh century, we set up the Thai Hoc Vien, a sort of academy. Before the twelfth century, we had already elaborated our own script. In the fifteenth century, while Britain had hardly come out of the War of the Roses, we had our pleiad, the Tao Dan, which represented a flourishing period of the Vietnamese poetry. The folklore of the national minorities has been further studied, bringing us an exuberant and colourful source of sentiments and art creation, the dances, melodies and, first and foremost, the musical scales of the nationalities in the High Plateaux. Besides, we have acquainted ourselves with, and learnt from, foreign art, in particular the classical art of the West. We have also devoted efforts and time to study the basic problems of art according to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Ten years are not a long period of time, but thanks to our efforts, a culture and art has taken shape in its fundamental features and main orientation, national in character and socialist in content.

Fully aware that man is the most valuable asset, all our scientific, technical, literary and art branches have made all-out efforts to increase the contingent of intellectuals, especially from among the basic strata. Resolutely carrying out the Party's educational line we have contributed to the training of over 20,000 cadres with higher education and 90,000 with secondary education, who, together with tens of thousands of others are raising their level by themselves to assume the various tasks assigned them by the Party and Government. This contingent is a hundred times bigger than that before the Revolution and our intellectuals have completely remoulded themselves with regard to their ideology, devotion to the people, organizational ability as well as professional qualification. Most of our intellectuals come from labouring people's families. Women and those belonging to the national minorities account for an increasing proportion.

Carrying forward the glorious traditions of Nguyen Trai, Le Quy Don, Phan Dinh Phung and continuing the revolutionary cause of Le Hong Phong, Hoang Van Thu, To Hieu and others, this new contingent of intellectuals issued from the people, are making sacrifices in their struggle for the people, and enjoy their love and support. They are worthy of being a revolutionary army.

Looking back to the path they have traversed, strewn with hardships but also with brilliant achievements to transform nature, society and themselves, the Vietnamese intellectuals are rightly proud of their contributions to the people's revolutionary cause, of their rapid growth, and are deeply and forever grateful to the Party and President Ho Chi Minh who have educated and helped them.

4. Through the struggle against American aggression the North Vietnamese intellectuals have grown up together with our people.

Since the U.S. imperialists have frantically attacked North Vietnam, the revolution has switched over to a new form. Highly indignant and with deeper hatred, the intellectuals have been still more active in taking a direct part, together with our compatriots in the South as well as in the North, in the fight to wipe out the enemy. A number of them have joined the army while others are zealously serving the struggle by all means in their respective jobs. The new situation reminded a great many among them of the past resistance war against the French colonialists; they then left their cosy homes and embarked on a new life, a knapsack on their shoulders. All their work tools consisted of no more than a pen, a note-book or a musical instrument. Yet they fulfilled their tasks successfully.

But things are different now. We are now staging a technical revolution and a cultural and ideological revolution whose great contents have been laid down at the Third National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party and at the following sessions of its Central Committee. These contents are being actively put into effect and initial successes have been recorded.

With the development of science and culture, the intellectuals are bound to their technical installations, laboratories and observation stations. A few hours of electric cut would spoil years of study on a new specimen of microbe. A symphonic orchestra needs at least some trucks to carry the necessary equipment. The evacuation of the towns which might be bombed, and the setting up of new installations require considerable efforts from us.

We warmly welcome the Party's policy of carrying out production and fighting at the same time and of continuing socialist construction. We are struggling to defeat the U.S. aggressors in both South and North, to defend production, safeguard and push ahead the building of socialism. We produce to support a protracted struggle and to ensure that once peace is restored, we will step up socialist construction on a still larger scale.

The air attacks on North Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists remind us that over the past twenty years, our people as a whole have always carried out production and fighting alongside. In our former protracted resistance war we firmly grasped this policy and therefore won victory. In the past ten years, the South has been fighting and the North boosting production to build a solid basis for the struggle. Now, all our country is producing and fighting at the same time, with North Vietnam as the big revolutionary rear.

As the situation has become more pressing and the requirements of the revolution greater, we will make use of the people's mettle engendered by the fight against U.S. imperialism for national salvation to carry out more rapidly and better the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Third National Congress of the Party. The point is thoroughly to grasp the Party's line and to be determined to get in close contact with life, turn our mind toward the fighting localities, toward the mountain and coastal frontline areas in order to rearrange all our work properly. Naturally, we must face any situation with initiative, avoid conservatism and the cult of the old, and at the same time overcome our sluggish, formalistic and unrealistic peace-time style of work. In this respect, let the image of Nguyen Van Troi who

lived and died for the revolution, always optimistic and never lacking initiative, be an example for us all.

Once again, we have gone deep into the realities of life, which have helped us settle many problems at first seemingly unsolvable. But unlike twenty years ago, we now enjoy many new and basic favourable conditions: our ranks are larger and stronger; we are better armed both professionally and ideologically. Most of us have been tempered in fighting and production. Moreover, the North has witnessed changes in the relations of production and the basic elimination of the exploitation of man by man. The economic and national defence potential have powerfully increased, and the cultural and scientific level of the masses have been raised. Revolutionary enthusiasm is prevailing among our entire people. Suffice it to go to the former Fourth Zone and the Vinhlinh area on the Seventeenth parallel to realize this truth more clearly and in every field: once the masses of the people are incensed by profound hatred for the enemy and grasp the Party's line, the further the U.S. imperialists step up their aggression, the heavier their defeat. The masses' struggle and victories stimulate their creative spirit, production is boosted, technique is improved, production norms in output and quality are overfulfilled and the study and popularization of science and technique are more heartily welcomed and successfully carried out. Thus, the building of socialism will be more strongly impelled. We have heard of miracles of this kind in the South, now we witness similar ones in the North itself.

General education has developed more powerfully than ever before: there are now 3,000,000 full-time pupils and 1,000,000 grown-ups attending spare-time complementary classes and more than 100,000 teachers.

The medical service is vigorously spreading to the districts and villages. It is building in one year a network about ten times larger than that established in many previous years. The experiences of the former Fourth zone in serving the fight has elucidated many medical problems and helped improve leadership in professional work as well.

Agricultural workers, particularly those sent out by training schools and institutes, were welcomed and assisted by the people in the rural areas. This has enabled them rapidly to turn to account their knowledge in service of the recent summer and winter crops. Thus they could find out in what concrete direction a network of experimental installations should be erected as a basis for deeper study of ways and means to practise intensive cultivation in all parts of North Vietnam.

Technical workers, including groups specializing in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and geography, have found the best ground to develop their abilities in service of national defence, communications and transport.

On the main communication lines which have been bearing the brunt of enemy air attacks, engineers and mathematic cadres have solved hard problems in theory as in practice. We have repaired old bridges and built new ones, ferried trucks across rivers, dug new canals, repaired and built roads, and regulated transport by most original methods, both modern and rudimentary.

Sent to various localities, our engineers in machine building, electricity, metallurgy and chemistry, have contributed to the construction of local industry and made industry actively serve agriculture. In a number of places we can find in thatched houses groups of technical cadres of various branches of the same age,

forming some kind of researchers' co-operatives, who together determine the themes and direction of their researches. In co-ordination with the local Party Committees, they mobilize the masses to undertake experiments and applications. It is necessary to develop further this form of co-operation, for it is an extremely important factor in the technical revolution. Basic prospection in the recent period has met certain difficulties because the requirements of our country became higher whereas some working conditions have not yet been stabilized. But our engineers have endeavoured to overcome those difficulties, gradually rearranged their organization, improved their observation and recording methods, applied more suitable ones and relied more on the people whose cultural level has been raised a great deal. Thanks to these efforts, prospection work continues to develop since the beginning of the dry season.

All branches of social sciences, less dependent on material and technical bases, have rapidly switched over to the study of the social struggles in our country. They thereby contribute to its social transformation and the fostering of the new man. They have played their part in determining the law of social development in Vietnam, in upholding the national spirit, and in heightening the masses' patriotism and understanding of Marxism-Leninism. They have also provided help to solve various questions related to the management of the State in the conditions of the fight against U.S. aggression, and to refute the distortions, ideologies and views widely spread by the enemy in the South and smuggled in the North. Despite the seriousness of the situation we carefully prepared and well organized the celebration of the 200th birth anniversary of Poet Nguyen Du, an event of great significance at home and abroad.

Working in different localities our specialists in historical, ethnological and linguistic sciences have made important discoveries serving production and the struggle against aggression.

The economic branches are studying the management in agricultural co-operatives, local industry and the mountain areas' economy in order to help bring into effect the new economic orientation required by the circumstances.

