

HO CHI MINH

**AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION
FOR NATIONAL SALVATION**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

HANOI — 1967

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AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION



President HO CHI MINH

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"Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country — and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty."

Excerpt from the
Declaration of Independence

September 2, 1945

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

One has to trace back Vietnam's history in the past two decades to find out the origin of the present Vietnam war and forecast its prospects.

And this history is nowhere better reflected than in the words and writings of President Ho Chi Minh, who embodies the will of struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence and peace.

By collecting President Ho Chi Minh's statements, speeches, answers in interviews from 1950 onwards, we would like to show how step by step Washington's "escalation" has shifted from interference on the side of the French colonialists to overt, cynical and barbaric aggression. This pamphlet helps the reader grasp the guide-lines of our national resistance, follow our successes, and understand the determination of our people to fight and to win as well as their stand for the settlement of the Vietnamese question.

The documents are classified in chronologic order, according to the different phases of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against American imperialism from 1950 until now.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI

PART I

1950-1954

POLITICAL REPORT
AT THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY
SECOND CONGRESS

February 1951

(Excerpt)

...Immediately after the end of World War II, the United States has become the ringleader of world imperialism and reaction. Britain and France are its right and left hands, and the reactionary governments in the East and the West its henchmen. Tito and his associates are United States hunting dogs.

Aspiring to world hegemony, the United States brandishes dollars in one hand to win over the world peoples and an atomic bomb in the other to menace them. The Truman Programme, the Marshall Plan, the N.A.T.O. and the South-East Asia programme are all U.S. manoeuvres aimed at preparing a third world war.

But the U.S. ambition has encountered an enormous resistance from the tremendous force of the Soviet

Union, the movement for democracy and peace and the national-liberation movement, which have been seething all over the world.

The U.S. present policy is, in Asia, to assist reactionaries such as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, to help the British imperialists repress the resistance forces in Malaya and the French colonialists crush the Resistance War in Vietnam, while the Americans themselves are waging an aggressive war against Korea and occupying Taiwan in an attempt to undermine the Chinese revolution.

Through the Marshall Plan and the N.A.T.O., the United States has seized control over the West European countries in the military, political and economic fields and, simultaneously, been striving to arm them, and compelling them to supply cannon-fodder as in the plan for setting up in that region 70 divisions under an American Commander-in-Chief.

However, the U.S. camp has many weaknesses :

Facing the strong democratic camp, that let by the United States is being threatened by another force : economic crisis. It is plagued by many internal contradictions. For example, the Americans want Western Germany to set up an army ten divisions strong but are opposed by the French people ; Britain covertly

counters them because it is contending for the oil-fields in the Near-East and for influence in the Far-East.

The people, especially the toiling people in the recipient countries of American "aid", hate the United States for encroaching upon their economic interests and their national independence.

The United States is too ambitious. It plans to establish bases all over the world. It helps all reactionary groups and all reactionary governments. Its front-line extends beyond measure, consequently its force necessarily spread thin. Clear proof of this is the fact that the United States, together with fifteen of its satellite countries, is suffering defeats in invading Korea. It helped the reactionary clique in China — the Kuo-mintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek — but could not prevent its downfall. It is providing aid to the French colonialists in Vietnam, yet the Vietnamese Resistance War is winning.

In short, we can say that the reactionary imperialist camp will certainly lose and the camp of peace and democracy will certainly win.

Vietnam is a part and parcel of the world democratic camp. It is a stronghold against imperialism, against the anti-democratic camp headed by the United States.

Since the beginning of our Resistance War, Britain and the United States have helped the French colonialists. And from 1950 onwards the Americans have openly intervened in our country. In late 1950, Britain and France prepared to set up a "united" front to co-ordinate their efforts against the Resistance War in Malaya and in Vietnam.

Thus, the situation in the outside world is closely related to the situation in our country. The successes of the democratic camp are also ours and inversely. Therefore, our main slogan now is "crush French colonialists and defeat U.S. interventionists" in order to win national reunification and complete independence and safeguard world peace.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY THE PRESS REGARDING U.S. INTERVENTION IN INDOCHINA*

July 25, 1950

Question: *What is, Mr. President, the U.S. imperialists' present interventionist policy in Indochina?*

Answer: For quite a time the U.S. imperialists have openly interfered in Indochina's affairs. It is with their money and weapons and on their instructions that the French colonialists have been waging war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

*Until 1950, the Americans helped the French for the reconquest of Indochina. While the Resistance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos was developing in every respect, from that year onwards, they intervened directly in the affairs of Indochina. American generals, senators, businessmen, even missionaries, came to Vietnam in ever-larger numbers. The United States set up the Military Advisory and Assistance Group (M.A.A.G.) in order directly to conduct the war. It increased military aid to the French, covering the major part of their war budget. (*Publ.*)

On the other hand, they are more and more intensively plotting to oust the latter so as to gain complete control over Indochina. That is why they have stepped up their direct intervention in every field: military, political and economic. This, too, accounts for the increasing contradictions between the Americans and the French.

Question: *What influence does this intervention exert on the Indochinese peoples?*

Answer: The U.S. imperialists supply armaments to their henchmen to massacre the Indochinese peoples.

They dump their goods in Indochina to prevent the development of local handicrafts.

Their pornographic culture depraves the youth in areas placed under their control.

They follow the policy of buying up, deluding and dividing our people. They strive to turn some bad elements into U.S. agents that they use for the conquest of our country.

Question: *What measure shall we take against them?*

Answer: To gain independence, we, the Indochinese peoples, must fight to defeat the French colonialists, our enemy number one. At the same

time, we have to struggle against the American interventionists. The deeper their interference, the more powerful our solidarity and our struggle will become.

We shall expose their manoeuvres before our people, especially those living in areas under their control.

We shall unmask all those who, as U.S. agents, help the Americans to deceive and divide our people.

The close solidarity between the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos constitutes a force capable of defeating the French colonialists and the American interventionists. The latter have failed in China, they will fail in Indochina, too.

We are still facing numerous difficulties but victory will certainly be ours.

THE U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS
CAN NEVER SUBDUE
THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE *

(Excerpt)

After their defeat in the China-Vietnam Border Campaign in October 1950, the most shameful defeat in the whole history of their colonial wars, which led to their withdrawal from five provinces at one time—Caobang, Langson, Laocai, Thainguyen and Hoabinh—the French colonialists began the year 1951 with the despatch of General De Lattre de Tassigny to Vietnam.

They have resorted to total war. They have been trying their best to consolidate the Bao Dai puppet government, organize puppet troops, redouble spying activities. They set up no man's lands from five to ten kilometres wide around the areas under their

* Article published in *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, April 4, 1952, under the pen-name Din. (Publ.) It is retranslated from French.

control and strengthened the Red River delta with a network of 2,300 bunkers. They have been stepping up big mopping-up operations in their rear, undertaking wholesale destruction of our manpower and material resources by killing our compatriots, devastating our countryside, burning our ricefields, etc. In a word, they have been following the policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" and "nursing the war by means of warfare".

It is on orders and with the assistance of their masters — the American interventionists — that the French colonialists are performing the above-mentioned deeds.

The first American reactionary who arrived in Vietnam to prepare for U.S. intervention in this country was W. Bullitt, a notorious spy and Truman's friend and representative. Since then Vietnam has witnessed the uninterrupted coming and going of congressmen, spies, generals and admirals, businessmen, bankers and even a bishop.

Among the first Americans now living in Vietnam (of course in areas under French control) there are a notorious spy — Donald Heat — ambassador accredited to the puppet government, and a general — Brink — head of the U.S. military mission.

In September 1951, De Lattre de Tassigny went to Washington to make his report and beg for "aid".

In October, General Collins, Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff came to Vietnam to inspect the French Expeditionary Force and puppet troops.

In order to show their American masters that U.S. "aid" is used in a worthwhile manner, in November De Lattre de Tassigny attacked the chief town of Hoabinh province. The result of this "lightning offensive", which the reactionary press in France and in the world commented on so uproariously, was that the Vietnam People's Army held the overwhelming majority of enemy troops tightly between two prongs and wiped them out. But this did not prevent De Lattre de Tassigny and his henchmen from hullabalooing that they had carried the day.

From the very beginning of the war, the Americans have been supplying France with money and armaments. To take an example, 85 per cent of weapons, war *matériel* and even canned food captured by our troops were labelled "made in U.S.A.". This "aid" had particularly increased since U.S. intervention in Korea in June 1950. It includes airplanes, boats, trucks, military outfits, napalm bombs, etc.

Meanwhile, the Americans have compelled the French colonialists to speed up the organization of

four puppet divisions with each party footing half the bill. Of course, this collusion between the French, the Americans and the puppets is fraught with contradictions and antagonisms.

The French colonialists are now landed in a dilemma: either to receive U.S. "aid" and be ousted later by their American "ally" or to dispense with it and be defeated by the Vietnamese people. To organize a puppet army by means of pressganging the youth in the areas under their control would amount to swallowing a bomb when one is hungry: the day will come when the bomb bursts inside. However, not to organize such an army would mean suicide within a short delay for the enemy as the French strategists themselves have admitted that the French Expeditionary Force is suffering ever-greater losses and finds itself on the verge of collapse.

Furthermore, U.S. "aid" is paid for at a very high price. In the enemy-held areas, French capitalism is swept aside by American capitalism. American concerns like the Standard Oil Corporation, the Caltex Oil Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Florid Phosphate Corporation and others, monopolise rubber, ores and other natural resources of our country. U.S. goods swamp the market. The French reactionary press, especially *Le Monde*, has to acknowledge sadly that French capitalism is now giving way to U.S. capitalism.

The U.S. interventionists have reduced to submission the French aggressors and the Vietnamese puppets, but the Vietnamese people do not let themselves deluded and enslaved.

People's China is our next-door neighbour. Her brilliant example greatly inspires us. Not long ago the Chinese people defeated the U.S. imperialists and won a historic victory. The execrated Chiang Kai-shek, though more cunning than Bao Dai, was swept from the Chinese mainland. Can the U.S. interventionists who were driven out of China and are now sustaining heavy defeats in Korea, conquer Vietnam? Of course, not.

REPORT TO THE VIETNAM WORKERS' PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, 6th PLENUM

July 15, 1954

(Excerpt)

1) *World situation*

... The inner contradictions of the U.S.-headed imperialist camp have been deepening and expanding. For instance:

Contradiction between Britain and the United States: conflict of interests in the Mediterranean and Middle East. The United States has drawn Pakistan, New Zealand and Australia from the British to its side. In the Far East the British policy towards China and Japan has differed from that of the United States...

Contradiction between the United States and France: the United States has helped France with the intention of putting pressure on the latter.

It has done its utmost to force France into signing the German-French treaty and the E.D.C. It would be suicidal for France to sign them. In Indochina, these two countries seemed to be at one to cope with our Resistance War, but, in fact the United States wants to have the puppets well in hands in order to oust the French, and has already put Ngo Dinh Diem—its zealous valet—at the head of a puppet government.

The American policy towards E.D.C. has driven a wedge between the Western European countries. The people of these countries are opposing their pro-American governments and contradictions have cropped up between the pro- and anti-American capitalists. In Asia, the United States has plans to set up the S.E.A.T.O. with a view to using Asians to fight Asians. This reactionary policy has met with repeated failures. With their "policy of strength" and their A and H bombs the American imperialists are posing a threat to other countries. But the world peace movement against them has become stronger day after day.

With the coming of the Geneva Conference and faced with our victory at Dienbienphu the United States plotted to issue a "joint communiqué" with France, Britain and other countries to threaten China, charging it with intervention in the Indochina

war. The move has come to grief owing to the opposition of Britain and other countries. Then the Americans proposed a "joint action" to save France at Dienbienphu but Britain and other countries again disagreed, and this scheme, too, failed. They used every means to prevent the holding of the Geneva Conference to wreck peace. Despite the departure of the U.S. Secretary of State the work of the Conference continued and has brought some results.

For all its setbacks, the Americans still prove to be obdurate and are speeding up the formation of the S.E.A.T.O.. Their failure means success for our camp. U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of world peace, consequently we must muster our forces to oppose it.

2) Home situation

Thanks to their solidarity the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples have continually strengthened their resistance. Our guerilla force in South, Central and North Vietnam, has stood firm and grown up. From the Border* Campaign to the Hoabinh, Taybac and other campaigns our regular forces have recorded repeated successes. The victories we achieved before and at Dienbienphu have

* Vietnam-China. (Publ.)

brought about a turning point. The fiasco of the Navarre plan has led to the overthrow of the Laniel-Bidault government and the narrowing down of the French-occupied zone.

We owe our successes to the correct policy of our Party and Government, the heroism of our army-men and people and the support of the fraternal countries and world peoples. Ours are also the successes of the world movement for peace and democracy.

