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Fifty Years of VCP History



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VIETNAM REPORT

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FIFTY YEARS OF VCP HISTORY

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[Series of Articles: "The 50 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Communist Party"]

[1 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] Editorial Note: as we begin 1980 and looking toward 3 February, NHAN DAN Newspaper, in support of the major phase of political activities being conducted on the occasion of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party, hereby presents to readers the book "The 50 Years of Activity of the Vietnam Communist Party," which was compiled by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee under the light of the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party and the resolutions of the recent party plenums.

We are printing this document on a serialized basis, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday of each week, between now and New Year's day based on the manuscripts that Su That Publishing House will issue soon.

Part I: the Birth of the Vietnam Communist Party

The Crisis Surrounding the Revolutionary Line at the Start of the 20th Century

The Vietnam Communist Party was born 50 years ago. The birth of the party was an historic inevitability, one that met the pressing needs of the working class, of the laboring people and the nation of Vietnam.

Our party was born when world capitalism had become totally reactionary and socialism had won victory in a country whose territory constitutes one-sixth of the planet, when the class standing in the center of the age was not the feudal class, a class that became reactionary long ago, nor the outmoded bourgeoisie, but the working class, the representative of the most progressive mode of production.

The birth of our party, which came at a time when the Vietnamese working class had grown and the worker movement was developing strongly, was closely linked to the intense struggle by peasants, intellectuals, students and the other strata of the people within the nation during the 1920's.

The nation of Vietnam, in its 4,000 years of working to conquer nature and fighting foreign aggression, established a developed culture and the traditions of tenacity, bravery, diligence, unity, optimism and self-reliance. Imposing feats of arms in dozens of major wars of resistance to liberate the nation and protect the fatherland against the aggressor armies of the Tan, Han, Tong, Nguyen, Minh and Thanh were recorded in each of 21 consecutive centuries, the most significant of which were the three defeats of the Nguyen army, the largest and cruellest professional army of aggressors in the world in the 13th Century, the defeat of several hundred thousand Minh troops in the 15th Century and the defeat of nearly 300,000 troops of the Thanh aggressor army at the end of the 19th Century, all of which brought glory to the heroic tradition of our nation.

From the time the French colonialists began their aggression against our country (1858) until the end of the 19th Century, our people, from the south to the north, continuously took up arms against the country-robbers and traitors. However, all of these heroic wars of resistance ended in defeat. The feudal class that ruled Vietnam at that time, a class represented by the imperial court of the House of Nguyen, surrendered to the French colonialists. Once a feudal society, Vietnam became a colonial, semi-feudal society.

For the purpose of turning Vietnam into a place for earning exorbitant profits through exploitation, the French imperialists coordinated the capitalist mode of exploitation with the long-standing, backward feudal mode of exploitation. The economic policy of monopoly and plunder of the French imperialists caused Vietnam to become a source of cheap manpower and a lucrative source of raw materials, into a place to which to make high interest loans, a place to charge taxes at will, a place from which to buy cheap agricultural products and sell expensive industrial goods, a place where foreign trade was monopolized by the French monopolistic bourgeoisie. This policy of France deprived the Vietnamese economy of every possibility for independent development and caused it to have no heavy industry, a crippled light industry and a mono-culture system of agriculture. In the end, the very backward economy of Vietnam became totally dependent upon the economy of the "mother country" and the Vietnamese became increasingly poor and hungry and were slowly dying off.

The economic policy of monopoly and exploitation combined with the typical policy of political dictatorship of old-style colonialism, a policy of governing directly, of controlling the key posts within the colonial state apparatus, from plenipotentiary to governor, ministers, police chiefs, bishops, court chief justices and so forth, turned the feudal class and compradore bourgeoisie into competent lackeys. This reactionary policy

caused Vietnam to lose its independence completely and caused the Vietnamese to have no rights of freedom whatsoever. Their demagogic cultural policy, the essence of which was keeping the people in ignorance and superstition, only served the exploitation and rule of the French colonialists and their lackeys.

Within colonial, semi-feudal Vietnamese society, the two fundamental antagonisms became increasingly deep: the antagonism between the nation and aggressive imperialism and the contradiction between our people, primarily the peasants, and the feudal landowner class. These two antagonisms were closely linked. In order for Vietnamese society to develop, it was necessary to simultaneously resolve these two antagonisms. Therefore, abolishing the system of oppression and exploitation of imperialism had to be closely linked to abolishing the system of oppression and exploitation of the feudal powers. The struggle for national independence had to be closely linked to the struggle for democracy and freedom.

Independence and freedom were the two basic requirements of Vietnamese society under the ruling yoke of the imperialists and feudalists, were the fervent aspirations of all Vietnamese.

The economic policy of monopoly and exploitation and the policy of political dictatorship of the French imperialists and their lackeys caused these two antagonisms to become increasingly deep and accelerated the revolutionization of the people. These policies inevitably led to uprisings by the working masses to win the right to live. The capitalist mode of production which the French colonialists introduced in Vietnam created a new class structure in which the proletariat was the class that had the mission of leading the effort to "dig the grave" of imperialism.

"The cruelty of capitalism had prepared the soil. Socialism only had to perform the job of sowing the seeds of liberation."(1)

Before the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena and seized the right to lead the revolution, the struggle for independence and freedom by our people against the French colonialists, although heroic, was not successful.

The crisis surrounding the revolutionary line was deepest during the first several decades of the 20th Century. The defeat of the Can Vuong movement against the French was due to the lack of a correct liberation line consistent with the aspirations of the people, consistent with the trend of development of the age and due to the lack of a revolutionary organization capable of leading the people to victory. The crisis surrounding the line was, in substance, a crisis involving the role played by the most progressive class in society in leading the revolution. In previous centuries, the feudal class was the progressive class to some

extent; however, it began to decline in the 16th Century, especially when it surrendered to the French colonialists and became a totally reactionary, traitorous class that served as lackeys in the exploitation and oppression of the people by the imperialists. The bourgeoisie with their crippled, subservient economic forces of a revisionist political nature was incapable of leading the struggle against the imperialists and feudalists for independence and freedom. They were only capable of participating in this struggle under certain conditions. The peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, who thirsted for independence and freedom and enthusiastically opposed the imperialists and feudalists, were unable to set forth the correct line for liberation and unable to play the role of leading the revolution. The working class, the representative of the progressive mode of production of society, which was born before the national bourgeoisie of Vietnam and was subjected to the three layers of oppression of the imperialists, feudalists and bourgeoisie, had natural ties to the peasantry and interests consistent with the basic and long-range interests of the entire nation; to liberate itself, the working class had to simultaneously and forever liberate all of society from every form of oppression and exploitation. Therefore, only the working class was fully capable of carrying out the historic mission of leading the revolution against imperialism and feudalism for independence and freedom to thorough victory and only the working class was capable of leading the effort to forever liberate all of society from the system of man exploiting man and building a civilized, happy life. Before the birth of the Vietnam Communist Party, the working class of Vietnam did not have all the conditions needed to fulfill this historic mission.

The defeat of the Can Vuong movement marked the end of the period of struggling against the French within the framework of feudal ideology. Having disassociated themselves with this course, patriotic Vietnamese looked outside the country for new paths that might lead to liberation: the modernism of Japan, the path of the Tan Hoi revolution of China (1911) and the bourgeois parliamentary path in the western countries. These paths, although they differed due to the specific conditions of each country, were basically the path of bourgeois democracy. Although this was a philosophy about which Vietnamese patriots had only recently learned, it was both outmoded and reactionary compared to the times. "Once a progressive and ascending class, the bourgeoisie had become a descending, withering and reactionary class near death."(2) "As it nears death, the bourgeoisie is collaborating with all forces that have become outmoded or are declining."(3)

The patriot Phan Boi Chau and his comrades, who once pinned high hopes on capitalist, independent and modern Japan, became equally disappointed over the action taken by the Japanese government in collaboration with the French colonialists of deporting Phan Boi Chau and overseas patriotic Vietnamese students from Japan. Phan Boi Chau and his comrades did not understand why the Tan Hoi bourgeois revolution of China met with defeat. He also could not explain why the life of his revolution was one of "100 defeats but not 1 victory."(4)

Phan Chu Trinh, Luong Van Can and other patriots who were excited over the theory of bourgeois democracy could not understand why France, the country that had the most famous bourgeois parliament in Europe and such beautiful standards as "liberty," "equality," and "fraternity," could dissolve the Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc School and imprison or banish to Con Dao Island Vietnamese patriots who advocated the establishment of a bourgeois parliament.

The defeats of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh and Luong Van Can made one fact clear: bourgeois democracy was not the path to be followed to rescue our people from shame, from the loss of their country.

The defeat of the several decades of guerrilla fighting by Hoang Hoa Tham also proved that this struggle was not an effective course to follow because, although the partisan army was brave, determined and resourceful, it was alone in its efforts and had no precise guidelines for achieving liberation.

Prior to 1920, not one patriot of our country saw the light of liberation during the dark night of the nation's loss of the country. The Vietnamese revolution faced a serious crisis regarding the line for national salvation.

Nguyen Ai Quoc--the First Vietnamese Patriot To Discover Marxism-Leninism and Struggle for the Establishment of the Party of the Working Class in Vietnam

While our people were suffering the agony of impoverishment and the loss of their country and were frustrated over which course to follow to achieve liberation, the great Russian October Socialist Revolution broke out and won victory. The Russian October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of man, the era of socialism and communism. The victory of the October Revolution was eloquent proof to the entire world of the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, proof that Marxism-Leninism is the only correct revolutionary doctrine in our times, the only doctrine capable of leading man from the yoke of oppression and exploitation of capitalism.

The victory of the October Revolution closely linked the liberation of the proletariat to the liberation of oppressed peoples, closely linked socialism to national independence.

The national liberation revolution became an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. The resounding militant slogan of Lenin "proletariat and the oppressed peoples of all countries, unite!" opened a new path, one filled with light, for the national liberation revolution in the colonies and vassal countries.

With vision that went beyond the limited vision of contemporary patriots, Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is, President Ho Chi Minh, was the first patriotic

Vietnamese to discover the correct course of liberation for the working class, for the laboring people and our entire nation, the course of national independence closely linked to socialism.

Nguyen Ai Quoc greatly admired the patriotic spirit of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh and Hoang Hoa Tham, but he was not in agreement with the course followed by any one of them. Nguyen Ai Quoc maintained that Phan Chu Trinh's request that the French carry out a reform program was no different than "asking the enemy to show pity"; that Phan Boi Chau's position of asking Japan to help drive off the French was no different than "bringing a tiger to the front door and welcoming a leopard at the back door"; and that the position of Hoang Hoa Tham, although more practical, still offered no clear course for liberation.

In 1911, with this thinking in mind, Nguyen Ai Quoc left to find the course for national salvation. He examined and studied the experiences of the American Revolution (1776) and the experiences of the French Revolution (1789). World War I (1914-1918) fully bared the barbarous, cruel, corrupt and dying nature of capitalism. In 1917, Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to France and founded the Association of Patriotic Vietnamese for the purpose of assembling overseas patriotic Vietnamese in France. In 1918, Nguyen Ai Quoc joined the French Socialist Party and participated in the activities of the French worker movement, gaining an understanding of the experiences of the French Revolution, trying to win the support of the working class and laboring people of France for the patriotic struggle of Vietnam and gaining an understanding of the Russian October Revolution. In 1919, after the conclusion of World War I, the victorious capitalist countries met at Versailles in the outskirts of Paris, France to discuss how they would share the spoils of victory and the colonies. Nguyen Ai Quoc, in the name of patriotic Vietnamese in France, sent to the Versailles conference a list of eight demands for freedom, democracy and national equality for the Vietnamese. Although Nguyen Ai Quoc's eight demands were not granted, they were widely heard and awakened the spirit of patriotism of the Vietnamese, thereby laying the groundwork for rallying forces against the French imperialists. From this experience, Nguyen Ai Quoc reached the following conclusion: "The philosophy of Wilson is nothing but a big trick." (5)

In 1920, Nguyen Ai Quoc read the first draft of Lenin's theses on the nationality and colonial questions (6) and participated in the debate within the French Socialist Party concerning whether to support the 2nd International (the opportunist, reformist international) or the 3rd International (the revolutionary international).

The final conclusion reached by Nguyen Ai Quoc in his examination, research and debate of this matter was: the only course to follow in order to save the country and liberate the nation is the course of the proletarian revolution. Only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and workers of the world from slavery.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Ai Quoc: Dong Duong [Indochina], "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 20.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Under Someone Else's Banner," Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, pp 21 and 161.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Backward Asia and Progressive Asia," Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, pp 19 and 122.
4. Phan Boi Chau nien bieu, Van Su Dia Publishing House, Hanoi, 1957, p 20.
5. In 1918, U.S. President Wilson presented his 14-point program, which contained seductive words about the right of nations to self-determination, with a view toward winning over the peoples of other countries and taking influence and regions away from the other imperialists. The above mentioned conclusion reached by Nguyen Ai Quoc is an excerpt from an article written after 1920 entitled "Concerning the War of Resistance Against the French" in "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 24.
6. Presented at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International held from 19 July to 7 August 1920 and printed in the 16 and 17 July 1920 issues of the French newspaper L'HUMANITE. Nguyen Ai Quoc first read Lenin's theses in L'HUMANITE.

[2 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] In December 1920, at the 18th Congress of the French Socialist Party held in the city of Tours, Nguyen Ai Quoc voted to join the Communist International and participated in the founding of the French Communist Party(1).

Nguyen Ai Quoc's participation in the founding of the French Communist Party marked a turning point in his life of revolutionary activities, marked the shift from patriotism to communism, the shift to completely supporting the line of the August Revolution, completely supporting Marxism-Leninism and completely supporting the Communist International. This event also marked the opening of a course which led to the turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution, a turning point which closely linked national independence to socialism and Marxism, which had begun to penetrate the worker movement and patriotic movement in Vietnam.

Between 1921 and 1929, Nguyen Ai Quoc waged a steadfast and arduous struggle, on an international scale as well as at home, to spread the basic viewpoints

of Marxism-Leninism to the manual workers, farmers, laboring people and patriots of Vietnam while actively making all the preparations necessary for the founding of the communist party in Vietnam.

In 1921, in Paris, Nguyen Ai Quoc participated in the founding of the Colonial League and founded the newspaper LE PARIA for the purpose of rallying forces against imperialism within the colonies of France. In 1922, Nguyen Ai Quoc joined the Colonial Research Department of the French Communist Party. In 1923, he attended the International Peasant Congress in Moscow and was elected to serve as a member of the Presidium of the Peasant International Executive Committee. In 1924, he attended the 5th Congress of the Communist International. At this congress, he stressed the relationship between the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries and the national liberation revolution in the colonies. Nguyen Ai Quoc directed the attention of the communist and worker parties of the capitalist world to their responsibility for coordinating with the national liberation movement in order to achieve the common objective of opposing imperialism. Also during that year, as a member of the Eastern Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc traveled to Canton, China, and helped to guide and build the revolutionary movement and communist movement in the countries of Southeast Asia while intensifying his preparations for the founding of the communist party in Vietnam. In 1925, Nguyen Ai Quoc founded the association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the newspaper THANH NIEN and held training classes for hundreds of cadres, who were sent home to engage in activities.

In all of his books, newspaper articles and classroom lessons, especially in "French Colonialization on Trial" and "The Revolutionary Road," Nguyen Ai Quoc coordinated the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory with the introduction of the basic guidelines of the Vietnamese revolution, thereby charting for our people the course to independence, freedom and socialism.

Nguyen Ai Quoc pointed out: "To live, one must wage a revolution"(2); "Revolution is the common work of all the people, not the work of one or two persons"(3); "Workers and farmers are the revolutionary base"(4); we must build a Marxist-Leninist party, because "as a strong helmsman is needed for a boat to flow smoothly, so, too, a strong party is needed for the revolution to achieve success"(5); we must unite with the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world, "the Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution and anyone who is carrying out a revolution in the world is a comrade of the Vietnamese"(6); "In order for others to help us, we must help ourselves first."(7) French colonialism is like a leech with two suckers, one of which is sucking the blood of the working class and people of France and the other is sucking the blood of the Vietnamese and the peoples of the other French colonies; therefore, French imperialism is the common enemy of the people of France and the peoples of the French colonies and the French proletarian revolution and the national liberation revolution in the colonies are as closely related as the two wings of a bird.(8) From the very outset, Nguyen Ai Quoc closely coordinated genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

The above mentioned basic arguments of Nguyen Ai Quoc represented the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam in the new age. These arguments were the line of the working class regarding the Vietnamese revolution, were the ideological and political tenets of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, an organization of patriotic youths with socialist tendencies. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had the task of introducing Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line of the working class among the mass of manual workers, farmers and revolutionary intellectuals, among whom communists served as the nucleus preparing for the founding of the communist party.

The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was born at a time when the struggle between the two lines, the line of the proletariat and the line of the bourgeoisie in Vietnam, was becoming sharp.

After the revolutionary youth Pham Hong Thai attempted to assassinate Governor General Merlin in 1924, the struggle for the release of Phan Boi Chau (1925) and the movement to mourn Phan Chu Trinh (1926) spread throughout the country. Numerous patriotic organizations came into existence; the Association To Restore Vietnam (1925)(9), the Youth Party (1926), the Vietnam Nationalist Party (1927), etc. All of these organizations presented political platforms to attract the masses. The position of these organizations was to struggle for independence under a variety of slogans; however, all of these slogans reflected the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Frightened by the momentum of the intensifying revolutionary movement, the French colonialists conducted a campaign of ruthless suppression while using tricks to deceive the people and taking advantage of the reformist trend in order to disorient and "deflate" the revolutionary movement. The French government sent Varen, a member of the French Socialist Party, to serve as governor general of Indochina. He adopted the policy of "French-Viet harmony" in order to deceive a number of gullible patriots.

The immediate task facing the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was struggling to defeat bourgeois reformism and half-way bourgeois revolutionary tendencies so that the masses could differentiate between reformist and revolutionary, between a less than thorough revolution and a genuine, thorough revolution. Numerous cadres possessing patriotic zeal and an initial awareness of Marxism-Leninism were given the responsibility of going into the industrial centers, the urban areas and the countryside to spread the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line.

The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth built many installations in many important economic centers. Labor unions sprung up at the Ba Son Shipyard in Saigon, the Bottle Factory, the Raw Silk Factory, the Ca Rong Machine Works, the port piers and the cement plant in Haiphong, the Truong Thi Locomotive Works in Nghe An Province, the textile mill and electric power plant in Nam Dinh Province, the Di An Locomotive Works, the Hon Gai,

Mao Khe and Uong Bi Coal Mines, the Avia Automobile Repair Plant, the electric power plant and the IDEO Printing House in Hanoi, the Staca Automobile repair Plant in Da Nang, the FACI Plant and the Phu Rieng Plantation in Thu Dau Mot and at many other enterprises throughout the country. In 1927, 1928 and 1929, dozens of strikes were staged by workers at the enterprises mentioned above and in many different industrial sectors: the mining sector, the cement sector, the textile sector, the wine sector, the electric power sector, the transportation sector, plantations and so forth. The most representative of these struggles was the struggle by cement workers and the workers of Phu Rieng and Avia. The total number of persons participating in this struggle was in the thousands. In 1928, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth sent members to work and conduct activities at factories, mines and plantations. This policy was called the "proletarianization" movement. In 1929, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth developed strong bases throughout the country and the number of association members rose to 1,700. The "proletarianization" movement helped to accelerate the process of enlightening the working class. Political slogans were closely coordinated with economic slogans and there was coordination among the various enterprises in the strikes. The worker movement acquired a distinctly independent character. "The strikes staged in 1928, 1929...proved that the struggle of the class in Indochina was constantly expanding. Of special and most important significance in the revolutionary movement in Indochina was that the struggle of the mass of workers and farmers was of a very clearly independent nature, not under the influence of nationalism as it once was."(10)

The struggle by farmers against the theft of land, against exorbitant taxes and for a share of public cropland broke out in a number of provinces in Nam Bo, Trung Bo and Bac Bo together with a number of class boycotts by students and shop closings by small merchants. In 1921, Nguyen Ai Quoc predicted the development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and pointed out the responsibility of the first Vietnamese communists as follows: "The Indochinese people are filled with something which is boiling and roaring, and when the time comes, it will break out with great violence. Those who stand in the vanguard must help this opportunity to materialize."(11) By 1929, the intensity of the movement was no longer hidden, rather, it had become a glaring fact. All struggles of the working people had aligned with one another to form a strong wave under the revolutionary guidelines of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth.

The actual situation presented above proved that Marxism-Leninism had truly won the confidence not only of the worker movement, but also of the patriotic movement. Bourgeois reformism was repelled and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois revolutionary viewpoints were criticized.

In the realities of the national democratic wave that was sweeping the country, a new revolutionary trend emerged, one which required the leadership of a true political party of the working class. The progressive

elements within the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth quickly realized that a patriotic organization of a socialist tendency, such as the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, was no longer capable of leading the revolution. Its historic role had come to an end.

In the struggle to found the communist party, the first communist party chapter in our country was established in late March 1929 in Hanoi. On 28 March 1929, the regional congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth held in Bac Ky, the central role in which was played by the first communist party chapter, unanimously endorsed the position of founding a communist party and sent regional delegates to attend the national congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, giving them the task of struggling to gain the congress' acceptance of this requirement.

FOOTNOTES

1. The 19th Congress of the French Communist Party held in 1970 confirmed: Ho Chi Minh was one of the founders of the French Communist Party and helped the French Communist Party follow a clear anti-colonialist line (NHAN DAN Newspaper, 13 February 1970).
2. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Duong Kach menh" [The Revolutionary Road], "Cac to chuc tien than cua Dang" [The Forerunners of the Party], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 19.
3. Ibid., p 24.
4. Ibid., p 26.
5. Ibid., p 63.
6. Ibid., p 55.
7. Ibid.
8. In the original manuscript it states: "this alliance (of colonial peoples--the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee) is one of the flanks of the proletarian revolution." Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Ban an che do thuc dan Phap" [French Colonialization on Trial] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 168.
9. Its name was changed to the Hung Nam Association in 1928 and then to the New Vietnam Revolutionary Party.
10. "Luan cuong chinh tri cua Dang Cong san Dong Duong, Van kien Dang 1930-1945" [The Political Platform of the Indochinese Communist Party, Party Proceedings 1930-1945], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Vol 1, pp 66-67.

11. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Indochina, For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 20.

[3 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] On 1 May 1929, the National Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was held in Hong Kong. The Bac Ky delegation, whose most outstanding and determined member was Ngo Gia Tu, presented a proposal to dissolve the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and establish the Indochinese Communist Party. This proposal was not accepted by the congress. The Bac Ky delegation left the congress and returned to Vietnam. On 1 June 1929, the delegation issued a declaration explaining its reasons for not remaining at the congress and appealed to workers, farmers and the revolutionary masses to support the establishment of a communist party. The declaration stated: "At present, there is no party in Vietnam that represents the proletariat... We must propose the founding of a party representing the proletariat, the only party capable of resolving problems related to the proletariat, a party to lead the entire revolution in Vietnam, that is, a communist party."(1)

On 17 June 1929, the Indochinese Communist Party was founded. The Indochinese Communist Party issued a political platform and manifesto which stated that the line of the party was to wage a bourgeois, democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, advance to a socialist revolution and build an alliance of workers and farmers. The birth of the Indochinese Communist Party strongly stimulated the communist movement within the country. In October 1929, the Nam Ky organization of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth held a congress to declare the dissolution of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the founding of the Communist Party of An Nam. In January 1930, outstanding members of the New Vietnam Party issued a declaration founding the League of Indochinese Communists.

In the space of one-half year, three different communist organizations had been founded. This event proved that the founding of the communist party was the inevitable result of the development of the worker movement and patriotic movement in Vietnam in 1929. However, the interests of the working class, of the laboring people and the organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party did not permit the decentralization of the forces of a country into three different communist organizations. This only weakened the ideological, political and organizational unity and the unity of actions of the proletariat and reduced the strength of the worker movement and the patriotic movement. Organizing a single party of the working class in Vietnam was a pressing need of the worker movement and the patriotic movement at that time.