Cultural and art workers are enthusiastically penetrating into the people's life to serve production and fighting. To depict our new man and our new life in the present situation they have visited gun emplacements to make on-the-spot notes and sketches, plays and films, registering the glorious minutes lived by our army and people in their duel with the U.S. piratical planes. A number of elaborate works have been produced such as the films "*The Beacon Banner*" and "*Sea of Flames*" and the opera "*Young Sao*". A play and a film on Hero Nguyen Van Troi are being prepared. Many groups have split into smaller ones with light equipment to tour fighting areas such as Vinhlinh on the 17th parallel and other areas. At the same time, cultural and art activities in the localities have been normalized and strengthened, and the mass movement in creation and performance goes on developing. A number of co-operatives have their own troupes, a number of provinces have organized festivals to perform "Against U.S. aggression for national salvation" items.

One of our big successes is the splitting of colleges and middle professional schools, bringing these cultural centres to different places including the mountain regions to ensure security for study and research, and

simultaneously to serve scientific and technical development as well as production and fighting there. This creates further opportunities for our teachers and students to have closer contact with reality and the masses. Faced with the new circumstances our schools have revised their objectives and their programs to shorten the time of study, train more cadres, intensify political and ideological education, and attach more importance to production so that they may be self-sufficient in foodstuffs and equipment.

In short, the first year of the resistance against U.S. aggression has been one of great victories for our people and our intellectuals in particular. Our enemy has a high scientific and technical level, he is using modern means and nurturing machiavellian designs. To cope with him, we have an army which has been modernized, the material and technical bases of socialism built in the first steps, scientific, technical, cultural and art workers growing incessantly in number and qualification. The scientific and cultural level of the masses has been raised too, our social structure is an advanced and tightly knit one. That is why the intellectuals' role in the war for national salvation will become ever more important.

We are proud of the successes recorded by our heroic people, under the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist Party. We are also proud of our own contributions. In boldly penetrating into our people's life, we have seen that it is extremely beautiful, that our Party's line is completely correct and that we have every possibility to defeat the U.S. aggressors and continue to build socialism. We have seen just as well that our intellectuals are fully capable of serving production and fighting and of pushing further ahead the technical, cultural and ideological revolution.

In the heat of the struggle, whether in the mountain areas or at the front, we are better aware of the strength of the masses in the conquest of science and technology. We have acquired valuable experiences which will bring our national salvation war and our socialist revolution to complete victory.

5. Together with our people, the Vietnamese intellectuals are resolved to bring the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation and socialist revolution to complete victory

The struggle of our people against U.S. aggression will be harder and fiercer.

Our people from North to South have won great successes. We intellectuals have also recorded many achievements and drawn many experiences. But compared with the tasks lying ahead our achievements and experiences are but an initial step. To go forward, we have severely to review our shortcomings and weaknesses in thinking, style and methods of work so as to better understand our political tasks, the aim and main directions of our activities, and cope with the present situation while preparing for the next stage of the revolution.

At present, we should achieve a radical change in our mood and thinking. To defeat the American imperialists we must fight a protracted war. To this end, a temporary effort, however strenuous, cannot be sufficient. The revolutionary cause of our whole nation is going to embark on a new stage, that of an ever-fiercer armed struggle coupled with ever more vigorous work in building socialism. That stage will be a long one, it will undergo complex developments. The enemy will not fail to draw experiences for himself and make quick changes. We should manage to operate quicker changes to cope with the situation and the enemy's "escalation". For this

purpose we must always master the situation and act with initiative, go forward resolutely and never retreat, ready to fight for another five, ten, twenty years and longer if need be until complete victory is won. Let us bear in mind President Ho Chi Minh's appeal of April 10, 1965, the profound significance of which we realize more clearly at this hour.

"I call on you, compatriots and fighters, to constantly heighten your revolutionary heroism, vigilance and fighting spirit, to promote emulation, redouble your efforts, resolutely overcome all difficulties, endeavour to build and defend socialist North Vietnam and wholeheartedly support the patriotic struggle of our fellow-country-men in the South.

Let us all single-mindedly unite, millions like one man, and be determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors!

For the future of our Fatherland, for the happiness of our people, let our compatriots and fighters throughout the country valiantly march forward!

We will face difficulties and hardships because we are at war, because ours is the enemy of happiness, intelligence, progress and life, the enemy of all mankind at present. That enemy is a very perfidious one. We must be vigilant, maintain ever closer contact with reality, with life, and with the working people who are the most staunch, vigilant and powerful adversary of the U.S. imperialist aggressors. During the resistance war against the French colonialists, living amidst the realities of life, among the masses, we made big changes and progress, and brought our share to a tremendous victory, the liberation of half of our country. Over the past eleven years, maintaining contact with the realities of life and the masses we have made a step further and given a worthy contribution to the building of socialism in North Vietnam as a steady

basis for the struggle for national reunification. Meanwhile, we have served to the best of our abilities the sacred armed struggle of our Southern compatriots. Since the beginning of 1965, keeping in close touch with life and the masses, we have effected other changes, but obviously that is not enough. Time is required for us to temper ourselves in the fire of the fight. Until now, generally speaking, we have not yet tightly linked theory with practice, our thinking with the realities of life, and ourselves with the masses. We have to make further efforts to strengthen our standpoint and determination, heighten our conviction of our people's ineluctable victory, and our self-confidence and our national pride.

Therefore, first and foremost we should still deeper penetrate into the realities of life and the masses, that is into the source of our strength and our sentiments and the criterium of truth. Then, we will be able to grasp the Party's line, have enough determination to fulfil our duties and enough strength to fight to the end, to check whatever warfare, no matter how big the enemy's military effectives and whatever weapons they may use. Then we will be able to continue building socialism in war time and train ourselves into socialist intellectuals. Then, our daily work will bear a great significance, and we will carry out all our tasks with a high sense of responsibility, with the will and the bearing of a victor.

Armed with this understanding, we will resolutely mobilize all our forces and develop all our capacities to ensure victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

We will resolutely push forward our technical revolution, that is, concretely speaking, scientific researches, technical improvement and basic prospection to serve production, the people's life and national defence, and at the same time, the building of the material and

technical bases of socialism. We will promote educational reforms and increase both the scale and quality of our work in the training of a contingent of cadres strong enough to meet the mounting requirements of production and fighting. We will help the army-men and labouring people master science and technique, thus enabling them to fight and produce better and more efficiently.

We are resolved to push forward the cultural and ideological revolution. We will place culture, literature and art at the service of the workers, peasants and army-men. We will endeavour, in our own sphere of activities, to materialize the spirit of the mottoes: "a plough in one hand and a gun in the other", "a hammer in one hand and a gun in the other", and that of the "Three ready's" and "Three responsibilities". We will strive to develop revolutionary heroism and enhance our determination to win final victory over the U.S. aggressors.

We are resolved through the fire of the fight to realize the goal of the ideological and cultural revolution, which is to overcome the people's old world and life outlook and educate them along the Marxist-Leninist lines so that Marxism-Leninism will guide their thinking and serve as the basis for the moral life of our society.

We are resolved to go to the countryside, the mountain areas and front-line and to help turn them into fighting fortresses, strong producing areas, the hearths of the technical, cultural and ideological revolution.

We are resolved to satisfy the immediate requirements of the situation and at the same time to spare forces for the study of basic and long-term problems.

We are resolved to support our compatriots in the South and make this support more powerful and effective with every passing day. We place full confidence in them and will learn from them as much as we can.

We are resolved to raise still higher our banner of independence and peace and to win the sympathy of the people and intellectuals of the world. Only the strengthening of our revolutionary struggle in the military, political and ideological fields will enable us to smash the will for aggression of the U.S. imperialists and conquer true independence and peace.

Over the past eleven years, these thoughts and feelings, this attitude and stand, this aspiration and ideal have given us extraordinary strength. In South Vietnam a great many intellectuals have fallen. Their blood and that of workers, peasants and people of other strata have enhanced our national prestige. Here in North Vietnam, the intellectuals have made all-out efforts to consolidate the North and support the South, and are now enthusiastically taking part in the entire people's seething struggle against American oppression for national salvation.

Let us all cultivate and develop these thoughts and feelings, this attitude and stand, this aspiration and ideal. We will discharge the glorious and sacred duties of the Vietnamese patriotic intellectuals of resisting U.S. aggression to save our Fatherland.