Beside successes on the military front initial ones have also been scored on the anti-feudalist front. The former have exerted influence on the mobilization of the popular masses to implement our land policy, and the latter, on our struggle against imperialism. Our successes inspire our people and the world peoples and strengthen our position in Geneva; they have compelled our enemy to start negotiations with us. Compared with Bollaert's terms in 1947 the French proposals are now quite different. Since the first days of the Resistance War our position has been obviously strengthened and the enemy's weakened. But our strength and their weakness are relative, not absolute. We must guard against subjectiveness and underrate our enemy. Our successes have awakened the American imperialists. After the Dienbienphu Campaign the U.S. intention and plan for

intervention have also undergone changes towards protracting and internationalizing the Indochina War, sabotaging the Geneva Conference, ousting the French by every means, whereby to occupy Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, enslave the peoples of these countries, and create tension in the world situation.

Therefore the U.S. imperialists have become not only the enemy of the world peoples but also, gradually, the main and direct enemy of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples.

The above-cited changes in the world and home situation has led to the Geneva Conference. This Conference has further exasperated the contradictions between the imperialist countries, with France willing to negotiate, Britain wavering and the United States out to sabotage the talks and lapsing into more serious isolation.

*

At present, all our work must aim at countering the U.S. imperialists — the main enemy of the world peoples and the main and direct enemy of the Indochinese peoples. Any person or country that dislikes the American imperialists can, though temporarily, join us in a united front against U.S. imperialism. Our unalterable goal is peace, independence, unity and democracy.

We must unswervingly stick to principles but show flexibility in tactics. All our activities should be tackled in close connection and co-ordination, each branch carrying out its own in co-ordination with all the other branches. Any work whatsoever should be done in accordance with the concrete situation in each locality at a given moment.

Under the correct leadership of our Party and Government, with the unity and efforts of all our cadres and people, as well as the sympathy of the fraternal and all the peace-loving peoples we will surely win.

PART II

1955-1965

TENTH NATIONAL DAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM*

September 2, 1955

(Excerpt)

Peace has been restored in Indochina on the basis of recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Peace has been brought to us by the 1954 Geneva Conference. It cannot be consolidated as long as our country remains partitioned by the provisional demarcation line at the 17th Parallel. Moreover, the attitude of the Southern authorities and their sponsors poses a serious threat to peace which has been re-established for more than one year.

Indeed, if the first step, i.e. the military stage stipulated in the Geneva Agreements, in general, ended satisfactorily, as the whole territory of North Vietnam has been liberated, on the contrary, the second step,

* Published in *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*.

i.e. the stage leading to the reunification of Vietnam through general elections to be held in 1956 cannot as yet be started as a result of Ngo Dinh Diem's deliberate hindrance.

The Southern authorities savagely massacre our compatriots and all patriotic and peace forces in the South. Within only one year, they committed more than 3,000 crimes and violations of the Geneva Agreements. At least 4,000 patriots were killed or wounded and over 19,000 arrested. In addition to these terrorist acts, the Diem administration also feverishly carried out the U.S. political line with a view to turning South Vietnam into a U.S. colony and military base, which would be permanently incorporated in the sphere of activity of the South-East Asian aggressive organization (S.E.A.T.O.).

LETTER TO OUR COMPATRIOTS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

July 6, 1956
(*Excerpt*)

Strictly implementing the Geneva Agreements, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has time and again proposed to the South Vietnamese authorities the holding of political consultations over free general elections for the reunification of our country.

But the U.S. imperialists and the pro-American authorities in South Vietnam have been plotting to partition our country permanently and prevent the holding of free general elections as provided for by the Geneva Agreements. They have been acting against the interests of our fatherland and our people.

... Vietnam must be reunified. Our compatriots in both the South and the North will certainly live under the same roof again. Let them be resolved to unite closely and on a broad basis in accordance

with the Programme of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, participate eagerly in the patriotic emulation movement, endeavour to consolidate the North and struggle with determination and perseverance for a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

Reunification is a vital question for our people. Broad unity is an invincible force. It has brought our Revolution to success and our Resistance War to victory. United on a broad basis we shall surely win in our political struggle and our country will surely be reunified.

STATEMENT ON THE SOUTH VIETNAM SITUATION

August 29, 1963

An extremely serious and heart-breaking situation has lately arisen in South Vietnam. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique have burnt down pagodas, persecuted monks and nuns and Buddhist believers as a whole. They have closed down schools, arrested teachers and students *en masse*. Their barbarous crimes are intolerable. Our people are all indignant at their cruel acts. People throughout the world have raised their voice in protest, progressive people in the United States have also shown their disapproval.

These monstrous crimes have been committed with the support of the U.S. imperialists who are sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, carrying out an armed aggression in South Vietnam, and fostering the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

It is due to the U.S.-Diem's crimes that our Southern compatriots have lived in blood and fire

over the past nine years, and that our country is still divided.

In face of such a situation, our compatriots in South Vietnam whether they are intellectuals, peasants, workers or traders, and whatever their political tendencies and religious beliefs, are united and determined to struggle to wrest back democratic liberties and freedom of belief.

Under the banner of the National Front for Liberation and with the support of the peace-loving people in the world, their just struggle will certainly end in victory.

The Vietnamese people resolutely demand that the U.S. imperialists withdraw from South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese problem must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, I sincerely thank the peoples and Governments of Buddhist-religion countries and the fraternal socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving people the world over, the American people and progressive personalities, for having severely condemned the U.S. imperialists and the Diem clique, and warmly supported the South Vietnamese people.

I earnestly call on you, for the sake of peace, justice, humanity and liberty, to stay the bloody

hands of the U.S. imperialists and the Diem clique, and give stronger support to the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people until they achieve complete victory.

On behalf of the people in the North, I cordially wish our Southern compatriots: unity, struggle and success.

INTERVIEW GRANTED
TO WILFRED BURCHETT,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE AMERICAN
NATIONAL GUARDIAN AND THE
ALGERIAN RÉVOLUTION AFRICAINE

August 13, 1963

(Excerpt)

Question: *What is the present situation in South Vietnam as you see it?*

Answer: A savage war is being waged against our compatriots in South Vietnam by the Diem regime and U.S. interventionists. An army many hundreds of thousands strong has been turned loose against the South Vietnamese people. Over 12,000 U.S. officers and men are taking part in this war, hundreds of U.S. planes and helicopters with U.S. pilots at the control are daily bombing and burning peaceful villages, destroying food crops and orchards with noxious chemicals sprayed from the air. Overall command of this war against the people is in the hands of a U.S. General Staff in Saigon. Operational plans are drawn up by U.S. generals, combat operations are directed by U.S. officers. U.S. officers

and troops take an active part in these operations. The camouflage that they are there as "advisers" deceives no one. It is American pilots who choose the targets and release the bombs and rockets, American soldiers who aim the artillery pieces and fire the guns and who often at gun-point force Diemist troops to massacre their compatriots.

The U.S. directed military-political aims at present are to herd the entire population in the countryside of South Vietnam into concentration camps — fortified villages surrounded with barbed wire entanglements and moats — from which the peasants may leave only in daylight hours under the guns of the U.S. - Diemist troops. The main military operations are designed to sweep the peasants up into the so-called "strategic hamlets", the concentration camp villages. The people of South Vietnam resist this, they refuse to live like slaves. With primitive arms made by themselves and and those they can capture from their oppressors they fight back. In order to increase the pressure on them, U.S. planes have of late greatly stepped up their barbaric campaign of destroying rice and other food crops by air-sprayed chemicals and thus starve the peasants into submission.

The people have been forced to take up armed resistance. Representatives from all sections of the population have rallied in a National Front for Liberation

which now coordinates and directs the resistance activities. Most of the country has now been liberated from the U.S.-Diemist puppet regime and is administered by elected Committees of the National Front for Liberation. U.S.-Diemist control is now essentially limited to the towns and some of the strategic highways.

Question : *What are the principal reasons for the present situation in South Vietnam ?*

Answer ; The reason for the present situation is clear to anyone who examines facts objectively. The Diem regime is an artificial creation of the U.S. Government. It has no popular support from the South Vietnamese people and never has had. It is a feudal, despotic family regime in which all political power and the economic resources of the country rest in the hands of the Ngo family. It exists only because it is propped up by U.S. guns and dollars.

Under the 1954 Geneva Agreements, democratic rights were guaranteed to the people of South Vietnam, there were to be no reprisals against patriots who had fought to liberate the country from French colonialism; there were to be general, democratic elections within two years to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country. These provisions of the Geneva Agreements, and many more, have been crudely trampled on by the Diem regime at the direct instigation and with the financial, political and military

support of the U.S. Government. From 1955 onwards a campaign of extermination was directed against all those patriots who had taken part in the Resistance War. Our compatriots at first tried to defend themselves peacefully by demanding their legal rights as guaranteed by the Geneva Agreements. The International Commission for Supervision and Control verified by on-the-spot investigations wholesale massacres and the bestial torture of thousands of innocents whose only "crime" was to have aided with the Resistance War against the French colonialists. But the I.C. proved powerless to halt the massacres, as it proved powerless to ensure the provisions for the general elections to reunify the country, intended for 1956.

It was only after tens of thousands had been massacred in cold blood and hundreds of thousands more herded into the slow death of Diemist prisons and concentration camps, that our compatriots in the South saw there was no other way but to fight back to defend their own lives and those of their families. Their cruel choice was to take to arms or be exterminated in cold blood.

Direct U.S. military intervention since the end of 1961 has greatly added to the sufferings of our people south of the 17th Parallel. It has also fortified their resolve to fight if necessary a long-term war of resistance to throw out the U.S. interventionists and end the feudal-fascist regime of Ngo Dinh Diem.

REPORT AT THE SPECIAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE

March 27, 1964

(Excerpt)

Ten years ago, the Dienbienphu victory put a glorious end to the protracted, arduous and heroic Resistance War waged by our entire people against the French colonialists' aggression and the U.S. imperialists' intervention. This was a great victory for our people and also a common victory for all oppressed nations in the world. The Dienbienphu victory made the truth of Marxism-Leninism in the present time glitter with even greater radiance: imperialists' wars of aggression are doomed to failure, peoples' national-liberation revolutions will certainly be victorious.

The Dienbienphu victory led to the success of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, solemnly recognizing the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people as well as of the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples. The Western countries participating

in the Conference — the United States, the United Kingdom and France — pledged themselves to respect these inviolable national rights.

However, immediately after the Geneva Conference, with U.S. wire-pulling, the imperialist countries set up a so-called South-East Asian "defensive" organization which is in reality an aggressive bloc — the S.E.A.T.O. Since that time, the U.S. imperialists have indulged in an ever more blatant intervention in the southern part of our country and in Laos where they have unleashed fratricidal wars. They have resorted to every perfidious manoeuvre to jeopardize Cambodia's peace and neutrality. They have used Thailand as a springboard for aggression against the above countries. Recently the American and British imperialists have engineered the establishment of the so-called "Malaysia" in an attempt to threaten the Republic of Indonesia.

They wrongly believe it possible to crush the new emerging nations, and turn a number of South-East Asian countries into military bases for eventual attack against the socialist countries. This perfidious scheme is, however, being resolutely combated by the Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian and Indonesian peoples, and is doomed to complete failure.

After the Geneva Conference, our whole people ought to have been in a position to live in peace and

tranquillity and concentrate their efforts on national construction. But the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have sabotaged the Agreements, prolonged the partition of our country, and started a ruthless war in South Vietnam. They have burnt down or destroyed villages, massacred the population, made arrests, committed rapes, disembowelled and beheaded many people without even sparing children and the old ages.

The entire civilized mankind is seething with indignation at their monstrous crimes. That is the reason why our fourteen million compatriots in the South have resolutely risen up to resist to the end. Deeply sensitive to its sufferings, their countrymen in the North never cease, even for a minute, thinking of the valiant South and of the struggle for national reunification.

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The past ten years have been for the South years of gallant struggle and glorious victories. For twenty years, our compatriots there have been ceaselessly fighting to defend the fatherland. In their struggle against the French colonialists, then against the U.S. imperialists, the patriotic forces in South Vietnam have overcome all difficulties and hardships, grown ever stronger as they fight and have consequently won

ever greater victories. South Vietnam is indeed worthy of being called "the fatherland's Brass Wall".

At present, the world peoples, including the American people have realized that the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in South Vietnam is doomed to failure. Even among the American ruling circles there are people who begin to see that the United States and its lackeys have been driven into a blind alley. Thousands of millions of U.S. dollars, tens of thousands of tons of U.S. weapons have been poured into South Vietnam, over twenty-thousand U.S. military advisers have been sent in to command over half a million South Vietnamese troops in a most ruthless war against our compatriots. The result, however, is that the longer they fight, the greater their defeats, and the deeper they are bogged down.