The Birth of the Vietnam Communist Party

On learning of the news of the establishment of three communist organizations in Vietnam, the Communist International sent an appeal to these communist

groups to unite: "The most important and absolutely imperative task of all Indochinese communists is to found a revolutionary party of the proletariat... This party is a single party and, in Indochina, it would be the only communist organization. To not have a single communist party at a time when the mobilization of the working masses and farmers is constantly growing is a very serious danger to the immediate future of the revolution in Indochina."(2)

In this letter, the Communist International also set forth the basic principles on the building of a Marxist-Leninist party and provided guidance in how to merge the various communist organizations. Nguyen Ai Quoc, on behalf of the Communist International, convened a conference to merge the communist organizations in Vietnam.

On 3 February 1930, a merger conference was held in Kowloon (near Hong Kong), which was chaired by Nguyen Ai Quoc and had the participation of two delegates from the Indochinese Communist Party and two delegates from the Communist Party of An Nam. The League of Indochinese Communists did not promptly send delegates to attend the conference. The total number of party members at that time was 211.

After 5 days of very urgent work (from 3 to 7 February) and amidst secrecy, the conference unanimously endorsed the merging of the various communist organizations and the founding of a single communist party in Vietnam, a party called the Vietnam Communist Party; it also adopted the outline platform, strategy and statutes of the party and the outline statutes of the mass organizations.

The outlines of the platform and strategy of the party clearly stated that the Vietnamese revolution was a democratic bourgeois revolution led by the proletariat to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, to make Vietnam independent, to carry out an agrarian revolution and advance toward communist society. In this revolution, it was the task of the party to unite the majority of farmers, establish an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and middle farmers and utilize or at least neutralize the rich farmers, the middle landowners and the Vietnamese bourgeoisie who had not yet shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary. As the vanguard unit of the proletariat, the party had to insure that the proletariat led the masses.

The conference assigned the delegates attending the conference the task of returning to Vietnam and, on behalf of the delegate from the Communist International, beginning the work of unifying the various communist organizations and electing a provisional executive committee.

The merger conference was equal in value to a congress founding the party. The conference ended the decentralization of the communist movement and unified the various communist organizations within the country into a single communist party in Vietnam, thereby multiplying the strength of the nucleus leading the revolutionary movement.

Following this merger conference, the outline platform and the outline strategy were supplemented, developed and perfected in the political platform. The 1930 political platform was drafted by Tran Phu, the first general secretary of the party, and adopted by the party plenum held in October 1930. The platform pointed out: during the period in which world capitalism is bogged down in a serious economic crisis and imperialism is making every effort to prepare for a new world war in order to redivide the market, the Indochinese revolution stands in the ranks of the strongly developing struggle against imperialism in the capitalist countries and the colonies. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are colonies of the French imperialists. The fundamental antagonism of Indochina is the antagonism between workers, farmers and the laboring masses, on the one hand, and the imperialists, the feudal landowners and the capitalists, on the other. The worker-farmer movement is of a clearly independent nature. On the basis of this analysis, the platform confirmed that the Indochinese revolution was a democratic bourgeois revolution led by the proletariat, an agrarian revolution to overthrow the remnants of feudalism and return farmland to farmers, an anti-imperialist revolution to overthrow the French imperialists in order to make Indochina totally independent and advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Only by overthrowing the imperialists would it be possible to abolish the feudal system, only by abolishing the feudal system would it be possible to overthrow imperialism. The main forces of the revolution are workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class. The factor determining the victory of the revolution is the leadership of the communist party, which has a correct political line, is disciplined, is close to the masses and which will grow through the realities of the struggle. Until an actual revolutionary situation existed, the party's slogans for the struggle had to concern daily interests in order to lead the masses into the revolutionary battle; when a state of revolution existed, the slogans had to be raised to armed rebellion to put political power into the hands of workers and farmers. Solidarity had to be established with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world.

The conference of the Central Committee in October 1930 set forth the immediate task of the party and, at the same time, decided to change the name of the party to the Indochinese Communist Party and decided to convene a party congress.

The political platform was a draft of a revolutionary program and, although it had been adopted by the Central Committee, its final adoption awaited a decision by the congress. The circumstances surrounding the struggle being waged under the yoke of oppression of the imperialists at that time did not permit our party to hold the congress when it planned; however, its political platform was of practical value and of tremendous theoretical significance. The revolutionary line set forth by the platform was supplemented and developed upon by subsequent congresses and plenums of the Central Committee. However, its basic spirit continued to be that of a banner leading the entire peoples democratic national revolution in our

country: an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to win independence and the ownership of cropland, a revolution led by the working class, a revolution advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, a revolution in which workers and farmers are the main moving forces and the party is the factor determining each victory, adopts a suitable revolutionary method and establishes international solidarity.

As soon as it was established, our party correctly decided questions regarding the basic strategy of the revolution. This was a major success. This success was due to the fact that our party, from the very outset, attached importance to firmly adhering to and applying Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of Vietnam in a correct, independent, autonomous and creative manner.

In April 1930, the first party chapters in Laos were founded in Vientianne, Thakhet and Boneng. In early 1930, the first organizations of the party in Kampuchea were born in Phnom Penh and Kompong Cham.

The birth of the Vietnam Communist Party (which followed the changing of the party's name to the Indochinese Communist Party) with a correct political line and a tight system of organizations spreading throughout the country was a decisive turning point in the history of our country's revolution. It brought to an end the period during which our country's revolution was experiencing "a dark night without end" and ended the period of frustration and crisis regarding the line to be followed, a period that lasted for more than 70 years and began when our country was invaded by the French imperialists.

The birth of the party was an essential preparation for the brilliant victories and tremendous leaps forward in the history of the evolution of the nation of Vietnam. With the correct revolutionary strategy, a suitable revolutionary method and the effective and creative guidance of the party during each period, the Vietnamese revolution has advanced to victory after victory.

Firmly adhering to Marxist-Leninist thinking, standing under the banner of proletarian internationalism, in harmony with the great revolutionary currents of our times and fully displaying the essential characteristics of the nation, our party, from the time it was first established, became the center of the coordination of the factors of class, nation and world and created the combined strength of the revolution needed to win victory.

The birth of our party ushered in a new age in the history of our country, the age in which the working class is the class coordinating the various revolutionary movements, the class determining the contents and guidelines for the development of our country's society, the age in which our people write their own history in a conscious and organized manner, the age in which our people participate in the great undertaking to liberate mankind from all oppression and exploitation.

Part II: the Party's Leadership of the Struggle for Political Power;
the 1945 August Revolution (1930-1945)

The 1930-1931 Revolutionary Movement and the Nghe Tinh Soviets

Our party was born at the time the 1929-1933 world economic crisis broke out in the capitalist countries and the colonies, a crisis in both industry and agriculture, a crisis of unprecedented destructive force. The economies of the capitalist countries were pushed back to the level of development that existed at the end of the 19th Century. Roughly 30 million workers were totally unemployed and hundreds of millions of farmers went bankrupt. The number of semi-unemployed persons was even higher. The antagonisms between workers and capitalists, between farmers and landowners, between the imperialist countries and the colonies and among the imperialist countries reached the serious level. The period of the temporary stability of capitalism came to an end. The revolutionary movement of the masses in the capitalist countries and the colonies arose with new strength.

To protect themselves against the calamities of the economic crisis which were spreading into our country, the French imperialists put the full weight of this heavy burden upon the shoulders of the Vietnamese people. Workers and farmers were the direct victims and suffered the most hardships. During that period of time, repeated natural disasters occurred in our country, with droughts followed by serious flooding. Farmers began losing money and became impoverished. A serious famine developed. The number of unemployed workers was increasing with each passing day. Handicraftsmen went bankrupt and small merchants closed their shops. Civil servants were fired. Students graduating from school had no jobs. Many national bourgeoisie and small landowners could not avoid bankruptcy. The life of the various strata of the people was seriously threatened. The intensification of colonial exploitation and the policy of ruthless terror that preceded and followed the Yen Bai uprising caused the antagonisms between our people and the French imperialists to become increasingly deep.

On the night of 9 February 1930, an uprising led by the Vietnam Nationalist Party broke out in Yen Bai and a few districts in the North. However, this uprising was quickly put down by the imperialists. Following this uprising, the Vietnam Nationalist Party disbanded completely. This also brought to an end the role played by the Vietnam Nationalist Party in the political arena. The right to lead the revolution now became the exclusive right of the proletariat.

The immediate task of the party at that time was to lead the people in a struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys, demanding that they take steps to reduce the consequences of the economic crisis and improve the life of the people while combating their use of terror and demanding the release of revolutionary fighters who had been arrested.

Immediately after the merger conference to found the party, Nguyen Ai Quoc issued an appeal to manual workers, farmers, soldiers, youths, students and all oppressed and exploited compatriots. His appeal pointed out: the inhuman oppression and exploitation by the French colonialists have made our people understand that with the revolution, we shall live, without it, we shall die. The French imperialists cannot use ruthless terror to annihilate the revolution because the Vietnamese revolution is under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, a recently unified revolutionary vanguard, and because the Vietnamese revolution has the support of the world proletariat and the French proletariat. Nguyen Ai Quoc appealed to the people of the entire country to follow the party in an uprising against the imperialists and their lackeys; he appealed to workers to stage strikes, students to boycott classes, farmers to demand cropland, small merchants to close their doors and so forth.

As soon as it was born, the party began leading a broad revolutionary movement throughout the country.

The movement began with strikes by 5,000 workers at the Phu Rieng Plantation (3 February 1930), by 4,000 workers at the Nam Dinh Textile Mill (25 March 1930) and by 400 workers at the Ben Thuy Match Factory and Sawmill (19 April 1930). On 1 May 1930, the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement became a nationwide movement. Struggles by the masses broke out in the industrial enterprises in Hanoi, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Hon Gai, Cam Pha, Vinh-Ben Thuy, Saigon, Cho Lon and so forth and spread to the rural areas of Gia Dinh, Cho Lon, Vinh Long, Sa Dec, Ben Tre, Long Xuyen, Can Tho, Tra Vinh, Thu Dau Mot and My Tho in Nam Bo, Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Quang Ngai in Trung Bo and Thai Binh, Ha Nam and Kien An in Bac Bo. Throughout the country, there were hundreds of strikes by workers, thousands of demonstrations by farmers, dozens of meetings and class boycotts by students and shop closings by small merchants. Between February 1930 and April 1931, there were 1,236 struggles by workers and farmers against the terror and for democracy and civil rights. In Nghe Tinh Province alone, there were 439 struggles by workers and farmers between February 1930 and October 1931, struggles in which 377,120 persons participated. Practically all of these struggles resulted in victories that forced the imperialists and their lackeys to release a number of persons who had been arrested, reduce work hours, improve a number of working conditions for workers and waive taxes on farmers.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Cac to chuc tien than cua Dang" [The forerunners of the Party], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 147.
2. "Thu Quoc te Cong san gui cac nhom cong san o Dong Duong" [Letter from the Communist International to the Communist Groups in Indochina], Party Proceedings, 1930-1945, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Vol 1, p 10.

[4 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The slogan of democracy and civil rights was coordinated with the slogans of resisting the imperialist war, supporting the USSR and supporting the national liberation movement.

From the revolutionary movement of the masses, thousands of outstanding workers, farmers and intellectuals joined the communist party. By the time the party held its plenum in March 1931, it had 2,400 members. The Trade Union organization, Farmers' Association, Communist Youth Union and the Liberated Women's Association also developed rapidly. In Nghe Tinh Province alone, there were 2,011 party members, 399 Trade Union members, 48,464 Farmers' Association members, 8,648 Liberated Women's Association members and 2,356 Communist Youth Union members in 1931.

Within the nationwide revolutionary movement, a special situation developed in several rural areas: the masses became the owners of many rural areas in Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces and a number of areas in Quang Tri and Quang Ngai Provinces. In Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces, the farmers of many districts marched on district seats in armed demonstrations and marched down the district street burning offices and files, demolishing jails and freeing political prisoners. At many places, the district government fled or was forced to meet the demands of the masses. The executive committees of the Farmer's Association led by the party chapters began managing every aspect of political, economic and social life in the countryside and began performing the task of people's governments patterned after the soviet style government. Between September 1930 and early 1931, the soviet governments came into existence and upheld the rights of the masses to be the masters of the countryside. The soviets determinedly suppressed counter-revolutionaries, established a dictatorship over the imperialists and their lackeys, repealed all unreasonable taxes and laws imposed by the imperialists and their lackeys and implemented democratic freedoms for the people; they redistributed public farmland, forced landowners to reduce primary land rents and eliminate secondary land rents, mobilized farmers to borrow rice from landowners to relieve famine and mobilized farmers to learn the national language, read books and newspapers, eradicate drunkenness, gambling, thievery and superstition and organize cooperation and mutual help to overcome the difficulties encountered in everyday life and in the revolutionary struggle. Under the soviet governments, every day was a festival of the working masses in all villages. The Nghe Tinh soviets left the people of Nghe Tinh Province and the people of the entire country with deep feelings and memories. Through the work of the soviet governments, the people clearly saw that only by overthrowing the government of the imperialists and the lackeys and putting the right of ownership into the hands of the working people was it possible to meet the requirements of their own lives.

As the revolutionary movement grew, the French imperialists became increasingly frightened and looked for every way to suppress and destroy the movement.(1)

In September 1930, the Party Central Committee instructed the Trung Ky Regional Party Committee to look for every way to combat the terror, maintain the movement, strengthen the soviet government and strengthen the worker-farmer self-defense units; the Farmers' Association had to begin working in secrecy and organize clandestine organizations of the party beside the public organizations. In October of that year, the Party Central Committee sent a notice to the entire party concerning the establishment of farmer soviets in Nghe An-Ha Tinh, pointing out that it was the task of the various party organizations to use the opportunity provided by the economic crisis and the cruel policy of the imperialists to gain the participation of the masses in the struggle and launch a movement to protect Red Nghe-Tinh, but to avoid sounding the alert too early.

Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was active overseas at that time, always closely followed the revolutionary movement at home. He praised the glorious spirit of struggle of the masses. He set forth the immediate task of the party as rallying, organizing and mobilizing the masses to struggle for the sake of their everyday interests, not lead the masses in an uprising to seize political power within the locality.

On 11 April 1931, the Executive Committee of the Communist International recognized the Indochinese Communist Party as an independent component directly subordinate to the Communist International.

The 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the Nghe Tinh soviets were of tremendous historic significance. The role of the working class in leading the revolution, which our party represented, was implemented and affirmed.

The 1930-1931 movement gave farmers an opportunity to observe, test in practice and confirm their confidence in the leadership ability and the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class; at the same time, it also gave them the opportunity to fully observe and test the extremely reactionary nature of the landowner class and the compradore bourgeoisie, the reformist and conciliatory nature of the national bourgeoisie and the adventurous and wavering nature of the petty bourgeoisie. The 1930-1931 movement gave the mass of workers and farmers firm confidence in their revolutionary strength and showed them that the course for liberating workers and farmers and liberating the nation was not one that required waiting for help from the outside, but primarily one based on their own strength.

The two strategic slogans of the party, "national independence" and "land to the tillers," became the confidence and hope of the laboring people.

The revolutionary movement helped our party to temper itself more and grow. From this movement, our party learned valuable lessons in establishing the alliance between workers and farmers, which was the basic prerequisite to insuring the party's leadership role and the foundation for building the United National Front and armed forces in subsequent revolutionary

movements; in building the "political army of the masses" (from the very outset, importance was attached to teaching, organizing, mobilizing and gaining the participation of the masses in the political struggle and relying upon the mass movement to gradually build armed forces and prepare for armed uprisings); in the art of uprisings and in building the government; and in building the party and maintaining the working class nature of the party.

The French imperialists could have submerged the revolution in a sea of blood but they never could have erased the victories of strategic significance of the 1930-1931 movement and the Nghe Tinh soviets. Historic facts prove:

"Without the earth-shattering class battles of 1930 and 1931, in which workers and farmers exerted their extra-ordinary energies, there could have been no movement in the years from 1936 to 1939."(2)

The Struggle Against White Terror, the Restoration and Development of the Movement (1932-1935)

Panic-stricken by the growth of the mass movement and the increasingly strong influence of our party, the French imperialists resorted to extremely cruel terror in a vain attempt to extinguish the revolutionary movement and annihilate our party. Many leadership agencies of the party were destroyed. Tens of thousands of patriotic cadres, party members and soldiers were arrested, imprisoned or killed.(3)

At the Con Dao Prison, 833 political prisoners died between 1930 and 1935 as a result of barbarous torture and the life of hard labor within the prison. At the Kontum Prison, more than 300 persons were executed. On 2 May 1933, the Saigon criminal court tried 120 revolutionaries, 8 of whom were sentenced to death, 19 of whom were given life sentences and 79 of whom were sentenced to 5 to 20 years in prison.

In June 1931, the French imperialists, in collaboration with the British authorities at Hong Kong, arrested Nguyen Ai Quoc. They fabricated various charges against him for the purpose of turning him over to the French colonialists in Indochina. As a result of help from the international communist and worker movement and progressive democrats, especially the lawyer Loseby, and utilizing the experience gained in clandestine activities, Nguyen Ai Quoc escaped the grip of the enemy. In the summer of 1933, Nguyen Ai Quoc went to the Soviet Union.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to data presented by the governor general of Indochina on 21 December 1933 in the Indochinese Statistical Annals of 1931-1937, 65,435 persons were arrested in 1930.

2. Le Duan: "Đuoi la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap, tu do, vi chu nghĩa xa hoi, tien len ganh nhung thang loi moi" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 39.
3. According to data presented by the governor general of Indochina on 21 December 1933 in the Indochinese Statistical Annals of 1931-1933, the French colonialists arrested 181,077 persons between 1931 and 1933: 62,726 in 1931, 63,435 in 1932 and 59,916 in 1933.

[7 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The policy of ruthless terror of the French imperialists, although it hurt the revolutionary movement and took from our people their outstanding sons and brilliant leaders, could not erase the reasons for the revolution. The antagonisms between the imperialists and their lackeys and our people continued to exist and grew worse, waiting for the opportunity to explode. Although the revolutionary movement temporarily subsided, confidence in the future of the revolution was not lost. The examples of unparalleled revolutionary heroism and an unyielding, tenacious will in the imperialist courts, at police stations and in prisons and the examples of love of one's comrades and unity in the struggle within prisons which were set by communists caused our people to feel confidence in and deep admiration for their revolutionary vanguard unit, gave the revolution great prestige at home and abroad, served as a warning to the bloodthirsty imperialist executioners and signalled that their ruling position in Vietnam was not a stable one. In an imperialist court, Tran Phu bravely attacked the enemy's strategem of enticements at threats: "I know many persons who, in order to work for my party, my country, do not inform on others so that you can arrest them"; and, before he died, he appealed to his comrades: "Maintain your will to fight." At the Saigon criminal court, Ngo Gia Tu stated in a firm voice: "It was the French imperialists who stole Vietnam, who enslaved our people. This is what drove us to start the revolution." Nguyen Duc Canh refuted the charge made against him by the Hanoi criminal court judge as follows: "Is it a crime to drive off the country-robbers, win back the independence of the fatherland and plan to bring happiness to the people!" Communist Youth Union member Ly Tu Trong declared to the enemy's face: "The only road to be followed by youths is the revolutionary road," and sang the Internationale as he ascended the guillotine. Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Nguyen Duc Canh and other communist fighters made full use of the days they spent in prison to compile many books on the principles of Leninism, the revolutionary line of the party and their experiences in mobilizing the masses. These were good training materials for cadres and party members in and outside prison.

The French imperialists intended to use their cruel prison system to gradually destroy the body and spirit of revolutionaries. However, with an indomitable will and by means of patient, thorough organizational work, communists turned the imperialist prisons into schools, schools of revolutionary struggle, into places for forging and training the leaders

of the party. Later, when evaluating this event, President Ho said: "Turning misfortune into luck, our comrades used their days and months in prison to meet and study theory. Once again, this proved that the enemy's policy of extremely barbarous terror not only failed to impede the advance of the revolution, rather, it became a test of mettle, it made revolutionaries even stronger."(1)

The party chapters within the prisons organized the escape of thousands of cadres to the outside, where they conducted activities and started movements. Between 1930 and 1936, 3,912 persons escaped from Con Dao Prison.(2)

Following a period of temporary inactivity, the revolutionary movement was again restored and developed. Thanks to the loyalty and devotion of party members and cadres who evaded the sweeps and the terror of the enemy, thanks to a number of party members who escaped from prison and some who were in prison and thanks to the protection provided by the revolutionary masses, many party organizations were restored and continued to conduct activities and the party maintained its ties with the masses.

In June 1932, the party adopted a program of action which set forth the immediate tasks of the party as leading the masses in the struggle for democratic rights and everyday civil rights, struggling against the ruthless terror and preparing to lead the masses into higher struggles when conditions permitted. The program of action stressed that strengthening the party and building party organizations that are "secret, highly disciplined, as strong as iron and as firm as brass" were the essential prerequisites to restoring and developing the movement.

In 1932, 1933 and 1934, many strikes were staged by workers demanding improved living conditions, representative of which were the anti-hunger demonstration by 2,000 workers in Ha Tien and the struggle by 1,000 workers at the Dau Tieng Rubber Plantation. A number of cadres of the party used legitimate activities to run for the 1933 and 1935 Saigon City Councils and the 1935 Nam Ky Management Council. Some used the public press to expose imperialist lackeys, criticize bourgeois, reactionary political, philosophical and literary points of view and present the philosophical and literary viewpoints of the party. Many party installations used quasi-legitimate forms of activities, such as planting and harvesting festivals, music festivals, book reading festivals, soccer matches and so forth to widely rally the masses. Cadres and party members in prison regularly led their organizations in struggling against massacres and terror, protesting death sentences, combating the hoodlum prison administration and demanding improved prison conditions.

The Communist International and the fraternal communist parties wholeheartedly assisted our party during those difficult years.

In 1934, the Overseas Leadership Committee of the party was established with the task of unifying the party organizations that had been re-established

at home, restoring the organizations that were destroyed by the enemy, building new bases and training cadres to prepare for a party congress.

In September 1934, on the basis of the Lao revolutionary movement and the communist organizations that had developed in Laos, the executive committee of the Lao party organization was established.

In March 1935, the First National Congress of Delegates of the Party met in Macao, China. Attending the congress were 15 delegates representing the organizations of the party and all party members of the three countries of Indochina. The congress set forth the three primary, immediate tasks of the party as strengthening and developing the party, winning over the masses and resisting the imperialist war. The congress elected a new central committee. The first congress of the party strengthened the unity of the party's organizational system and the unity of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the central committee, imbued party members and the masses with confidence and prepared forces for a new movement. However, the shortcoming of the congress was that it failed to see the peril of fascism in the world and the new possibilities for launching a struggle against fascism, against the war and for freedom, basic necessities and peace.

Following the congress, the revolutionary movement continued to be restored and developed strongly. Strikes for improved living conditions by the drivers of the Thu Dau Mot pottery kiln, the Saigon rickshaw drivers, rubber plantation workers and Nam Bo grain mill workers occurred continuously. The farmers of Cao Bang and Lang Son Provinces struggled against the impressment of men into coolie service. Revolutionary prisoners at the Ban Me Thuot Prison struggled against the terror and the system of oppression and physical punishment of the French imperialists. In the press, in literature and art and in the councils of people's representatives, the legitimate activities of a number of patriotic, intellectual party members continued to develop.

In the 4 or 5 years of resisting the ruthless terror and restoring and developing the movement, our party not only firmly stood its ground, but was tempered even more. Our party had fully prepared the conditions for a new revolutionary movement. The years spent restoring and developing the movement provided the party with valuable experiences in ideological and organizational work during the period spent maintaining forces, in using various forms and methods of social activity to conceal illegal organizations and rally the masses and in preparing for advancing the movement to a higher stage of development.

The Indochina Democratic Front Campaign (1936-1939)

The serious consequences of the economic crisis during the years from 1929 to 1933 and the continuing economic decline in the imperialist countries caused the social antagonisms in these countries to worsen and caused the

revolutionary movement to continue to grow. To deal with the struggle being waged by the masses, the monopolistic capitalists in a number of imperialist countries abolished bourgeois democratic freedoms and implemented a policy of fascist dictatorship. The German-Italian-Japanese fascists aligned in an "axis" of strong forces. They frantically prepared for war in order to divide the world market and carry out aggression against the USSR in a vain attempt to destroy the fruits of the world revolution.