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Over the past eleven years, together with our entire people, the South Vietnamese intellectuals have been standing on the front-line of the Fatherland, enduring countless difficulties, sacrifices and hardships. They have accumulated many experiences and proved worthy of the title of revolutionary intellectuals of the heroic Vietnamese people. The names of professors Nguyen Thi Dieu and Nguyen Van Duong, journalist Duong Tu

Giang will remain for ever in everyone's heart beside those of indomitable workers like Nguyen Van Troi, Le Do, Tran Van Dang and others.

Within a short period, while serving at the front or among the masses, the South Vietnamese intellectuals have succeeded in building a revolutionary culture with a democratic and patriotic content and a national character which has enriched the people's moral life in the liberated zones, comforted or converted the minds and hearts of many in the areas still under enemy control.

We feel great elation to learn that great achievements have been recorded on the educational plane in the liberated zones. There are nearly 5,000 schools with 500,000 pupils. Illiteracy has been eliminated in many regions. Public health has rapidly expanded, cured a large number of sick persons and widely popularized hygiene among the masses. A revolutionary literature and art has been built with such remarkable works as such "Letters from South Vietnam" and "Nguyen Van Troi as he was", and many films warmly appreciated throughout our country and in the world.

We are very happy to learn that our compatriots belonging to seventeen nationalities in the South already have their own scripts which they are using to eradicate illiteracy, raise their cultural standard, propagate science and technique and gradually get rid of superstitions. What makes us more enthusiastic still is that, in the conditions of a hard struggle, all the branches of science and technology, education, medicine, literature and art in the liberated zones have actively trained cadres, thus increasing the contingent of intellectuals in the liberated areas in particular, and in Vietnam in general. The sacrifices in fighting as well as all the above-mentioned achievements of the South Vietnamese intellectuals are greatly

stimulating and encouraging us to rely mainly on ourselves in overcoming difficulties and fulfilling our duties toward the Fatherland and the people. Let the Southern intellectuals, our brothers, find here the expression of our deepest affection and unshakable confidence.

Intellectuals and students in the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy in South Vietnam,

Over the past eleven years and more, due to the U.S. imperialists' scheme of partitioning our country, we have been separated from one another. They are trying to divide the South Vietnamese intellectuals. But they cannot sever our hearts. In the gravest hours of our history, now just as in the past, when faced with the danger of foreign invasion the Vietnamese intellectuals put the destiny of the Fatherland above all and always remain united as a single bloc. We share the same national spirit, we are bound by the supreme interests of the nation and genuine patriotism although our political views and the way we think best to serve our country may differ due to our differing situations.

Though living in difficult and complicated conditions, you have not yielded to the aggressors' and their henchmen's deceptions, bribes or threats. You have opposed them by many means. The pupils and students have always constituted an important part of the shock brigade of the movement in urban areas, persistently struggling against fascist dictatorship, pressganging, U.S. enslavement and aggressive war, for peace, democracy, and a healthy life. Many of them left for the liberated zones to take part in the fighting and other activities there. Others joined the movement for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and expressed sympathy with

and support for the revolution. The people and intellectuals throughout the country warmly welcome their attitude and gestures. At this hour decisive for the destiny of the nation, the Fatherland is calling on us actively to participate in the struggle of the entire people against U.S. aggression for national salvation. We firmly believe that you will develop our people's tradition of indomitability, overcome all difficulties and go forward to contribute to the liberation of our beloved South Vietnam and the peaceful reunification of our country.

Vietnamese intellectuals and students abroad!

Over the past twenty years and more our people have been fighting for their freedom and national independence, you have been living away from the Fatherland. Though the news on our people's struggle have come to you, especially to those in capitalist countries, garbled and distorted, though the enemy have continually and by all means trying to divide, bribe or threaten you, with devotion you have preserved your patriotism and turned your thought more and more toward the just cause of our people and supported more and more actively the hard but surely victorious struggle against an extremely dangerous and cruel enemy. Now, the Fatherland calls on the entire people to rise up everywhere, at home and abroad, whatever their positions, to make all-out efforts to contribute to the sacred fight against U.S. aggression. We firmly believe that this appeal will cross the oceans and echo in the bottom of your hearts and that you will, thousands like one, make a worthy response to it. Together with stepping up your study and acquirement of advanced sciences and technics to contribute to national construction in the future, you will take a more active

part in political, cultural, literary and artistic activities to lay bare the criminal nature of the U.S. aggressors, and at the same time to support the just stand of our people.

Our Fatherland will certainly be reunified, our compatriots in both zones will live again under the same roof. We intellectuals are heartily joining in increasing numbers the ranks of those who are fighting and will win.

The historic task of resisting U.S. aggression and bringing our national revolutionary cause to complete victory is a tremendous one. We pledge to devote our heart and soul to it, to accept any sacrifice, and be worthy of our epoch, the history and the glorious tradition of our great Party and heroic people.

Under the victorious banner of the Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, let our intellectuals march forward valiantly!

Let the people and intellectuals all over the country be determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors!

Let us be determined to build and defend the North, support the liberation struggle of the South and advance toward national reunification!

Let the intellectuals be determined to step up the technical, cultural and ideological revolution!

Long live the militant solidarity between the Vietnamese people and intellectuals and the people and intellectuals all over the world!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam!

Long live world peace!

Long live the Vietnam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!

DECLARATION
OF THE VIETNAMESE INTELLECTUALS'
CONFERENCE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION
FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

In the grave hours confronting our Fatherland, we, six hundred and fifty representatives of the Vietnamese intelligentsia from all walks of life, political parties, mass organizations, religions and nationalities, held the *Vietnamese Intellectuals' Conference Against U.S. Aggression For National Salvation* in Hanoi, from the 4th to the 6th of January 1966. The Conference took place in a stirring atmosphere created by our people's victories in the North as well as in the South.

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Over the past twenty years, the U.S. imperialists' intervention has gradually but steadily developed into the present brutal armed aggression against our country. Their scheme is to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam and turn its southern part into a new-type colony and a military base.

After suffering setback after setback they are now frenziedly intensifying their aggressive war in the South, carrying out a war of destruction in the North and planning to extend hostilities over the whole of Indochina.

All over Vietnam they have brought ruin and death, and are committing new monstrous crimes every day.

In the South, an expeditionary force of more than 200,000 American soldiers and mercenaries from U.S. satellite countries are trampling our soil underfoot, while together with the puppet army and administration, they are savagely repressing our people's patriotic movement. The aggressors unremittingly raid villages and hamlets, using all the means at their command including strategic B.52's, napalm and phosphorous bombs, toxic chemicals and war gases. They exterminate our compatriots, men and women, old people and children alike. Hundreds of thousands of people, among them many intellectuals, have been jailed or massacred.

In the North, pursuing the "escalation", U.S. piratical planes bomb our economic and cultural establishments. Day and night they hit populated areas and spare neither pagodas and churches nor markets, schools and hospitals.

The U.S. imperialists use scientific and technical achievements for extermination and aggression. They are using Vietnam as a testing ground for their barbaric weapons and war tactics, and with the blood of the Vietnamese people, they are experimenting a neo-colonialist war so that they can apply the same means of destruction against other peoples later on.

Those war crimes make the U.S. rulers' "peace" and "negotiation" offers and other pieces of hypocrisy all the more disgraceful. They only increase the indignation

of the people in our country and in the world. Washington's recent manoeuvres in "temporarily suspending the bombing of North Vietnam" and in sending emissaries to many capitals for a noisy campaign on its "peace efforts" fooled nobody.

It is crystal clear that American imperialism has trampled upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, international law and human conscience. It has clearly shown itself as the most warlike imperialist, the most ferocious colonialist and the worst war criminal of the present time.

We energetically condemn and denounce to world public opinion the U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression against our country. We declare that, together with all our compatriots, we are resolved to struggle by all means against our sworn enemy, the enemy No. 1 of peace, national independence, civilization and progress.

Upholding and developing their age-old tradition of heroism and indomitability, the entire Vietnamese people, as one man, united in the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, are recording ever greater victories.

In the South, the National Front for Liberation has closely united all strata of the population under its banner in the struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, pending the reunification of the Fatherland. The heroic South Vietnam Liberation army and people have dealt the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys thundering blows, striking terror into the hearts of the American and puppet troops. In the wide liberated areas a new life is being built. In the towns a popular struggle is mounting. Opposed by the people's war waged by our compatriots, the bigger the U.S. expeditionary

force, the heavier its losses will be, nothing can help the U.S. imperialists and their stooges turn the tide and escape from their desperate situation.