Why are the U.S. imperialists sustaining defeats? They believe that these are due to their lackeys' impotence and that a change of puppets will bring about a turn for the better. But the more they change their valets, the more their situation deteriorates. They lay the blame on the South Vietnamese army's* lack of fighting spirit. True, why should this army who is Vietnamese by birth tail after the U.S. invaders and kill their countrymen? They are becoming more and

* Puppet (*Publ.*).

more conscious and seeking every occasion to turn their guns against them and the traitors.

Moreover, the American aggressors and their henchmen claim that North Vietnam has supplied weapons to the patriotic forces in South Vietnam. But it is well known that these weapons are made in the United States and supplied them by the South Vietnamese army. The American press itself has admitted that over the past year the guerillas had seized more than 8,000 American weapons to equip themselves with. At present, the U.S. warmongers and their new running dogs are trumpeting about "marching to the North".

They must understand that should they rashly venture to lay hands on the North, they would surely sustain a shameful defeat because our whole people will resolutely fight back, because the socialist countries and progressive people the world over will unreservedly support us, because the people of the United States and its allies, too, will oppose them.

The present situation in South Vietnam clearly shows that the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid defeat in their "special war". And once they have failed in the "special war" which they are testing in South Vietnam, they will also fail everywhere else. That is the international significance of the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South with regard to the national-liberation struggle in the world.

REPLY TO THE AMERICAN MONTHLY *MINORITY OF ONE*

May 1964

Dear Mr. Editor,

I sincerely thank your paper for affording me an opportunity to talk with the American people on the present situation in South Vietnam.

From Vietnam, some ten thousand miles away from the United States, I wish to convey to our American friends greetings of friendship together with this earnest appeal.

I hope that you will more clearly realize the bitter truth about South Vietnam which constitutes one half of our fatherland. An extremely atrocious war is raging there, a war which turns out to be the biggest, the most protracted, and the bloodiest one now going on in the world. This so-called "special war" is actually a war of aggression waged by the U.S. Government and its agents, a war which is daily causing grief and

suffering to our fourteen million compatriots in South Vietnam, and in which thousands of American youths have been killed or wounded. This "special war" is reducing to ashes our villages, destroying our fields, and devastating one half of our country; it has cost the American people thousands of millions of dollars. Furthermore, this war which is replete with horrible crimes, has not only infringed upon the freedom and independence of our compatriots in South Vietnam, but also besmeared the good reputation and good traditions of the American people.

The Vietnamese people are well aware that the American people want to live in peace and friendship with all other nations. I have been to the United States, and I understand that the Americans are a talented people strongly attached to justice.

The Vietnamese people never confuse the justice-loving American people and the U.S. Government which has committed numerous crimes against them in the past ten years. Those very saboteurs of our nation's independence and freedom are also the people who have betrayed the Declaration of Independence of the United States which highlights the truth that "all men are created equal", and the unalienable Rights of man, viz. "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness".

It is common knowledge that in 1954, the Vietnamese people and army defeated the forces of the French

colonialist aggressors in the Dienbienphu battle. Subsequently, the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina was held with the participation of nine countries including the United States. The Geneva Agreements were concluded and the participating countries, the United States included, solemnly undertook to respect the unalienable national rights, namely independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese as well as the Lao and Cambodian peoples. The Agreements also stipulate that the 17th Parallel is to be only a provisional military demarcation line between the Northern and Southern zones of Vietnam and that in 1956 the administrations of the two zones should hold general elections to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

Loyal to the interests of peace and to the supreme national interests of the fatherland, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam ever since the signing of the Geneva Agreements has been unswervingly standing for respect and correct implementation of the said Agreements, and it firmly demands that the other parties concerned should do the same.

After the Geneva Conference, the Vietnamese people should have been in a position to live in peace and to devote themselves to national construction. But the U.S. Government has trampled underfoot the Geneva Agreements. It has set up the so-called "South-East Asia Treaty Organization" which is actually an

aggressive bloc. Early in 1962, it openly established in Saigon a U.S. military command to take into its hands the reins directing the war in South Vietnam. It has more and more brazenly intervened in that part of our country where it has fostered a gang of henchmen to carry out its policy and massacre our compatriots. They have sabotaged the Geneva Agreements, prolonged the partition of our country, and thus caused heart-rending sufferings to an entire people.

Over the past ten years, our people in North Vietnam having become masters of their own life, have been in a position to live in peace, to develop economy and culture and to build up a new life of welfare and happiness. Meanwhile, our compatriots in South Vietnam, who had, together with the whole nation, gone through nine years of hard and heroic resistance war against the French colonialist invaders, have had to undergo ten more years of an atrocious war unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and their agents. It is due to the latter that over 160,000 compatriots of ours in South Vietnam have been killed, 680,000 tortured to infirmity and 370,000 others jailed. The victims include many old folk, women and children.

At present, this horrible war of aggression has become fiercer under the impulse and command of 25,000 U.S. officers and servicemen with the use of

U.S. aircraft, tanks, arms, ammunition, and chemical poisons, and of the over 600,000 strong mercenary army of the South Vietnam administration, agent of the United States.

For ten years now, U.S. Governments and their agents have tried to crush the resistance of a heroic people by the use of brutal force. They want to turn our fourteen million compatriots in South Vietnam into slaves, and the southern part of our country into a new-type colony and a military base with a view to menacing the independence of the Indochinese and other South-East Asian countries and attacking North Vietnam.

Recently, U. S. Secretary of Defence McNamara again came to South Vietnam, instructed the agents of the United States to step up the atrocious war and discussed with them plans for a "march to North". U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who had just attended the S.E.A.T.O. council session in Manila chiefly devoted to the South Vietnam question, also came to South Vietnam immediately after the conference, with the aim of using this aggressive bloc to intensify their military intervention. Do they want to turn Vietnam into a second Korea?

But facts have shown that the path of aggression followed by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam is

only a dark "tunnel" as admitted by the late President John Kennedy.

The heroic people of South Vietnam are resolved not to balk at the guns of the aggressors and traitors. Our compatriots would rather sacrifice everything than live in slavery. So far, under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the patriotic forces in South Vietnam have daily grown in strength and enjoy an increasing prestige at home and abroad. More than half of the population and over two-thirds of the territory of South Vietnam have been liberated. Over the past three years alone, the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces and people have wiped out or disintegrated hundreds of thousands of enemy troops, thousands of U.S. officers and servicemen have been killed or wounded. The Liberation Armed Forces have shot down hundreds of aircraft and captured tens of thousands of U.S.-made weapons of various kinds. All the strategies and tactics applied by the United States in South Vietnam have completely failed. Of the 8,000 strategic hamlets already set up (which are in fact fascist-like concentration camps) over 80 per cent have been destroyed. All these victories of the patriotic forces in South Vietnam amply show that the people of South Vietnam by themselves are fully in a position to thwart all aggressive manoeuvres and plans of the U.S. imperialists, and that the war of aggression

now being waged by the U.S. Government and its agents is a hopeless war doomed to defeat. Such signboards as "anti-communism", "for democracy and freedom" and slanderous allegations about "intervention" or "aggression" by the North in South Vietnam which they resort to as a cover to their crimes, can deceive no one. And in spite of several "changes of horses", the U.S. imperialists cannot help being increasingly bogged down in South Vietnam, nor can they conceal their repeated setbacks from the American people who have come to be more and more aware of the truth.

That is the reason why the movement of struggle of the American people for the ending of the dirty war of aggression in South Vietnam is gaining momentum. And among the U.S. ruling circles themselves, more and more voices are being raised against the policy of blindly pursuing this hopeless war. From the bottom of their hearts, the Vietnamese people thank the workers', youth, students' and women's organizations, as well as progressive intellectuals, congressmen and clergymen in the United States who have courageously raised their voices, staged demonstrations, exposed the criminal policy of aggression pursued by the U.S. Government, and expressed their support for the just struggle of the patriotic forces in South Vietnam.

I wish to add the following for our American friends :

Not only do we suffer because of the hardships and sacrifices imposed on our compatriots in South Vietnam, we also feel pity and sympathy for the American mothers and wives who have lost their sons or husbands in the unjust war carried out in South Vietnam by the U.S. militarists.

One cannot allow the U.S. Government and its agents to go on indefinitely perpetrating their dark designs. It is high time to stay their bloody hands.

Of course, first of all our compatriots in South Vietnam must fight to the end for their own liberation.

But, you, American people, are also victims of the U.S. imperialists, so together with the Vietnamese people, you should resolutely struggle against the bellicose and aggressive militarists in your own country.

Demand an immediate end to the dirty war in South Vietnam !

Demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops of aggression and all U.S. arms from South Vietnam !

Demand that the U.S. Government let the Vietnamese people decide themselves their own internal affairs. The provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam recognizing the unalienable national rights of the Vietnamese people must be strictly respected.

That is the only solution to the South Vietnam question which does not involve face-losing for the United States.

I hope that this urgent appeal will reach the American people. Once again I wish to thank all American progressive intellectuals and people who, for the sake of justice and freedom, peace and the friendship between our two peoples, have valiantly opposed the U.S. Government's policy of aggression in South Vietnam.

I send you my best greetings.

SPEECH IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
CLOSING MEETING, FIRST SESSION,
THIRD LEGISLATURE

July 3, 1964
(Excerpt)

... Over the past ten years, our Southern compatriots have had to experience an atrocious war unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and their agents. They have not submitted and will never submit. Holding high the liberation banner, they have waged an extremely valiant struggle and are winning glorious victories. Fighting for independence, freedom and justice, they have upheld our national spirit, that of a heroic people determined not to be enslaved.

The successes recorded by our Southern compatriots show that the U.S. imperialists, no matter what modern weapons they may have, are not to be feared. A people united closely and fighting unrelentingly are perfectly in a position to defeat them.

I propose to our National Assembly to hail warmly our heroic South Vietnamese compatriots, the valiant South Vietnamese fighters.

U.S. President Johnson has indulged in a lot of clap trap about "peace" and "freedom". I want to ask him: "Is it for peace that U.S. troops, U.S. bloodhounds, U.S. bombs and bullets, and U.S. poisons have been sent to kill the South Vietnamese people? Is it for freedom that the United States has been sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, intervening in Vietnam's internal affairs and supporting a gang of traitors in an attempt to prolong the partition of Vietnam? Your and your associates' aggressive policy is at variance with justice, humanity and the United States Constitution. Please answer these questions before the Vietnamese people, the American people and the world peoples".

U.S. imperialists' threats only exasperate the North Vietnamese people's hatred, incite them to heighten their vigilance and stand ready to smash all their acts of provocation and sabotage for the defence of their fatherland.

The U.S. aggressors ought to know that they have no other way out than to bring their dirty war in South Vietnam to an end. They must strictly implement the Geneva Agreements, withdraw all American troops and weapons from South Vietnam and let the South Vietnamese people settle their own affairs by themselves. This is a "fair" settlement which will save face-losing for the United States.

On this occasion, on behalf of our people and National Assembly, I wish to express sincere thanks to the fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, and thank our friends the world over, including progressive American people, for their wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people and the struggle of the entire Vietnamese people for peaceful national reunification.

The U.S. imperialists who are invading South Vietnam, are also using their agents to engineer a fratricidal war and sabotage Laos' independence, peace and neutrality, constantly provoking and threatening Cambodia's independence, border area and territory. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the valiant struggle of the Lao people and that of the people and Government of Cambodia against the U.S. imperialists and their agents to safeguard their policy of peace and neutrality.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the people and Government of Indonesia in their struggle against neo-colonialism which is scheming to set up the "Malaysian Federation".

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples courageously struggling against imperialism to wrest back and maintain their independence and freedom.

ANSWERS TO
AKAHATA CORRESPONDENT
YOSHITA TAKANO (JAPAN)

April 9, 1965

(Excerpt)

Question: *The U.S. imperialists have met with successive failures in South Vietnam. Nevertheless they keep relying upon "super-weapons", "up-to-date weapons" in an attempt to subdue the Vietnamese people. What are the character and significance of the war in Vietnam in contemporary history from the point of view of the people?*

It is said that the U.S. imperialists have landed in an impasse in South Vietnam. What relations are there between the present situation and their recent frenzied acts of aggression against South and North Vietnam? At this juncture, what is the most important task for the Vietnamese people?

Answer: For more than ten years now, the U.S. imperialists have been waging an aggressive war against

South Vietnam with the hope of turning it into a new-type colony and military base and permanently partitioning our country. They have introduced into South Vietnam over 30,000 troops and military personnel, thousands of aircraft, hundreds of warships, hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons, and carried out an extremely savage policy of repression and terror against patriotic people of all strata in South Vietnam.

Confronted with such a situation, our compatriots in the South were compelled to rise up to fight against the U.S. aggressors to defend their right to live and their fatherland. Their struggle has scored major victories. Over three-fourths of the territory with more than two-thirds of the population of South Vietnam have been liberated. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have suffered heavy failures. The American "special warfare" is going bankrupt.