In the face of this situation, the 7th Congress of the Communist International (July 1935) set the immediate targets of the working class and laboring people of the entire world at that time not as struggling to overthrow capitalism and building socialism, but struggling against fascism and the fascist war of aggression, winning democratic rights and protecting the peace. Therefore, the communist parties of all countries had to unite the forces of workers and establish a broad people's front encompassing patriotic, democratic and progressive party factions and the various strata of the people in order to take united actions against the immediate enemy, fascism.

Le Hong Phong, who led our party's delegation to the congress, was elected to serve as an alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was studying and conducting research at Lenin University in Moscow at that time, was also invited to the congress.

In the anti-fascist movement, the French People's Front, the nucleus of which was the French Communist Party, won victory in the general election in April 1936. In June of that year, the people's front government took power in France. This event had a direct influence upon the political situation in the three countries of Indochina.

Due to the consequences of the economic crisis and the policy of oppression of the French imperialists, the various strata of people in our country, including the national bourgeoisie and small and medium-size landowners, wanted changes of a democratic nature.

Based on our country's actual situation and the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, Le Hong Phong convened and chaired a conference of the Party Central Committee at Shanghai, China, in July 1936 to determine the new policy of the party. The 1936 conference of the Central Committee decided: the strategic task of resisting the imperialists and feudalists, which the party adopted when it was first established, remains unchanged; however, the immediate goals of the revolution at this time are not to overthrow the government of the French imperialists and carry out the agrarian revolution, but to struggle against the colonialist reactionaries, the lackeys of fascism, and demand democratic freedoms, a decent living standard and peace. To achieve these goals, the conference decided to establish the Indochinese People's Anti-Imperialist Front, which was later renamed the United Democratic Front of Indochina, abbreviated the Indochina Democratic Front, consisting of all classes, party factions, nationalities, mass organizations and political groups that

supported democratic and progressive reforms. As regards the front's form of organization and method of struggle, the Party Central Committee advocated the full utilization of legitimate and quasi-legitimate activities to propagandize and organize the masses while strengthening and developing the clandestine organization of the party and combining legitimate and quasi-legitimate activities with illegal activities in order to develop the organization of the party and the democratic front and accelerate the struggle movement of the masses.

To convert the new line of the party into a revolutionary movement of the masses, the Central Committee conferences held in March 1937 and September 1937 deeply discussed the organizational work of the party during the period of the democratic front. On the basis of the positions taken at these conferences, the Anti-Imperialist Youth Union was established to replace the Communist Youth Union, the Labor Union was established to replace the Red Labor Union, the Farmers' Association was established to replace the Red Farmers' Association and the Civilian Relief Organization was established to replace the Red Relief Organization. Simple public and semi-public forms of activity were strongly developed in order to assemble the masses, such as friendship associations, mutual help associations, book and newspaper reading groups, night classes, physical education groups, music groups, cooperatives and wedding and funeral associations. Many cadres of the party and the front were assigned to work in the various reformist and reactionary councils and organizations to denounce the crimes of the imperialists and their lackeys, expose reactionary leaders and try to win the masses over to our side. The guideline for building the party at that time was: "It is better to have a few party members who are good than many party members whose qualities widely vary"; "as regards organizing the masses, full importance must be attached to quantity; with regard to the party organization, full importance must be attached to quality." It was necessary to thoroughly oppose the Trotskyites, the provocateurs and those who were against the party. These correct organizational guidelines insured that the new political line of the party was implemented rapidly and fully. Numerous cadres who left prison supplemented the corps of leaders of the party at that time, making it even stronger.

At that time, Nguyen Ai Quoc was active in China. He routinely sent to our party thoughts that provided correct guidance. He pointed out: the primary task of the revolution at this time is to struggle for democratic rights and freedom; the front organization must be broad, must encompass the various strata of the people, including the national bourgeoisie and progressives in Indochina; there absolutely must not be any agreement reached with the Trotskyites; an unrelenting struggle must be waged against factionalism and we must maintain close ties with the French Communist Party and the French People's Front.

The position taken by the party of demanding freedom, a decent living standard and peace met the pressing requirements of the revolution and satisfied the aspirations of the people at that time. A new revolutionary

movement arose throughout the country. It began with the struggle to convene the Indochina Congress. A committee to prepare for the Indochina Congress was founded. In only a few months, action committees were established at factories, mines and plantations, in the cities and the countryside to assemble the masses and elect delegates to attend the Indochina Congress. The committee to prepare for the Indochina Congress and the various action committees consisted of representatives of the various classes and strata of the people: manual workers, farmers, intellectuals, students, handicraftsmen, small merchants, women, journalists, bourgeoisie and so forth. In Nam Bo alone there were 600 action committees, with 31 in Saigon and Cho Lon.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi khai mac le ky niem 30 nam Ngay thanh lap Dang," [Speech Opening the Ceremony To Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party], Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 765.
2. According to data of the inspector of the French Ministry of Colonies, "Buc-gioa Ga-vac-din" [Vietnamese phonetics], the number of persons who escaped prison in each of the following years was: 644 in 1930, 701 in 1931, 482 in 1932, 495 in 1933, 664 in 1934, 678 in 1935 and 248 in 1936. Of these persons who escaped prison, some were recaptured.

[8 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The strength of the struggle being waged by the masses forced the French government to release a number of political prisoners and issue a decree establishing an 8 hour work day and a 10 day paid vacation each year. Immediately thereafter, France issued an order prohibiting the convening of the Indochina Congress. However, the democratic movement continued to constantly develop throughout the country. In 1937 there were more than 400 struggles waged by workers, in which 120,000 persons participated, demanding improving living conditions and the freedom to organize trade unions and friendship associations and more than 150 struggles waged by farmers, in which more than 30,000 persons participated, demanding the redistribution of public cropland, reduced taxes, the elimination of forced labor, village elections and rural reform and opposing "the overcharging of taxes and the resulting malnourishment." On the occasions of the reception for Godart, an envoy from the French Popular Front investigating the Indochina situation, and the reception for "Bre-vi-e" [Vietnamese phonetics] when he arrived to begin serving as governor general, tens of thousands of persons from all strata of society waged struggles for political amnesty, the abolition of the head tax, freedom of speech and the freedom to join trade unions. In the 2 years 1937 and 1938, our party won major victories in the elections of the Trung Ky People's Assembly and the Bac Ky People's Assembly. The candidates of the party and the Democratic Front received the highest number of votes.

On the initiative of the party, the Association for the Propagation of the National Language was born. Numerous public newspapers and magazines were published in Vietnamese and French by the party and the Democratic Front and distributed throughout central, southern and northern Vietnam: DAN CHUNG, LAO LONG, THOI BAO, BAN DAN, THOI THE, TIN TUC, DOI NAY, TIENG NOI CUA CHUNG TA, NHANH LUA, KINH TE, TAN VAN, DAN, MOI, PHO THONG and so forth. The press of the party propagandized the line and policy of the party, propagandized Marxism-Leninism and rallied and organized the masses. Numerous public books introducing socialism, communism and the USSR and scores of literary and artistic works in the critical realism genre were born.

In the years 1938 and 1939, the first public celebration of International Labor Day (1 May) was held in our country in Hanoi, Saigon and the other cities and towns with the participation of tens of thousands of persons. In 1938, some 25,000 persons attended the meeting in Hanoi celebrating 1 May. This provided opportunities to rally the masses and display the strong forces of the democratic movement.

In early 1938, when Da-la-di-e took power, the French government tilted toward the right. On the pretext of defending France and defending Indochina, the Da-la-di-e government adopted many reactionary policies: it raised taxes, made confiscatory purchases by increasing the public debt, closed DAN CHUNG Newspaper and terrorized persons who participated in the struggle.

The conference of the Central Committee held in March 1938 confirmed the victories that had been won. The conference criticized such "leftist" deviations as narrowminded isolationism and not making full use of legal and quasi-legal capabilities for advancing the movement and such rightist deviations as the malady of legitimacy, being excited over limited victories but unconcerned with strengthening the clandestine organization of the party, underestimating the Trotsky peril and engaging in unprincipled cooperation with the Trotskyites or being overly concerned with winning over the bourgeoisie and landowners while giving light attention to strengthening and developing the revolutionary forces of workers and farmers, giving light attention to the alliance of workers and farmers.

The conference decided to strengthen the organizations of the party and closely coordinate public activities with clandestine activities. The conference elected Nguyen Van Cu to serve as general secretary of the party.

In March 1939, our party issued a manifesto pointing out that the peril of fascism was approaching, that the French reactionary government was suppressing democratic freedoms and intensifying the exploitation of the French people and the peoples of the colonies while preparing for war. The manifesto appealed to all strata of the people to take united actions by demanding democratic freedoms, opposing the peril of war, eradicating the Trotskyites and voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

In July 1939, Nguyen Van Cu wrote and published the book "To chi trich" which presented experiences gained in the election of the Nam Ky Management

Council; on this occasion, he summarized the experiences gained in leading the Democratic Front and criticized trends that were contrary to the line of the party, thereby helping to strengthen the unity of will and action within the party.

It was truly rare in a colonial and semi-feudal country such as ours to experience a period during which the revolutionary party of the working class made full use of legal and quasi-legal activities closely coordinated with clandestine and illegal activities to widely mobilize and politically educate millions of persons. With the basic forces and position that were created in 1930 and 1931 and restored during the period from 1932 to 1935, millions of workers and farmers together with the other strata of the people were educated and reorganized in accordance with the revolutionary line of the party. A new corps of revolutionary cadres was trained in the broad democratic movement. Once again, our party was forged and underwent extraordinary growth. Having firmly adhered to its strategic line and gained experience in the use of its revolutionary method, the party became skilled in both strategy and tactics. The 2 years of the democratic struggle armed our party with experience in determining the immediate enemies and the immediate goals of the revolution, in organizing a broad united front based on the alliance of workers and farmers, in coordinating legal and illegal activities and in coordinating democratic and national requirements during the period of democratic reform. Therefore, the victory of the Democratic Front truly prepared the forces and the position for the broad national salvation movement during the years from 1939 to 1945.

The National Salvation Movement (1939-1945) and the August Revolution

In September 1939, World War II broke out. In Indochina, the French ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary movement being led by our party; at the same time, they issued a general mobilization order and made every effort to conscript manpower and plunder local wealth to support their imperialist war. The war placed our country in a new situation. The policy of plunder and the policy of fascist terror of the imperialists during this war would accelerate the revolutionization of the people and would push the situation to a point where the ruling classes could no longer rule as they once did and the classes that were ruled could no longer live as they once did. The war made the task of overthrowing the government of the imperialists and their lackeys the immediate task of the revolution. A legal struggle to win democratic rights and civil rights was no longer possible nor was it the immediate goal of the revolution at that time. The party promptly directed the various agencies and cadres engaged in legal and quasi-legal activities to quickly resume clandestine activities, shift the focus of their work to the countryside and rely upon the countryside to perform their work and strongly develop revolutionary forces in both the countryside and the cities.

In November 1939, the party Central Committee held a conference at Ba Diem (Hoc Mon, Gia Dinh) in which Nguyen Van Cu, Le Duan, Phan Dang Luu, Vo Van Tan

and others participated. The conference stressed: national liberation is the foremost task of the Indochinese revolution. "The anti-imperialist revolution and the agrarian revolution are two key aspects of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Without carrying out the agrarian revolution, it is impossible to carry out the anti-imperialist revolution. Conversely, without carrying out the anti-imperialist revolution, it is impossible to carry out the agrarian revolution. This main principle is immutable; however, it must be flexibly applied in such a way as to carry out the essential task of the revolution, overthrowing the imperialists." (1) On the basis of this change of direction in strategy, the conferees decided to temporarily set aside the slogan of agrarian revolution and only adopted the policies of resisting high land rents, opposing high interest loans and the confiscation of cropland by the imperialists and landowners who betray the interests of the nation and supporting the distribution of land to farmers. In order to assemble forces for overthrowing the government of the imperialists and their lackeys, the conferees decided to establish the Indochinese Anti-Imperialist National United Front. The main forces of the front were workers and farmers, who aligned with or neutralized the native bourgeoisie and middle and small landowners under the leadership of the proletariat. The conferees pointed out that the imperialist war would create an opportunity for the revolution in Indochina to break out and that the task of the party must be to prepare for an insurrection to seize political power when the opportunity presented itself. They stressed the need for unity of will and action throughout the party and pointed out that this unity must be based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on a correct political line, on the principle of democratic centralism and on a close alliance with the masses, with all party members displaying the spirit of determination, sacrifice and dedication to the revolutionary undertaking. The resolution of the conference pointed out the need to give attention to building party bases and revolutionary bases in Laos and Kampuchea.

The 1939 Central Committee conference resolved various problems relating to revolutionary strategy and method with a view toward overthrowing the government of the imperialists and their lackeys, as a result, it met the pressing requirements of war time and the revolution and, at the same time, helped to build the storehouse of experience of the national democratic revolution led by our party.

In June 1940, France was occupied by fascist Hitler's troops. The Japanese fascists seized this opportunity to invade Indochina. The French colonists surrendered to the Japanese, but the unyielding Vietnamese arose against the Japanese and the French. In September 1940, the Bac Son uprising occurred. In November 1940, the Nam Ky uprising broke out. In January 1941, troops rebelled at Do Luong. These uprisings signalled the start of a new period for our country, the period in which all the people took up arms to overthrow the country-robbers and traitors and win independence and freedom, the period in which scattered uprisings occurred in preparation for the nationwide, general uprising.

In November 1940, the Party Central Committee held a conference at Dinh Bang in Bac Ninh Province which was attended by Truong Chinh, Phan Dang Luu,

Hoang Van Thu, Hoang Quoc Viet and others. The conferees pointed out the peril facing the peoples of Indochina of having two ropes around their necks, of being trampled upon by both the Japanese and French fascist imperialists and pointed out that the principal enemies of the peoples of Indochina at that time were the Japanese and French fascist imperialists. As a result, the immediate task of the party was to lead the peoples of Indochina in preparing for an armed uprising to overthrow the Japanese and French fascists and put political power into the hands of the people. The conferees decided to maintain the armed force of the Bac Son uprising, which was the first formal unit of the revolutionary armed forces led by our party, and use it as the nucleus for building the political base and the base of the revolution. They also decided to postpone the Nam Ky uprising because the necessary conditions had not materialized; however, due to communications difficulties, the decision of the Central Committee was not promptly disseminated, consequently, the uprising still occurred. The conferees elected a Provisional Executive Committee of the Central Committee to resume leadership activities in place of the 1939 Central Committee, which was disbanded by the imperialists. Truong Chinh was appointed as acting secretary of the Party Central Committee.

At a moment of urgency in both the international and domestic situations, the French colonialists, the rulers of Indochina, surrendered to the German fascists and to the Japanese fascists. In the space of 2 months, the Bac Son uprising and the Nam Ky uprising broke out. The Indochinese revolution was advancing toward new opportunities.

Nguyen Ai Quoc decided to return home and assumed direct leadership of the revolution. On 8 February 1941, Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to the fatherland and took up secret resident in the Pac Bo area (Ha Quang District, Cao Bang Province). He immediately began the work of trying to organize the Viet Minh and preparing for the next conference of the Party Central Committee.

In May 1941, the Party central Committee held a conference at Pac Bo, which was convened and chaired by Nguyen Ai Quoc, representative of the Communist International. Attending this conference were Truong Chinh, Hoang Van Thu, Phung Chi Kien, Hoang Quoc Viet and a number of delegates from the Bac Ky and Trung Ky Regional Party Committees as well as several delegates active overseas.

At that time, the German fascists were about to attack the USSR; the conferees observed that if the Germans attacked the USSR, they would be annihilated, the revolution would win victory in many countries and a host of socialist countries would be born. On the basis of a deep analysis of the domestic and world situations, the conferees determined that the immediate revolution had to be a national liberation revolution and that the revolutionary forces of the nation had to focus the spearhead of their assault on the Japanese and French fascist aggressors, because "if we fail at this time to resolve the question of national liberation and do not

demand independence and freedom for all the people, not only will the entire nation forever be enslaved, but it will be impossible to win back the rights of the part, the class in 10,000 years."(2)

FOOTNOTES

1. "The November 1939 Resolution of the Party Central Committee," Party Proceedings, 1930-1931, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Vol 3, p 58.
2. "The May 1941 Resolution of the Party Central Committee Conference," Party Proceedings, 1934-1945, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 194.

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[Text] This conference developed and improved upon the resolutions of the 1939 and 1940 conferences of the Central Committee as regards the matter of national liberation, adopted the position of resolving the national liberation question within the framework of each country in Indochina and establishing the Vietnam Independence League (abbreviated as Viet Minh), which consisted of national salvation associations of the various strata of the people (the National Salvation Association of Workers, the National Salvation Association of Farmers, the National Salvation Association of Youths, the National Salvation Association of Women, the National Salvation Association of Elders, the National Salvation Association of Military Personnel, the Buddhist National Salvation Association, the National Salvation Association of Overseas Vietnamese and so forth) and implemented an extremely flexible policy for highly dividing the enemy and winning over every force that could be won over for the purpose of saving the country and liberating the nation. The conferees took the position that the Vietnam Independence League must help the people of Laos establish the Lao Patriotic Independence League and help the people of Kampuchea establish the Kampuchean Independence League and eventually establish a united Indochina front to drive off the common enemy, the Japanese and French imperialists, and win independence for each country. After driving off the Japanese and French imperialists, Vietnam would become the Democratic Republic of Vietnam whose national emblem would be a five-pointed gold star against a red flag.

The conference established preparing for the uprising as the central task of our party and our people in the present stage. On the basis of the experience of the Nghe Tinh soviets and the experience of the Bac Son and Nam Ky uprisings, the conferees observed that when the opportunity arose, "we can, with existing forces, lead an uprising within each locality and can win victories that will open the way for a large general uprising."(1) The conferees attached particular importance to training cadres, to increasing the number of party members from worker backgrounds within the party and to mobilizing workers in conjunction with mobilizing farmers and

proselyting enemy soldiers. They elected the official Central Committee and elected Truong Chinh general secretary of the party.

The resolution of the May 1941 conference of the Party Central Committee and the appeal by Nguyen Ai Quoc to his compatriots following the conference strongly inspired our entire party and all our people.

The 1941 conference of the Central Committee was of important historic significance. Firmly maintaining national liberation as the central target, the conference set forth guidelines and measures for rallying forces against imperialism within a very suitable united national front, the Viet Minh Front, and advancing to a general uprising by means of individual armed uprisings. These were the "major initiatives of the party and President Ho in the national salvation movement during the years from 1940 to 1945, initiatives that were one of the basic factors insuring the success of the August Revolution."(2)

The 1941 resolution of the Central Committee was later supplemented and concretized by resolutions of conferences of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and by important directives of the Central Committee.

In December 1941, the Central Committee issued a directive on organizational work, which set forth policies that gave the party the strength to lead the revolutionary movement of the masses, combat the terror of the enemy and gain the participation of large numbers of persons in the mass organizations. Also in December, the Central Committee issued a communique on the war in the Pacific and the immediate responsibility of the party. The communique stated that when allied troops reached our country, an uprising should be staged at that place in order to establish a provisional revolutionary government of the locality and then, in the name of this government, establish contacts with them.

The Viet Minh program was very well suited to the aspiration of our people of winning independence and freedom. Every patriotic Vietnamese welcomed and made every effort to implement this program. As a result, the Viet Minh grew very rapidly, even though it was the target of very ruthless terror.

In 1943, the tremendous victories won by the Soviet Union on the Stalingrad front and in subsequent battles brought World War II to a fundamental turning point. The fate of the German-Italian-Japanese fascists was near the point of being settled. A favorable opportunity was approaching for oppressed peoples to arise. In February 1943, in order to seize this historic opportunity, a conference of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee saw the need to take steps to further accelerate the revolution throughout the country into a high tide. The conferees observed: the national salvation movement has developed rather strongly in the countryside, but it is still weak in the cities, especially in the large cities, because the party and the Viet Minh Front have not launched movements

of youths and intellectuals in the cities. The conference advocated the expansion of the Viet Minh Front and the strong development of the movement within the cities. In 1943, the party presented the Draft of the Vietnamese Cultural Program in order to assemble artists, writers and intellectuals within the Cultural Association for National Salvation, an element of the Viet Minh Front. Illegal books and newspapers of the party and the Viet Minh Front exposed the thinking of being pro-Japanese, of using the Japanese and exposed the illusion of winning political power by means of peaceful negotiations with the Japanese while struggling against the Trotskyite provocateurs and saboteurs, against the A.B. gang(3) and against divisive and factional thinking in order to strengthen the solidarity and unanimity within the party and the front and strengthen the party's leadership of the Vietnamese revolution.

In June 1944, on the basis of the position adopted by the 1943 conference, the party helped a number of patriotic intellectuals establish the Vietnam Democratic Party with a view toward assembling the mass of national intellectuals and bourgeoisie.

In August 1944, in keeping with the position of the party, Viet Minh headquarters appealed for and launched a movement to "purchase weapons and drive off the common enemy." The movement to build the armed forces, build bases and prepare for an armed uprising was intensified in the mountainous forests and the midlands along with the political struggle of the masses in the rural and urban areas of the lowlands. At the time, the Army for National Salvation had expanded its armed propaganda activities from the Bac Son-Vu Nhai base area into the Tuyen Quang and Vinh Yen area while opening a road to the North to connect with the Cao Bang base area. On the basis of the growing political struggle of the masses, armed and semi-armed revolutionary organizations were established and a system of interconnected bases was built from Cao Bang to Ha Giang, Bac Can and Lang Son. The two large bases in the North (Cao Bang and Bac Son-Vu Nhai) were linked in order to prepare the conditions for the birth of the liberated zone. The revolutionary atmosphere throughout the country was intense. In a number of localities, especially in the base areas, the masses were eager to take action, but the party pointed out that the opportunity had not arisen for a nationwide uprising.

In October 1944, following a period of working overseas, Ho Chi Minh(4) returned home and directed that the uprisings of Cao Bang, Bac Can and Lang Son be postponed. Ho Chi Minh pointed out that the characteristics of the period were that "the time for peaceful revolution had passed but the time for a nationwide uprising had not yet arrived." It was necessary to develop a suitable form of organization that could accelerate the political struggle of the masses while preparing for armed struggle. Ho Chi Minh issued a directive to establish the Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation. The directive pointed out that our revolution is a revolution by all the people; therefore, it was necessary to mobilize all the people, to arm all the people. While building regular military units, it was

necessary to maintain the armed forces in the various localities. The main force army had the task of guiding, training and helping the local armed units to grow. The operational guidelines of the Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation were to rely upon the people, coordinate military and political activities, with more importance attached to political activities, and employ the guerrilla method of fighting, the method of secrecy and surprise. The Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation, although small at first, was the "starting point of the liberation army and was able to move from South to North, move throughout Vietnam." The Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation, which was established in Cao Bang on 22 December 1944, was organized and led by Vo Nguyen Giap. The Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation together with the Army for National Salvation accelerated the political struggle in coordination with the armed struggle and intensified the movement to fight the French and drive off the Japanese throughout the country. At that time, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee also revised its position of initiating the armed struggle too early in Vu Nhai-Dinh Ca (November 1944) and put this struggle under correct guidelines.

Between 1944 and early 1945, the Soviet army won decisive victories on the European battlefield by means of numerous strategic counter-attacks that took the war to the doorstep of the stronghold of the German fascists. The final hour had struck for the German fascists. In the East, the fate of the Japanese fascists had also been sealed. To preclude the possibility of being attacked by the French in the rear as the allied troops advanced into Indochina, the Japanese were forced to carry out a coup d'etat, kick out the French and take complete control of Indochina. On the night of 9 March 1945, an armed conflict between the Japanese and the French broke out. In less than 1 day, the French colonialists had surrendered their weapons to the Japanese throughout Indochina.