In the North, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and united in the Fatherland Front and around the government, the people enthusiastically combine heroic fighting with production work and continue building socialism. U.S. sabotage raids do not frighten them, they only stir up more hatred, and strengthen their determination to fight for the defence of socialist North Vietnam, to support South Vietnam and advance towards national reunification. Nearly 850 up-to-date U.S. jets have been downed by our heroic army and people. The prestige of the U.S. Air Force has been dealt a mortal blow.

In the world, the Vietnamese people's just struggle has gained ever more sympathy and active support from the peoples in all countries. It is considered a great contribution to the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the defence of the socialist camp and the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia and the world. By displays of strength and even by self-immolation the American people and intellectuals are intensifying their opposition to the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. The world front in support of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression for the defence of peace is expanding with every passing day. Never before has international solidarity been expressed in such a moving manner. Never before has U. S. imperialism been so severely condemned, strongly criticized and politically isolated as today.

In this situation, if the U.S. imperialists foolishly intensify and extend the war, they will meet more shameful failure, become weaker, and dig their own graves.

The only way out for the American administration is to solemnly declare its acceptance of the April 8, 1965 four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point declaration of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on March 22, 1965. It must respect and strictly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, put an end to its aggressive war in South Vietnam and its war of destruction in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw all the troops and weapons of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs by themselves.

Due to their aggressive and warlike nature, the U.S. imperialists persist in their stubbornness and do not want to withdraw from Vietnam. With their just cause, their correct political and military line, the invincible strength of their national unity, their heroic and seasoned people's armed forces, the warm sympathy and strong support of the socialist countries and the peace-loving people in the world, the Vietnamese people are fully able to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in all circumstances.

Throughout the several thousand years of their history, the Vietnamese people, sure of their just cause, have many a time overcome tyranny, vanquished a stronger enemy with a small force. Not long ago they defeated the French colonialists backed by the Americans. Now in the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation, the Vietnamese army and people have much more experience, a much larger rear and many more friends. With their growing strength and a steady position, they have been able to record success after success and will certainly win complete victory.

We, Vietnamese intellectuals, are filled with boundless pride and enthusiasm when looking back to the glorious historical epoch of twenty years and more the Vietnamese nation has lived under the banner of the vanguard party of the working class and of our respected and beloved leader, President Ho Chi Minh.

Sons and daughters of a heroic people, and citizens of a country with a four-thousand year history, the intellectuals of former generations had nevertheless to live shameful days under foreign domination, as colonial slaves. Yet the true intellectuals always identified themselves with the people and actively took part in the struggle for national defence and construction. The August Revolution liberated the Vietnamese intellectuals, and together with them Vietnam's national culture. The Party, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh have attached great importance to their education and led them along the road of truth and justice so that they may serve their people and Fatherland. Since then, the Vietnamese intellectuals of our generation have been living in an atmosphere seething with revolutionary mettle and full of creative enthusiasm. They have been directly participating in great historic events. They have been tempered through nine years of resistance against the French colonialists and eleven years against the American imperialists in the South. They have taken part, together with the entire people, in the socialist construction of the North. And together with them they have written the most glorious pages of the national history.

Looking back to the path we have traversed, an arduous and glorious one, the path of struggle against invaders and traitors, of transformation of society and nature, and of self-remoulding we are very happy to

see that today the Vietnamese intellectuals have grown in strength, working in all branches and all parts of the country. They are worthy of being members of a revolutionary army marching forward under the banner of the Party, an army born of the people, making sacrifices and serving the people, enjoying their love and support. Today in the serious situation confronting our Fatherland, we, intellectuals, are fully conscious of our sacred duty, great honour and heavy responsibility; to fight together with all our people against the American imperialists for national salvation.

Deeply grateful to our Southern compatriots who are the first to cope with the invaders and the last to enjoy peace, resolute in the fight to liberate the South and defend the North, we highly admire them and wholeheartedly support their struggle. We are all for the just stand of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. We feel very happy to see its growing prestige, and absolutely confident in the role it is playing for the liberation of our beloved South. As the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, the Front must have its part and a decisive say in any settlement of the South Vietnam issue.

We unanimously support the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It forms the only correct basis by which to solve the Vietnam problem and is in line with the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and their essential political and military clauses. It is consistent with the realities in Vietnam and the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people. It also conforms to the interests and honour of the American people, as well as to the interests of the national liberation movement and world peace. We are determined to use all our knowledge and

abilities together with our people to build and defend the North, liberate the South and advance towards the reunification of the Fatherland. We are resolved to carry out our struggle by the side of the entire people till final victory, though it should last five, ten or twenty years or even longer. Whatever sacrifices and hardships we may have to endure, we resolutely stand in the ranks of the people, sharing weal and woe with them and, together with them, fighting and defeating the enemy of the nation.

As militant fighters on the scientific and technical front as well as in the cultural, educational, literary and art fields, we are determined to speed up the technical, cultural and ideological revolution, develop national culture, and build modern science and technics. We are determined to redouble our efforts in the patriotic emulation movement in order to push ahead technical research and improvement, inventions and discoveries, creative literature and art. We are determined to link our activities with the realities of life, combine theory with practice with a view to increasing our fighting capacities and productive forces quickly and practically, and raising our labour productivity efficiently. Thereby we shall serve the immediate tasks of national construction and fighting, while making preparations for a long-term construction and a protracted resistance war. We are ready to go anywhere and assume any task necessary or useful for production, fighting or the people's living standards, as collective masters of the national heritage with a high sense of responsibility, firm determination and creative enthusiasm.

We will nurture our hatred for the enemy, enhance our patriotism and revolutionary mettle, cultivate

revolutionary heroism, maintain close contact with workers, peasants and soldiers to learn from them, and at the same time, develop their inexhaustible capacities. We will do our utmost to study and creatively apply the advanced experiences of other countries, while patiently training ourselves as valiant and professionally qualified militants.

We warmly acclaim and sincerely thank the intellectuals and other strata of the people in the socialist countries, and the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, North America and everywhere else in the world for their solidarity with and support to the Vietnamese people. We earnestly call on all peoples, on the intellectuals, on all organizations and individuals who love peace and justice to enlarge still further the world-wide mass movement, to back by all ways and means the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and to support the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the March 22, 1965 declaration of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. This is also the best way to stop the American imperialists' aggression and sabotage of world peace.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with the intellectuals and all people in the world who support us, we, together with the entire Vietnamese people, pledge ourselves to fulfil our international duties by resolutely checking the U.S. imperialist aggression and giving all-out support to any movement for national independence, peace, democracy, and social progress.

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Dear Vietnamese intellectuals,

The Vietnamese Intellectuals' Conference Against U.S. Aggression For National Salvation is highlighting your brilliant achievements which are active contributions to production, national construction and the resistance against U.S. imperialism. It earnestly calls on you to close your ranks, help one another, persistently enhance your combativeness so that you may, in all circumstances and to the best of your abilities, make your contribution to the great cause of our nation, thereby proving yourselves worthy of the heroic Vietnamese people.

To side with the people in the fight against the U.S. aggressors and their stooges, to devotedly serve the Fatherland, the people and their revolutionary cause, and to be in the forefront of the peoples and intellectuals of the world against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, that is the glorious road we have chosen, the ideal of the Vietnamese intellectuals, and the meaning of their lives.

Vietnamese intellectuals,

Be resolute to serve production and fighting efficiently!

Be resolute to speed up the technical, cultural and ideological revolution!

Be resolute to form and develop the ranks of the socialist intelligentsia!

Endeavour to study the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the lines and policies of the Vietnam Workers' Party, and continue to raise your cultural and professional level. Do your best in your professional sphere and in fighting to foster your revolutionary feelings, consolidate your political standpoint, perfect your virtues in

order to make worthy contributions to the struggle for national reunification, democracy and socialism. This struggle will bring glory and happiness to the generations to come, and help to defend the independence, security and peace of all peoples, as well as the civilization of mankind.

We have been promising for a long time to struggle for this radiant ideal. We are boundlessly thankful to respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnam Workers' Party and the people, who unremittingly and affectionately help us.

Today our ranks are bigger and stronger than ever before. We are a revolutionary army unit, resolute to fight and to win, worthy of the epoch in which we live and the glorious traditions of our great Party and our heroic people.

In response to the sacred call of the Fatherland, with an absolute confidence in the lines and policies of the Party, we are determined to close our ranks and march forward on the great front of our people and under the invincible banner of the Party.

Long live peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam!

Long live world peace!

Long live the Vietnam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!

LETTER TO PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Respected and beloved President,

We are very happy to let you know that the Vietnamese Intellectuals Conference Against U.S. Aggression for National Salvation, so far the biggest convention of the Vietnamese intellectuals, has ended successfully.