The more the South Vietnamese people fight, the stronger they become and the more victories they win. That is due to the justice of their cause, to their ardent patriotism and the correct line of the South Vietnam National Front. The war waged by our compatriots in the South is a people's revolutionary war against foreign invasion for national independence and peace. It is an active part of the world people's movement for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism and

neo-colonialism with the United States as the ring-leader. That is why the people the world over sympathize with and support us. The South Vietnamese people's ever-greater victories demonstrate that in our time, a people closely united and determined to fight is quite able to defeat a wicked, cruel and well-equipped imperialist aggressor.

To get out of their predicament, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly intensifying and speeding up their war of aggression against South Vietnam, bringing in U.S. marines and South Korean mercenaries, undertaking daily bombings and strafings in the liberated zones and dropping napalm, spraying toxic chemicals, destroying and burning hospitals, pagodas, killing civilian people including old folk, women and children. On the other hand, they are expanding the war to the North, brazenly sending their aircraft and warships to unremittingly bomb and shell many spots in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists intensify the war in Laos and provoke Cambodia. With their gravest acts of aggression and war provocation, they grossly trample on the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, violate international law and disregard world opinion.

The U.S. rulers claim that North Vietnam is committing "aggression" on South Vietnam, and that their attacks on the North aim at putting an end to

its assistance to the South Vietnamese people. These are ungrounded contentions designed to fool the world peoples and to cover up the U.S. aggressive acts. It must be pointed out that it is the legitimate right of the South Vietnamese people to drive out the American aggressors, to defend their native land and decide themselves their own internal affairs. It is the sacred right of the Vietnamese in both the North and the South to oppose and frustrate the U.S. imperialists' aggressive acts in order to safeguard their national independence and their lives. However frenzied and reckless the latter may be, they cannot prevent the Vietnamese people from carrying on their patriotic struggle until final victory.

Question: *To end the war in South Vietnam, many people are now speaking of the possibility of a "peaceful solution" and "peace negotiations".*

Would you mind stating the bases for settling the Vietnamese problem?

Answer: Of late, the U.S. imperialists have made misleading assertions about "peace" and "negotiations". The peoples of the world are fully aware of their aggressive and warlike nature. To step up aggression in South Vietnam and to bomb North Vietnam are part of their "special war" policy, whereby they also aim at bringing about an advantageous position so as, in case of necessity, to negotiate from a

"position of strength". This is a wrong policy which cannot be carried out.

The Vietnamese people cherish peace and have always respected and correctly implemented the 1954 Geneva Agreements. However, they are determined to fight to the end against the aggressors. If the U.S. imperialists stubbornly persist in their policy of aggression and war, they will certainly suffer a humiliating defeat. To settle the South Vietnamese problem the American troops must first of all withdraw from South Vietnam, let the South Vietnamese people decide themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The execution of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference. Such is a reasonable and sensible approach which is beneficial to peace and to the American people.

SPEECH IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
SECOND SESSION, THIRD LEGISLATURE

April 10, 1965

Comrades,

Our National Assembly is holding the present session in a very urgent situation but in enthusiasm and full confidence. Our struggle against American aggression for national salvation is surging up everywhere. Many great successes have been recorded in both North and South Vietnam.

Over the past ten years, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have carried out an extremely ruthless war, causing so much mourning to our compatriots in South Vietnam. During the last few months, they have been frenziedly expanding the war to the North of our country. In defiance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and international law, they have sent hundreds of aircraft and dozens of warships to bomb and strafe North Vietnam unremittingly. Laying bare themselves their piratical face, the U.S. aggressors

are brazenly encroaching upon our territory. They attempt to use the might of weapons to enslave our thirty million compatriots. But they have been grossly mistaken. They will certainly meet with ignominious defeat.

Ours are a heroic people. For more than ten years now, our fourteen million countrymen in the South have been enduring every hardship and sacrifice and struggling very valiantly. Starting with bare hands, they have seized weapons from the enemy to fight against him, scored victory after victory and are now constantly on the offensive, inflicting on the U.S. aggressors and the traitors ever-greater setbacks and driving them into ever-deeper bog. The heavier their defeats, the more cruel means they use, such as napalm and toxic gases to massacre people. It is because they are bogged down in the South that they furiously attack the North.

As the "thief crying stop thief" is a customary trick of theirs, the U.S. imperialists who are the aggressors have impudently slandered North Vietnam as committing "aggression" on South Vietnam. Saboteurs of peace and of the Geneva Agreements, they have brazenly declared that because they wished to "restore peace" and "defend the Geneva Agreements" they sent U.S. troops to our country to kill and destroy. They, who have been devastating our country,

and massacring our people, hypocritically stated that they would grant one billion dollars to the people in Vietnam and other South-East Asian countries to develop their economy and improve their livelihood.

U.S. President Johnson has also loudly threatened to use violence to subdue our people. This is nothing but foolish illusion. Our people will never submit.

The Taylor plan has been frustrated. The McNamara plan has also gone bankrupt. The "escalation" plan which the U.S. imperialists are now endeavouring to carry out in North Vietnam will certainly fail, too. They may bring in hundreds of thousands more U.S. officers and men, and strive to drag more troops of their satellites into this criminal war, our army and people are resolved to fight and defeat them.

The statement by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has upheld that heroic will. The appeal of the Vietnam Fatherland Front has also clearly underlined that iron-like determination.

We love peace but we are not afraid of war. We are resolved to drive away the U.S. aggressors to defend the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of our fatherland.

Our people throughout the country are firmly confident that with their militant solidarity, valiant spirit and creative resourcefulness and with the sympathy

and support of the world peoples they will surely lead this great resistance war to complete victory.

Our people are very grateful to, and highly value the fraternal solidarity and devoted assistance of, the socialist countries—especially the Soviet Union and China—the people on all continents who are actively backing our struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors — the most cruel enemy of mankind.

With regard to the Lao and Cambodian peoples who are courageously struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their valets, our people constantly strengthen solidarity with them and wholeheartedly support them.

We warmly welcome the youth of various countries, who have volunteered to go to Vietnam and join us in fighting the U.S. aggressors.

The American people have been duped by the propaganda of their government which has extorted from them billions of dollars for war purposes. Thousands of American youths—their sons and brothers—have met a tragic death or been pitifully wounded on the Vietnamese battlefields thousands of miles from the United States. At present, many mass organizations and personalities in the United States are demanding that their government stop at once the unjust war and withdraw immediately U.S. troops from South Vietnam. Our people are determined to drive away the

U.S. imperialists — their sworn enemy. We, however, always express our friendship with the progressive American people.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam once again solemnly declares its unswerving stand, that is, to resolutely defend Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. Vietnam is one country, the Vietnamese people are one nation; nobody is allowed to infringe upon this sacred right. The U.S. imperialists must respect the Geneva Agreements, withdraw from South Vietnam, and immediately stop the attacks on North Vietnam. That is the only measure to settle the war in Vietnam, to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements, to defend peace in Indochina and South-East Asia. There is no other solution. And that is the answer of our people and government to the U.S. imperialists.

Our people are living in a most glorious period of history. Our country has the great honour of being an outpost of the socialist camp and of the world peoples' front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Our people are fighting and making sacrifices not only for their own freedom and independence, but also for the freedom and independence of other peoples, for world peace.

On the battlefield against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our people's task is very heavy but very glorious as well.

At present, to oppose U.S. aggression for national salvation is the most sacred task of every Vietnamese patriot. Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation—the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people — the heroic population and fighters in South Vietnam are marching forward to achieve ever-greater successes so as to liberate the South and defend the North.

Our armed forces and people in the North are eagerly engaged in emulation to build socialism while valiantly struggling to defend the North and wholeheartedly support the South.

I propose that the National Assembly warmly support the statement by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the appeal of the Vietnam Fatherland Front! Warm welcome to our heroic compatriots and fighters in South Vietnam! Warm congratulations to our armed forces and people in North Vietnam now enthusiastically emulating one another in production and fighting for new exploits.

I call on our compatriots and fighters to constantly heighten their revolutionary heroism, vigilance and combativeness, to promote the "one works for two"

emulation movement, resolutely overcome all difficulties, endeavour to build up and defend socialist North Vietnam, wholeheartedly support the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South.

Let all of us 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 all compatriots and fighters throughout the country valiantly march forward.

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO YURI YUKOV, PRAVDA CORRESPONDENT

June 20, 1965

Question : *Would you please, comrade President, tell us the significance of the struggle of the Vietnamese army and people against the U.S. aggression?*

Answer : The present struggle of the army and people of Vietnam is a just, patriotic and surely victorious people's war against the unjust and predatory war of aggression conducted by the U.S. imperialists.

The Vietnamese people are determined to stand firm at the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and at the forefront of the world peoples' struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors for the defence of their sacred national rights and at the same time for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

The stand of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which

has been summed up in four points known to everybody, is a correct one, conforming to both sentiment and reason and to the national interests of the Vietnamese people, the 1954 Geneva Agreements as well as the interests of the American people, the honour of the United States, and the interests of peace.

That is why the Vietnamese people have enjoyed the increasing support and assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, of the Governments and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and all peace-loving forces, including ever broader strata of the American people. For their part, the U.S. imperialists have become more and more isolated and met with increasingly sterner condemnation in the world and right in the United States. The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated. The Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious.

Question : *Would you please, comrade President, speak of the revolutionary tradition of the Vietnamese people in their national-liberation struggle?*

Answer : Like many others in the world, the Vietnamese people are endowed with a tradition of close solidarity and valiant, resolute struggle to defend and strengthen their national independence.

This tradition has been vigorously developed in the revolutionary struggle for thirty-five years now under

the leadership of the Vietnamese working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, and in the past Resistance War which ended with the glorious victory of Dien-bienphu.

The present struggle against American aggression for national salvation is mobilizing to the highest degree the tradition of solidarity and struggle of the Vietnamese people. That is why, in their resistance to the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the more the Vietnamese people fight, the stronger they become. Their patriotic cause will certainly end in glorious victory.

Question : *Would you please, comrade President, tell us of the relations between the defence of North Vietnam and the liberation of South Vietnam in consideration of the Geneva Agreements?*

Answer : The Geneva Agreements are an international document recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

The struggle to defend North Vietnam and liberate South Vietnam is precisely a struggle to safeguard and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Question : *What is your opinion on the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and on the importance of the solidarity of the peoples in the socialist*

countries and the communist movement in the present stage of the struggle?

Answer : The Vietnamese people greatly rejoice to see that their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors enjoys the sympathy, support and resolute and effective assistance of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries and also the sympathy, wholehearted support and assistance of the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other peace-loving peoples in the world, including the American people. This is a splendid manifestation of the militant friendship among the countries in the socialist camp and the national-liberation movement, in accordance with lofty proletarian internationalism. This is also an important factor contributing to the victory of the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle and the national-liberation movement in the world.

Question : *What is your opinion, comrade President, on the strengthening of the Soviet-Vietnam friendship and on the significance of these relations of friendship and co-operation in the struggle to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggression. What do you want to say to the Soviet people on this occasion?*

Answer : The Party, Government and people of Vietnam express their sincere gratitude to the Party,

Government and people of the Soviet Union for their valuable approval, support and aid to our struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

We have constantly been endeavouring to strengthen the fraternal friendship and the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, fully aware that these efforts constitute an important factor for the victory of our revolutionary cause.

On this occasion, I would like, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, to convey our warmest greetings to the fraternal Soviet people. I wish that the Soviet people will record ever-greater successes in their building of the material and technical basis of communism and in their struggle to safeguard world peace.

ANSWERS TO THE BRITISH DAILY WORKER

July 1, 1965
(Excerpt)

Question: *What is the main cause of the South Vietnamese people's struggle?*

Answer: The main cause of the South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle is the barbarous aggression of the United States imperialists, by which they are trying to turn the southern part of our country into a new-type colony and a military base for the expansion of their war of aggression in realizing their aim of world domination.

Question: *What are the basic aims of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam? What is the relation between the policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that of the South Vietnam Liberation Front?*

Answer: The programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has clearly specified its

principal aims. These are to struggle against aggressive United States imperialism, to liberate South Vietnam, to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and advance step by step towards the reunification of the country. The National Front for Liberation is an organization of the patriotic movement, set up by the masses of the people. It is the leader, the organizer of the South Vietnamese people's struggle against United States imperialism to recover national independence. It is the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

It is the sacred duty of the whole people of Vietnam to support the South Vietnamese people's liberation struggle, waged under the leadership of the Front. We respect the policies of the Front and hold that the two zones must take their respective characteristics into account, understand each other, restore normal relations between them and gradually achieve national reunification.

Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese are one people. Our entire people have the duty of opposing foreign aggression and defending the fatherland.

Question: *Do you still think that the Geneva Agreements provide the basis for the solution of the war in Vietnam?*

Answer: Yes, the Geneva Agreements are still the basis for the peaceful solution of the war.

Question : *What in your view are the most important provisions of the Geneva Agreements?*

Answer : I think that the most important provisions are: the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam must be respected; no military base under the control of a foreign state may be established in Vietnam; Vietnam shall not join any military alliance; democratic freedoms must be guaranteed to create favourable conditions for the restoration of normal relations between the North and the South of Vietnam with a view to the reunification of the country.

Question : *What do you consider to be necessary at the present time for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements?*

Answer : The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam are an important international document. All countries participating in the Geneva Conference, including the United States, must respect these agreements and implement them correctly. A country which is a Co-Chairman of the Geneva conference, like Britain, should all the more respect its obligations and carry them out correctly.

Question : *What have you to say about the latest proposal of Mr. Harold Wilson for a Commonwealth mission?*

Answer : Mr. Wilson has not correctly carried out his obligations as a Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam. He has tried to support United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He cannot engage in peace negotiations since he has himself supported the United States policy of aggression and expansion of the war.

Question : *What special message would you like to give the British progressive movement and the British people?*

Answer : On behalf of the Vietnamese people, I convey our cordial greetings and gratitude to the British working class, intellectuals, progressive politicians and the British people in general who have warmly supported our just struggle against the United States imperialist aggressors and demanded that the British Government should correctly carry out its obligations as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference. I also send warm greetings to the readers of the *Daily Worker*.

APPEAL ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

July 20, 1965

Dear compatriots and armymen,

On the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, I cordially convey my warmest greetings to our compatriots and armymen throughout the country. Our people deeply cherish independence and peace, that is why in the Resistance War they were united and determined to fight against the French colonialists and won a great victory.

The Geneva Agreements of 1954 solemnly recognize the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

However, the American imperialists have done their best to sabotage the implementation of these Agreements. For more than ten years now they have conducted an aggressive war against the

southern part of our country in an attempt to turn it into a new-type colony and military base of the United States with a view to prolonging the partition of our fatherland, attacking the socialist camp and threatening the independence and peace of Asian and other countries in the world.

Over the past ten years, our compatriots in the South have been waging a heroic struggle and endured innumerable sacrifices to liberate themselves from the cruel yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

Under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation our Southern compatriots and the Liberation Armed Forces, heroic and united as one, have become stronger and scored more victories as they fight, and are winning great victories in all battlefields.

They have been fighting with determination to free the South, defend the North, and reunify the fatherland, at the same time contributing to the safeguarding of peace and the independence of other peoples.

To redress their distressed situation, the U.S. imperialists have recently introduced tens of thousands of American and satellite troops into South Vietnam to intensify their aggressive war there,

and unleashed savage air raids against North Vietnam. They have committed monstrous crimes against our people. The whole world is seething with indignation at and sternly condemning them.

The U.S. imperialists are resorting to violence in a hope to subdue our people, and threaten other peoples in Indochina, South-East Asia and other parts of the world. But they have been grossly mistaken.

Ours are a heroic people. They have overthrown the Japanese fascists and defeated the French colonialists, and are now resolutely fighting against the U.S. imperialists until ultimate victory.

We are resolved to win complete independence for our fatherland and complete freedom for our people.

In face of the American aggressors, our people in the North as in the South have united like one man, determined to fight five, ten, twenty years or longer until complete victory is achieved.

The U.S. imperialists are utterly barbarous and perfidious. They are on the one hand clamouring about "peace", and on the other hurriedly building up many more military bases, dispatching many additional troops to South Vietnam and intensifying the bombing of North Vietnam. Their assertions on "peace negotiations" can by no means

fool ours and the world peoples. As has been declared time and again by our Government, the most correct solution to the Vietnamese problem is that the U.S. Government must seriously implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements, recognize the four-point stand put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five points clearly stated by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

To fulfil our sacred duty of resisting the U.S. aggressors to save the country, I call on our people and army-men in the North to march forward heroically and enthusiastically, emulating one another in fighting and production.

Let all our people's armed forces fight courageously to win still greater victories, smashing each and every U.S. air attack.

Let our workers and peasants enthusiastically emulate each other in increasing production, practising thrift, "each working for two" and standing ready to fight for the defence of the North and in support to the South.

Let our intellectuals make their worthiest contribution to our people's struggle for national salvation.

Let our youth, male and female, perform the "three ready's" well, taking the lead in devoting mental and physical strength to the struggle against U.S. aggression, to the fatherland, to socialism.

Let our women discharge their "three responsibilities", making an active contribution to defeating the U.S. imperialists.

Let our countrymen of all nationalities and all religions, unite closely like brothers, strive together to resist the U.S. invaders and save our fatherland.

The U.S. imperialists are meeting with defeats and will certainly be completely defeated. Our people are in an offensive position and will surely win glorious victory. However, as our enemy are still hatching wicked schemes, the patriotic struggle of our people is beset with numerous hardships and difficulties. We must, therefore, always heighten our vigilance and our fighting will, guard against self-complacency and underestimating the enemy. Let us avoid being deterred by difficulties and puffed up by successes.

Our entire people are turning their thoughts towards beloved South Vietnam — the Fatherland's Brass Wall. Let our compatriots in the South heroically carry aloft the glorious national salvation banner of the National Front for Liberation, march towards greater successes, resolutely frustrate the brutal force and all the perfidious plots of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen with the firm determination to wrest back independence and freedom for the people, and advance towards national reunification by peaceful means.

Officers and men and officials in the Saigon administration! You, too, descend from ancestors Lac and

Hong. There is no reason why you should reconcile yourselves to serving the U.S. aggressors and opposing our compatriots, thereby earning an ill fame for generations. Awaken, switch back to the side of the people, help liberate and serve our native land. Then you will be welcomed.

With regard to the American people who are courageously struggling against the aggressive war conducted by the American Government, I, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, welcome them.

Push forward the movement against the aggressive war of the U.S. Government in Vietnam in order to save your sons and brothers from being sent to a lamentable death for the private interests of those who are oppressing and exploiting you.

Officers and soldiers of the United States and its satellites now being driven into a criminal war, awaken without delay. There is no enmity between the Vietnamese people and you. The U.S. imperialists are forcing you to serve as cannon-fodder. They will certainly be defeated. Struggle to be brought back home and to live among your parents, your wives and children! The Vietnamese people will support you to this end.

Vietnam's resistance to American aggression for national salvation is enjoying the sympathy and wholehearted support of the peoples of the socialist countries, of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world.

On behalf of the entire Vietnamese people, I warmly thank the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. I thank progressive people on all the five continents.

The Vietnamese people are determined to fulfil their sacred task of liberating their fatherland, staying the hands of the U.S. imperialist aggressors, firmly defending the outpost of the socialist camp in South-East Asia and actively contributing to the movement for national independence and the safeguard of world peace.

Dear compatriots and army men,

It is precisely because we cherish independence and peace that we resolutely fight against the U.S. aggressors.

Our struggle against the American invaders for national salvation is a just cause. The people all over the world sternly condemn them and wholeheartedly support us. Let our compatriots throughout the country firmly believe in the final victory and bright future of our fatherland. Be resolved to overcome all hardships and difficulties in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists.

For the defence of the Fatherland, for independence and peace, let our whole people march forward!

The enemy will certainly be defeated, we shall certainly win!

ANSWERS TO THE CUBAN HOY AND REVOLUCION

July 30, 1965

Question : *What steps have the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam taken against the U.S. imperialists' aggression?*

Answer : The U.S. imperialists are getting beaten in the "special war" in South Vietnam and in the "escalation" of the war of destruction against North Vietnam, first and foremost as a result of the close unity and resolute struggle of over thirty million Vietnamese to defend the independence, unity and territorial integrity of their fatherland. The warm support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples of the world, including the progressive people in the United States, have further increased the material and moral strength of our people and their determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Question : *What are the prospects of the liberation of South Vietnam and of national reunification after the South has been liberated?*

Answer : South Vietnam will surely be liberated. South Vietnam will be independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The two zones North and South will achieve national reunification step by step without any foreign interference.

Question : *Do you think that Johnson can fool anyone with the statements he has made about "peace discussions" while escalating the aggressive war against the entire Vietnamese people? What is your opinion about the world peoples' solidarity with the Vietnamese people's just struggle?*

Answer : President Johnson's talks about "peace discussions" can fool nobody as his words do not match his deeds. While making a hullabaloo about "peace discussions", he is trying every means to step up the aggressive war in South Vietnam and to intensify the destructive bombings in North Vietnam. Thus, he has unmasked himself in the eyes of the world.

We think that international solidarity and support increase the strength of the Vietnamese people's just struggle and the certainty of their victory.

Question : *What do you think of the "resignation" of Maxwell Taylor from his post as ambassador to South*

Vietnam and the appointment of Cabot Lodge by the U.S. President to replace him?

Answer : Taylor replaced Lodge because Lodge had failed. Now Lodge is replacing Taylor because Taylor, in his turn, has failed. This is the vicious circle which is confronting the U.S. aggressors and which will ultimately lead them to total defeat in Vietnam.

Question : *What is your opinion about the development of the relations between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba and the possibilities of strengthening them?*

Answer : In the past years, the relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation between our two countries have unceasingly developed. Their mutual support has greatly encouraged the revolutionary struggle of our two peoples against their common enemy — aggressive and bellicose U.S. imperialism. There are splendid prospects for the possibilities of strengthening the cordial all-round relations between our two countries.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people and in my own name, I request you to convey to the heroic Cuban people led by the Cuban Communist Party and Revolutionary Government with Comrade Fidel Castro at their head, the heartfelt thanks of the Vietnamese people for the warm and valuable support of the fraternal Cuban people.

PART III
1965-1966

REPLY TO PROFESSOR LINUS PAULING

Hanoi, November 17, 1965

Dear Professor LINUS PAULING,

I sincerely thank you for having kindly sent me the text of the Appeal issued by eight Nobel Peace Prize recipients on the Vietnam question.

The Vietnamese people are by nature freedom- and peace-loving and their earnest aspiration is to build up a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam.

Our people, in the North as well as in the South, have struggled hard for the thorough implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. But the U.S. imperialists have brazenly trampled underfoot these agreements, plotting to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base, with a view to dominating South-East Asia and preparing for a new world war. They have sabotaged the peaceful reunification of Vietnam and have set up an extremely

ruthless fascist regime in South Vietnam, where hundreds of thousands of people have been arrested, tortured, jailed and massacred, and millions of others herded into concentration camps of various forms. The U.S. imperialists have used South Vietnam as a spring-board for war activities in Laos and for daily provocations against the Kingdom of Cambodia. Since 1961, they have been waging a so-called "special war" in South Vietnam. But not willing to bow to the invaders our Southern compatriots have been struggling heroically against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen and are scoring ever-greater victories.

Having suffered heavy defeats in their "special war" the U.S. imperialists have, in addition to the existing 600,000 puppet troops, brought into South Vietnam 200,000 U.S. and satellite troops, in order to expand their war of aggression. This constitutes a grave threat to the security of the peoples of South-East Asia and to world peace.

They are using South Vietnam as a testing ground for a new-type war of aggression as well as for new kinds of modern weapons and means of warfare, which will be eventually employed in other countries with a view to suppressing the national-liberation movement and establishing U.S. rule over the world.

At present, most barbarous means of warfare such as napalm bombs, phosphorous bombs, toxic chemicals,

poison gas, etc... are being used by the U.S. aggressors to massacre our compatriots in South Vietnam. Their Seventh Fleet and B.52 planes are bombing, shelling and razing to the ground South Vietnamese villages and hamlets.

At the same time, in utter defiance of public opinion in the U.S.A. and in the world, they have unremittingly pursued their policy of "escalation" against North Vietnam by frenziedly launching daily air raids on bridges, roads, dams, state farms, enterprises, schools, hospitals, churches, etc.

The Vietnamese people must resolutely struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors in order to defend themselves, to uphold their most sacred national rights and at the same time to contribute to the preservation of peace in Asia and in the world.

For several months, while frantically intensifying and expanding its aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. Government has been clamouring that it does not intend to expand the war and is ready to negotiate.

The peoples of the world, including the American people, have come to realize more and more clearly that this is but deceitful talk on the part of the U.S. rulers, whose policy is to negotiate from a position of strength, to perpetrate ever more horrible massacres and cause ever-greater devastation, in order to compel the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and give up their legitimate aspirations.

The Vietnamese people from the North to the South, find this U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and enslavement wholly unacceptable. Genuine peace is absolutely inseparable from genuine national freedom and independence.

It is obvious that the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors and the Vietnamese people, the victims of aggression.