Our party had long predicted that the Japanese would take power from the French: "The Japanese are preparing to seize power from the French some day soon"(5); "both the Japanese and French armies...are preparing for a decisive fight."(6)

Between 9 and 12 March 1945, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee held an enlarged conference to evaluate the overthrow of the French and adopt new policies of the revolution for the new period. The conference observed that the overthrow would create a profound political crisis, thereby causing the conditions needed for a general uprising to materialize more rapidly. The conferees decided to adopt the slogan "drive off the Japanese fascists" to replace the slogan "drive off the Japanese and the French," to launch a strong anti-Japanese national salvation movement and to quickly advance to a general uprising to seize power. Where possible, a guerrilla war should be launched to win political power within the locality. To rapidly stimulate the national salvation movement, the conferees decided to shift to higher and stronger forms and methods of struggle, such as "shock propaganda" and "shock organizations," demonstrations,

marches and public meetings, the establishment of revolutionary people's committees and the building and expansion of combat zones and revolutionary bases. The key measure in highly developing the movement at that time was agitating the masses to "take over granaries and relieve the famine" in order to assemble a political army of the masses for the general uprising. Concretizing the observations and resolutions of the conference, the historic directive The Japanese-French Conflict and Our Actions issued on 12 March 1945 by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee had the effect of providing very timely guidance and developing the spirit of independence and creativity of the local party organizations.

From late March on, the Vietnamese revolution became a high tide and uprisings continuously occurred in many localities; many revolutionary bases were established. The Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation and the Army for National Salvation coordinated with the people to liberate numerous districts and villages in the provinces of Cao Bang, Bac Can, Lang Son, Thai Nguyen, Tuyen Quang and Bac Giang. On 11 March 1945, the Ba To uprising occurred in Quang Ngai Province; the Ba To guerrilla unit, the first revolutionary armed unit of southern Trung Bo, was born. In keeping with the position of the party, political prisoners at the Nghia Lo, Son La, Ban Me Thuot, Hoa Lo (Hanoi) and other prisons seized this favorable opportunity to stage uprisings and force the enemy to release them or uprisings that resulted in the destruction of the prison and their escape to the outside, where they resumed their activities. This provided an additional source of cadres for the party and was an important factor in helping to accelerate the national salvation movement in the localities. In August 1945, the party had approximately 5,000 members.

Preparations for the general uprising were made in a very urgent manner. In April 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee convened the Bac Ky Revolutionary Military Conference. The conference decided to unify the various armed forces within the Vietnam Army of Liberation, develop the armed self-defense and combat self-defense units, open schools to urgently train military and political cadres and establish seven major combat zones throughout the country, four in Bac Bo, two in Trung Bo and one in Nam Bo. In May 1945, Ho Chi Minh moved his base to Tan Trao (in Tuyen Quang Province) in order to guide the movement to prepare for the general uprising and prepare for the national congress. After hearing a report on all the preparations being made for the general uprising and on the Bac Ky Revolutionary Military Conference, Ho Chi Minh directed that the Viet Bac Liberated Zone be established. On 4 June 1945, the liberated zone was born, consisting of the six provinces in Viet Bac, Cao Bang, Bac Can, Lang Son, Thai Nguyen, Tuyen Quang and Ha Giang and a number of areas in the provinces of Bac Giang, Phu Tho, Yen Bai and Vinh Yen in the Bac Bo midlands. Revolutionary people's committees for the entire zone and for the various levels within it were established. The 10 major policies of the Viet Minh regarding the establishment of an independent and free Democratic Republic of Vietnam, combating aggression and implementing the democratic rights of the people began to be implemented

within the liberated zone. The Viet Bac Liberated Zone became the revolutionary base of the entire country and was where the Democratic Republic of Vietnam started. Together with the establishment of the Viet Bac Liberated Zone, revolutionary base areas were established in the majority of the provinces of northern and central Vietnam and a number of southern provinces.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the May 1941 conference of the Party Central Committee, Party Proceedings, 1930-1945, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Vol 3, pp 216 and 217.
2. Le Duan: "Dang Lao dong Viet Nam, nguoi lanh dao va to chuc moi thang loi cua cach mang Viet Nam" [The Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the Leader and Organizer of Each Victory of the Vietnamese Revolution], "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet Nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Vol 2, p 649.
3. The A.B. gang (anti-Bolsheviks) was a gang of provocateurs who called themselves communists that was established by the French imperialists to resist communism. The French had them infiltrate the ranks of our party and look for ways to divide the party and undermine the revolutionary movement in Indochina.
4. Between August 1942 and October 1944, Nguyen Ai Quoc worked in China and took the name Ho Chi Minh. Between 29 August 1942 and 10 September 1943, Ho Chi Minh was illegally imprisoned by the Chiang Kai-shek government.
5. "Boc tran muu gian cua de quoc Nhat" [Scheme of the Japanese Imperialists Exposed], CO GIAI PHONG Newspaper, No 3, 15 December 1944. "Ngon co giai phong" [Liberation Banner], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1955, p 21.
6. "Cai nhot boc se phai vo mu" [The Boil Must Be Lanced], CO GIAI PHONG Newspaper, No 7, 28 September 1944. "Ngon co giai phong," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1955, p 46.

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[Text] The liberated zones were truly levers accelerating the national salvation movement. Within them, the people were the masters of everything. The people's right of ownership was broadened and gradually implemented in many localities as the resistance against the Japanese for national salvation developed throughout the country, as the fascist government and its lackeys became increasingly paralyzed and as small-scale uprisings and the guerrilla war spread. Before the revolution won victory throughout the

country, two governments existed side by side at many places in the mountainous forests and the rural lowlands: the governments of the Japanese fascists and their lackeys and various forms and degrees of people's governments.

While our people were hurriedly preparing for the general uprising, a very terrifying famine occurred in Bac Bo and northern Trung Bo. Two million compatriots died of hunger. This was the most tragic consequence of the policy of exploitation and warmongering of the Japanese-French fascists. The slogan of the party "break into granaries to relieve the famine," which satisfied the most basic aspirations of the masses, fanned the flame of struggle among the people and caused the resistance against the Japanese for national salvation to surge throughout the country. This resistance not only had the participation of manual workers, farmers, small merchants, small landowners, students and civil servants, but also the participation of national bourgeoisie and some elements of the medium and small landowners. National salvation organizations and self-defense units developed in practically all villages and hamlets and even in the major cities. The spirit of uprising was intense throughout the country.

The world war had entered its final stage. On 8 July 1945, after annihilating the German and Italian fascists, the USSR declared war on the Japanese fascists. In the space of only a few days, the Soviet army had completely destroyed the best trained main force units of Japan in the three eastern provinces of China.(1) On 15 August 1945, Japan officially surrendered unconditionally to the Soviet Union and the allies.

The Japanese army in Indochina was demoralized, panic-stricken and routed. The lackey government of Tran Trong Kim was totally paralyzed from top to bottom. However, the Japanese fascist imperialists and their lackeys did not willingly abandon their ruling position. Japan schemed to rescue its colonial regime from its agony by granting "independence" to its lackey clique and having these lackeys ask for help from the U.S., British and French imperialists. However, the scheme of the imperialists and their lackeys was thwarted by the national salvation movement of our people.

When news of the Japanese surrender spread throughout our country, it fanned the flames of revolution among all strata of the people and brought the revolutionary movement to an unprecedented pinnacle. The middle stratum of society now leaned toward the revolution. The Viet Minh Front had gained tens of millions of members from all strata and all nationalities. The national salvation movement had swept the entire nation into an uprising in which millions of persons acting as one armed themselves with whatever they had in order to bring down the country-robbers and traitors and win the right of ownership. The Indochinese Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard unit of the working class and laboring people, had fully prepared the political, ideological and organizational conditions needed for the uprising. Both the objective and subjective conditions needed for a general uprising in our country had fully ripened. The revolutionary

opportunity that "only occurs once in a thousand years" had arrived! Nguyen Ai Quoc said: "We cannot delay."(2)

The historic responsibility of our party at that time was to lead the people in seizing this strategic opportunity and in staging an uprising to seize political power from the hands of the Japanese fascists and their lackeys before the army of the British imperialists and the army of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries entered Indochina, before the French colonialists had time to reassemble the remnants of their army and send expeditionary troops to steal our country from us once again. In mid-August 1945, as the British army was quickly moving toward our country from the south, the Chiang Kai-shek army was rapidly marching toward our country from the north. An historic race was taking place between our people and the imperialist and reactionary groups to settle the question of who would be the masters of our country, a question that demanded that our people rapidly win victory in this race.

The party led the people in excellently completing their historic mission.

On 13 August 1945, the Party National Conference being held in Tan Trao observed that the opportunity had arisen for our people to win independence, that the conditions for an uprising in Indochina had ripened. The conference decided to promptly lead all the people in a general uprising to seize political power. The conference, which set forth the domestic affairs and foreign affairs lines of our country's revolution in the new situation, established our basic foreign policy as winning more friends, having fewer enemies, protesting acts of aggression, avoiding military conflicts with the British, the Americans and Chiang Kai-shek, taking advantage of the antagonisms between Great Britain and France and between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek in the struggle for influence in Indochina, avoiding the need to deal with many imperialist forces by ourselves and preparing to deal with the possibility of Great Britain, the United States and Chiang Kai-shek giving in to France and allowing France to return to Indochina. The conference stressed the principle guiding foreign affairs at that time: it is only our real strength that will determine victory between ourselves and imperialism. To unify the leadership of the general uprising, the conference decided to found the National Uprising Committee.

Following the National Conference of the Party, the national congress in Tan Trao on 16 August 1945 adopted the 10 major policies of the Viet Minh, ratified the General Mobilization Order, established the national emblem as a red flag with gold star, selected "Tien Quan" as the national anthem and elected the Vietnam National Committee for Liberation, that is, the provisional government, with Ho Chi Minh as president. At this historic congress, our party set forth the extremely correct policy of leading the masses in an uprising to take the weapons of the Japanese before allied troops entered Indochina, seizing political power from the hands of the Japanese, overthrowing the lackey clique of the Japanese and, as masters of their own country, welcoming allied troops to disarm the Japanese army in Indochina.

Immediately after the National Conference of the Party and the Tan Trao National Congress, the Indochina Communist Party and President Ho Chi Minh issued the Appeal to Compatriots and Soldiers of the Entire Country To Stage an Uprising and Seize Political Power. President Ho Chi Minh appealed:

"The hour that will decide the destiny of our nation is at hand. Let us arise with all our strength to free ourselves."

Under the leadership of the party, more than 20 million of our people from the North to the South arose as one and staged a glorious general uprising, liberating the entire country.

On the night of 13 August 1945, the National Uprising Committee issued order number 1 to the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country, instructing them to rapidly arise and win independence.

Between 14 and 18 August, the general uprising won victory in the rural lowlands of the North, the majority of central Vietnam and in some places in South Vietnam as well as in the cities of Bac Giang, Hai Duong, Ha Tinh and Hoi An (Quang Nam).

On 19 August, the general uprising won brilliant victory in the capital Hanoi. Hundreds of thousands of persons from within and outside the city marched into the streets in a display of power, shouting such slogans as "down with the Tran Trong Kim lackey government," "establish the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," "Vietnam is totally independent," etc. The masses occupied the governor's residence, city hall, the barracks of the security troops, police headquarters and the other agencies of the puppet government.

The victory of the general uprising in Hanoi further paralyzed the entire puppet government and strongly inspired the people of the various localities to quickly stage uprisings of their own. Between 19 and 22 August, the general uprising won victory in the cities of Yen Bai, Thai Binh, Phuc Yen, Thanh Hoa, Khanh Hoa, Bac Ninh, Ninh Binh, Thai Nguyen, Cao Bang, Tuyen Quang, Bac Can, Son Tay, Vinh, Ninh Thuan, Nam Dinh, Hung Yen, Kien An and Quang Yen.

On 23 August, the uprising won victory in Hue. Some 150,000 residents of Hue-Thua Thien staged an uprising that forced the puppet government to surrender and forced the Emperor Bao Dai to abdicate and turn over the seals to the revolution, thereby forever abolishing the monarchy in Vietnam.

Together with the victories of the uprising in Hanoi and the provinces of the North, the victories of the uprising in Hue and the central provinces delivered a fatal blow to the puppet government within the country.

Between 23 and 25 August, the general uprising won victory in Haiphong and the cities of Ha Dong, Hoa Binh, Quang Tri, Quang Binh, Binh Dinh, Lam Vien,

Gia Lai, Tan An, Bac Lieu, Ha Nam, Dac Lac, Phu Yen, Binh Thuan, Co Cong, My Tho, Lang Son, Phu Tho and Kontum.

On 25 August, more than 1 million residents of Saigon and the adjacent provinces marched into the streets in a show of power, occupying police stations, the railroad station, the posts-telegraph station, the power plant, Catina spy headquarters and so forth, overthrew the lackey government and established a people's revolutionary government. The victory of the uprising in Saigon had a decisive impact upon the uprising in the provinces of Nam Bo.

Between 25 and 28 August, the general uprising won total victory in the provinces of Quang Ngai, Gia Dinh, Soc Trang, Long Xuyen, Vinh Long, Ba Ria, Thu Dau Mot, Chau Doc, Tra Vinh, Tay Ninh, Bien Hoa, Ben Tre, Sa Dec, Hon Gai, Son La, Can Tho, Rach Gia, Ha Tien and Dong Nai Thuong.

Thus, with the exception of a number of cities controlled by Chiang Kai-shek and his lackeys before the uprising, namely, Ha Giang, Lao Cai, Mong Cai, Lai Chau and Vinh Yen, the August 1945 general uprising was victorious throughout the country in the space of one-half month.

FOOTNOTES

1. Consisting of three provinces: Lieu Ninh, Cat Lam and Hac Long Giang.
2. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Thu keu goi quoc dan tong khoi nghia thang 8-1945" [Appeal to the Nation for a General Uprising, August 1945], Party Proceedings, 1930-1945, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Vol 3, p 405.

[14 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] On 25 August 1945, President Ho Chi Minh went to Hanoi. He proposed that the provisional government be enlarged in order to widely unite the various strata of the people, the various patriotic parties and progressive personalities.

On 2 September 1945, before a meeting of nearly 1 million persons at Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi, President Ho, on behalf of the provisional government, read the Declaration of Independence and declared to the people of Vietnam and the world the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In Laos, from August to October 1945, in the face of the favorable opportunity provided by the surrender of the Japanese fascist army to the allies, the victory of the August 1945 general uprising in Vietnam and the surge of the revolutionary movement throughout Laos, the Lao party organization promptly led the people of Laos in an uprising to abolish the puppet government, establish peoples governments in Vientianne and the various municipalities and cities and establish the independent Lao government.

The August 1945 Revolution was the model of a people's national democratic revolution led by the working class in a colonial, semi-feudal country. It smashed the chains of nearly 100 years of French colonial rule, brought down the feudal bourgeoisie that had existed for thousands of years in our country and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the independent and democratic state of our people, the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia.

The victory of the August Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of our country: the era of independence, freedom and socialism. For the first time in their history, our people went from having lost their country to becoming the masters of the country, the masters of their destiny. Our party went from being an illegal party to being a party leading the government throughout the country. Our country went from a colonial and semi-feudal country to an independent and democratic country. When the right of ownership belonged to the people and they were being led by a Marxist-Leninist party, our country would advance by leaps and bounds.

The August Revolution carried out the teaching of President Ho to "liberate ourselves through our own efforts" instead of sitting idly by and waiting for the victory of the proletarian revolution in France or Japan and without relying upon support of any kind from the outside. The August Revolution breached the colonial system of imperialism at its weakest spot, thereby making an important contribution to accelerating the disintegration of colonialism throughout the world.

Evaluating the historic significance of the August Revolution, President Ho wrote: "Not only can the working class and people of Vietnam be proud, but the working class and oppressed peoples of other places can also be proud that for the first time in the history of the revolution of the colonial and semi-colonial nations, a party only 15 years old has led a revolution to victory, has seized political power throughout the country." (1)

By leading the August Revolution to victory, our party was truly worthy of being the dependable vanguard unit of the working class, of the people and nation of Vietnam.

The success of the August Revolution was the result of 15 years of brave and tenacious struggle by our people under the leadership of the party, the result of a process of nurturing and preparing increasingly developed revolutionary forces, a process of winning victory gradually, of staging small uprisings culminating in a general uprising that won victory throughout the country. Through the three revolutionary movements of 1930-1931, 1936-1939 and 1939-1945, our people gained an increasingly deep understanding of and confidence in the course that had to be followed to free themselves from misery and slavery, the course of all the people staging an uprising to throw off the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys and win the right of ownership. These movements were truly the training grounds for the August 1945 general uprising. Through these movements, the party gained very valuable experience in many areas, especially in the science and art of

seizing political power. The victory of the August Revolution was the victory of the line of brandishing the banner of national independence and democracy of the working class and correctly coordinating the two tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists. It was the victory of the line of rallying each and every patriotic force on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers, which led to mass uprisings by all the people, in which the basic factor was the uprisings by the main force army of the revolution, workers and farmers. It was the victory of the line of resolutely and skillfully employing the various forms of revolutionary violence, closely coordinating the political struggle with the armed struggle, coordinating the countryside and the cities, coordinating the various forms of political, military and economic struggle with the proselyting of enemy soldiers and puppet officials, coordinating illegal and legal activities on an increasingly high level, advancing from partial uprisings to a general uprising, gradually changing the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy and creating a position from which we could overwhelm and smash the state apparatus of the imperialists and their lackeys. It was the victory of the art of uprisings, of selecting the right opportunities and, in a very high revolutionary-offensive spirit, concentrating our forces in attacks on the nerve centers of the enemy, thereby paralyzing their will to resist. It was the victory of the strategy of highly dividing the enemy, of neutralizing and winning over those components of the population that could be neutralized and won over in order to direct our energies against the immediate enemy. It was the victory of building a Marxist-Leninist party under clandestine conditions, insuring that the party always had a correct political line and that this line was thoroughly implemented in the process of preparing for the uprising and in the course of the uprising to seize political power and insuring that the organization of the party was of high quality, was streamlined, pure, stable and strong and had deep roots among the masses.

The August Revolution provided many valuable experiences for the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, which occurred later.

Part III: the Party Leads the War of Resistance Against the French Colonialist Aggressors (1945-1954)

Maintaining the People's Government, Preparing for a Long War of Resistance (1945-1946)

As soon as it was born, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had to contend with countless difficulties and obstacles. Before the terrible famine, which was an aftereffect of the policy of plunder of the Japanese-French fascist imperialists, ended major floods occurred in Bac Bo. The floods were followed by drought, which made it impossible to plant fields on schedule. Every production sector stagnated, goods were scarce and all of the state warehouses left behind by the French were empty. The vestiges of

the backward culture of the colonialist and feudal system were very serious. More than 90 percent of our people were illiterate. Social ills, such as opium addiction, alcoholism, gambling, theft, superstition and so forth, although they declined very much following the August Revolution, still posed problems to be resolved.

It was at that time that some 200,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops poured into the North. On the pretext of coming to disarm the Japanese army, they were actually serving as lackeys of the U.S. imperialists and carrying out the malicious scheme of the United States to destroy our party, disperse the Viet Minh, overthrow the people's government and set up a puppet government to serve as their lackey.

In the South, the British army was approaching, also on the pretext of coming to disarm the Japanese; actually, however, they were opening the way for the French colonialists to retake our country. On 23 September 1945, with the help of the British army, the French colonialists opened fired on and occupied Saigon and then expanded the war throughout Nam Bo, into Kampuchea and southern Trung Bo while preparing a plan to take occupation of all of Indochina.

While the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries were looking for every way to attack the revolutionary government, Vietnamese traitors serving as their lackeys falsely accused, provoked and tried to divide the forces of the revolution and fomented and organized rebellions.

These seemingly insurmountable difficulties faced our nation with an extremely serious challenge. The destiny of our nation at that time was "hanging on a thread." However, our people, under the wise leadership of our party, always displayed a high spirit of unity, a tenacious will and were determined to fulfill the oath of the Declaration of Independence, promising to "devote the entirety of their spirit and forces, their life and possessions to the cause of maintaining this freedom and independence."

Immediately after the victory of the revolution, during the first session of the Council of Ministers held on 3 September 1945, President Ho, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, set forth six immediate tasks designed to strengthen our newly established revolutionary government. Those six tasks were: combating the famine, combating ignorance, holding general elections, building the new lifestyle, abolishing the head tax, market tax and income tax and establishing freedom of religion. Then, he supplemented and generalized these six tasks in the form of three major tasks: killing the enemy famine, killing the enemy ignorance, killing the foreign aggressors.

On 25 November 1945, the Party Central Committee issued the Resistance War and National Construction Directive. The directive pointed out that the Indochina revolution at that time was still a national liberation revolution. "The national salvation task of the proletariat has not been completed; our

main enemy at this time is the French colonialist invaders and it is against them that the struggle must be directed." The French colonialists, the British imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries all were scheming to partition our country and were collaborating with one another to steal our country from us; therefore, our slogan was "the fatherland above everything" and the war of resistance became the primary task of the revolution at that time. On the other hand, because our people had seized power within a large portion of the country, building the country was a basic task at that time. "We must be determined to win independence, freedom and happiness for the nation; political independence, a people's republic, an improved living standard for the people." The directive stressed that the immediate task was to strengthen the revolutionary government. To maintain power, we had to struggle against the schemes of the imperialists and their lackeys and suppress counter-revolutionaries while stabilizing the life of the people and building and strengthening the revolutionary governments of the people. The war of resistance and national construction were closely linked together, were inseparable.

In keeping with a suggestion by President Ho, the government decided to launch a movement to increase production and provide relief from the famine. In only a short amount of time, the people of the entire country had contributed tens of thousands of tons of rice for famine relief. Very many vegetables and subsidiary food crops were grown in the various localities. The output of corn, potatoes, cassava and other vegetables and subsidiary food crops increased several fold. Farmers restored rice fields to production. As a result, the famine was quickly overcome.

Other measures designed to improve the life of the people were also taken, such as confiscating the cropland of French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors and distributing it to farmers in need of cropland; redistributing cropland in a fair and reasonable manner to every male and female citizen; reducing the land rents of farmers by 25 percent; establishing an 8 hour workday and guaranteeing the rights of workers in the relationships between employers and employees. On 31 January 1946, in order to overcome the financial difficulties being faced, the government, in addition to encouraging voluntary contributions by the people and in accordance with the policy of the party, set forth a decree issuing Vietnamese money, which was warmly welcomed by and had the confidence of the people of the entire country.

Very much attention was given to cultural, educational and public health activities, especially the effort to wipe out illiteracy. By the end of 1946, popular education classes had taught more than 2 million persons to read and write.

In order to win victory over each reactionary power and overcome every difficulty, it was important to implement and uphold the right of ownership of the people. In keeping with a position taken by the party -- resident

Ho, the government decided to hold a National Assembly general election and establish an official government.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao chinh tri tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu hai cua Dang" [Political Report at the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party], "For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 101.

[15 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] On 6 January 1946, the general election was held throughout the country amidst circumstances in which the French imperialists were engaged in armed aggression in southern Vietnam while, in the North, Chiang Kai-shek troops were vainly trying to undermine the general election and topple the people's government. As a result, the first general election held in our country was in the nature of an arduous, decisive class struggle and national struggle. In Nam Bo alone, 42 cadres bravely sacrificed their lives while performing their task of mobilizing people to vote. In the various localities, the people also urgently held elections of people's councils on the various levels. These people's councils elected the official administrative committees that replaced the provisional people's committees that were established during the first days of the general uprising.

With the great victory of the National Assembly general election and the election of the people's councils on the various levels, our state truly became a state of, for and by the people, became a fully legitimate state reflecting the invincible strength of the solidarity of all the people and their iron will to control their own destiny.

Together with the National Assembly election and in keeping with a decree dated 20 September 1945, a commission to draft the Constitution was established, which was chaired by President Ho. The work of this commission was carried out in an urgent manner. On 9 November 1946, the National Assembly ratified the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a revolutionary Constitution that established the right of ownership of the country and the democratic freedoms of the people of Vietnam. The Viet Minh Front was strengthened and developed. In May 1946, the Vietnam National Union (the Lien Viet) was established to absorb those party factions and individuals who, for one reason or another, did not join the Viet Minh. The solidarity of all the people on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers, the foundation of the people's government, was constantly consolidated and strengthened.