There were six hundred and fifty taking part, men and women of all ages, representing tens of thousands of intellectuals working in scientific, technical, cultural and art branches, and belonging to various political parties, mass organizations, religions, and nationalities. Many, native of the North and the South, have come home recently from abroad.

We unanimously condemned the U.S. imperialists as extremely stubborn and bellicose aggressors, utterly ferocious war criminals, the sworn enemy of our people, and the enemy number one of the world peoples. We exposed the U.S. aggressors' deceitful trick of "peace negotiations" and "peace offensive".

We unanimously endorsed and voiced full support for the unswerving stand of the Government of the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on the settlement of the Vietnam issue.

We are absolutely confident in the line of opposing U.S. aggression for national salvation worked out by the Vietnam Workers' Party and D.R.V. Government, and pledge to unite closely with the entire people in North and South Vietnam, to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, the Vietnamese traitors, to build and defend socialist North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam and reunify the Fatherland. No matter how long we have to fight, we are resolved, together with the entire people, to fight till final victory. Whatever sacrifices and hardships we have to endure, we are determined to unite with the people, share weal and woe with them, and contribute with them to defeating the U.S. aggressors.

Respected and beloved President,

Your solicitous advice and the heartening words of Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and General Vo Nguyen Giap addressed to the Conference were a great inspiration to us. They moved us, made us love our Fatherland all the more and gave us boundless confidence in the glorious Vietnam Workers' Party.

We are very proud of our heroic people, who have a time-honoured culture and noble virtues, of our flesh-and-blood South Vietnam, the big front-line of the Fatherland, and its matchless heroism; and of socialist North Vietnam, the vast rear of the revolution of the whole country, which has become steadier with every passing day.

We are very proud of the patriotic tradition of the true Vietnamese intellectuals, who are always worthy of

their people, loyal to their compatriots in the struggle to defeat the aggressors, defend their country, and bring about a life of plenty and happiness.

We are very happy to live in this great period of our national history, a period of hard but valiant struggle with splendid victories.

We are fully aware of the honour and responsibility of being the intellectuals of the heroic Vietnamese people.

Respected and beloved President,

To bring the best of our contribution to the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation in response to your call and to be worthy of the education and leadership of the Party and your own, we pledge to further strengthen our solidarity, endeavour to learn Marxism-Leninism, continue fostering our loyalty to the Fatherland and the people, our industriousness, thriftiness, integrity, rectitude and devotion to public interests.

We pledge to strive to become courageous fighters in the scientific, technical, cultural and art fronts. We pledge our determination to:

- serve production and fighting with our best efforts;
- promote the technical, cultural and ideological revolution;
- step up the training of a contingent of socialist intellectuals.

All the participants in the Conference wish you good health and a long life to lead the entire people so as to foil the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam, thus contributing to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

TELEGRAM TO LAWYER NGUYEN HUU THO

Respected Chairman,

We, six hundred and fifty representatives of Vietnamese intellectuals, natives of both the North and the South of our country, present at the Conference of Vietnamese Intellectuals Against U.S. Aggression For National Salvation held in Hanoi capital, convey our most affectionate greetings of militant solidarity to you, to the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to the High Command of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces, and to all Southern fighters and compatriots.

The Conference is held at a time when great and successive victories are won by our people in both the South and the North and after the jubilant celebration of the fifth founding anniversary of the National Front for Liberation by our entire people and our friends in all continents.

Over the past five years, under the clear-sighted leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our heroic

Southern compatriots standing on the front-line of the Fatherland have won glorious victories, dealt thunder blows at the U.S. aggressors and the puppet troops, and recorded brilliant successes in every field. These successes have greatly rejoiced our people throughout the country and their friends in the world and frightened our enemy—the U.S. imperialists.

We are very proud of the splendid victories of the South Vietnamese people and fighters. We bear deep gratitude to them for their sacrifices in the struggle to liberate the South, defend the North, advance towards the reunification of the country, thus also contributing to the safeguard of the independence of other countries and world peace. We warmly welcome the South Vietnamese intellectuals who are rallying in ever larger numbers under the invincible banner of the National Front for Liberation, resolved together with the entire people to defeat the U.S. aggressors. We, intellectuals in the North united in the Vietnam Fatherland Front, guided and educated by the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, pledge to do our best to contribute to our people's fight against the U.S. aggressors for national salvation until complete victory.

We are firmly confident that our fourteen million countrymen in the South and their seventeen million brothers and sisters in the North, united closely and struggling persistently, will certainly succeed in defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors, driving them out of our country, liberating the South, defending the North, achieving the reunification of the Fatherland and building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

With an iron confidence, we wish our Southern compatriots still greater successes.

LETTER TO LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL

Esteemed Lord Bertrand Russell,

The Vietnamese Intellectuals' Conference Against U.S. Aggression For National Salvation held in Hanoi on January 6, 1966 wishes to send you its warmest greetings.

We feel deeply moved to hear such an elderly and respected intellectual as you denounce the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and demand an end to the dirty war they are waging against our people. We warmly hail you for having repeatedly voiced your vigorous condemnation of the odious crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, for having warned public opinion and aroused public conscience in face of the wicked and machiavellian schemes and acts of the Johnson Administration, which is, on the one hand, frenziedly stepping up its war escalation and, on the other, uttering deceitful words about "unconditional discussions" with the aim of fooling the people in the U.S.A. and in the world. We highly praise your high-principled action — the burning of your Labour Party card — to protest against the Wilson Government toeing the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy in Vietnam.

Your righteous and energetic words and deeds have greatly encouraged us. Please accept the expression of our admiration and gratitude.

As you have justly stated, the worst enemy of peace is U.S. imperialism which has no right whatsoever to intervene in Vietnam. As a victim of colonialist and imperialist wars for twenty years on end, we cherish peace more ardently than anyone else. But without real national independence there can be no real peace. We have now to fight to defend the sacred national rights we have gained through forty centuries of national construction, and to bring our share to the world peoples' cause of national liberation and the safeguarding of world peace. Continuing the tradition of patriotism handed down by our forefathers who have defeated the most ferocious enemies, our entire people, united as one man, pledge to carry on our just struggle to drive the U.S. imperialists out of our country. With the warm support of more and more peace- and justice-loving people of whom you are an eminent representative, we are still more confident that final victory will be ours.

We are greatly elated at the powerful movement growing among the people and intellectuals all over the world, opposing U.S. aggression and backing our people's just struggle, particularly the movement of American intellectuals and youth. We have the conviction that intellectuals all over the world will step up their struggle to demand that the U.S. imperialists stop their war of aggression in Vietnam, strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and put an end to their misuse of scientific achievements for war purpose, destroying nature, killing and oppressing as they are now doing in Vietnam and many other places in the world.

We sincerely wish you good health and a long life to make further contributions to the movement against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, for the defence of peace, human dignity, the rights of all peoples to self-determination and the moral and legal principles which mankind, at the cost of so much blood, has built into the foundations of civilization and progress.

LETTER TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE INTELLECTUALS

Dear brothers and sisters,

We, intellectuals of all ages and all walks of life meeting in a conference in Hanoi capital in the first days of a spring of victories, send you our most affectionate greetings.

Living either in the North or in the South, in the liberated zones or in the areas still under the enemy's grip, we all have the same Fatherland and the same ancestors. For over ten years now we have always thought of you and our Southern compatriots. When we gather here to look to the path already traversed and to find the most effective means of contributing to our entire people's struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, it is our eager desire to exchange our views with you on the vital problems confronting our nation.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. The four-thousand-year history of our country is one of victorious struggle against foreign aggression. For nearly a century, generation after generation, our people valiantly and persistently opposed the French colonialists' rule. We may be proud that after the Second

World War, Vietnam was one of the first countries in the world to shatter colonial fetters, and win back her national independence ; that Vietnam with the resounding Dienbienphu victory, smashed the French colonialists' crack expeditionary force backed by the American imperialists, thus playing an important part in the overthrow of the colonial system, and the defence of world peace.

Our people would have already achieved the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland had the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements been implemented, and would have built an independent, free and happy life all over our country according to the sacred right to self-determination of all peoples.