U.S. aggression is the sole root and direct cause of the serious situation prevailing at present in Vietnam and in South-East Asia. Consequently, it is our view that the most correct way to a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem is the one expounded in the March 22, 1965 statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, and in the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

These four points are :

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people : peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw from South Vietnam all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, cancel its "military alliance"

with the South Vietnam authorities. The U.S. Government must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements the U.S. Government must stop its acts of war against North Vietnam, cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. Pending peaceful reunification, 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 people of South Vietnam 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.

I hope that, in the interest of peace and justice, you, dear Professor Linus Pauling and the other signatories to the appeal, will continue to exert your

influence and, together with the American and world peoples, strive to expose the U.S. imperialists' schemes of war provocation and aggression and compel them to put an end to their criminal war against our people so that peace in Vietnam may be restored.

The war of aggression being carried out by the U.S. Government in Vietnam causes not only great sufferings and sacrifices to our people but also heavy losses to the American people in human lives, and material resources. This war also besmears the honour of the United States.

It is precisely for that reason that, recently, many progressive sections of the American people, including hundreds of thousands of American youths and students, thousands of professors, scientists, writers, artists, and many religious authorities have courageously come out against the Johnson Administration's war of aggression, staging protest demonstrations and rallies, or expressing their resolute refusal to join the army and take part in the massacre of the Vietnamese people. Our people highly value this struggle of the American people, and are deeply moved by the valiant sacrifices of Mrs. Helga Herz and of the other peace fighters — Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte and Celene Jankowski.

I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the American people who are resolutely

struggling against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam. I also wish to convey to the martyrs' families the love and admiration of the Vietnamese people.

Please accept my high regards to you, dear Professor, and to your fellow recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

HO CHI MINH

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO BRITISH JOURNALIST FELIX GREENE

November 18, 1965

Question : *Thoughtful people all over the world are greatly concerned about the war that is now taking place in your country. I feel very grateful to you, President Ho Chi Minh, for allowing me to come and ask you some questions, and for allowing these cameras to record our conversation so that it may be shared with many others in all parts of the world.*

President Johnson has said over and over again that he is ready to begin unconditional discussions with you at any place and at any time to bring this war in Vietnam to an end. It is said you do not accept this offer. May I know the reason?

Answer : In essence, President Johnson's so-called offer of "unconditional discussions" means that the Vietnamese people must accept U.S. conditions. These are: U.S. imperialism will cling to South Vietnam, carry on its policy of aggression and refuse to recognize

the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. Those are conditions imposed by the aggressors, which the Vietnamese people will never accept nor world public opinion tolerate.

The Vietnamese people eagerly want peace to build up their country. But genuine independence must be achieved if there is to be real peace. The question is very clear: U.S. imperialism is the aggressor. It must stop its air attacks on the North, put an end to its aggression in the South, withdraw its troops from South Vietnam, and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs, as provided for in the Geneva Agreements. Peace will then be immediately restored. In short, the U.S. Government must declare and prove by actual deeds its acceptance of the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which fully conforms to the main political and military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. This stand is the only basis for a correct settlement of the Vietnam question.

The truth is that President Johnson wants neither peace nor peace negotiations. As a matter of fact, at the very moment when he talks a lot about peace discussions, the U.S. imperialists are further expanding the war of aggression in South Vietnam, massively sending there tens of thousands of U.S. troops and

extending "escalation" in North Vietnam. The people of the world have clearly seen this. That is precisely the reason why the progressive American people are actively opposing the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

Question : *The Government of the United States says that the reason why North Vietnam is being bombed is to discourage you from helping the revolutionary forces in the South, and that the bombing would stop immediately if you would leave your neighbour alone. What do you have to say about this?*

Answer : The U.S. Government has launched savage air attacks on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign state. In so doing, it has grossly trampled underfoot international law, most seriously violated the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and flouted humanity and justice.

U.S. imperialism is the aggressor. The U.S. Government must stop its criminal actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It must put an end to the war of aggression in South Vietnam.

The contention that the southern part of our fatherland is "a neighbour country" separate from the North is a misleading one. It is just like saying that the southern states of the United States constitute a country separate from the northern states.

Question : *The United States says that it has in its possession overwhelming evidence of your support for the National Front for Liberation in South Vietnam what we refer to as the "Vietcong". They specifically refer to your 325th Division and other units of your regular army that are fighting in South Vietnam. What help are you giving to the Vietcong? What troops? What weapons? How many volunteers from North Vietnam have gone to fight in the South?*

Answer : To fabricate false evidence in order to slander North Vietnam is a deceitful trick of the U.S. Government to cover up its aggression in South Vietnam. The truth is that the United States and its satellites have brought in foreign troops to wage aggression on South Vietnam, in contravention of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The present patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression in South Vietnam is being waged by the people and Liberation forces of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation.

The U.S. imperialists have sent troops for aggression on South Vietnam, and launched continual air attacks on North Vietnam, thus committing barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people in both zones.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. As sons and daughters of the same fatherland, our people

in the North are bound to extend wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle waged by the people of the South against U.S. aggression; likewise, our people in the South are dutybound to fight with all their strength to contribute to the defence of the northern part of their fatherland.

Question : *The United States began to bomb your country on August 5th, 1964. According to the French A.F.P. from February 7th, 1965 to the first half of November 1965 there have been 17,400 raids by U.S. aircraft against targets in North Vietnam. We have been told that your communications and your productive capacity have been seriously damaged. However strenuously your people are resisting, how long can your country sustain this intensity of bombing without being forced to seek some way of ending the conflict?*

Answer : As the saying goes, "seeing is believing". You have visited a number of areas in the North which have been savagely attacked by U.S. aircraft, you have seen the facts for yourself. So you may draw yourself the necessary conclusions.

In a war, there must be, of course, losses and sacrifices. Our people are determined to persevere in the fight, and to undergo sacrifices for ten or twenty years or a longer time till final victory, because there is nothing more valuable than independence and freedom. We are determined not to flinch before difficulties and

temporary losses. We are determined not to submit to U.S. aggression. We are determined to defend the freedom and independence of our fatherland. At the same time, we are determined to help prevent the U.S. imperialists from inflicting the calamity of aggression on other nations.

Question : *As you well know, President Ho, the people of the United States look upon communism as an evil force which should be resisted wherever possible. One reason why the United States is involved in Vietnam is because it is thought that if they withdraw their forces from South Vietnam the country would inevitably be unified under a communist government.*

But more than that, they feel that the whole of Vietnam would fall under the influence of China and would then not be able to develop as she herself would wish but only in a way that would further China's expansionist aims. So my question is this: are you not already receiving great quantities of military aid from China? Would you perhaps not be ready to come to the conference table if it were not for pressure from China? And could you look easily upon the possibility of the whole of your country being dominated by an immensely more powerful country?

Answer : The capitalists hate communism, which is part of their class nature. As for the working people, they like communism, which is to their class

interests. No doubt, you know very well that to misrepresent communism to fool the people is a customary method of the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression.

As for the relations between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people, they are fraternal relations as close as the relations between the lips and the teeth. China's sympathy, support and assistance to Vietnam is most valuable and effective.

China, like the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, fully agrees with the line of struggle of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation; she wholeheartedly supports the Vietnamese people's fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. All U.S. attempts to divide Vietnam and China, and to divide the socialist countries are doomed to ignominious failure.

The above question shows that there are still many people in the West who do not understand that the close relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Question : *President Ho, our time is almost up. You have heard of the protest movement in the United States and judging by your newspapers here I think the scope and influence of this movement is being greatly*

exaggerated here. The great majority of the people of the United States support President Johnson. I am not an American but have lived there for many years. I believe Americans are essentially a well-intentioned and humane people. Have you any special message you might like to send to the people of the United States?

Answer : As you have just said, the American people are essentially well-intentioned. That is why the great majority of the American people cannot support President Johnson's policy of aggression.

I would like to tell the American people that the aggressive war now being waged by the U.S. Government in Vietnam not only grossly flouts the national fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people, but also runs counter to the aspirations and interests of the American people. This aggressive war has also besmeared the good name of the United States, the country of Washington and Lincoln. I wish to tell the American people about the determination of the entire Vietnamese people to fight the U.S. aggressors till complete victory. But as for the American people, we want to strengthen our relations of friendship with them.

The Vietnamese people are strong because of their just cause, their unity and gallantry and because they enjoy the support of all peace-loving peoples in the world, including the American people. It is because of

their love of justice and humanity that many progressive Americans from all walks of life, hundreds of thousands of youths, students, professors, scientists, lawyers, writers, artists, clergymen and working people have courageously raised their voices and staged huge demonstrations against the Johnson Administration's policy of aggression in Vietnam. For their part the American youth resolutely refuse to be sent to Vietnam as cannon-fodder for the U.S. imperialists.

Our people highly value this struggle of the American people. We are deeply moved by the heroic sacrifices of Helga Herz and other peace-fighters like Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte and Celene Jankowski. I wish to convey to the families of these martyrs my feelings of affection and admiration and those of my compatriots.

I take this opportunity to extend our sincere thanks to the American people who are resolutely fighting for the cessation of the U.S. Government's war of aggression in Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of our two peoples. With our united struggle, it will certainly be defeated. Our peoples will be victorious.

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO SALOMON, URUGUAYAN JOURNALIST

December 1965

Question : *The United States is sending more and more troops to South Vietnam and carrying the escalation war as far as the northern frontier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Would you please, comrade President, give your opinion on the prospects of the Vietnamese people's struggle?*

Answer : Over the past ten years, in their aggression against South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have suffered heavy blows from our Southern compatriots. To save themselves from the danger of ignominious failure, they have of late massively dispatched American and satellite troops to South Vietnam and stepped up the war there. At the same time, they have frantically conducted an air war of destruction against North Vietnam, thus committing new crimes against the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people, however, are not in the least shaken. On the contrary, with exasperated hatred for the U.S. aggressors, our compatriots are all the more determined to defeat them. The South Vietnamese people, as a result, are fighting more and more fiercely and winning greater and greater victories. In the North, our army and people have also recorded big successes. This year (from Feb. 7 to Nov. 13) they have shot down 753 U.S. aircraft and captured a large number of American pilots. As for the U.S. aggressors they are sinking ever more deeply in their quagmire. They may introduce several hundred thousand more troops to South Vietnam, and recklessly go on with their "escalation" in North Vietnam, they will certainly be defeated in the end.

Our resistance war against U.S. aggression for national salvation is a protracted one, full of hardships. Nevertheless, with the strength of unity and determination of our entire people and with the growing sympathy and aid of the people throughout the world, we will certainly win.

Question : *The U.S. authorities have recently been talking a great deal about seeking a peaceful solution to the Vietnamese problem. Please tell me, comrade, your opinion on this matter?*

Answer : The U.S. Government can fool nobody with its talks about "peace" and "negotiations",

for it is speaking in one way and acting in another. While prattling about "peace" and "negotiations", it is doing its best to step up the war of aggression in South Vietnam and intensifying the bombing of North Vietnam. It has therefore unmasked itself before the world.

Question : *Would you please, comrade, tell me the contents of the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the settlement of the Vietnamese problem?*

Answer : The four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has been clearly expounded in our Government's report at the D.R.V. National Assembly's session on April 8, 1965. We consider this as the only correct basis for a solution to the Vietnamese problem since it conforms to the Geneva Agreements, to the practical situation in Vietnam and the national rights of the Vietnamese people. This stand also accords with the interests of the American people and the honour of the United States and with the interests of peace as well. That is why, the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is enjoying the deep sympathy and resolute support of the people and opinion the world over.

Question : *Comrade President Ho Chi Minh, I have visited several localities of Vietnam and I greatly admire the heroic Vietnamese people. I am of the deep conviction that the Vietnamese people will triumph over any enemy. However, I would like to know the role played by the aid from the fraternal socialist countries, by the international support of the working class and by public opinion in various countries protesting against the crimes committed by the United States in Vietnam.*

Answer : The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation is enjoying the sympathy, support and powerful and effective assistance of the fraternal socialist countries. The working class in the capitalist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American and other peace-loving peoples all over the world, including the American people are also approving and supporting us.

This is a splendid manifestation of the militant friendship among the socialist countries, among the world workers' movement and the national-liberation movement. This is also an important contribution to the success of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and to the national-liberation movement throughout the world.

Question : *Would you please give me your opinion on the American people's demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Vietnam?*

Answer : The American people's resolute movement against the U.S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam has eloquently proved that the U.S. ruling circles' bellicose and aggressive policy is entirely repulsive and reactionary because it tramples upon the Vietnamese people's right to live and at the same time runs counter to the American people's interests. This movement has also proved to the world people that U.S. President Johnson's claim that no American is opposing his policy in Vietnam is a most brazenly deceitful one. The Vietnamese people are deeply moved by the noble acts of self-sacrifice by Mrs. Helga Alice Herz, and the young Norman R. Morrison, Roger Laporte and Celene Jankowski.