The party especially concerned itself with guiding the war of resistance of our people in the South against the French colonialist aggressors. The party, the government and President Ho followed the fight on an hour by hour basis. In many letters and messages to the compatriots of the South and in

reports on the resistance war in the South, President Ho confirmed that the war of resistance would surely win victory. He praised the spirit of determination of his compatriots to fight and win the independence and reunification of the fatherland and set forth the basic guidelines of the war of resistance, especially stressing the guidelines of waging a war of resistance by all the people and waging a protracted war of resistance. In conjunction with assigning more leadership cadres to and strengthening the armed forces of the South, the party, government and front launched a nationwide movement to support the war of resistance of the compatriots in the South. Resistance support committees were established everywhere. Within a short amount of time, units were marching from all regions of the fatherland into the South to fight. On 23 September 1945, in response to the sacred national salvation appeal made by President Ho, our people in the South arose in brave, tenacious combat and thwarted the scheme of the French to "attack quickly and win victory quickly." Although the aggressors had modern weapons and a well trained army, they immediately encountered the power of the people of our entire country arising to fight the enemy. The initial difficulties caused by the attack by the French colonialists were gradually overcome. Wherever they went, the French met stiff resistance by our troops, self-defense forces, militiamen, guerrillas and people. The war of resistance waged by our people in Nam Bo and southern Trung Bo proved that "no army, no weapon can crush the spirit of sacrifice of the entire nation." (1) In February 1946, President Ho conferred on our compatriots in Nam Bo the title "Bulwark of the Fatherland."

While the French colonialists were unleashing a cruel war of aggression in the southern region of our country, in the North, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and their lackeys were pursuing one insidious scheme after another in a vain attempt to topple the people's government. In the face of this extremely difficult and complex situation, our party adopted positions that highly developed the combined strength of the revolution; at the same time, it implemented an extremely clever and flexible strategy designed to highly divide and isolate the enemy. The policy of the party at that time was to compromise with the Chiang Kai-shek army in order to focus our efforts on the most dangerous enemy at that time, the French colonialist aggressors. The party took the position of launching a mass movement to wage a multi-faceted struggle to limit the offensive strength of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries; on the other hand, compromises were made with them on the basis of the principle of keeping political power in the hands of the people. "The party must use every method at its disposal to survive, to conduct activities and grow, to provide more thorough and effective leadership and to gain the time needed to gradually strengthen the forces of the people's government, strengthen the United National Front.

The party could not waver. If it did, everything would have been lost. It had to make quick decisions, had to take steps, even disagreeable steps, to salvage the situation." (2) On 11 November 1945, our party declared that it was "disbanding itself"; however, the truth was that the party temporarily went underground. Although it went underground, the party

continued to lead the government and the people, continued to intensify every activity involved in strengthening and developing the party.

In the face of the intense revolutionary spirit of our people and the correct line of our party and government, the provocations of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries were defeated and the traitorous actions of their lackeys were duly punished.

On 28 February 1946, in keeping with an order issued by the U.S. imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek clique signed an agreement with the French colonialists allowing the French army to replace the Chiang Kai-shek army in North Vietnam. In so doing, the imperialists revealed their savage ambition to have the French colonialists reoccupy all of our country, revealed that they had temporarily set aside their differences with one another in order to implement their strategy in the world.

As soon as the August 1945 general uprising won victory, our party saw the possibility of the British and American imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries reaching an agreement with the French colonialists allowing them to return to Indochina. The Sino-French treaty was a part of the global strategy which the imperialists and the reactionaries intended to implement in Asia with a view toward sharing the spoils of war and combating the three revolutionary currents in the world.

On 3 March 1946, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee issued a directive which stated: "In the face of this situation, should we fight the French or compromise with them? It can be stated at the very outset that if the French hold to their position that Indochina will be autonomous in accordance with the 24 March 1945 declaration, we surely must fight them and this fight will very likely be a protracted guerrilla style war. However, if France recognizes Indochina as being independent, we can compromise with them, compromise for the purpose of thwarting the scheme of the white Chinese, the Vietnamese reactionaries and the remaining French fascists, whose intention it is to place us in a state of isolation and force us to fight many enemies at once in order to reduce our real strength through attrition."

The plenum of the Central Committee held in early March 1946 unanimously agreed with the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and President Ho concerning the policy of compromising with the French in order to thwart the insidious scheme of the imperialist clique and its lackeys to force us to fight three hostile forces at once: the Chiang Kai-shek army, the French colonialists and domestic reactionaries, who were doing everything possible to topple the people's government and establish a lackey government. The policy of compromising with the French also had the objective of taking advantage of the antagonism between France and Chiang Kai-shek in order to hasten the withdrawal of the Chiang Kai-shek army and win time to strengthen and develop the forces of the revolution and effectively prepare for the new fight to win total independence.

On 6 March 1946, our government signed a preliminary agreement with the French in which France recognized Vietnam as a free state having its own government, its own parliament, its own army and its own finances.

Signing the preliminary agreement was a very correct and wise decision by the party and President Ho. As a result of it, the Vietnamese revolution eliminated a fierce enemy controlled by the U.S. imperialists and was able to direct its struggle against the French colonialists, the immediate and most dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese at that time. At the same time, our people won valuable time to restore and develop the resistance base in the South, build their forces in every respect and prepare forces for a protracted war of resistance.

Before the ink had dried on the preliminary agreement, the French had broken it. However, on 6 July 1946, as a result of the resolute and steadfast struggle waged by our people, official negotiations were held between a delegation from our government, led by Pham Van Dong, and a delegation from the French government in France at the Fontaine Bleau. The correct and resolute stand of our government had the sympathy and support of the French people and progressive opinion in the world. However, these negotiations were not fruitful because the French colonialists wanted to do nothing more than reimpose their rule upon our country. The danger of a savage, lengthy and nationwide war loomed larged. In order to win time to prepare for the war of resistance, President Ho signed a provisional treaty with the French government on 14 September 1946 before leaving France for Vietnam.

When the French colonialists carried out an armed attack against and occupied South Vietnam, our party realized that they would widen their war of aggression to the entire country and, at that time, a nationwide war of resistance by our people against the war of aggression of the French would be unavoidable. The actions taken by the French of tearing up the preliminary agreement and undermining the negotiations proved this observation to be correct. The party's "compromise in order to attack" directive of 9 March 1946 pointed out that it was "necessary to continue to prepare for a lengthy war of resistance." On the basis of this evaluation, our party and state attached particular importance to building the armed forces, building bases and making other necessary preparations for the war of resistance. By the end of 1946, we had built an 800,000 man standing army with millions of militia and self-defense forces in the various localities. A system of party organizations was built within the army from top to bottom. Thousands of cadres of the party and the Viet Minh Front were assigned to strengthen the army.

Our state was further strengthened through the victory of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the smashing of the spy ring on On Nhu Hau Street in Hanoi⁽³⁾ The mass organizations were enlarged and strengthened. The party had a corps of party members numbering more than 20,000. Under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho, our country's revolution

advanced from "hanging on a thread," overcame perilous challenges and was ready to deal with the war of aggression of the French colonialists. In early November 1946, President Ho issued the Urgent Job Now directive, which predicted that the war of resistance would be arduous but that we were determined to resist the terror of the enemy and would win victory.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Loi keu goi dong bao Nam Bo cua Ho Chu tich ngay 29-10-1945" [Appeal by President Ho to the Compatriots of Nam Bo on 29 October 1945], "Nhưng loi keu goi cua Ho Chu tich" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Vol 1, p 44.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao chinh tri doc tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu hai cua Dang Lao dong Viet Nam, thang 2-1951" [Political Report Delivered at the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, February 1951], Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 358.
3. In July 1946, our public security forces uncovered a gang of counter-revolutionary blackmailers, counterfeiters and murderers at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Nationalist Party on On Nhu Hau Street (now Nguyen Gia Thieu Street). They were collaborating with the French to stage a coup d'etat on 14 July.

[16 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] On 20 November 1946, the French colonialists opened fire on and occupied Haiphong and Lang Son and landed thousands of troops at Da Nang. On 18 December 1946, they sent an ultimatum demanding the disarming of the capital self-defense force and refused to meet or negotiate with our representatives.

Thus, the French colonialists had closed every avenue of compromise and forced the people of our entire country to take up arms and kill the enemy. Because the French colonialists had intentionally started the war, a national war of resistance was inevitable.

The 16 months of the resistance war and national construction (September 1945-December 1946) gave our people time to build their forces in every respect and enabled our party to gain many valuable experiences. They included the experience gained in guiding strategy and tactics under conditions in which the revolution had just won victory but did not have the time or the forces to simultaneously defeat the scheme and acts of aggression of the enemy nor the strength to maintain throughout the country the political power that had been won; the experience of highly dividing the immediate enemy and a dangerous enemy that was not yet our immediate enemy; the experience of organizing and developing the combined strength of the revolution; and the experience of making full use of peace time conditions while preparing to deal with the possibility of war.

The Resistance War Line, the Line of Waging a Full-Scale, Protracted War of Resistance by All the People Practicing Self-Reliance, and the Victories During the First Years of the Resistance War (1947-1950)

By attacking and occupying Haiphong and Lang Son and attacking our army in Hanoi, the French tore the preliminary agreement of 6 March 1946 and the provisional treaty of 14 September 1946 into pieces and actually unleashed a war of aggression against our entire country. Our people had two choices: they could fold their arms, bow their heads and return to a life of slavery or they could struggle to the end to keep their independence and freedom.

On 18 and 19 December 1946, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee held an enlarged conference at Van Phuc (Ha Dong), which was chaired by President Ho. Reflecting the will and aspiration of all the people, the conferees decided to launch a war of resistance throughout the country and set forth the basic guidelines of this resistance. On the night of 19 December 1946, the nationwide war of resistance broke out. On 20 December 1946, President Ho issued the following appeal to the people of the entire country:

"We desire peace and have made compromises. However, the more we have compromised, the more aggressive the French colonialists have become, because they are determined to steal our country from us once again."

"No! We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than live as slaves!" "Men and women, old and young, all Vietnamese regardless of their religion, political affiliation or nationality must stand up to fight the French colonialists and save the fatherland."(1)

On 22 December 1946, the Party Central Committee issued the National War of Resistance directive. The directive pointed out that the objectives of the war of resistance were to win independence and reunify the fatherland. The basic guidelines of the war of resistance were a full-scale, protracted war of resistance waged by all the people practicing self-reliance. The slogans that were raised were "every street is a battle position," "every village is a fortress," "wage the war of resistance while building the country" and "make thorough use of guerrilla tactics and conventional tactics." The war of resistance would experience three stages: defensive, resistance and counter-offensive.

In early 1947, Truong Chinh wrote the book "The War of Resistance Will Surely Be Victorious" to explain the resistance war line and policy of the party. The book clearly stated that the national objectives of the war of resistance were national independence, democracy, freedom and world peace. It scientifically analyzed our strengths and weaknesses compared to those of the enemy: "Our strengths are the roots of a tree, the enemy's strengths are the branches." As a result, as we became stronger with each battle and the enemy became weaker, we would progress from being weaker to the enemy to equalling the enemy in strength and then becoming stronger than

the enemy in order to win ultimate victory. Thus, the fight would be a long one. To wage a protracted war of resistance, it was necessary to practice self-reliance. We had to help ourselves before others would help us. If we displayed cowardice, no outside power could bring independence and freedom to us. Therefore, the common strategic guideline of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors was to wage a full-scale, protracted war of resistance by all the people practicing self-reliance. To win victory, we had to unite all the people, to mobilize the manpower, materiel and talents of the people in order to assemble the forces of our 25 million compatriots and win victory in the war of resistance. The resistance had to be waged on the military front, the political front, the economic front and the cultural front. The protracted war of resistance of our people would experience three stages: defensive, a positive resistance and a general offensive. The nucleus of the forces of all the people waging the war of resistance under the leadership of the party were the armed forces of many different forms, forms that would later be called the three military elements: the main force troops, the local army and the militia and guerrilla forces.

In response to the national salvation appeal by President Ho and in keeping with the correct resistance war line of the party, the people of the entire country arose to fight the enemy. On 19 December 1946, a heroic fight by our people broke out in the capital Hanoi, in the municipalities and cities of Nam Dinh, Hai Duong, Hue and Da Nang and spread throughout the country. Having annihilated a contingent of enemy forces, the majority of our troops withdrew from the municipalities and cities and shifted to the guideline of preserving our real strength and waging a protracted war of resistance, leaving behind a small armed detachment to serve as the nucleus in the effort to mobilize the guerrilla war in enemy occupied areas. Our people, making full use of the "empty gardens and empty houses" policy, evacuated, destroyed places that could be occupied by the enemy and built combat villages.

The cadre conference of the Central Committee held in April 1947 reviewed the situation surrounding the nationwide war of resistance during the first months and reached the following conclusion: although they have modern weapons, the enemy cannot destroy our main forces. They have had to pay a very high price just to occupy a few cities. Our guerrilla war is developing. Armed forces with three military elements have formed. The people are very heroic, are unafraid of hardships and sacrifices and have rapidly acclimated themselves to the circumstances of producing while fighting.

As the war dragged on, the enemy encountered many difficulties, became confused and was forced to look for ways to rapidly bring the war to a conclusion. On the one hand, they made frantic preparations for a major offensive to annihilate our main forces and resistance war nerve centers. On the other hand, they intensified their establishment of a lackey government and presented terms which demanded that our people turn in their weapons and surrender to them.

In October 1947, the French imperialists assembled 200,000 troops and opened a large-scale attack in Viet Bac for the purpose of destroying the revolutionary base area of the entire country as well as the main forces and nerve centers of the war of resistance. In September 1947, in the directive What Did Bollaert Say, What Must We Do?, the party pointed out: "Every national force must be mobilized to resist the scheme of 'using Vietnamese to rule Vietnamese' of the French colonialists and prepare for major offensives by the enemy in the coming months." On 15 October 1947, the party issued its next directive entitled "We Must Smash the Winter Offensive of the French Pirates." The directive emphasized: "We must inflict heavy losses upon the enemy so that they cannot recover after this winter campaign." In keeping with this directive, our army and people on all battlefields throughout the country closely coordinated with the army and people of Viet Bac, fought bravely and won glorious victory. After more than 2 months of struggling with the enemy, our army and people had put more than 7,000 enemy troops out of combat. The French colonialists were forced to withdraw their troops from Viet Bac. Their scheme to bring their war of aggression to a rapid and victorious conclusion had been thwarted. Instead of being destroyed, our army was forged and grew in the realities of combat. The leadership agencies of the war of resistance and the base area of the entire country were maintained and strengthened.

The victory of Viet Bac gave our army and people increasing confidence in winning final victory in the long war of resistance.

Summarizing the 1 year spent fighting the national war of resistance, President Ho once again confirmed that we would surely win victory, even though the war of resistance would be long and hard. He rejected the boastful argument of the French colonialists that they would conquer our people in "3 weeks to 3 months." President Ho praised the forces of our people as "becoming stronger with each passing day and, like a newly born stream or a newly ignited flame, only going forward, never backward" and said that the forces of the enemy were like "the sun at sunset, very powerful but nearing the final hour."(1)

Following the defeat of the French in Viet Bac, the war situation changed. The enemy realized that they themselves could not annihilate our main forces by means of major operations, that they could not bring the war to an end by relying solely upon their own forces. Therefore, in 1948, they changed the direction of their strategy: from widening the scope of the war they turned around and began strengthening their hold on occupied areas and from attacking Bac Bo they turned around and began strengthening their hold on Nam Bo; large-scale operations were replaced by small-scale operations, not designed to annihilate our main forces, but to undermine our economy, undermine our base among the masses while making every effort to strengthen the puppet government, increase the size of the puppet army, seeking U.S. aid and pursuing the policy of "using war to nurture war, using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese."

The enlarged plenum of the Party Central Committee in January 1948 and the First (May 1948), Fifth (August 1948) and Sixth (January 1949), Cadre Conferences adopted the following positions:

Militarily, we had to thwart the attacks by the enemy against our base areas and develop the guerrilla war by means of independent companies, armed propaganda units and shock work committees. The common guideline at that time was that even though guerrilla warfare was of primary importance and conventional warfare was of secondary importance, we had to give attention to accelerating the use of conventional warfare and eventually build a people's armed forces consisting of main force units, local troops and militia and guerrilla forces.

Politically, we had to make every effort to strengthen the unity of all the people, broaden the National United Front, strengthen the people's government, undermine the lackey government of the enemy, intensify the proselyting of enemy soldiers and win the support of the socialist countries and the peace loving and progressive countries of the world.

Economically and financially, we had to improve the material and spiritual lives of the people in order to fight a protracted war of resistance, develop the new democratic economy, open state-operated enterprises, prepare the conditions for planning the state economic segment, establish a foreign trade system, implement the agrarian policy of the party in order to support farmers and develop agricultural production and surround and undermine the economy of the enemy.

Culturally and socially, we had to educate and mobilize cultural circles to truly participate in the war of resistance, continue the fight against illiteracy, improve the educational system, build a new culture along national, scientific and modern lines, accelerate the new lifestyle movement, eradicate bad morals and care for the health of the people.

In March 1948, in keeping with a suggestion made by President Ho, the party launched a patriotic emulation movement throughout the party, throughout the army and among all our people. The patriotic zeal and the creative spirit of the people and the army were tapped. The patriotic movement developed strongly in both the free zones and the zones under enemy control. In keeping with the position of turning the enemy's rear area into our frontlines, the local party organizations sent many cadres back to enemy controlled areas to mobilize and organize the masses, launch the guerrilla war and liquidate traitors. Two-thirds of our troops were decentralized into independent companies and armed propaganda units operating deep within enemy controlled areas where they built bases and carried out the guerrilla war. The remaining one-third of our troops were assembled in battalions and regiments that were trained in conventional warfare.

During the 2 years 1948 and 1949, the people in the enemy controlled areas of Bac Bo, Binh Tri Thien, extreme southern Trung Bo and Nam Bo arose to liquidate spies, stage guerrilla attacks and restore and develop political and military bases. In these areas, our people regained control of some places and guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases were enlarged and connected

to one another. The people of the enemy occupied urban areas struggled for democracy and civil rights. On 9 January 1950, 3,000 students in Saigon staged a demonstration and students in Hanoi raised their voices in support of them. In the free zones, the emulation movement to increase production, the emulation movement to contribute to the frontlines and the "a jar full of rice for the troops" movement were intense. The people of Interzone 5 raised their own rice and made their own cloth and writing paper. The alliance of workers and farmers was further strengthened through the implementation of the policy of reducing land rents and redistributing, on a temporary basis, cropland of the French and Vietnamese traitors as well as public cropland to farmers. The unity of the nation was strengthened through the struggle against rightist tendencies within the United National Front. By 1950, illiteracy had been wiped out in 10 provinces.

In the crucible that was the war of resistance, the party selected a large corps of outstanding, revolutionary manual workers, farmers and intellectuals as well as other outstanding laborers for acceptance into the party. In 1949, the party had more than 700,000 members. Practically all rural installations, army companies and state enterprises had a party chapter. Large numbers of cadres who were challenged and tempered in the course of the war of resistance were selected to strengthen the party, thereby enabling regular activities on the part of the party apparatus, from the base to the central level, and meeting the need for a party to lead the government and lead the widespread people's war throughout the country. However, in the course of developing the party, there were many cases in which there was a failure to firmly adhere to the working class nature of the party, fully adhere to party member standards and attach importance to teaching communism.

Therefore, in the process of building the party in order to meet the requirements of leading the war of resistance, the party always emphasized the need to strengthen the party and intensify the education of party members. In 1947, President Ho sent a letter to the comrades of Bac Bo and the comrades of Trung Bo and wrote the book "Changing the Way We Work." These documents basically emphasized the need to teach communist qualities and ethics, cultivate the virtues of dedication, diligence, frugality, honesty and righteousness and the methods of revolutionary leadership on the part of party members and combat all manifestations of bureaucracy, bossism, subjectivism, officialdom, selfishness, narrowmindedness and remoteness from the masses. The Party Central Committee issued a directive to the party organizations of the various base areas instructing them to use these documents as part of party meetings and in the regular practice of criticism and self-criticism.

The victories of our army and people occurred in harmony with the victories of the world revolutionary movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi keu gọi toàn quốc kháng chiến" [Appeal to the Entire Country To Wage a War of Resistance], "Việc độc lập tự do, việ chủ nghĩa

xa hoi," [For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 67.

2. "Mot nam khang chien toan quoc" [One Year of the Nationwide War of Resistance], "Nung loi keu goi cua Ho Chu tich," [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Vol 1, p 228.

[17 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The Soviet Union was completing its 5-year post-war economic reconstruction plan (1945-1949) and recording many achievements in strengthening and developing a modern national defense system. In 1948 and 1949, the dictatorship of the proletariat governments in the people's democratic republics of eastern Europe were firmly strengthened and advancing strongly to socialism. On 9 September 1948, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was born. On 7 October 1949, the German Democratic Republic was established. The socialist system was increasingly playing its decisive role in the guidelines for the development of mankind. In October 1949, the People's Republic of China was born. In January 1950, the USSR, China and the other people's democracies officially recognized and established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

At that time, there were a number of misconceptions within the party concerning the protracted and self-reliant nature of our war of resistance. In the summer of 1950, the Party Central Committee promptly rectified deviant thoughts and actions so that cadres and the people were more deeply imbued with the protracted and self-reliant nature of the war of resistance.

On the basis of the victories won during 1948 and 1949 and the important victory in foreign affairs, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee decided in the summer of 1950 to launch the border campaign for the purposes of annihilating an important contingent of the enemy's forces, enlarging and strengthening the Viet Bac base and liberating the northern border areas of our country. In July 1950, in keeping with a decision by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and the High Command, the Border Front Military Command and Party Committee were established, with Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, serving as commander and secretary. The command decided to stage the opening battle of the campaign at Dong Khe. On 12 August 1950, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee issued a directive to the various party committee echelons throughout the country, which clearly stated: the border campaign(1) is a very important campaign. The Central Committee, President Ho and the High Command will personally guide this campaign and are determined to assemble every force necessary to win victory in it. The directive reminded the localities of the entire country to coordinate, to pin down and wear down the forces of the enemy and not allow them to be reinforced. President Ho sent a reminder to the soldiers on the front to fight bravely and be determined to annihilate the enemy. "Fight only to win, not to lose."

During the campaign, President Ho himself went to the front to join the campaign command in guiding and motivating our troops to kill the enemy and record feats of arms.

After 28 days of fighting (16 September 1950 to 14 October 1950), the border campaign won a tremendous victory, killing 8,000 enemy troops constituting one-half the mobile forces of the enemy in northern Indochina, and liberating 350,000 persons and 4,500 square kilometers of land, encompassing five cities, 13 towns and 750 kilometers of border land.

The victory of the border campaign consolidated and enlarged the Viet Bac base area, liberated part of our country and broke imperialism's grip on our country.

The victory of the border campaign marked a leap forward in the growth of the fighting strength of our army and people and our party's art of guiding the war. For the first time in the history of the war against the French colonialists, our army had launched a major offensive, one that destroyed the border defense zone of the enemy. The border victory changed the war situation between ourselves and the enemy. On the basis of the victory of this campaign, our army seized the initiative and opened major offensives, increasingly putting the enemy on the defensive. The defeat on the border showed the French colonialists that they could not win victory in this war. The border victory strengthened the confidence of the various strata of our people in winning final victory in the war of resistance and, at the same time, wiped away the psychology of pessimism and half-heartedness. During the first years of the war of resistance, there were some who maintained that our war of resistance amounted to nothing more than "pulling the trunk of an elephant." The victory of the border campaign once again "proved that the colonialist 'elephant' had begun to die and our troops were growing with the strength of a ferocious tiger." (2)

In concert with the victory of our people on the border, the wars of resistance of the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos also won many important victories.

In Kampuchea, the Indochinese Communist Party organization, which was rebuilt during the first years of the war of resistance, led the people of Kampuchea in a brave fight that liberated many areas and enlarged the various revolutionary bases. In April 1950, in keeping with a position adopted by the leadership committee of the party organization, which at that time was called the Cadre Affairs Committee of the Kampuchean National Party, the National Conference of Free Kampuchea established the National United Front (called the It-xa-rac [Vietnamese phonetics] Front) and the Central National Liberation Committee headed by Son Ngoc Minh. In late 1950, the It-xa-rac Front had 200,000 members. The Kampuchean party organization had built its organization all the way down to the hamlets and villages and in many localities within the country.

In Laos, the Lao party organization led the people in a struggle between January 1949 and August 1950 that resulted in many major victories of

strategic significance. These victories were the birth of the Lao Liberation army, the Freedom Front and the Lao resistance government.

The Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party and Full-Scale Preparations for Winning a Large Victory (1951-1953)

In the face of the rapidly increasing strength of our army and people, the French colonialists found themselves increasingly bogged down in an extremely difficult situation in prolonging the war of aggression in Indochina. Militarily, the enemy was constantly being attacked and the size of their forces had increased very much compared to the early period of the war of resistance, but the shortage of troops became increasingly serious. Politically, because they were fighting an unjust war, they encountered increasing opposition by the French people and progressive opinion in the world. Internally, the French colonialists were deeply divided. The French cabinet was continuously changing. Economically, France was becoming increasingly dependent upon the United States; the financial system of France had been seriously weakened. The French colonialists realized that they might suffer defeat in this war if they only carried out their aggression using their own forces. Due to this reactionary nature of theirs, the French colonialists obstinately continued their "filthy war" in Indochina, relying upon U.S. aid and the policy of plunder and conscription in our country in order to fight our people.

In December 1950, the French government sent Marshal de Lattre de Tassigny to Indochina to implement this plan. Tassigny quickly strengthened the mobile forces, established "free fire zones," built a line of bunkers in the Red River Delta, conducted savage sweep operations in areas under their control and prepared a counter-offensive to re seize the initiative.

As for ourselves, the war of resistance and national construction were on the momentum of victory at that time. The war of resistance was in a new period that raised many major questions: how to organize the rear area to support the war effort on the level of concerted, large-scale operations, how to increase the fighting efficiency of troops, how to strengthen the party's leadership of the war of resistance and how to build the party in the new situation. Following the victory of the August revolution, a number of basic questions regarding strategy and tactics were also raised and had to be resolved. These questions were resolved during the second national Congress of Delegates of the Party.

The congress, which was held in Tuyen Quang (Viet Bac) from 11 to 19 February 1951, was attended by 158 official delegates and 53 alternate delegates representing more than 760,000 members of the Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea party organizations.

Following the opening address by Ton Duc Thang, the congress heard the Political Report of President Ho, the report On the Vietnamese Revolution by Truong Chinh and ratified the Manifesto, Platform and Statutes of the Party.

The Political Report of President Ho summarized the world revolution and the Vietnamese revolution during the first half of the 20th Century and confirmed that the line of the party was correct, that our party members and cadres were dedicated, made sacrifices and were close to the masses. The task of the revolution at that time was to bring the war of resistance to total victory. It had come time for "us to have a public party organized in a manner consistent with the world situation and the domestic situation in order to lead all the people to victory. This party shall have the name Vietnam Lao Dong Party."(3)

In the report On the Vietnamese Revolution, Truong Chinh presented to the congress the entire line of the people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam.

The report correctly analyzed the social nature, the objectives of the revolution, the moving forces behind the revolution, the leadership role in the Vietnamese revolution, etc. The report set forth the immediate task of the people's democratic revolution in Vietnam as driving off the French imperialist aggressors, overthrowing the feudal powers, the lackeys of imperialism, winning national independence, establishing a people's democracy and then carrying out a socialist revolution and socialist construction without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. The report pointed out: "Under the leadership of the working class and with the laboring people serving as its moving force, this revolution will not only carry out the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist tasks, but also strongly develop the people's democratic system while laying the foundations for socialism, while creating the conditions for advancing to socialism."(4)

The basic contents of the report On the Vietnamese Revolution were crystallized in the Platform of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, which was adopted by the congress. The congress decided to make the party public, taking the name the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, elected a new Central Committee and appointed the Political Bureau and Secretariat. Ho Chi Minh was elected to serve as party chairman and Truong Chinh was re-elected as general secretary of the party.

As regards Laos and Kampuchea, the congress decided to organize a separate revolutionary party within each country in a manner consistent with the characteristics of each country. In June 1951, in keeping with the position taken by the 2nd Congress, the Kampuchean communists established the Mobilization Committee To Establish the Kampuchean Revolutionary People's Party.

On 22 March 1955, the Lao People's Party was born(5), with Cay-xon Phom-vi-han [Vietnamese phonetics] serving as general secretary.

The 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party marked a major stage in the growth of our party. For the first time since it had been born, the party held a congress attended by delegates from all party organizations, delegates that were elected democratically. The correct and clear-sighted

line of the congress was the basis for uniting the entire party, uniting all the people and advancing the revolution to new victories. As President Ho pointed out, it was the congress that "accelerated the war of resistance to victory and built the Vietnam Lao Dong Party."(6)

The shortcoming of this congress was that, although it raised the question of gradually implementing an agrarian reform policy, it did not take the position of implementing land reform during the war of resistance, implementing land reform when needed by the war of resistance.

The Viet Minh Front and Lien Viet Front held a united congress. The national solidarity based on the firm alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class was consolidated and strengthened. On 11 March 1951, the Aligned Conference of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea achieved good results, further strengthening the solidarity among the peoples of the three fraternal countries in the struggle against the common enemies, the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists, to achieve the common goal of winning national independence.

In keeping with the resolution of the 2nd Party Congress, the First(March 1951), Second (October 1951) and Third (April 1952) Plenums of the Central Committee set forth positions and measures for accelerating the struggle behind enemy lines, for building the economy and financial system during the war of resistance and for building the armed forces and the party in order to meet the new requirements of the war of resistance.

In February 1952, the victory of our army and people in Hoa Binh and on fronts behind enemy lines liberated 2 million people, opened interconnected liberated areas in the lowland and midland provinces of Bac Bo and thwarted the intention of Tassigny to re seize the initiative on the Bac Bo battlefield.

In the autumn of 1952, our army launched an attack in Tay Bac, killing more than 6,000 enemy troops, liberating practically all of Tay Bac and thwarting the scheme of the French to establish an "autonomous Thai region."

In the spring of 1953, the Lao Liberation Army in coordination with the Vietnam partisan army liberated all of Sam Neua Province, a portion of Xieng Khouang Province and part of Luang Prabang Province, thereby linking the resistance war bases in upper Laos with Tay Bac in Vietnam and bringing about a new situation regarding the liberation struggle of the people of Laos.

In 1951, in conjunction with their political and military victories, our people also achieved many important economic results. The movement to increase production was accelerated. A resistance war economy of our people was built. Importance was attached to the production of weapons and plants producing grenades, mines, bombs, mortars, bazookas, recoilless rifles and so forth were developed.

In the course of the war of resistance, the party adopted the position of implementing a policy to reduce land rents and income taxes and adopted many other policies designed to gradually limit the exploitation by landowners and somewhat improve the life of farmers. However, as the war of resistance developed, these measures were not sufficient to support farmers or strengthen the forces of the war of resistance. In January 1953, the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee reviewed the implementation of the agrarian policy since the August Revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. At that time, due to reasons of military secrecy, the directive did not use the words border campaign, only the code name "Campaign XXXX."
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao chinh tri tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu hai cua Dang" [Political Report at the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party], "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi," [For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 106.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Political Report at the Second Congress," "Van kien Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu hai cua Dang" [Proceedings of the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1965, p 45.
4. Truong Chinh: "Ban ve cach mang Viet Nam" [On the Vietnamese Revolution] (Report at the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party, February 1951), Proceedings of the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1965, p 101.
5. In 1972, the Lao People's Party changed its name to the Lao Revolutionary People's Party.
6. "Thu Ho Chu tich gui Dai hoi tru bi" [Letter from President Ho to the Preparatory Congress], Proceedings of the Second National Congress of Delegates of the Party, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1965, p 8.

[18 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The plenum observed: the war of resistance must be based primarily upon the mass of workers and farmers, the vast majority of whom are farmers, in order to win ultimate victory. As the war of resistance develops, it will require more and more manpower and materiel. Farmers are the largest source of manpower and materiel for the war of resistance but their forces have not been fully mobilized for this war, because their basic interest

lies in land. On the basis of this evaluation, the plenum decided to enact agrarian reform under the slogan "land to the tiller" while the war of resistance was still in progress.

In November 1953, the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee adopted the Agrarian Platform, the common line of the party in the countryside, the agrarian reform guidelines and the policy of confiscating or making confiscatory purchases of cropland in order to abolish the ownership of cropland by the landowner class and distribute cropland to farmers. The land reform position of the party was unanimously endorsed by the Lien Viet Front. The National Assembly passed the Land Reform Law. Between April 1953 and July 1954, the party led farmers in five stages of struggle to reduce land rents and one phase of struggle to implement land reform in free areas. Consistent with the aspirations of farmers and of all the people and having met the pressing requirements of the war of resistance, the land reform policy won a major victory. The victory won in mobilizing the masses to implement the land reform policy in 1953 and 1954 actually made an important contribution to the victory of the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign and the Dien Bien Phu campaign. The victory proved the correctness of the argument advanced by President Ho at the third session of the 1st National Assembly of the DRV on 1 December 1953: "The key to victory in the war of resistance is strengthening and broadening the national United Front, strengthening the alliance of workers and farmers, strengthening the people's government, strengthening and developing the army, strengthening the party and improving its leadership in every respect. Only by mobilizing the masses to carry out agrarian reform can we smoothly perform these jobs...

Our forces, tens of millions of working farmers, are ready and waiting for the party and government to lead them in arising to throw off the yoke of slavery of the feudalists and colonialists. Through skillful organization and leadership, this force will move mountains and countless colonialists and imperialists will be ground under by them."(1)

The 1953-1954 Strategic Offensive and the Historic Victory of Dien Bien Phu

The victories of the Hoa Binh campaign, the Tay Bac campaign and the various battlefields throughout the country together with the victory of the friendly army and our army in upper Laos led to important changes in the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy. As for ourselves, the armed forces of the people grew in size and quality, acquiring the strength to launch large-scale offensives and the strength to control the well trained forces of the enemy deep within their rear area. Our guerrilla base expanded to nearly two-thirds the countryside in enemy territory. Our rear area was strengthened due to the victories of the various struggles to reduce land rents and carry out agrarian reform. The conditions for winning a major victory were becoming increasingly ripe.

As regards the enemy, although the French aggressor army had increased its troop strength to the highest level in the war, to nearly 500,000 troops, its

ability to fight had declined due to a loss of morale, the lack of command officers, the fact that its rear base was far away, the high rate of desertion among puppet troops and the lack of mobility. As France became increasingly bogged down in the war, the French economy became increasingly crippled and was unable to support a very costly war. The French ruling class stood at a crossroad; if they continued the war, they would not have the necessary forces and certainly would not win victory; if they brought the war to an end in their weakened position at that time, they would suffer shame and dishonor. As a result, the Laniel-Bidault government selected a way out for the French bourgeoisie that involved making every effort to rely upon U.S. aid, regardless of how harsh the terms or formidable that pressure that was brought to bear, in the hope of winning a number of victories in order to turn defeat into victory or at least laying the foundation for negotiating from a position of strength and creating a way to extricate themselves from the war with honor.

Following their defeat in Korea, the U.S. imperialists increasingly intervened in Indochina, made every effort to provide aid to the French, gradually took control of the puppet government and army, seized control of the command of the war of aggression in Indochina and actively prepared for kicking the French out of Indochina.

In May 1953, with the consent of the United States, the French sent General Navarre to Indochina. Under a military plan called the "Navarre Plan," the French colonialists hoped to win a number of victories in the space of 18 months and force us to negotiate on the basis of terms beneficial to them or they would continue to attack and annihilate us.

In September 1953, on the basis of a scientific analysis of the battlefield situation throughout Indochina, the Political Bureau set forth the strategic guidelines for the winter and spring of 1953-1954: assembling forces for offensives in important strategic directions where the enemy was relatively weak, thereby forcing the enemy to decentralize their forces in order to deal with us and creating new favorable conditions for annihilating individual contingents of the enemy's troops and liberating additional territory. At the same time, we intensified the guerrilla war throughout the areas under enemy control, protected free areas and created the conditions for our main force troops to annihilate the enemy on the predetermined fronts. Tay Bac was selected as the main front.

In December 1953, in keeping with this position adopted by the Political Bureau, our army went to Tay Bac and liberated Lai Chau, thus forcing the enemy to disperse their forces. In mid-November 1953, in order to reinforce Dien Bien Phu, the enemy dropped paratroops into Dien Bien Phu.

In December 1953, the Lao Liberation Army and the Vietnam volunteer army liberated Thakhet City and many large areas in central Laos; then, they moved into southern Laos, liberating the city of Attapeu and the entire Bolovens Plateau, thereby forcing the enemy to withdraw forces from the Red River Delta in Vietnam to reinforce their troops at Xeno in southern Laos.

At the same time, the Kampuchean It-xa-rac liberation army, in coordination with the Vietnam volunteer army, liberated many large areas in northeastern Kampuchea and linked it to the southern Laos liberated zone.

On 26 January 1954, the Lao Liberation Army and the Vietnam volunteer army liberated all of Phong Sali Province and expanded the upper Lao liberated zone, thus forcing the enemy to decentralize their forces in order to reinforce Luang Prabang.

On 5 February 1954, our army liberated all of Kontum Province and attacked Pleiku, forcing the enemy to cancel their offensive in the lowlands of Interzone 5 and decentralize their forces in Nam Bo and Binh Tri Thien to reinforce Pleiku.

Following the heavy offensive blows dealt by our army, the Lao Liberation Army and the Kampuchean Liberation Army, Navarre's plan to concentrate mobile forces in the Red River Delta was totally bankrupt. This situation created the conditions for our troops to annihilate the enemy and caused the guerrilla war to expand in the area behind enemy lines. In Nam Bo, we intensified the guerrilla war, annihilating or forcing the surrender of thousands of police stations and outposts. In Binh Tri Thien and extreme southern Trung Bo, we thwarted enemy sweep operations, destroying many police stations and outposts and expanding the guerrilla base areas in northern Thua Thien and Quang Tri. In the Red River Delta, the Day River defense line of the enemy was breached and our base on either bank of the Luoc River was expanded. On 4 March 1954, our army attacked Gia Lam Airport in Hanoi, destroying 18 enemy aircraft. On 7 March 1954, our army attacked the Cat Bi Airport in Haiphong, destroying 60 enemy aircraft.

To maintain their foothold in northwest Vietnam and northern Laos and make an important claim on a strategic area of Southeast Asia, the French and Americans assembled their forces and built Dien Bien Phu into their strongest complex of bases in Indochina.(2) Therefore, Dien Bien Phu became the central base of the Navarre plan. Only by annihilating the enemy at Dien Bien Phu could we smash the Navarre plan.

In early December 1953, the Political Bureau decided to launch a campaign to defeat the enemy at Dien Bien Phu. In a December 1953 letter to Vo Nguyen Giap, President Ho said: "This campaign is a very important campaign, not only militarily, but politically as well, not only to our country, but the world as well. Therefore, all our people, our entire army and our entire party must concentrate their efforts on successfully completing this campaign."

The Political Bureau decided to establish a Front Command and Party Committee with Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Political Bureau and commander of the Vietnamese People's Army, personally serving as front command and front party committee secretary. The government decided to establish a Front Supply Council with Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member and vice premier, serving as its secretary.

The Political Bureau and President Ho closely followed the combat and, together with the High Command, guided our army and troops night and day, determined to complete the task of annihilating all enemy troops at Dien Bien Phu.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao doc truooc Quoc hoi nuoc Viet Nam Dan chu Cong hoa khoa ba, tu ngay 1 den 4-12-1953" [Report Delivered to the Third National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, from 1 to 4 December 1953], Appeals by President Ho, Su That Publishing House, 1960, Vol 2, pp 249-255.
2. At Dien Bien Phu, the enemy had 16,200 troops comprising 17 well trained battalions, one tank company and 12 helicopters at 49 bases in three different zones. Practically all high ranking officers and officials of France and the United States believed that Dien Bien Phu was an "inviolable fortress," "a Verdun in Southeast Asia" (a famous battle position of the French in World War I, 1914-1918).

[21 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The strategic determination of the Party Central Committee rapidly became the will and actions of our entire party, our entire army and all our people. Our artillery and infantry units, using manpower and rudimentary implements, built hundreds of kilometers of roads through the forests and across mountains to the battlefield and dug hundreds of kilometers of communication trenches under heavy enemy fire in order to bring heavy artillery through the mountains to the battle position.

Carrying out the slogan "everything for the frontlines, everything for victory," more than 200,000 corvee laborers were mobilized to work more than 3 million mandays in support of the Dien Bien Phu front. Tens of thousands of shock youths coordinated with engineer units to bravely open roads and disarm delayed action bombs placed along roads by the enemy. Tens of thousands of bicycles, oxcarts and horse-carts together with tens of thousands of boats were used to transport hundreds of thousands of tons of rice, food and ammunition to the front.

On 7 May 1954, after three phases of heavy combat lasting 55 continuous days and nights, our army totally destroyed the complex of bases at Dien Bien Phu, killing or capturing more than 16,000 enemy troops. The entire command of this complex of bases headed by General de Courcy was captured alive.

The entire 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, the highpoint of which was the Dien Bien Phu campaign, ended in victory. Some 112,000 enemy troops, one-fourth the total number of French troops in Indochina at that time, were killed. Many large areas of strategic significance throughout the country

were totally liberated. Our people had won the right to be the masters of three-fourths the country. The puppet government was panic-stricken and paralyzed. Large contingents of the puppet army had been routed. Our victory faced the French army with the danger of being annihilated. The French government quickly recalled Navarre to France and sent Ely to replace him in order to carry out the decision to withdraw their troops from the South and the Red River Delta and prepare to withdraw to south of the 18th parallel when necessary in order to achieve the primary objective of saving the French expeditionary army in Indochina from annihilation.

The wars of resistance of the two fraternal nations of Laos and Kampuchea were also on the momentum of victory. In Laos, more than one-half the land and one-half the population had been liberated. In Kampuchea, the Iu-Mek liberation army opened many offensives, liberating about two-thirds of the country's territory, including many large rural areas and a number of cities in the east. On 19 June 1954, on the basis of these victories, the Kampuchean resistance government was established.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu was the largest victory of our army and people in the long war of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists, was one of the largest and most successful battles in the history of the struggle of the oppressed nations against a well trained army of the colonialists. The victory of Dien Bien Phu "has been recorded in the history of the nation as a Bach Dang, a Chi Lang or a Dong Da in the 20th Century."(1)

The 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign and the victory of Dien Bien Phu smashed the Navarre plan, restored peace in Indochina, liberated all of the North, created the conditions for completing the agrarian revolution in one-half of our country and laid the base for the future liberation of the South. This victory put an end to the old style colonialism of the French in Indochina, began the process of the total collapse of old style colonialism in the world and inspired the peoples of the colonialist countries and semi-feudal countries living under the rule of colonialism, both old and new, to arise and struggle for independence and freedom.

As our army was about to begin the third stage of the offensive to determine the fate of the enemy at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva Conference on Indochina was convened. Our government's delegation, which was led by Pham Van Dong, attended the conference as the representatives of a nation winning victory.

On 20 July 1954, the Geneva Agreements on Indochina were signed. On the basis of our peace-loving tradition, in keeping with the common trend of resolving disputes through negotiation and under circumstances in which the leaders of China had reached agreement with the French(2), we accepted the following solution: France and the other countries participating in the conference pledged to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; a ceasefire in Vietnam and throughout the Indochina battlefield, the withdrawal of French troops; the establishment of the 17th parallel as the temporary line of

military demarcation; and the eventual holding of free general elections throughout the country for the purpose of reunifying the country.

In July 1954, the Party Central Committee held its 6th Plenum and took the following position: "To endeavor to consolidate the peace, achieve reunification and achieve independence and democracy throughout the country; to strengthen our military forces and build a powerful people's army suited to the requirements of the new situation; to continue to carry out the 'land to the tiller' program; to make every effort to restore production and prepare the conditions needed to build the country."(3)

After nearly 9 years of a difficult but extremely brave war of resistance, our people had defeated the old style colonialist war of aggression of the French.

Nearly one-half million well trained, aggressor troops of the French colonialists had been killed. The French spent 2.688 billion francs and 2.6 billion dollars in U.S. aid. The French government collapsed 20 times. Eight consecutive French army commanders met defeat in Indochina.

In the war of resistance against the French, our people not only had to resist the French colonialist aggressors, but also resist the scheme of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, to annex our country, destroy our party and the revolutionary movement in our country and sabotage the world revolutionary movement. Determined to wage the war of resistance and advance it to victory, our people not only performed their national tasks, but also performed additional tasks for the world revolution.

In an article written to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party, President Ho said the following about our people's war of resistance against the French colonialists: "For the first time in history, a small, weak colony defeated a powerful colonialist country. It was a glorious victory for the Vietnamese and, at the same time, a victory for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world."(4)

In leading the resistance against the French colonialists to victory, our party was once again forged in the crucible of war and enhanced its knowledge of the science and art of leading a revolutionary war in a small, weak country against a colonialist power.

The war of resistance against the French colonialists was victorious because of the leadership of our party, a Marxist-Leninist party that adopted the correct resistance line, was tightly organized and highly disciplined, was united and very close to the masses; because our nation is a heroic nation that tightly united on a common front based on the alliance of workers and farmers; because our army is a revolutionary army of the people, is brave and resourceful; because our government is a people's democratic government that is constantly concerned with the material and spiritual lives of the people and organized and motivated the people to fight; because of the

solidarity of the three nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; and because of the sympathy, support and assistance of the socialist countries, the international communist and worker movement and the peace-loving, democratic and progressive peoples of the world.

In the course of leading the war of resistance, the party applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the resistance against the French and adopted a correct, independent and autonomous line on the war of resistance. It was the line of a full-scale, protracted war of resistance waged by all the people practicing self-reliance; the line of coordinating the two tasks of resisting imperialism and resisting feudalism in the war of resistance and coordinating the resistance with agrarian reform, coordinating the war of resistance with national construction; the line of coordinating political forces with armed forces and coordinating the armed struggle, the political struggle, the economic struggle and the diplomatic struggle; the line of gradually developing the guerrilla war into a conventional war and coordinating guerrilla warfare with conventional warfare, coordinating the three military elements; the line of building a strong, stable party to insure that the party led the war of resistance to victory and guided the implementation of the resistance line and policy, guided strategy and organized combat in an effective and flexible manner so that it could fight while improving the leadership and guidance provided during the war, firmly control the armed forces and political forces of the masses, maintain close contact with the masses, maintain close contact with combat and production units and constantly strengthen the determination to fight and win in every situation in a manner closely linked to developing and strengthening the party in the course of combat.

Part IV: the Party Leads the Implementation of the Two Revolutionary Strategies: the Socialist Revolution in the North and the People's National Democratic Revolution in the South (1954-1975)

The Revolution Enters a New Stage, Agrarian Reform and the Restoration of the National Economy Are Completed (1954-1957)

The victory of the 9-year war of resistance against the French colonialists brought our country's revolution into a new stage. The North was totally liberated, had virtually completed the people's national democratic revolution and was beginning to shift to the socialist revolution. In the South, which was still ruled by the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique, our people had to continue to carry out the people's national democratic revolution.

In each region of our country, the revolution had strategic tasks that were suited to the conditions of each region but were closely interconnected. The socialist revolution in the North not only had the objective of building a life of comfort and happiness for our compatriots in the North, but also the objective of liberating the South. The people's national democratic revolution in the South had the task of liberating the South and the task of protecting the North. The common goal of the people of our entire country

was to complete the national democratic revolution and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

On 22 July 1954, in an appeal issued after the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, President Ho reminded the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country: "The struggle to strengthen the peace, achieve reunification and achieve complete independence and democracy is also a long and difficult struggle."

In September 1954, the conference of the Political Bureau adopted the line and specific tasks for the new stage of the revolution. The conference pointed out: "For the foreseeable future, the common tasks of our party are: uniting and leading the people in the struggle to implement the cease fire agreement, guarding against and overcoming every scheme to undermine the cease fire agreement in order to strengthen the peace, making every effort to complete agrarian reform, restore and increase production and intensify the buildup of the people's army in order to strengthen the North and maintaining and intensifying the political struggle of the people in the South in order to strengthen the peace, achieve reunification and achieve independence and democracy throughout the country."

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Đuoi lá cò ve vâng của Đảng, vì độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành những thắng lợi mới" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 50.
2. The position of the Chinese authorities at the 1954 Geneva Convention on Indochina was: keep the French in Indochina in order to create a buffer for the Chinese in the South and avoid a direct conflict with the United States while permanently partitioning our country in a vain attempt at weakening and eventually annexing the three countries of Indochina, thereby preparing a springboard for expansion into Southeast Asia. Taking advantage of their international position and their relations with our country at that time, the Chinese leaders frequently met with the French colonialists between April and June of 1954 to achieve a negotiated settlement that was beneficial to the Chinese and the French and that limited the victory of our people and the people of Laos and totally sacrificed the interests of the people of Kampuchea.
3. The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 2nd Party Central Committee (enlarged), held from 15 to 18 July 1954.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Ba mươi năm hoạt động của Đảng" [Thirty Years of Party Activities], Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 771.