But this was not the desire of the U.S. imperialists. Trampling underfoot the said agreements, and disregarding international law, they have interfered in our internal affairs with a view to protracting the partition of Vietnam, turning the South into a new-type colony and a military base, and ultimately conquering the whole of our country. The traitors they rigged up have sabotaged the organization of the free general elections throughout our country which would have decided on its reunification ; they have drowned in blood and fire our Southern compatriots' aspirations for independence, democracy, peace and unity. At present, to retrieve their failure and get out of their quagmire in the South the U.S. imperialists have introduced nearly 200,000 U.S. troops and many combat units from South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, overtly waged an aggressive war on half of our country, and massacred our compatriots with poison gases, toxic chemicals and many other savage means. At the same time, they have used their air force to "escalate" the war to the North,

killing the civilian population, and destroying villages and even pagodas, churches, schools and hospitals. The fire of hatred burns in our hearts at the thought of so many crimes committed every day by the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in both zones.

While intensifying and extending their aggressive war the U.S. imperialists harp on their "good will for peace" and "unconditional discussions". While speaking of "peace", they are feverishly bringing large contingents of American and their satellite forces into South Vietnam, continuously attacking both zones more fiercely, and plotting to extend the war to Laos and Cambodia. They clamour for "unconditional discussions" but have in fact laid down insolent and absurd conditions amounting, among other things, to turning South Vietnam into a separate state, refusing to withdraw from there or to recognize the National Front for Liberation as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. The very monstrous crimes perpetrated daily by the U.S. aggressors and their stooges in our country have utterly refuted the Johnson Administration's hypocritical allegations.

The Vietnamese people have a tradition of indomitability and experiences in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. They are determined never to lose heart before U.S. weapons and never to let themselves be fooled by U.S. deceitful schemes.

Boiling with hatred for the invaders and traitors our people in both South and North are heroically dealing them thundering blows and resolved to defend independence and freedom with their arms in their hands. Carrying on production alongside fighting, the army and people here in the North have downed nearly 850 up-to-date U.S. planes. In the South, the National Front

for Liberation, only five years after its founding; has united all patriotic forces against the American aggressors and their lackeys to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in the South, pending the reunification of our Fatherland. At present, it has liberated over four-fifths of South Vietnam's territory with about ten million inhabitants. The Front is shaping the destiny of the South. Under its glorious banner, the more the army and people fight the stronger they become and the greater their successes. The U. S. aggressors and the Saigon puppet administration are trying to conceal their increasing predicament. They even go the length of brazenly trumpeting fictitious "victories", though quite recently they were defeated at Vantuong, Chulai, Danang, Pleime, Iadrang, Datcuoc, Baubang, Dautieng, Dongduong; and other places, and worse still, stunned by the repeated and extremely valiant attacks of the Liberation armed forces in the Saigon outskirts, in the centre of Saigon-Cholon, even in the U.S. aggressors' lair.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against the mightiest and wealthiest chieftain of the imperialist camp for national independence and freedom and for world peace, has roused international public opinion. In the socialist countries, in newly-independent countries and elsewhere there is an active upsurge to support our people and condemn the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. In the United States itself, thousands and thousands of people including scientists, writers, journalists, professors, students, toiling people, social and political figures, and clergymen are struggling ever more energetically in multifarious ways to demand that the Johnson Administration immediately end its "dirty" aggressive war

in South Vietnam and its air raids against North Vietnam, and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs by themselves. Never have the U.S. authorities been so violently upbraided.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Our Fatherland has never lived such glorious hours nor faced such hard tests as it is doing now. The U.S. aggressors have trampled underfoot our national territory in the South; they daily sow ruin and mourning in the North, and madly prepare for new military adventures, putting the whole of our country in a state of war.

Having to deal with American, Australian, South Korean and New Zealand soldiers, and endure the consequences of the traitorous Thieu-Ky clique's policy, you are better aware than any one else of the loss of national independence though the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been striving to cover up their dark scheme with its sham facade. The Saigon rulers are endeavouring to pressgang youths into the army, cynically massacring our compatriots, and applying ultra-fascist measures. They spoil our beautiful national culture and debase our morality. They only think of filling their pockets, goods are getting scarce and prices rocketing. The various strata of the population are living in humiliation and in a most suffocating atmosphere, unable, much as they wish it, to lead a peaceful life.

Struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation is the only way to bring independence and freedom to our Southern compatriots and thus to our entire people, to secure for each Vietnamese a prosperous and dignified life.

More than ever, we, intellectuals, are deeply aware that our own fate is closely linked with that of our Fatherland

and people. In response to the Fatherland's sacred appeal, we, in the North, have done our best to contribute to the resistance against the French colonialists and to the peaceful construction of socialism in this part of our country. At present, we pledge ourselves to devote heart and soul to the common cause of those now engaged both in production and in fighting against the U.S. aggressors.

We affectionately turn to you.

We are very happy to see that, though living under a bloodthirsty regime, the darkest in our history, the true intellectuals in the South always have their Fatherland and people at heart, following the noble examples of Nguyen Dinh Chieu, Thu Khoa Huan, Phan Van Tri and many other patriotic scholars and intellectuals of South Vietnam — our Iron Stronghold. We feel the greatest admiration for those intellectuals, whose representative is Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, the respected Chairman of the National Front for Liberation, who, together with the people, are enduring all kinds of hardships, exposing themselves to countless dangers, and dedicating their lives and abilities to the cause of national liberation. We highly appreciate the exemplary behaviour and the patriotism of those intellectuals, living in the enemy's iron grip, who do not let themselves be coerced or corrupted but strive to find ways and means, often at the risk of their lives, to participate in the people's great struggle.

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation is shining with justice. United as one man, our Northern and Southern compatriots are determined to make every sacrifice for the Fatherland's supreme interests. Our people possess a marvellous weapon

with which they can defeat any imperialist aggressor — the people's patriotic war. Moreover, they enjoy the wholehearted help of the socialist camp, the profound sympathy and strong support of many governments and peace-loving peoples in the world, including the American people. As for the imperialists and the reactionary forces, headed by the U.S. imperialists, they are on the decline, suffering defeat after defeat in one country after another. The U.S. aggressors and their flunkies in South Vietnam will resort to many wicked tricks; and intensify the war, but they are doomed to shameful failure no matter how many troops and weapons they may introduce. In our struggle for national salvation we have scored success after success and shall ultimately win complete victory.

At present, our entire people, millions like one, young and old, men and women are forging ahead to kill the U.S. aggressors and defend our own national independence and human freedom.

We believe that all true intellectuals temporarily living under the cruel domination of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, the Thieu-Ky clique, will soon realize that the time has come to oppose the U.S. aggressors and save our country. They will then assume their responsibility to our past full of heroic achievements and to the glorious future of our nation, take part in the irresistible forward march of history, distinguish right from wrong and decide to follow the sole just path. They will serve in the people's ranks, and bring a most worthy contribution to the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation. That is the glorious path, in pursuit of a noble cause. With confidence in you we send you our best wishes for unity and success.

LETTER TO THE VIETNAMESE INTELLECTUALS ABROAD

Dear brothers and sisters;

In these seething days when we are meeting to discuss our tasks in our people's glorious fight against American aggression for national salvation, we all miss you.

We have been following and highly appreciate your patriotic activities as well as your successes in study and work in the cultural and scientific fields. We are moved and very happy to see that though living far from home, you always think of our beloved Fatherland and do your utmost to contribute to our people's struggle.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Whether at home or abroad, we all, Vietnam's sons and daughters, have the same feeling, the same aspiration and the same concern for the destiny of our nation. We all burn with hatred on seeing American troops trample underfoot our cherished land, destroy our peaceable countryside and massacre our compatriots, our kith-and-kin both in the North and the South. And we all are filled with pride at the news of brilliant successes of our army and people in the South

and the downing of nearly eight hundred and fifty American planes in the North. You all are well aware that at present our country is living through great days of our history, in the atmosphere of the Dienhong National Congress and the August Revolution. Men and women, old and young, who took part in the resistance against the French colonialists, and those who have just reached manhood alike ask themselves the same question, "Mustn't we make sacrifices and fight to the last against the American aggressors"? Their answer is unanimous: "Whatever hardships we may endure and however long the patriotic war may last, five, ten, twenty or more years, we are determined to fight and break the aggressive will of the American imperialists, to fight with the bearing and confidence of defenders of a just cause, to fight until complete victory."

The American imperialists have guns and airplanes in abundance, but the victors will certainly be our people. In the resistance war against the French colonialists, we were unquestionably much weaker than we are now in all fields. For nearly one year now, despite incessant air and naval attacks by the American imperialists on the North, our iron will remains unshakable. The landing of nearly two hundred thousand of their best troops in the South has not helped them avoid bitter defeats in all theatres of war. No weapons or tactics of whatever kind can save them from complete defeat. Swashbucklers as they are, the U.S. imperialists are not really strong: their forces are scattered all over the world, within and without their country they are meeting with ever-fiercer opposition; all their mainstays in South Vietnam — the puppet troops and administration — are on the way to disintegration, and the contributions given by their allies and satellites are of

little consequence. They can in no way vanquish a people like ours, valiant, resourceful and ready to endure all sacrifices and hardships for a long-term resistance. Moreover, we are enjoying the wholehearted support of people all over the world.