Question : *Comrade Ho Chi Minh, I have come from a far-off Latin American country to inquire about the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people, with the aim of strengthening the solidarity of the Uruguayan people with the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. Have you anything to say to the Uruguayan people?*

Answer : In their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and for the defence of their independence and peace, the Vietnamese people are enjoying

the warm sympathy and support of the fraternal Uruguayan people. I avail myself of this opportunity to request you to convey, through *El Popular*, to the Uruguayan people the cordial greetings and sincere thanks of the Vietnamese people. I wish the Uruguayan people many successes in their struggle for freedom and democracy and against the infiltration and exploitation by U.S. imperialism.

May the friendship between the peoples of our two countries develop fruitfully with every passing day.

LETTER TO THE HEADS OF STATE OF
THE SOVIET UNION, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA AND THE OTHER
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Hanoi, January 24, 1966

Dear comrade President,

I have the honour to call Your attention to the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists in our country Vietnam.

As is known to You, over the past eleven years and more the U.S. imperialists have been seriously sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements and preventing the peaceful reunification of Vietnam in an attempt to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base. They are now waging a war of aggression and barbarously repressing the patriotic struggle of our fellow-countrymen in the South. At the same time, they try to draw experiences from

this war to repress the national-liberation movement in other countries.

In an endeavour to get out of the quagmire in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have massively increased the strength of the U.S. expeditionary force and sent in troops from a number of their satellites to wage direct aggression in South Vietnam. They have also launched air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country and a member of the socialist camp.

While intensifying and extending the war of aggression in Vietnam the U.S. imperialists are clamouring about their "desire for peace" and their "readiness to engage in unconditional discussions" in the hope of fooling world and American public opinion. Recently the Johnson administration has initiated the so-called "search for peace" and put forward a fourteen-point proposal. As an excuse for its war of aggression in South Vietnam it claims that it is "keeping its commitments" to the Saigon puppet administration, it slanders the patriotic struggle of the people of South Vietnam, calling it "an aggression by North Vietnam". This deceitful contention can in no way rub out the solemn declaration made by the United States in Geneva in 1954 that "it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them" (i.e. the Geneva Agreements). Still less can President Johnson's hypocritical allegations conceal the U.S. crimes in Vietnam.

The United States talks about respecting the Geneva Agreements. But one of the main provisions of the said agreements bans the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam. If the United States really respects the agreements, it must withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam.

It is crystal clear that the United States is the aggressor who is trampling underfoot the Vietnamese soil. The people of South Vietnam are the victims of aggression and are fighting in self-defence. If the United States really wants peace, it must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam and engage negotiations with it. In accordance with the aspirations of the people of South Vietnam and the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam the National Front for Liberation is fighting to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Vietnam, and to advance towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. If the United States really respects the right to self-determination of the people of South Vietnam, it cannot but approve this correct program of the National Front for Liberation.

The fourteen points of the United States boil down in essence to this: the United States is trying hard to cling to South Vietnam, to maintain there the

puppet administration rigged up by it and to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam.

In his January 12, 1966 message read before the U.S. Congress, President Johnson affirmed that it was the policy of the United States not to pull out of South Vietnam, and he forced the Vietnamese people to choose between "peace" and the "ravages of a conflict". That is an impudent threat, an attempt to impose on the Vietnamese people the conditions of the so-called U.S. "unconditional discussions".

The Vietnamese people will never submit to the U.S. imperialists' threats.

At the very moment when the U.S. Government puts forward the so-called new "peace efforts", it is frantically increasing the U.S. strength in South Vietnam. It is stepping up terrorist raids, resorting to the "scorched earth" policy — burning all, destroying all, killing all—using napalm bombs, poison gases and toxic chemicals to burn down villages and massacre the civilian population in vast areas of South Vietnam.

I strongly protest against such extremely barbarous methods of warfare. I earnestly call on all peace-loving governments and peoples the world over to resolutely stay the hands of the U.S. war criminals.

The United States keeps sending its planes on espionage flights in preparation for new air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On the other hand it is launching air attacks on many areas in the Kingdom of Laos, and multiplying armed provocations against the Kingdom of Cambodia, thus posing an even more serious menace to peace in Indochina.

Obviously, the U.S. "search for peace" is only designed to conceal its schemes for an intensified war of aggression. The Johnson administration stand remains: aggression and expansion of the war.

To settle the Vietnamese question, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has put forward the four-point stand which is an expression of the essential provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. This is a stand of peace.

Having gone through over twenty years of war, the Vietnamese people desire peace more eagerly than any one else to build their life. But real peace can by no means be dissociated from genuine independence. So long as the U.S. aggressor force still remains on our soil, our people will resolutely fight against it. If the U.S. Government really wants a peaceful settlement, it must accept the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and prove this by actual deeds, it must end unconditionally and for good all bombing raids and other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only in this way can a political solution to the Vietnamese problem be envisaged.

Dear comrade President,

So far, in the spirit of international solidarity, the people and Government of the fraternal *... have been giving wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors for the defence of their independence and freedom. On behalf of the Vietnamese people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I wish to express our deep gratitude to the people and Government of the fraternal...*

In face of the extremely serious situation brought about by the United States in Vietnam, I firmly believe that the people and Government of the fraternal...* will extend increased support and assistance to our people's just struggle, resolutely condemn the U.S. Government's sham peace tricks, and check in time all new perfidious manoeuvres of the United States in Vietnam and Indochina.

I take this opportunity to renew to You, comrade President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

HO CHI MINH
President
of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

* *Recipient country* (Publ).

SPEECH IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THIRD SESSION, THIRD LEGISLATURE

April 16-22, 1966

Comrades deputies,

Our National Assembly holds its session at a time when our entire people's resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation is becoming increasingly fiercer and winning many glorious victories.

Following heavy defeats in the South of our country, the Americans have recklessly thrown into that battlefield 250,000 U.S. and satellite expeditionary troops in order, together with the puppet army, frantically to step up their war of aggression. They have launched large-scale terrorist raids. Wherever they go, they carry out the "burn all, kill all and destroy all" policy. They have been using napalm bombs, poison gases and toxic chemicals to massacre our compatriots and ravage our villages. They erroneously think that with their ruthless armed force they can bring our Southern compatriots to their knees. But the heroic

people of South Vietnam do not and will never flinch. Like pouring more oil on the flames, the extremely savage crimes perpetrated by the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen only exasperate the hatred of our whole people for them. With a marvellous intrepidity and the grim determination to annihilate the enemy and save their fatherland the South Vietnamese armed forces and people have been marching forward heroically, mounting repeated attacks in all theatres, putting out of action tens of thousands of American troops and wiping out and disintegrating hundreds of thousands of puppet troops. Our compatriots in South Vietnamese urban centres, too, are putting up a powerful struggle. The glorious exploits, the big victories of the South Vietnamese armed forces and population are inspiring our people throughout the country and rejoicing our friends all over the five continents.

I propose that our National Assembly warmly hail the heroic fighters and people of South Vietnam.

In an attempt to extricate themselves from this increasing predicament and defensive position, the U.S. imperialists have recklessly expanded their air war of destruction to North Vietnam. For over a year now, they have been using scores of aircraft every day to continually bomb and strafe the northern part of our country. They are also mistaken in thinking that their bombs and bullets can shake the determi-

nation of our people. But our armymen and compatriots in the North have been fighting very heroically. So far, 973 American planes have been shot down and a number of American pilots captured.

For our beloved Fatherland, for our kith-and-kin South Vietnam and for socialism, our army and people in the North have been showing great combativeness and very strong resistance. Making all-out efforts in production while standing ready to fight, our compatriots and armymen prove to be very heroic. Their revolutionary mettle is growing and their patriotic emulation movement surging up with every passing day. From old-agers to children — particularly the youth, male and female alike — everybody is enthusiastically engaging in emulation to make his or her contribution to the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

I propose that our National Assembly warmly hail our armed forces and people in the North for their great achievements in both fighting and production.

Dear comrades,

We have won glorious victories but those are but initial ones. The U.S. aggressors and the traitors are not completely defeated; they are still hatching many perfidious schemes. The more savage crimes they perpetrate, the more they prattle about "peace" and

“negotiations”. Although the struggle will be long and hard, our people are resolved to fight till final victory. They cherish peace, but true peace can only be achieved when there are genuine independence and freedom. They are a heroic people, determined to fight till complete victory to have real peace and genuine independence and freedom.

Our armed forces and people in North Vietnam, who have made efforts should exert greater ones, march forward resolutely, emulate one another in production and fighting, step up the struggle for national salvation, impel the people's air defence. We should live and work on a war-footing. We should strive to defend and build North Vietnam into a stronghold, and wholeheartedly, with might and main, support the struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam, thereby fulfilling our obligations as the bigger rear that North Vietnam is toward the bigger front—South Vietnam.

Under the clear-sighted leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our Southern countrymen from the rural areas to the towns and cities, from the mountains to the plains, are strengthening their unity, fighting resolutely and advancing valiantly to liberate the South, thus contributing to the defence of North Vietnam and the eventual reunification of our fatherland by peaceful means.

We have the responsibility and great honour to stand in the forefront of the world peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. For the independence and reunification of our country, for the security of the socialist camp, for the revolutionary cause and defence of peace of the world peoples, our entire people, united as one man, are resolved to fulfil their heavy but extremely glorious duty—to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive people in the world are daily following our great resistance war with love and admiration, and are giving us increasing support and assistance to help us fight and win. In response to this lofty internationalism, we should enhance our revolutionary spirit, enthusiastically march forward to win complete victory.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the National Assembly, the Government and the Vietnam Workers' Party, I again convey our profound gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, our thanks to progressive people the world over for having warmly supported and assisted our struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation. I express our deep appreciation for the progressive American people's valiant struggle against the criminal war of the U.S. Government in Vietnam.

The only correct solution to end this war has been expounded in my message to the Heads of State and

Government of many countries. It has also been clearly expressed in the five-point statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Once again we say to President Johnson: "If the United States really wants peace, it must withdraw all American and satellite troops from, and put an end to its aggressive war in, South Vietnam.

Stop at once and unconditionally the war of destruction against North Vietnam.

The reunification of Vietnam must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves, without foreign interference, as stipulated by the Geneva Agreements."

Justice is on the side of our people.

The Vietnamese people will certainly win! The U.S. imperialists will surely be defeated!

Let our people and armed forces throughout the country march forward heroically!

Let us fight resolutely to defeat the U.S. aggressors!

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE, EDITOR OF THE FRENCH *EVENEMENT*

October 1966

Question: *Certain people hold that the present war is an ideological conflict, others hold that it is a war for national independence. What is your view?*

Answer: Our people are deeply attached to peace, independence and national unity. The United States has sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam which have formally recognized our national rights. It has been waging a war of aggression against South Vietnam and over the past two years has been launching savage air attacks on North Vietnam. In face of these attacks, the entire Vietnamese people have stood up to fight to a finish in defence of their fatherland.

Question: *Since 1965, the Americans have been sending masses of troops to South Vietnam in an attempt to take advantage of the dry season and regain the initiative*

on the South Vietnam battlefield. Would you let us know the result of this move?

Answer: In spite of very large reinforcements, the U.S. expeditionary force sustained bitter defeats in the 1965-1966 dry-season campaign. Within six months the United States and its agents in Saigon suffered 114,000 casualties without being able to regain the initiative. The so-called "Saigon government" wields no real power even in urban centres. Its army has sustained heavy losses as a result of massive desertions and frequent mutinies.

On the contrary, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has more and more proved itself the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Question: *As for North Vietnam, what lessons has it drawn from the present war?*

Answer: The attacks by the U.S. Air Force have met with ever more powerful return blows, 1,350 attacking aircraft have been downed*. Naturally, we have also re-adjusted our economy to the present situation.

* This figure was recorded at the time of the interview. It has risen to 1,878 on May 11, 1967.

In 1965, rice production continued to rise. Many agricultural co-operatives, including those in the areas most intensively bombed by the enemy, have reaped five tons of paddy per hectare. We have developed local industries. Communications and transport are kept going and the cost of living has not risen.

Despite daily bombing raids, three million pupils go to school as usual. The universities and vocational schools have an enrolment of 100,000.

These achievements show to what extent our people are united in their love for their fatherland and are determined to defeat the enemy, braving all sacrifices.

It is imperative to mobilize the whole country for a long people's war against the U.S. aggressors, to educate the masses in patriotism and collective heroism and push forward the broad patriotic emulation movement under the slogan "All for victory!". That is our experience in the present struggle for national independence.

Question: *Do you need volunteers from your allies and friendly countries, or only up-to-date materials?*

Answer: The United States has a big economic and military potential. To defeat such an enemy, we first of all rely on our own strength, and at the same time strive to secure the most effective international assistance.