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[Text] The party reminded cadres and party members to display high revolutionary vigilance, forge their will to fight and overcome passivist thinking, the desire to rest, the desire for personal pleasure and the temptation to foresake the struggle; when taking over the management of the cities, the party reminded them to guard against and combat every attack by the bourgeoisie.

When it had come time to withdraw from the North, the French imperialists collaborated with the U.S. imperialists in a scheme to undermine our peoples effort to reunify the country, ignore the political clauses of the Geneva Agreements and permanently divide our country. They enticed and pressured nearly 1 million compatriots to migrate from the North to the South, compatriots who dismantled and took with them or destroyed thousands of tons of machinery, tools and public property, in a vain attempt to paralyze or disrupt our takeover of management in the newly liberated areas. Our people bravely struggled to thwart the scheme of the enemy and rapidly take over the management of the cities and newly liberated areas.

On 1 January 1955, our people held a large meeting at Ba Dinh Square to welcome President Ho, the Party Central Committee and the government back to the capital after nearly 9 years of a difficult and brave war of resistance. This event of historic importance left a deep impression upon and was of important political significance to the compatriots of the entire country.

On 16 May 1955, we liberated the entire Haiphong area. The last expeditionary troop of the French colonialists had withdrawn from North Vietnam and one-half the country was totally liberated. This was a tremendous victory for our people.

In January 1956, in a document entitled "Several Matters Relating to the Line of the Vietnamese Revolution," the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee observed: since peace was restored, the North has entered the stage of the socialist revolution. We face many difficulties, but we also have basic advantages in our favor. Our largest difficulties are that our economy is extremely backward and has been ravaged by 15 years of war and our country is temporarily divided into two zones. The advantages in our favor are that our party is firmly leading the revolution and the prestige of the party has been heightened; we have a people's democratic state that has begun to shift to the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the natural resources of our country are rich; our people are united, are patriotic and are diligent workers. We also have the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries.

Under the leadership of the party, our people made every effort to develop upon these advantages and overcome their difficulties in order to complete agrarian reform and the restoration of the national economy, thereby advancing the North to the stage of the socialist revolution.

At that time, agrarian reform, which was a basic task of the people's national democratic revolution, had only been partially implemented. The requirements of the socialist revolution and the masses necessitated that this task be thoroughly carried out. The party assembled tens of thousands of cadres and launched a very urgent agrarian reform campaign.

By the summer of 1956, the agrarian campaign had been completed in the lowlands and midlands. In the mountains, the agrarian reform campaign was being continued through the "campaign to carry out agricultural cooperativization and develop production in coordination with completing democratic reform" with a view toward abolishing the feudal ownership of cropland, implementing the slogan "land to the tiller," implementing the right of farmers in the mountains to be the masters of the countryside and strengthening the unity of the various nationalities.

Agrarian reform and democratic reform achieved large results: the entire feudal landowner class, a target of the people's national democratic revolution in the North, was toppled; feudal ownership of cropland was forever abolished, thereby redistributing 810,000 hectares of cropland controlled by landowners to 2,104,100 working farm families that had no land or lacked land and implementing the slogan "land to the tiller"; farmers were totally liberated from the feudal yoke that had existed for thousands of years in our country and the farmers in the North became the true masters of the countryside, not only politically but economically as well; the alliance of workers and farmers, the solid base of the National United Front and the people's democratic government, was strengthened and consolidated.

The 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee in September 1956 confirmed the victory of agrarian reform. This victory was large, basic and of a strategic nature. In the course of carrying out agrarian reform, we made mistakes that were serious, widespread and prolonged. The plenum reviewed these mistakes and set forth determined measures for correcting them.

Together with agrarian reform, the party led the people in making every effort to restore the national economy. By the end of 1957, due to the efforts made by all the people and the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, this task had virtually been completed. Total industrial and agricultural output had approached the 1939 level. The output of grain exceeded 4 million tons, far surpassing the pre-war level. The state-operated economy was strengthened. The special rights and privileges of the imperialists in the economy and in other areas were abolished. Every economic activity within the country returned to normal. As a result, we reduced the difficulties we faced and began to improve the life of the people, preparing to enter the period of socialist transformation and socialist construction.

During the period of restoring the national economy, our party set forth correct policies designed to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen the party's leadership.

On 5 September 1955, the congress of the National United Front met in Hanoi and decided to expand and strengthen the solidarity of all the people, establish the Vietnam Fatherland Front and elect the Front Central Committee, with Ton Duc Thang serving as its chairman. The people's democratic state performing the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened. On 20 September 1955, the fifth session of the 1st National Assembly appointed Pham Van Dong as premier. The resolution of the 12th (enlarged) Plenum of the Central Committee in March 1957 set forth clear guidelines for strengthening national defense forces and gradually building the people's army into a regular-force and modern army.

During this period, our people thwarted the scheme of a group of counter-revolutionaries to take advantage of the action being taken to rectify mistakes in the agrarian reform policy and revamp our organization to oppose the leadership of the party and oppose the socialist revolution in the North.

Socialist Transformation, the Start of Economic and Cultural Development (1958-1960)

The victory of agrarian reform and economic restoration caused society in the North to undergo important changes. Generally speaking, however, the economy of the North was still an economy consisting of many different segments, in which the private economy of farmers, handicraftsmen, artisans, small merchants and small landowners constituted a very large percentage. The workers within private enterprises had not been liberated from the yoke of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. This situation raised the following requirement: it had come time to carry out socialist transformation on a large scale in order to advance the North to socialism.

The 13th Plenum (December 1957) of the Central Committee observed: since peace was restored and the North was totally liberated, we have entered the period of gradual transition to socialism in the North. Generally speaking, however, the understanding and thinking of cadres and party members regarding this inevitable stage of development of the revolution are not clear. The Party Central Committee, which had taken many important steps to teach socialist thinking to cadres, party members and the people so that everyone could discern between socialism and capitalism and clearly recognized that the North had to develop along the socialist path, was determined to struggle against every tendency to allow capitalism to freely develop for a period of time before advancing to socialism. The party also struggled to overcome vague concepts of the close relationship between the socialist revolution in the North and the liberation of the South and the concern that the advance to socialism by the North would pose an obstacle to the struggle to reunify the country. The party pointed out that it was chiefly for the purpose of creating favorable conditions for the struggle to liberate the South and reunify the country that the North had to advance to socialism, the faster, more strongly and more steadily the better.

The pressing questions facing our people were which methods and forms to employ and at which rate to advance in order to reach socialism in view of the special conditions of our country, conditions in which the North was only recently liberated from the yoke of colonialism and feudalism, we were advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and the country was still divided into two zones. The 14th Plenum of the Central Committee (November 1958) decided: "We must accelerate the socialist transformation of the private economy of farmers, handicraftsmen and artisans and the socialist transformation of the private capitalist economic segment while making every effort to develop the state-operated economy into the force leading the entire national economy." The main elements were the transformation and development of agriculture.

The 16th Plenum of the Central Committee, which was held in April 1959, adopted two important resolutions: the resolution on agricultural cooperativization and the resolution on the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce in the North.

The party's socialist transformation line on agriculture was to gradually organize private farmers into work exchange teams (which contained the rudiments of socialism) and advance to low level agricultural production cooperatives (semi-socialist) and then to high level agricultural production cooperatives (socialist). It was the policy of carrying out agricultural cooperativization before agricultural mechanization, carrying out cooperativization in conjunction with building water conservancy projects and reorganizing the labor force. Agricultural cooperativization would make a contribution to accelerating the process of socialist industrialization; conversely, socialist industrialization would create the conditions for strengthening and developing agricultural production cooperatives.

As regards artisans and handicraftsmen, the party's policy was to organize them with artisan and handicraft cooperatives, supply raw materials, tools and equipment to these cooperatives and help the handicraft sector gradually improve its technology, raise its labor productivity and improve its product quality, thereby helping to implement the state plan.

The party advocated the peaceful transformation of private, capitalist artisans and handicraftsmen. Economically, the state did not confiscate the instruments of production of the national bourgeoisie, but employed a policy of buying them; politically, the national bourgeoisie were still considered a part of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

As regards small businessmen, the party decided to teach and help them to gradually begin earning a living collectively by shifting the majority of them to production.

The correct positions and policies adopted by our party and government concerning the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft trades, private, capitalist industry and commerce and small-scale commerce

were supported by the masses. In 1959, the agricultural cooperativization campaign became a movement in the countryside. At certain times and places, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between collective and private became a rather sharp and complex struggle.

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[Text] In the face of this situation, the party had to truly be united, of one mind and firm. In September 1957, President Ho said:

"In the socialist revolution, the party must be stronger than ever before. Society cannot be transformed if party members do not transform themselves, if party members do not improve themselves. The socialist revolution demands that cadres and party members possess a truly firm proletarian stand and high socialist awareness, demands that cadres and party members cleanse themselves of the influence of the thinking of the exploiting classes, cleanse themselves of individualism and forge collectivism."(1)

As a result of the concern and education provided by the party and President Ho, the vast majority of cadres and party members, when they entered the new stage of history, maintained the noble qualities of the communist and worked with dedication among the masses to teach and mobilize them to successfully implement the socialist transformation line of the party. By the end of 1960, that is, within the space of 3 years, the transformation of agriculture to low level cooperatives had been virtually completed in the rural areas of the North. More than 85 percent of farm families had joined cooperatives, bringing with them 68.06 percent of the cropland in the countryside. Of this 85 percent, 11.81 percent joined high level cooperatives. In the cities, 783 bourgeois families in industry (100 percent), 826 bourgeois families in commerce (97.1 percent) and 319 bourgeois families in the motor transport sector (99 percent) were within the scope of transformation and were transformed along socialist lines. Tens of thousands of workers were liberated from the yoke of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. The transformation of artisans, handicraftsmen and small businessmen also achieved important results. More than 260,000 artisans and handicraftsmen joined various forms of cooperatives, which represented 87.9 percent of the total number of artisans and handicraftsmen with the scope of transformation; more than 150,000 small businessmen, 45.1 percent of the total number within the scope of transformation, joined various forms of cooperatives. Nearly 50,000 persons were shifted to production, primarily agricultural and handicraft production.

In conjunction with the victories won in the transformation of production relations, many norms of the 3-year plan for agricultural production, industrial production, cultural activities, education and public health services were implemented. The socialist state-operated economy grew strongly and occupied the dominant position within the various sectors of the national economy. Unemployment and social diseases inherited from the old regime were virtually eliminated.

The greatest achievements of the 3-year plan on socialist transformation and the start of economic and cultural development were the establishment of socialist production relations and the abolition of the system of man exploiting man in the North. Socialist ownership was established under two forms, national and collective. Farmers became a new class, the class of collective farmers. The alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class was strengthened on a new and higher level. The society of the North became a society of workers exercising collective ownership, became a great family encompassing every strata of the people, every fraternal nationality "united as one great force to build the country." (2)

The tremendous changes in the society of the North were reflected in the 1959 Constitution. Following the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, the North was totally liberated and entered the stage of the socialist revolution; meanwhile, the South remained under the rule of the imperialists and feudalists. The 1946 Constitution was no longer suitable and had to be revised to be consistent with the strategic situation and task of the new stage of the revolution. Therefore, on 23 January 1957, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam decided to revise the Constitution and elected the Committee To Revise the Constitution, with President Ho serving as its chairman. This committee completed its task after nearly 3 years of work and presented the Draft of the revised Constitution to the National Assembly. On 31 December 1959, the new Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly. This was the first socialist Constitution of our country. It affirmed the will and aspiration of our people to determinedly build socialism in the North and struggle to reunify the country in order to build a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength.

The Struggle To Maintain the Revolutionary Forces in the South; the Uprising Movement (1954-1960)

Even during the war of resistance against the French colonialists, our party realized the aggressive ambitions of the U.S. imperialists regarding our country. In July 1954, the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum pointed out: the U.S. imperialists have become the main obstacle to the restoration of peace in Indochina. They are frantically promoting the establishment of a southeast Asian aggressor bloc in order to use Indochina as a springboard for a war of aggression. Therefore, the U.S. imperialists are the main enemy of the peace loving people of the world and have now become the main, immediate enemy of the people of Indochina.

In June 1954, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the extremely confusing situation in which France found itself as a result of the heavy defeat suffered at Dien Bien Phu, the U.S. imperialists brought Ngo Dinh Diem from the United States to establish a lackey government in the South and frantically prepared to kick out the French. The U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique schemed to turn South Vietnam into a new style colony and military base of the United States, thereby sabotaging the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. On the one hand, the U.S. imperialists began to

slowly take over and eventually kicked the French completely out of South Vietnam; on the other hand, they looked for every way to restore the position of the landowner class and compradore bourgeoisie who had been defeated by the revolution and create a new class of pro-U.S. landowners and compradore bourgeoisie to serve as the social base for the imposition of neo-colonialism in South Vietnam. Unlike the French colonialists, they did not establish their own ruling apparatus, rather, they used the lackey government and a dense network of U.S. "advisors" and used the power of military and economic aid to carry out aggression against the South. Militarily, the U.S. imperialists built, trained, armed and commanded the puppet army. Economically, the South gradually became a market for the surplus goods of the United States and the countries in the U.S. camp. U.S. monopolistic capitalists gradually began reaping huge profits. Culturally, the United States began spreading the decadent, cowboy lifestyle of the United States, poisoning our people, especially youths. Ngo Dinh Diem, the ringleader of the feudalists and former lackey of the U.S. imperialists and Japanese imperialists, now became the lackey of the United States. The U.S. imperialists gave the Ngo Dinh Diem lackey government a coat of "republic" and "independent" paint in a vain attempt to deceive the masses.

The Americans and Diem made every effort to build an extremely cruel fascist, dictatorial regime in South Vietnam. Becoming fascist was the inevitable course of the Americans and Diem. The introduction of U.S. neo-colonialism in the South was violently opposed because it had no base for implementation. The people of the South had enjoyed a period of independence and freedom as a result of becoming the masters of the country after the victory of the 1945 August Revolution. Although this period of time was short, the fruits of the revolution showed the people the superior nature of the people's democratic system and exposed the U.S. imperialists as country-robbers, regardless of which form they employed to conceal this. The superiority of the socialist system in the North further bared the true nature of U.S. neo-colonialism.

In late 1954, the Americans and Diem instigated bloody massacres at Ngan Son, Chi Thanh, Cho Duoc, Mo Cay, Cu Chi, Binh Thanh and other places. They launched many campaigns to "denounce the communists, kill the communists" and suppressed the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South in a very ruthless spirit of fanaticism and class revenge. On 1 December 1958, they caused the death by poisoning of thousands of revolutionary soldiers and patriots at the Phu Loi concentration camp. In May 1959, they enacted the "10/59 law" in order to publicly behead patriots and massacre our people by barbarous, medieval means. Between 1954 and 1959, 466,000 communists and patriots were arrested, 400,000 persons were imprisoned and 68,000 persons were killed in the South.

The September 1954 resolution of the Political Bureau established the tasks of the revolution in the South in the new stage. The common slogan of the South at that time was: peace, reunification, independence and democracy; the struggle was shifted from armed struggle to a political struggle to implement the cease fire agreement, strengthen the peace, implement

democratic freedoms, improve the welfare of the people, achieve reunification, combat the use of terror and protect the rights won by the masses during the war of resistance; an effort was made to engage in both legal and quasi-legal activities and coordinate legal work and illegal work. The party left behind in the South cadres to conduct clandestine activities. In October 1954, the Party Central Committee decided to re-establish the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee to lead the revolutionary movement in Nam Bo. The zone, provincial and district party committees were strengthened to be consistent with the new situation.

In June 1956, the Political Bureau issued a resolution stating that although our form of nationwide struggle at that time was political struggle, this did not mean that we could not use armed struggle of a self-defense nature under certain circumstances. The Political Bureau also stressed that consolidating existing armed and semi-armed forces, building bases and, at the same time, building strong mass installations were basic prerequisites to maintaining and developing our armed forces.

In August 1956, Le Duan, member of the Political Bureau who was, at that time, in charge of the southern party organization, wrote a document entitled "The Path of the Liberation in the South," which stated that the liberation of the South was the path to be taken by the revolution.

The central, immediate task of the South at that time was maintaining its revolutionary forces. The organizations of the party, the revolutionary mass organizations and cadres and party members had been forced to rapidly go underground. Revolutionary bases, such as the Central Highlands, U Minh and Dong Thap Muoi, and the bases in many localities were maintained. Various forms of legal and quasi-legal activities that served as a screen for illegal activities and organizations were developed, such as civilian guard units to combat theft digging anti-artillery trenches, establishing dual purpose villages and using religious sects to wage the armed struggle. The first armed propaganda organizations and armed self-defense organizations were born. Tens of thousands of rifles were concealed and made ready in the localities of Nam Bo and Zone 5.

In keeping with the line presented above, the party led our people in the South in displaying an unyielding revolutionary will, enduring hardships and sacrifices and struggling against each scheme of terror, murder, plunder and deviousness of the Americans and Diem. The party led the people in struggles demanding discussions of general elections for the purpose of reunifying the country, against the deceptive "plebiscite," against the election of the lackey "National Assembly" and for improved welfare and democratic freedoms. This movement gained the participation of millions of persons from Quang Tri to Ca Mau, including followers of the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Catholic religions, including ethnic minorities and compatriots of the North who were forced to migrate to the South, thereby establishing coordination between the people of the cities and the people of the countryside in very diverse forms of struggle. Steadfast and sharp struggles were

waged against the use of terror, against retaliation against persons who participated in the war of resistance, against "denounce the communists, kill the communists," against the theft of land, the eviction from homes and so forth everywhere. Revolutionary heroism and the indomitable, unyielding will of the masses were very highly developed. Examples of cadres, party members and people bravely sacrificing their lives and maintaining their revolutionary character were a very widespread phenomenon throughout the mountainous forests, the rural delta areas and the cities, within each age group, within every nationality. At the hour of their most decisive challenge, our people in the South continued to have absolute confidence in the party and President Ho. By means of ironclad and clever reasoning, our compatriots exposed the distorted arguments, the false accusations of the enemy, determined to protect the revolutionary base, protect and conceal cadres, even if it meant losing their own lives.

Between late 1956 and 1959, the movement developed with increasing strength. In 1957, 2 million persons participated in the political struggle; in 1958, 3,7 million persons participated and, in 1959, nearly 5 million persons participated.

The armed self-defense struggle to eradicate traitors and kill hoodlums was also intensified. In 1956 and 1957, dozens of revolutionary armed units were born in Nam Bo and many units to eradicate traitors were established in Zone 5. The first battles with the puppet army at Minh Thach in Thu Dau Mot and Trai Be in Bien Hoa annihilated the enemy and resulted in the capture of weapons with which we equipped ourselves. In late 1957, in Combat Zone D., the first regular armed unit was established and served as the nucleus of the main force troops of Nam Bo.

In April 1958, in Bac Ai, a district in northwest Ninh Thuan Province, some 300,000 compatriots staged an uprising and destroyed the civilian resettlement area. Then, our compatriots continued to coordinate the political struggle with the armed self-defense struggle to protect their villages and fields, clung to the mountains and fought the resettlement of the population. In October 1958, armed self-defense forces attacked and totally destroyed the Dau Tieng Precinct seat (Thu Dau Mot), forcing the enemy's withdrawal from the 20 stations within the precinct.

In 1959, the southern revolution faced extremely serious challenges. However, the party led the people in overcoming these difficulties and the revolutionary base was maintained and developed. The party continued to maintain close ties with the people and determinedly led the masses in struggling against the Americans and puppets.

The policy of enslavement and warmongering of the U.S. imperialists and the acts of terrorism and traitorous actions of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique made the life of the various strata of the people in the South one of extreme suffering. The people clearly realized that they could no longer live under the U.S.-Diem regime, but had to engage in a struggle to the end with them.

While the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique were making every effort to suppress and terrorize the people in order to rule the people in the South and permanently divide Vietnam, the leaders of China were looking for every way to prevent our people from struggling to reunify the country. They "advised" that we should persist in the political struggle, that we should "wage a protracted struggle" and even maintained that "the partitioning of Vietnam might not be resolved in a short period of time, but might require much time, if 10 years are not enough, you must struggle for 100 years." In January 1959, loyal to the vital interests of our people and firmly adhering to the thoroughly revolutionary stand of Marxism-Leninism, the Party Central Committee held its 15th Plenum (enlarged) to determine the line of the revolution in the South in the new stage. The plenum pointed out: the basic tasks of the revolution in the South are to liberate the South from the rule of the imperialists and feudalists, achieve national independence, achieve "land to the tiller," complete the people's national democratic revolution in the South and build a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength. The immediate tasks were to topple the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, the lackey of U.S. imperialism, establish a national, democratic coalition government in the South, achieve national independence, implement democratic freedoms, improve the life of the people, maintain the peace and reunify the country.

The plenum stressed: the basic course of development of the Vietnamese revolution in the South is the course of power. On the basis of the specific situation at that time, this course was: using the strength of the masses, primarily the political forces of the masses, in coordination with armed forces to topple the regime of the imperialists and feudalists and establish a revolutionary government of the people.

The plenum also predicted: the U.S. imperialists are the most bellicose of the imperialists; therefore, under certain conditions, the uprising of the people in the South might become a protracted armed struggle, but ultimate victory will surely be ours.

In late 1959 and early 1960, under the light of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee, our people in the South staged mass uprisings.

In Interzone 5, following the uprisings by the people in many mountain localities, an uprising broke out on 28 August 1959 in Tra Bong, a mountain district of Quang Ngai Province. There, some 16,000 compatriots under the leadership of the local party organization staged an uprising that drove the puppet government from 16 villages, forced the abandonment of 7 stations, killed hundreds of puppet officials and established revolutionary governments in hamlets and villages. This uprising spread to many adjacent districts and villages.

In late 1959, the masses at many places in eastern, central and western Nam Bo staged armed uprisings that killed hoodlums, broke the grip of their control and forced the puppet officials in hundreds of hamlets and villages

to flee. The uprising movement became increasingly intense following the Conference of the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee in November 1959 and the Conference of the Central Nam Bo Zone Party Committee in December 1959, which were held to gain a thorough understanding of and implement the resolution of the 15th Party Plenum. The Ben Tre Provincial Party Committee issued a resolution launching a week-long uprising by all the people for the purpose of using the revolutionary power of the masses to fight the yoke of control of the enemy and build revolutionary governments. Mo Cay District was selected by the provincial party committee as the place to launch the province-wide uprising movement. On the night of 17 January 1960, under the leadership of the Ben Tre provincial party organization and armed with rudimentary weapons, the masses arose as one, killing hoodlums, attacking police stations, taking weapons from the enemy and destroying large parts of the ruling apparatus and control system of the enemy in the hamlets and villages. Then, like water overflowing its banks, the wave of uprisings spread throughout the provinces of Nam Bo and the Central Highlands and even to a number of places in central Trung Bo.

In the uprising movement of the masses, the revolutionary people's armed forces were born and fought with high efficiency, killing many enemy troops. In the battle of Tua Hai (25 January 1960) in Tay Ninh, which was a major battle, we captured 500 enemy troops and more than 1,000 weapons of all types. Developing upon the victory of Tua Hai, the people of Tay Ninh staged a mass uprising to liberate two-thirds of the villages within the province.

The victory of the uprising movement led the southern revolution from maintaining its forces to a position of strong, widespread and continuous attacks. The revolutionary base was strengthened and enlarged to include the mountainous forests and many large rural areas deep behind enemy lines. In these areas, the right of ownership of the people was implemented. The cropland of reactionary, hoodlum landowners was confiscated and distributed to poor farmers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao tai Hoi nghi chinh tri dac biet," [Report at the Special Political Conference], "Vi doc lap to do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 256.

2. Ibid.

[24 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The victory of the uprising movement brought about a turning point of strategic significance that changed the situation in the South and "was an unexpected blow to the Eisenhower strategy, one that defeated a typical form of U.S. neo-colonialism." (1)

The victory of the uprising movement laid the foundation for launching a full-scale people's war against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, having pushed the puppet government into a pervasive crisis from which there was no escape.