We are living crucial hours. Our determination to oppose the American imperialists springs from our aspiration for peace, happiness, and our attachment to the achievements of our revolution. Only by resolutely opposing the American imperialists can our people's freedom and independence be secured. Let the intellectuals throughout the country close their ranks and stand ready to shoulder any task: in the South, in whatever position and under whatever circumstances they find themselves, let them do their utmost to contribute to the people's heroic fight amidst the fire of the war; in the North, let them take part in production and prepare for fighting side by side with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In the North our people are fiercely coping with the American war of destruction while continuing to speed up the building of a new life. Difficulties are indeed greater than before but our ardent patriotism and twenty years of revolutionary struggle in which we have relied mainly on our own strength have armed the Vietnamese with a potent spirit. Just as factories and agricultural State farms and cooperatives, schools and research institutes are carrying on their activities, so also do the cultural and art branches. We have celebrated not only the birth anniversary of Nguyen Du, but also of Lomonosov, Dante and Horace... In the liberated area of the South, education, public health services, literature, arts and science show healthy and vigorous development.

In the South as well as in the North there is an atmosphere of enthusiasm due to the armed struggle but also

to the efforts being made to build culture and science. The entire people confident in final victory, are making preparations so that after the restoration of peace, a new life may be built more rapidly with the strength of a reunified Vietnam.

Never before have the Vietnamese intellectuals assumed such glorious tasks and looked forward to such encouraging prospects as at present.

Dear brothers and sisters,

We feel very proud every time we hear that you raise your voices for the just cause of the nation, show your patriotism, and do your utmost to gain the world peoples' friendship, and expose the enemy's distorted allegations.

Our people's struggle covers many fields of activities in which the Vietnamese in the homeland and abroad have the duty to participate. You have contributed in adequate ways to the fight against the American imperialists waged by the entire people. Now as the enemy devises more deceitful schemes, your endeavour to enlighten public opinion is timely.

The American imperialists are harping on their "will for peace" and their desire for "unconditional discussions". You have shown to the world people that those allegations are intended to distort the truth: they speak of peace just to create favourable conditions for introducing more troops into the South, for more attacks on the North and for the intensification and extension of their aggressive war.

You have explained to our foreign friends that our people who have experienced twenty five years of war, sincerely long for peace. But real peace is inseparable from genuine independence. All peace proposals will

prove deceitful if they do not guarantee the sacred fundamental rights of our people: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Peace discussions can be really begun only when the American imperialists have renounced their design of aggression against our country. The southern part of our country must be allowed to live in independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in line with the just programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. North and South must be ultimately reunified, this is the common aspiration of the people of both parts of our country and also the main content of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

We warmly hail the contributions you have made in the past years towards helping foreign public opinion realize more clearly that our people's struggle against American aggression is just and bound to win victory.

Dear brothers and sisters,

We may have philosophical and religious differences but we all are sons and daughters of one and the same Vietnam, we all love our Fatherland and earnestly desire national independence, reunification and the construction of a fine society in which democracy and justice prevail.

The American imperialists are invading our country, using all kinds of weapons to prevent the realization of our finest dreams. We love peace, but we are not afraid of war. The spirit and attitude of the Vietnamese coming back home from abroad in recent years either to participate in socialist construction in the North or to fight in the South under the banner of the National Front for Liberation, is evidence of our unity, and shows

that the Vietnamese intellectuals living in the homeland or abroad are ready, together with our entire people, to overcome all difficulties and hardships in order to vanquish the enemy and achieve complete independence and national reunification.

Whether at home or abroad, let us with one mind enhance our patriotism, do our best to serve our Fatherland, and pool our efforts for the fight so that though thousands of miles away from one another, we may feel near to one another.

With the bearing of victors, of a heroic people, let us promise to one another that we will spare no effort to raise Vietnam's prestige still higher in the world.

LETTER TO THE INTELLECTUALS IN THE WORLD

Dear friends,

Every day, from all parts of the world we hear the echoes of a struggle parallel to ours waged by the peoples in all countries against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. These echoes are resounding deep in our hearts.

Amid this concert the voice of scientists, writers, lawyers, university professors, artists, students has risen with authority.

Dear friends, your speeches, articles, meetings, teach-ins, collections, peace marches, constitute for our people and fighters one of the best stimuli and a great comfort. The approval and support given by those whose mission in all countries including the U.S.A. is to think over and assess the realities of the world, confirm the justness of our cause and strengthen our confidence in the ineluctable victory of our people.

Perhaps at no time in history has there been such a widespread reprobation as that now felt for the U.S. ruling circles. That you men of science and culture

of all nationalities and opinions, march in the van in that universal conscience awakening gives rise to the greatest hopes of mankind.

The Vietnamese people, in the North as well as in the South, and the Vietnamese intellectuals in particular, are profoundly grateful to you.

By publicly approving our national struggle, you are declaring your confidence in man, and thereby making it clear that no material and technical force whatsoever can stamp out the will for independence and freedom of a people. For our part, we are deeply conscious that by defending our independence, we are contributing our share to the safeguarding of the most precious human values for all peoples.

The U.S. imperialists have bluntly declared that they have been using Vietnam as a testing ground for weapons and tactics which would enable them to subdue other peoples in other places and in other times. From the failure or success of their Vietnam adventure may result either a lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia, or a series of chain conflicts the outcome of which are unpredictable.

You know that the American commanders are, in the war in Vietnam, using most murderous weapons against the civilian peoples including those banned by international law: B. 52 bombers, napalm, phosphorous bombs and bullets, toxic gas and crop-killing chemical products... In many localities, after massacring the people by indiscriminate bombings and intensive artillery fire, the U.S. troops have also sought to asphyxiate with toxic gas all those hiding in underground shelters.

This is a ruthless, merciless war of extermination. Hitler did the same but with less "modern" means.

Reports have come to us from the United States that while intensifying the war, the Washington warmongers are suppressing more and more violently the American citizens' democratic liberties. Behind the Vietnam war looms the shadow of McCarthyism; twin brother of fascism. And as before, the fascists take drastic actions against the intellectuals whom they call "egg-heads" and charge with the worst perversions. Addressing President Johnson, American writer Arthur Miller has said: "When the guns boom, arts die."

We know how much it cost humanity when fascism was allowed to install itself in Germany; if unfortunately it were installed in the United States and laid hands upon the considerable resources of this country, the consequences would be incalculable.

Expressing at our conference the sentiments of the progressive American intellectuals, Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University, recalled the tragic error of the German intellectuals who had refrained from struggling against incipient Hitlerism. He then asserted the will of his colleagues to struggle resolutely against the Vietnam war and the advent of fascism in America — two closely linked processes.

We are confident in our progressive American colleagues. Allow us to express the wish that the intellectuals all over the world, from the United States to Vietnam, passing through Asia, Europe, Africa, Oceania, the two Americas, join their efforts to put an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The common front of the peoples against this aggression is broadening day after day, and the scientists, artists, professors, writers, lawyers... can contribute most efficaciously to promoting it with all the weight given to their actions by their scientific, literary and moral authority.

Be assured that on our part, we shall deploy all our efforts to deserve the confidence and support you are giving us.

Our people have a several thousand years history. They have struggled for centuries to defend their independence and liberty. Never will they accept foreign tutelage. Eighty years under the colonial regime and eleven years under U.S. domination in the southern part of our country have taught the Vietnamese intellectuals that there can be a future for science and culture only in independence and liberty. We have realized this truth all the more clearly as for eleven years now, in the entirely liberated northern half of our country, we have been able rapidly to lay the initial foundations of a national culture with a most promising future.

No weapons, no threats can make us shrink. Our people will fight till complete victory for the complete realization of their fundamental national rights — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — clearly stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

Our people who have been compelled to take up arms for the past twenty-five years, are the first to desire peace, but a real peace is inseparable from the respect for genuine national independence.

It is sheer hypocrisy to speak all the time of peace, to send "peace emissaries" to all capitals while stepping up acts of war and arrogating to oneself the right to dispatch hundreds of thousands of troops to invade a country on the other end of the globe, ruling that South Vietnam must accept a government at the U.S. beck and call and remain forever severed from the northern part of the country. It is utter hypocrisy to declare to everyone that one is ready to negotiate while refusing to deal with the main interlocutor, the South

Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.