The assistance and support given us by the fraternal socialist countries are particularly valuable. Hundreds of thousands of volunteers from the socialist and other countries have declared their readiness to fight the U.S. imperialists by our side. We warmly thank them for their militant solidarity with us. When necessary we shall ask them to come.

Question: *Can any hope be placed in the activities of a minority group called "liberal" in the United States?*

Answer: We hold that the protest movement in the United States against the "dirty war" gives an active support to our cause. Despite the government's persecution, this movement has not ceased to develop.

Question: *What can the Vietnamese expect of the moral and material support of all those in the world who support Vietnam's independence, and of their French friends in particular?*

Answer: To the French people who are bound to our people by a fraternal friendship which has been tempered in the common struggle against colonialism, we once again express our confidence and gratitude.

The activities of the French people constitute a great inspiration to our fighting people and an

important contribution to the cause of peace, independence, democracy, and socialism in the world.

Question: *Where will the Americans get to?*

Answer: The Americans are neck-deep in their Vietnam morass. Yet they are plotting more adventures against us. Our people are ready to cope with them. We are resolved to continue the fight even if it will last five, ten years or longer.

President Johnson and his friends are deceiving their own people and making a show of faked optimism about the situation of the United States in Vietnam.

Question: *What are the prospects of peace?*

Answer: Each time they climb up a fresh rung in their war escalation, the Americans raise a ballyhoo about the so-called "peace negotiations". That is only a smokescreen.

Yet, some people of good will, deceived by U.S. propaganda, have advised us to negotiate with the aggressors at any cost. They have forgotten that to end this war, the United States only needs to undertake to withdraw. That is the only honourable solution for it.

Question: *Although the Americans do not respect the Geneva Agreements, do you think that the principles of these agreements remain valid and peace can be restored on that basis?*

Answer: The position of Vietnam is clear: it is the "four points" of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the "five points" of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. Our stand is a true expression of the fundamental provisions of the Geneva Agreements in the present situation. This is the only correct basis for the settlement of the Vietnamese problem.

Question: *After the war, what will be the future of a unified Vietnam?*

Answer: After peace is restored, the Vietnamese people will devote their might and main to rebuild their fatherland, turn it into a unified, peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous country having friendly relations with all peaceful peoples in the world.

MESSAGE TO LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL

November 1966

On the occasion of the setting up on your initiative of an International Tribunal to try the U.S. war criminals, I wish to send to you my best congratulations. The U.S. imperialists are expanding their war against national independence and peace in Vietnam. They are committing monstrous atrocities and crimes more odious than the Hitlerite fascists'. The formal indictment of these crimes by the International Tribunal will arouse universal indignation against the U.S. aggressors and intensify the protest movement of the peoples of all countries demanding the cessation of this criminal war and the withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam.

This is an act of international significance for the defence of justice and the right to self-determination of the peoples. The Tribunal will contribute to awakening the conscience of the world peoples who are

opposing the U.S. imperialists, the enemy number one of mankind and world peace. Our people, who are determined to struggle till the final triumph of their cause, highly value and wholeheartedly support your noble initiative. We would like to convey to you our warmest thanks. I wish also to send my most cordial greetings to all friends members of the Tribunal. I wish the Tribunal great successes.

Cordially yours,

MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

December 23, 1966

On the occasion of the New Year, I would like to convey to the American people cordial wishes for peace and happiness.

The Vietnamese and American peoples should have lived in peace and friendship. But the U.S. Government has brazenly sent over 400,000 troops along with thousands of aircraft and hundreds of warships to wage aggression on Vietnam. Night and day it has used napalm bombs, toxic gas, fragmentation bombs and other modern weapons to massacre our people, not sparing even old persons, women and children, it has burnt down or destroyed villages and towns and perpetrated extremely savage crimes. Of late, U.S. aircraft have repeatedly bombed Hanoi, our beloved capital.

It is because of the criminal war unleashed by the U.S. Government that hundreds of thousands of young Americans have been drafted and sent to a useless

death far from their homeland, on the Vietnamese battlefield. In hundreds of thousands of American families, parents have lost their sons, and wives their husbands.

Nevertheless, the U.S. Government has continually clamoured about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to deceive the American and world peoples. In fact, it is daily expanding the war.

The U.S. Government wrongly believes that with brutal force it could compel our people to surrender. But the Vietnamese people will never submit. We love peace, but it must be genuine peace in independence and freedom. For independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people are determined to fight the U.S. aggressors through to complete victory, whatever the hardships and sacrifices may be.

Who has caused these sufferings and mournings to the Vietnamese and American people? It is the U.S. rulers. The American people have realized this truth. More and more Americans are valiantly standing up in a vigorous struggle, demanding that the American Government respect the Constitution and the honour of the United States, stop the war of aggression in Vietnam and bring home all U.S. troops.

I warmly welcome your just struggle and thank you for your support to the Vietnamese people's patriotic fight.

I sincerely wish the American people many big successes in their struggle for peace, democracy and happiness.

LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS TO THE HANOI ARMYMEN AND PEOPLE

Hanoi, December 15, 1966

Dear compatriots, armymen and cadres in Hanoi,

These last days the barbarous U.S. aggressors have repeatedly bombed our beloved capital. Together with our compatriots in other places you have downed many of their aircraft, thereby duly punishing them. Meanwhile the people and liberation troops in South Vietnam have dealt them thundering blows.

The higher their escalation, the more bitter their defeat. The more wicked the enemy is, the deeper our people's hatred and the firmer their determination to defeat him.

The Hanoi armymen and people who have shown increasing fighting skill, shot down the 1,600th enemy plane over North Vietnam.

Good in fighting and production you are also clever at maintaining order and security.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government, I am very glad to congratulate and award you the banner "Determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors".

Our armymen and people must unceasingly heighten their vigilance, strive to fight and produce well, and improve the people's air defence so as to record greater successes.

With affection and determination to win,

Uncle HO

PART IV

APPEAL TO OUR COMPATRIOTS AND FIGHTERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

July 17, 1966

Compatriots and fighters throughout the country,

The barbarous U.S. imperialists have unleashed a war of aggression in an attempt to conquer our country, but they have been sustaining heavy defeats.

They have rushed an expeditionary force of about 300,000 men into the South of our country. They have brought up a puppet administration and a mercenary army as instruments of their aggressive policy. They have been resorting to extremely savage means of warfare — toxic chemicals, napalm bombs, etc. — and applying the “burn all, kill all and destroy all” policy. With such crimes, they hope to subdue our Southern compatriots.

But under the firm and wise leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, closely united and fighting

heroically, have scored splendid victories, and are determined to struggle until complete victory in order to liberate the South, defend the North, and achieve eventual national reunification.

The U.S. aggressors have cynically launched air attacks on North Vietnam in a hope to get out of their quagmire in the South and to compel us to "negotiate" on their own terms.

But North Vietnam does not flinch. Our army and people have been eagerly emulating in production and fighting. So far, we have blasted over 1,200 adverse aircraft. We are determined to frustrate the enemy's war of destruction and at the same time to extend all-out support to our kith and kin in the South.

Of late, the U.S. aggressors have frenziedly taken a very serious step further in their escalation by starting air strikes at Haiphong and the suburbs of Hanoi. That was a desperate act of theirs, comparable to the death throes of a grievously wounded wild beast.

Johnson and his clique should realize this: they may bring in 500,000 troops, one million or even more to step up the war of aggression in South Vietnam. They may use thousands of aircraft for intensified attacks against North Vietnam. But never will they be able to break the iron will of the heroic Vietnamese people to fight for national salvation. The more

truculent they are, the graver their crimes. The war may last another five, ten, twenty or more years, Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities and enterprises may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Once victory is won, our people will rebuild our country and endow it with bigger and more beautiful constructions.

*

It is common knowledge that each time they are about to step up their criminal war, the U.S. aggressors always resort to their "peace talks" swindle in an attempt to fool world opinion and lay the blame on Vietnam for unwillingness to undertake "peace negotiations".

President Johnson, reply publicly to the American people and the peoples of the world: who has sabotaged the Geneva Agreements which guarantee the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam? Have Vietnamese troops invaded the United States and massacred Americans? Is it not the U.S. Government which has sent U.S. troops to invade Vietnam and massacre the Vietnamese people?

Let the United States end its war of aggression in Vietnam, withdraw all American and satellite troops

from this country, and peace will be restored immediately. Vietnam's stand is clear: it is the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five points of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. There is no other alternative.

The Vietnamese people cherish peace, a genuine peace, a peace in independence and freedom, not a sham peace, not an "American peace".

For the defence of the independence of our fatherland, for the fulfilment of our obligations to the peoples struggling against U.S. imperialism, our whole people and army, united as one man, fearless of sacrifices and hardships will resolutely fight till complete victory. In the past, we defeated the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists under much more difficult circumstances. Now that conditions at home and abroad are more favourable, our people's struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation will certainly end in complete victory.

Dear compatriots and fighters,

We are strong thanks to the justice of our cause, the unity of our people from North to South, our traditions of undaunted struggle, and the sympathy and support of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive people all over the world. We shall win.

At this new juncture, we are at one in our determination to tide over all hardships and sacrifices, and to accomplish the glorious historic task of our people: to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, I take this opportunity to express heartfelt thanks to the peoples of the socialist countries and progressive peoples in the world, including the American people, for their wholehearted support and assistance. In face of the U.S. imperialists' new criminal schemes I am firmly confident that the peoples and governments of the fraternal socialist countries, and the peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world will still more vigorously support and help the Vietnamese people until they win complete victory in their struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

The Vietnamese people will win!

The U.S. aggressors will surely be defeated!

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

Compatriots and fighters throughout the country, march valiantly forward!

PARTIAL MOBILIZATION ORDER FROM
THE PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

**THE PRESIDENT
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM**

Considering Article 93 of the Constitution of the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam,

Considering Decision N^o 102-NQ-TVQH of the Stand-
ing Committee of the National Assembly of the Dem-
ocratic Republic of Vietnam on partial mobilization

PROMULGATES THE ORDER TO MOBILIZE

Part of reserve officers, non-commissioned officers
and men of the Vietnam People's Army, and part of
citizens belonging the reserves of the Army but not
yet serving in the Army's ranks.

President
of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
HO CHI MINH

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S REPLY
TO PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

To His Excellency Mr Lyndon B. Johnson
President,
United States of America

Your Excellency,

On February 10, 1967, I received your message. This
is my reply.

Vietnam is thousands of miles away from the United
States. The Vietnamese people have never done any
harm to the United States. But contrary to the pled-
ges made by its representative at the 1954 Geneva
Conference, the U.S. Government has ceaselessly inter-
vened in Vietnam, it has unleashed and intensified the
war of aggression in South Vietnam with a view to
prolonging the partition of Vietnam and turning South
Vietnam into a neo-colony and military base of the
United States. For over two years now, the U.S. Gov-
ernment has, with its air and naval forces, carried the

war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country.

The U.S. Government has committed war crimes, crimes against peace and against mankind. In South Vietnam, half a million U.S. and satellite troops have resorted to the most inhuman weapons and the most barbarous methods of warfare, such as napalm, toxic chemicals and gases, to massacre our compatriots, destroy crops, and raze villages to the ground. In North Vietnam, thousands of U.S. aircraft have dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs, destroying towns, villages, factories, roads, bridges, dykes, dams, and even churches, pagodas, hospitals, schools. In your message, you apparently deplored the sufferings and destructions in Vietnam. May I ask you: Who has perpetrated these monstrous crimes? It is the U.S. and satellite troops. The U.S. Government is entirely responsible for the extremely serious situation in Vietnam.

The U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people constitutes a challenge to the countries of the socialist camp, a threat to the national-independence movement, and a serious danger to peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people deeply love independence, freedom and peace. But in the face of the U.S. aggression, they have risen up, united as one man, fearless

of sacrifices and hardships; they are determined to carry on their Resistance until they have won genuine independence and freedom and true peace. Our just cause enjoys strong sympathy and support from the peoples of the whole world including broad sections of the American people.

The U.S. Government has unleashed the war of aggression in Vietnam. It must cease this aggression. That is the only way to the restoration of peace. The U.S. Government must stop definitively and unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; withdraw from South Vietnam all U.S. and satellite troops; recognize the South Vietnam National Front Liberation; and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs. Such is the basic content of the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which embodies the essential principles and provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. It is the basis of a correct political solution to the Vietnam problem.

In your message, you suggested direct talks between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States. If the U.S. Government really wants these talks, it must first of all stop unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is only after the unconditional

cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States could enter into talks and discuss questions concerning the two sides.

The Vietnamese people will never submit to force; they will never accept talks under the threat of bombs.

Our cause is absolutely just. It is to be hoped that the U.S. Government will act in accordance with reason.

Sincerely,