It is cynical blackmail to claim that the temporary suspension of bombing of North Vietnam gives the United States the right to force the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to accept the American terms.

No, we will never accept this "pax Americana". Never shall we tolerate this brutal interference in the affairs of our country.

With the active support of the peoples of the world, our people in the North as well as in the South have victoriously fought back U.S. aggression : the trial will be a long and hard one, but we are sure to win. In us this firm will for independence is associated with the broadest internationalism. Vietnamese intellectuals are particularly anxious to entertain the most varied exchanges with their colleagues in all countries including the U.S.A. and to integrate in their national culture all that is best in the culture of other countries.

It is our profound conviction that our joint action today for peace in Vietnam may open the best prospects for the friendly and close cultural relations between our countries.

We also assure you that in North Vietnam as well as in the liberated areas of South Vietnam, in spite of bombings and raids, Vietnamese intellectuals, with the help of the entire people, are uninterruptedly making every cultural effort at the cost of thousands of sacrifices. Schools, laboratories, hospitals, continue to function, because our people know that to continue maintaining the torch of science and art also means a victory over

the enemy. The material and moral assistance which intellectuals round the world are giving to Vietnam greatly contributes to this effort.

Intellectuals of all countries,

Protest more energetically against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, against U.S. crimes in Vietnam !

Demand an unconditional cessation of the bombings on North Vietnam !

Demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam !

Demand that the U. S. Government respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam !

Long live the independence of all peoples !

Long live peace !

Long live the friendship among the nations !

Long live the fraternal cooperation among all men of science and culture in all countries !

LETTER TO THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE UNITED STATES

Dear friends,

More than ten thousand miles separate us, yet today our common concerns have brought us together. Every action of the American people in favour of peace and democracy has profound repercussions in Vietnam, and you assuredly cannot fail to feel that the events here exert a broad influence on the course of things in the United States.

It has been our constant hope, now that relations between nations become closer day by day, that our two countries come to know each other through their men of science and culture. Nevertheless, history, or more exactly the ambitions of big business, has decided otherwise. Our people are making contact with America through an expeditionary force which is drowning our country in blood and fire, and through bombers which raze our towns and villages.

However, as when we fought against the French colonialists, we are able to judge with all lucidity and

distinguish the bellicose imperialists from the people of America, the heirs to a long-standing tradition of liberty and democracy.

We have been following with emotion the development of the courageous campaign which has gradually and ceaselessly grown up and exhorted so many American intellectuals and students to stand up and oppose the war policy of the White House. The sublime sacrifices of Helga Herz, Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte, Celene Jankowski and many others, like the courageous attitude of the young men who have burnt their draft cards, the demonstrations of students and the peace marches have moved us profoundly.

We fraternally hail all the Americans who in increasing numbers disapprove this war imposed by their government on the Vietnamese people.

We know how much courage and perseverance it takes the Americans of good will to overcome all obstacles created by the propaganda and actions of their government in order to carry out this splendid campaign for peace in Vietnam. We recognize in them the genuine sons and daughters of the America which we have always admired: the America of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Du Bois, the America of Oppenheimer, Linus Pauling, the America of Whitman, Dreiser, Hemingway, Faulkner... We know that while struggling for an end to the war in Vietnam, the American people are also defending the heritage of freedom and democracy in the United States itself.

You certainly know that the Vietnamese people, through many thousand years of history, have never ceased to fight against foreign aggression, for independence and freedom. You who keep alive the memory

of the American Revolution, are in a position fully to understand the determination and feelings which are animating us.

We love our Fatherland as profoundly as you do yours. We have liberated it from French colonialism, we will fight to the end to liberate it from any other foreign aggression. Our people and armed forces have always valiantly and gloriously fulfilled their patriotic task, and nobody can impose on us any form of tutelage, let alone enslavement.

You must be grieved at seeing that the most splendid gains of science and technique are being used for the purpose of extermination, all the more so as American youths sent to Vietnam for an unjust cause are being killed in increasing numbers. You certainly know that in our era all colonial wars are doomed to failure, and the deeper the commitment of the United States the bitterer the defeat and the greater the dishonour it will suffer.

President Johnson affirms everywhere that he wants nothing but peace, yet since April 7, 1965 when he made his "peace proposals", the most murderous bombings, even by B-52s, against the North and the South of our country, the landings of troops on our coasts and raiding operations against our villages have multiplied, and American troops have used more toxic gas and chemical poisons than ever before.

How can one reconcile this so-called will for peace with the oft-repeated assertion by the American ruling circles that they will never withdraw American troops from South Vietnam? They tell you that the United States cannot withdraw its troops from South

Vietnam without dishonour, but does the honour of a nation consist in sending troops all over the world, to Vietnam or to Santo Domingo, in an effort to stamp out the people's freedom?

They assure you that the United States is bound by its commitments towards the Saigon "administrations" but you are well aware that this is sheer deception. No honest American would declare he is ready to die for the sake of a Nguyen Cao Ky. In truth, the White House is paying and installing in Saigon its puppets, betrayers of their Fatherland, who then call for help to enable their patrons to intervene.

There is on the other hand, a really solemn commitment made by the American Government on July 20, 1954 at the Geneva Conference, when the delegate of the United States Bedell Smith declared that his government would refrain from the use or threat of force to hinder the implementation of the signed agreements.

What are the contents of the agreements signed in Geneva in 1954?

They explicitly stipulate the recognition of the fundamental national rights of our people: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. They prohibit the introduction of all foreign military personnel and armaments into both zones of Vietnam, the setting up of foreign military bases in these zones and their adherence to any military bloc, prohibit all foreign interference in the Vietnamese affairs and provide for general elections to reunify the country in 1956. All these provisions have been violated by the U.S. Government which nonetheless still declares itself desirous to see the Geneva Agreements implemented.

It seems that the Johnson Administration has made it a rule to do the opposite of what it says. It speaks of peace while stepping up war. It sends its emissaries throughout the world with its "peace proposals" while in South Vietnam U.S. troops are making large-scale use of poison gas and razing to the ground whole villages, while U.S. aircraft are daily violating the airspace of North Vietnam and preparing for intensified bombings, and while feverish preparations are being made for further troop dispatch to South Vietnam. It proposed "negotiations" while refusing to talk with its main interlocutor — the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation — the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people; the organizer of the struggle for national independence. The N.F.L.'s programme of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and ultimate peaceful reunification of the country has put in a concrete form the most profound aspirations of our entire people.

Any sensible person holds that Vietnam's affairs must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. But the White House wants to install its lackeys in Saigon, arrogates to itself the right to send troops to a place over ten thousand kilometres from the United States to invade a foreign country, invents the fiction of a South Vietnamese state which must be for ever separated from the North, and calls the Vietnamese who fight for their liberation "aggressors". The U.S. Government, which is carrying out the most atrocious war of aggression, muffles itself up in the "peace" cloak in an attempt to soothe the peoples' wrath.

The Vietnamese people love peace all the more as for twenty years now their country has been ravaged by

war, and for eleven years now the northern part of Vietnam has been waging a relentless and victorious fight against backwardness and poverty and building a society with a splendid future ahead. It is precisely because we cherish peace that we will not accept a faked peace which would imply the sacrifice of the most fundamental aspirations of our people. Peace and respect for our people's national rights are closely linked with each other. A peace that ensures respect for Vietnam's national independence is also the most honourable peace for the United States.

We earnestly and loudly assert that it is you, American students and intellectuals, who, together with other strata of your people, are standing up against the war policy of Johnson, McNamara and their ilk, who are defending the name of the United States; and not those who rain napalm on our cities and villages and spread toxic products on our crops and countryside.

While we are writing this, our children are being burned by U.S. napalm, asphyxiated by U.S. gas, and thousands of American youths are falling on the Vietnamese battlefield without knowing for whom or for what they die.

Across the ocean which separates us; may the hands and hearts of the people of goodwill of our two countries meet again to stop this war of aggression imposed by the U.S. Government on our people!

We are convinced that our common efforts will tie up the hands of those who live on war, who dream of enslaving our people to satisfy their ambitions. We have the firm conviction that once peace is won our common action will enable us to establish really friendly relations between our two peoples.

American friends, raise your voice more powerfully
and multiply your actions!

Demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South
Vietnam!

Demand a halt to U.S. crimes in South Vietnam!

Demand an end to the bombing of North Vietnam!

Demand that the U.S. Government respect the fun-
damental national rights of the Vietnamese people!

Together with the entire Vietnamese people, the Viet-
namese intellectuals express aloud their sincere friend-
ship and gratitude to you all.