The uprising movement won victory because it broke out at the time that the enemy had suffered a basic political defeat. With their hatred at its height, the masses used their revolutionary power to repeatedly launch strong surprise attacks against the weakest link of the enemy, the basic level governments in the countryside.

In this strong uprising movement of the people of the South, representatives of the various classes, political parties, religious sects, nationalities and circles throughout the South held a conference at Tan Lap Village in Chau Thanh District(2), Tay Ninh Province, to establish the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The conference adopted a 10-point program of action, the basic substance of which was toppling the disguised colonial system of the U.S. imperialists and the dictatorial Ngo Dinh Diem regime, with a view toward building a South Vietnam of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and eventually achieving the peaceful reunification of the country.

In 1959 and 1960, major events occurred regarding the Lao revolution. Following the signing of the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. imperialists and the lackey reactionaries schemed to impose neo-colonialism in Laos and began making every effort to undermine the Geneva Agreements, undermine the coalition government and destroy the Pathet Lao army and the forces of the revolution in the two provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Sali; they arrested Souphanouvong and a number of leaders of Neo Lao Hac-xat. In early 1959, in keeping with the position adopted by the Lao People's Party, the people of Laos arose against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, broke the grip of their control, organized their own government and expanded the liberated zone as well as the armed forces of the revolution. On 19 May 1959, the 2nd Pathet Lao Battalion opened fire against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and escaped the enemy's encirclement. On 23 May 1960, Souphanouvong and other leaders escaped prison and safely returned to the base area. On 9 August 1960, in harmony with the revolutionary wave of the people of our entire country, soldiers of the paratroop battalion of the Royal Army staged a coup d'etat in Vientianne, toppling the reactionary Phoumi Noxavan government. The Lao revolution entered a new stage, the stage of coordinating the political struggle with the armed struggle in order to complete the national democratic revolution.

The 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Party; the Implementation of the First 5-Year Plan and the Victory Over the "Special War" Strategy of the U.S. Imperialists (1961-1965)

While socialist transformation in the North was winning victories of a decisive significance, the brave revolutionary struggle of our compatriots

In the South was developing strongly and the uprising movement was surging, the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Party met in Hanoi from 5 to 10 September 1960.

Following 30 years of difficult and brave struggle, this was the first congress of our party to be held in the capital of the beloved fatherland. Attending the congress were more than 500 official and alternate delegates representing more than 500,000 party members throughout the country. In his address opening the congress, President Ho pointed out: this congress is the congress of socialist construction in the North and the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country. The congress heard the Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan. In this report, Le Duan deeply analyzed the tremendous changes in the world situation and within the country since the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party (February 1951), presented the basic experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and confirmed: "Under present world conditions, a nation, even though it might be small and weak, that unites and arises in a determined struggle under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist political party to win independence and democracy possesses all the forces needed to win victory over every enemy aggressor." (3)

The Political Report noted that the Vietnamese revolution had entered a new stage since peace was restored: the North had entered the period of transition to socialism and the South was continuing to carry out the people's national democratic revolution; the common tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in that stage were: strengthening the unity of all the people, waging a determined struggle to maintain the peace and accelerate the socialist revolution in the North while intensifying the people's national democratic revolution in the South, achieving the reunification of the country on the basis of independence and democracy and building a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength, thereby making a practical contribution to strengthening the socialist camp and protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world. (4)

The Political Report also pointed out that carrying out socialist construction in the North was the most decisive task in the development of our country's entire revolution and our people's undertaking of reunifying the country.

The resolution of the congress set forth the common line of the party in the period of transition to socialism in the North as: uniting all of the people, developing upon the spirit of ardent patriotism and the traditions of brave struggle and diligent labor of our people while strengthening our unity with the fraternal socialist countries, led by the USSR, in order to advance the North rapidly, strongly and steadily to socialism, establish a life of comfort and happiness in the North and make the North the firm base for the struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, thereby helping to strengthen the socialist camp and protect the peace in Indochina and the world.

To achieve these goals, it is necessary to use the people's democratic government to perform the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicraft trades, small commerce and private, capitalist industry and commerce; develop the state-operated economy and carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry while making every effort to develop agriculture and light industry; accelerate the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technology; and make our country a socialist country that has a modern industry, modern agriculture and progressive culture and science."(5)

As regards the revolution in the South, the resolution of the congress pointed out: in the undertaking to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and achieve the reunification of the country, our compatriots in the South have the immediate task of throwing off the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to liberate the South. This revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South will also have the effect of thwarting the scheme of the Americans and Diem to start another war, thereby making a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.(6)

The two revolutionary tasks in the two zones of our country were part of two different strategies; however, because they shared the common goal of achieving the reunification of the country, they were closely inter-related, influenced each other and stimulated each other's development.

The congress adopted the guidelines and tasks of the first 5-year plan (1961-1965) for economic and cultural development along socialist lines, adopted various positions with regard to strengthening the party and adopted the new statutes of the party. The congress emphasized the basic requirement in all the work involved in building the party, namely, increasing the class nature and vanguard nature of the party. The new statutes of the party stated: "The Vietnam Lao Dong Party is the party of the Vietnamese working class, is the organized vanguard unit and the highest organization of the working class." The congress observed that, at this time, our cadres and party members must not only possess an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist stand, but must also possess high socialist awareness. The task of leading socialist construction demands that our cadres and party members rapidly improve their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory as well as their knowledge of culture, science, technology and economic management.

The congress elected the new Party Central Committee, which consisted of 47 official members and 31 alternate members. The Political Bureau of the 3rd Party Central Committee was also elected, consisting of 11 official members and 2 alternate members. Ho Chi Minh was elected chairman of the Party Central Committee and Le Duan was elected 1st secretary of the Central Committee.

The 3rd Congress of the Party marked an important stage of development in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. The congress charted the course for advancing to socialism in the North, liberating the South and reunifying the country. It also set forth organizational guidelines for increasing the fighting strength and strengthening the leadership of the party in the new stage, the stage in which the party was simultaneously leading the implementation of two revolutionary strategies. The correct international line of our party in the new situation was also established at this congress.

The resolution of the congress guided our entire party and all our people in waging an enthusiastic struggle, determined to win victory in the socialist revolution in the North and the people's national democratic revolution in the South.

In his address closing the congress on 10 September 1960, President Ho said:

Fifteen years ago, we only had 5,000 party members and, under extremely difficult circumstances, our party still led the August Revolution to victory. Today, our party has more than 500,000 members and very favorable conditions; therefore, the party will surely lead the socialist revolution to success, lead the struggle to reunify the country to victory.(7)

After the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Party, North Vietnam entered the period in which building the material-technical bases of socialism became the central task while continuing to complete socialist transformation and strengthen and perfect the new production relations.

To concretize the line of the congress on economic construction, the Party Central Committee held a series of plenums to discuss agricultural development (July 1961), industrial development (June 1962), the state plan (April 1963) and circulation, distribution and prices (December 1964). At these plenums, the Party Central Committee further analyzed the position, relationships and effects of the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, while determining that the scientific-technological revolution is the key revolution.

The socialist revolution in the North is a process of integrated development of these three revolutions. In the process of carrying out these three revolutions, important matters, such as the accumulation of initial capital, the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption, the relationship between economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system, the relationship between industry and agriculture, the relationship between heavy industry and light industry and the relationship between central industry and local industry, have been resolved by our party in an increasingly detailed and correct manner consistent with the characteristics of our country.

In 1961, our people, implementing the first 5-year plan, overcame many difficulties caused by natural disasters and our country's very poor and backward economy in order to gradually move forward. This situation was manifested in the "three excellents" emulation movement, the "Dai Phong" emulation movement, the "Duyen Hai" emulation movement, the "Thanh Cong" emulation movement, the "Bac Ly" emulation movement(8) and the emulation movement to earn the title socialist labor team or unit. In these movements, thousands of production and work teams and units were recognized by the government as socialist labor teams and units, thousands of agricultural cooperatives became progressive cooperatives and thousands of units of the people's armed forces were recognized as "determined to win units." The spirit of self-reliance and frugality in socialist construction of our people was strongly developed.

However, in the struggle to build a socialist economy in the North, many difficulties remained. These were not unexpected, temporary difficulties, but difficulties that had their underlying causes within the economy of our country. As a result, the party constantly reminded the various party committee echelons, local party organizations and agencies of the party and state to periodically try to overcome their difficulties and weaknesses, develop upon their strongpoints and endeavor to move forward. In April 1961, the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee discussed strengthening the party's leadership, primarily its leadership of the organization and guidance of implementation. The Party Central Committee also clearly pointed out the extremely important position of the basic organizations in implementing the lines and positions of the party and initiated the "campaign to build party chapters and basic party organization of the four excellents" while attaching very much important to strengthening the various party committee echelons on the local level.

In early 1963, the Political Bureau pointed out that economic management was a weakness of ours; as a result, it initiated three major campaigns: the campaign to improve the management of cooperatives and technical management within agriculture; the campaign to heighten the sense of responsibility, improve economic and financial management, make technological improvements and combat bureaucracy, waste and misappropriation, which was called the "three pros, three cons" campaign in industry and commerce; and the campaign to develop the mountain economy. Through these campaigns of revolutionary significance, we became more clearly aware of the tendency of capitalism to develop spontaneously within the economy of the North, a tendency which, although weak, could grow and develop, especially among persons who earned their living privately and on the free market. The enemy was also constantly looking for ways to sabotage us. Therefore, in socialist construction as well as socialist transformation, the struggle between the two ways of life in the North to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" continued under a variety of forms of the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Report of the Political Bureau at the 21st Party Plenum (July 1973).
2. Now Tan Bien District.
3. "Van kien Dai hoi" [Congress Proceedings], published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, Hanoi, 1960, Vol 1, p 23.
4. Ibid., p 35.
5. Ibid., pp 179-180.
6. Ibid., pp 174-175.
7. Address closing the 3rd National Congress of Delegates, 10 September 1960, Congress Proceedings, published by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, Hanoi, 1960, Vol 1, p 222.
8. The three excellents: recording as many achievements as possible, recording achievements as regularly as possible and recording the best achievements possible; these were the specific standards of the emulation movement of the people's army and the militia and self-defense forces from 1959 to 1961.

Dai Phong: an agricultural cooperative in Phong Thuy Village, Le Thuy District (Binh Tri Thien Province), the leader of the emulation movement to improve cooperative management, make technological improvements and accelerate production in 1960 within agriculture.

Duyen Hai: a machine works in Haiphong, the leader of the emulation movement to rationalize production and make technological improvements within the industrial sector in 1961.

Thanh Cong: a handicraft cooperative in Thanh Hoa, the leader of the emulation movement to display a high spirit of self-reliance and frugality in the building of cooperatives within the handicraft sector in 1961.

Bac Ly: the level II general school of Ly Nhan District in Ha Nam Ninh Province, the leader of the emulation movement to "learn very well, teach very well" of the education sector in 1961.

[25 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] In December 1963, the 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee analyzed the special characteristics of the world situation and the task of the international communist movement and set forth the responsibility of

our party as participating in the struggle to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, thereby helping to strengthen the socialist system and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and increase the unity and strength of our party. The party harshly criticized rightist thinking which held that North Vietnam had virtually completed the socialist transformation of the national economy; therefore, it was no longer necessary to wage the class struggle, the struggle between the two ways of life, socialism and capitalism. The party also harshly criticized dogmatic thinking and reminded cadres and party members to make every effort to display an independent, autonomous spirit and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the fraternal countries to the specific conditions of our country while firmly adhering to the correct lines and policies of our party regarding the socialist revolution in the North and the national democratic revolution in the South.

Also in 1963, our party waged a determined struggle against the scheme of the leaders in Beijing to divide the international communist and worker movement, rejecting their so called 25-point platform concerning the common line of the international communist movement and their suggestion to convene an 11th Communist Party Conference; in actuality, they were scheming to abolish the socialist system, take over the rule of "leading the world revolution" and establish a new "Communist International" controlled by Beijing. As a result, the 25-point platform of the Chinese leaders had no resounding effect and their scheme to establish a new international was unsuccessful.

In March 1964, President Ho convened the Special Political Conference with a view toward further strengthening the unity and oneness of mind of all the people in the face of the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to intensify and widen the war. The conference heard a report by President Ho and unanimously endorsed and wholeheartedly supported the domestic and foreign affairs lines of our party and government. At the conference, President Ho appealed to everyone to "do the work of two persons to repay our compatriots in the fraternal South." The report by President Ho at the Special Political Conference was widely disseminated throughout our party, among our people and throughout the army, thereby giving everyone additional confidence and enthusiasm to move forward and fulfill their task, beginning with successfully completing the 1964 state plan and the first 5-year plan.

By 1964, the North was producing a basic supply of grain and meeting 90 percent of its consumer goods needs; at the same time, it had begun to accumulate capital domestically. By the end of 1965, 80 percent of the agricultural production cooperatives had become high level cooperatives. The first engineering, metal refining and chemical installations were built and gradually went into production. Industry developed many new sectors and began producing many new products. Hundreds of local industrial enterprises were constructed. A mining and processing industry gradually took shape in the North consisting of many heavy and light industrial sectors.

The standard of living of the masses was constantly improved. Compared to the day peace was restored, the number of general school students increased 3.5 times and the number of college and vocational middle school students increased 25 times. A number of ethnic minorities developed their own written languages. Many children of the mountain minorities graduated from school. Many epidemics and social diseases were eliminated; the health of the people was improved. Children received increasingly thorough care. A culture and art of socialist content and a national nature developed more strongly with each passing day.

Summarizing these victories, President Ho said:

"Over the past 20 years, the North has taken longer strides forward than every before in the history of the nation. The country, the society and man have changed."(1)

In December 1965, the Party Central Committee observed:

"Having experienced more than 20 years of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the North has become the firm base of the Vietnamese revolution throughout the country with its superior political system and strong economic and national defense forces."(2)

In the South, in mid-1961, panic-stricken by the strong and repeated struggles being waged by our army and people, the Americans and Diem launched the "special war." The "special war" was an important part of the "flexible response" strategy, the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the U.S. imperialists at that time. Under the "flexible response" strategy, the U.S. imperialists advocated carrying out three types of counter-revolutionary war: the "special war," the "limited war" and worldwide nuclear war, of which the "special war" was considered to be an innovation of the United States in suppressing the national liberation movement. Applied to South Vietnam, it was a war that "used Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" by coordinating the cruel war of aggression of the imperialists with their modern weapons and technology with barbarous terror and suppression by the feudal avengers and the pro-U.S. compradore bourgeoisie in the South. The main forces of the Americans and the puppets in the "special war" were the forces of the puppet, lackey army organized, equipped, trained and commanded by the United States. In carrying out the "special war," the U.S. imperialists, in addition to the objective of committing aggression against South Vietnam, also planned to use South Vietnam as a place to test this war in order to gain experience for suppressing the national liberation movement, threatening the newly independent countries and forcing these countries to accept their neo-colonialist policy.

In order to carry out the "special war," they adopted the Staley-Taylor Plan, which consisted of three strategic measures: first, strengthening the puppet army and using the puppet army commanded by U.S. advisors and supported by many helicopters and armored vehicles to rapidly destroy the

revolutionary armed forces; secondly, holding onto the cities, building a strong puppet government and putting an end to the political struggle in the cities while extinguishing the revolutionary movement in the countryside by means of "pacification" and the establishment of "strategic hamlets"; thirdly, making every effort to seal the border, control the seacoast, cut the supply lines from the North and isolate the southern revolution. By implementing this plan, the U.S. imperialists hoped to take the offensive in order to re seize the initiative in a vain attempt to "pacify" the South within the space of 18 months.

On 8 February 1962, the U.S. imperialists established the "Special Military Command"(MACV), headed by General Harkins, to directly command the war of aggression in South Vietnam.

In January 1961, the Political Bureau of the party met to evaluate the situation in the South following the uprisings and set forth the immediate guidelines and tasks of the southern revolution. After pointing out the sharp antagonisms that had isolated and seriously weakened the U.S.-Diem regime, the Political Bureau confirmed: the period of the temporary stability of the U.S.-Diem regime has passed and the period of its continuous crisis and serious decline has begun. The people of the South, once under the enemy's control, have arisen in a struggle and created a strong revolutionary movement; various forms of limited guerrilla warfare and limited uprisings have emerged. The U.S.-Diem government will fall into a general, comprehensive crisis. A general offensive, a general uprising by the people can break out at any time, toppling the U.S.-Diem government and liberating the South. The Political Bureau also predicted that the U.S. imperialists might intervene in the South by sending in any number of troops; we must be vigilant and be prepared to deal with such a situation. The Political Bureau decided to further intensify the political struggle and bring the armed struggle to the level of the political struggle; the enemy was to be attacked both politically and militarily. Every effort had to be made to build our political and military forces, build and expand base areas and create the conditions and seize every opportunity to topple the U.S.-Diem government. The Political Bureau decided to assign the Central Military Party Committee and the Reunification Committee the task of helping the Central Committee guide military activities in the South and decided to strengthen the Central Office of South Vietnam, strengthen the various party committee echelons, assign more cadres to the South, intensify the resupply of weapons, equipment and finances, expand communications and liaison operations with the South, etc.

On 16 February 1962, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam held its first congress. The congress asserted: "The common tasks of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam are to unite all the people and wage a determined struggle to resist the U.S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, topple the Ngo Dinh Diem lackey regime of the U.S. imperialists, establish a national, democratic government of broad coalition in the South, achieve national independence, freedom and democracy, improve the

welfare of the people, maintain the peace, implement a policy of neutrality and eventually achieve the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, thereby making a positive contribution to safeguarding peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world."

The Congress publicly announced four emergency policies for national salvation: 1. the U.S. imperialists must end the war of aggression in the South; 2. the "strategic hamlets" must be dissolved; 3. a government of national coalition must be established in the South; 4. a foreign policy of peace and neutrality must be followed. The position that the South was to be neutral was a flexible policy of the party designed to widely rally every patriotic force and person against the Americans and Diem, highly isolate the enemy, the U.S. aggressors and their lackey clique and implement the guideline of "gradually repulsing, gradually bringing down" the imperialists and their lackeys as the stage of transition for liberating the South, reunifying the country and advancing the entire country to socialism.

The congress elected the official Central Committee, with lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho serving as chairman.

The correct line of the party penetrated the various strata of the people more with each passing day and was manifested in actions taken by millions of persons to resist the United States for national salvation.

The limited uprisings rapidly developed into a revolutionary war, into a military struggle and political struggle in which attacks on the enemy in the mountains and the rural areas of the lowlands were coordinated with the struggle of the masses in the cities.

The Americans and Diem considered the "strategic hamlet national policy" to be the basic component of the Staley-Taylor Plan, to be the backbone of the "special war." Therefore, they mobilized every available force and employed every possible maneuver to conduct sweep operations, terrorize the populace and "fan the flames of hatred," primarily for the purpose of successfully implementing this "national policy." They estimated that they could, in a short period of time, establish 17,000 "strategic hamlets," thereby turning South Vietnam into a huge concentration camp; then, they would have favorable conditions for launching attacks deep within the revolutionary base areas and totally destroying our forces.

However, the plan to establish "strategic hamlets" met with stubborn resistance from our compatriots at the very outset. Resettling the population was not as easy as they had first thought. The rate at which "strategic hamlets" were established slowed with each passing day. A number of "strategic hamlets" were destroyed as soon as they were established or were destroyed time and time again and could not be consolidated by the enemy. Some hamlets became combat villages of our people.

On 2 January 1963, the resounding victory of our army and people at Ap Bac in Cai Lay, My Tho Province, gave our compatriots additional confidence in their ability to win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors. There, for the first time in the war, the army and people of the South, whose troop strength was 10 times less than that of the enemy, defeated a sweep operation being conducted by more than 2,000 enemy troops from all different branches of the military, troops supported by dozens of helicopters and M 113 armored vehicles. It proved that our army and people in the South were fully capable of winning victory over the United States militarily in the "special war." Following the victory of Ap Bac and in keeping with the policy of the party, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam launched a movement to "emulate Ap Bac, kill the enemy and record feats of arms," determined to attack and annihilate the enemy and bankrupt their "heliborne" and "armor-borne" tactics.

In conjunction with the various military struggles and the destruction of "strategic hamlets," widespread, intense political struggles gained the participation of every strata of the people. In 1963, some 34 million persons participated in the political struggle throughout the South. Our people totally destroyed 2,895 of the 6,164 "strategic hamlets" established by the enemy; the remaining hamlets were destroyed and rebuilt 5,950 times. The people also broke the enemy's control and won the right of ownership in 12,000 of the 17,000 hamlets in the South, thereby liberating more than 5 million of the 14 million people in the South. The political struggle on the southern battlefield was not only the basis of the political struggle, but also the basic form of struggle of our people, and was closely coordinated with the military struggle. By means of appropriate forms and methods of struggle, everyone, the old and the young, men and women, charged forth in the face to face struggle with the enemy. The powerful political armies of the masses defeated many sweep operations by the enemy and successfully protected the life and property of the people. These forces smashed the enemy government in the hamlets and villages to pieces, isolating and killing ringleader hoodlums and mobilizing tens of thousands of puppet soldiers and government personnel to return to the people.

At that time, on the Lao battlefield, the "special war" strategy being promoted by the U.S. imperialists there also met with heavy defeat.

Engaging in combat with the Vietnam volunteer troops, the army and people of fraternal Laos opened an offensive that liberated the Plain de Jarres (1961) and then launched the Nam Tha campaign (May 1962), which won a major victory and forced the rightists to agree to the establishment of the 2nd National Coalition Government, with Pathet Lao participation.

After 2 years of the "special war," the strategy of the Americans and puppets of rapidly "pacifying" the South was bankrupt. The Staley-Taylor Plan had met with tragic defeat.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Report at the Special Political Conference," *Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi*, [For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 257.
2. The resolution of the 12th Party Plenum (December 1965).

[26 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] Our victories and the defeats of the enemy caused the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique to be increasingly divided, panic-stricken and confused. In November 1963, in the face of the strong momentum of the struggle being waged by our people, the U.S. imperialists were forced to stage coup d'etats which toppled Ngo Dinh Diem, replacing him with Duong Van Minh, who was later toppled himself and replaced by Nguyen Khanh. On the occasion of the overthrow of Diem, the masses in the rural areas still under enemy control arose and destroyed scores of "strategic hamlets," thereby expanding the liberated areas. The movement in the cities was also strong; the trend toward peace and neutrality was developing.

The resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee in December 1963 set forth the guidelines and tasks for winning new and larger victories for the revolution in the South. The Central Committee pointed out that the course of development of the revolution in the South would be to win partial victories, gradually repulse the enemy and eventually stage a general offensive, a general uprising; however, it also pointed out that a stage of transition might be necessary before total victory was won. The Central Committee emphasized: it was not only necessary to have strong political forces, but truly strong military forces as well in order to bring about a fundamental change in the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy. As regards strategic guidelines, after analyzing the relationship among the three strategic areas, the Central Committee unanimously agreed with the guidelines set forth by the Political Bureau for each area: in the mountainous jungles, the armed struggle was of primary importance; in the rural areas, the political struggle and the armed struggle were coordinated; and, in the cities, the political struggle was of primary importance; while implementing these guidelines, the enemy could not

be allowed to divide these areas into areas and lines of their own. The Central Committee also pointed out that attention had to be given to attacking the enemy by means of the three offensive prongs, while establishing a united front of workers, farmers and soldiers and fully adhering to the guideline of a protracted war waged through self-reliance; on the other hand, we had to know how to seize the opportunity to win victory in a relatively short amount of time.

In March 1964, the U.S. imperialists implemented a new plan, the Johnson-McNamara Plan, for the purpose of pacifying the South in the space of 2 years (1964-1965). They established a joint Vietnamese-American command. They sent 6,000 additional U.S. advisors and combat troops to South Vietnam at the same time, thereby bringing the total number of U.S. troops in the South to more than 25,000 by the end of 1964.

After replacing Kennedy, Johnson declared that he would continue to pursue the policy of aggression and immediately approved the plan to bomb North Vietnam, a plan that set forth 94 bombing targets in the North.

The new scheme of the United States met with extremely strong opposition by the various strata of people throughout the country, most directly the people of the South. The anti-U.S.-Khanh movement rapidly spread from Hue and Saigon to all the municipalities and cities of the South. On 20 August 1964, some 200,000 residents of Saigon surrounded "Independence" Palace, demanding that Nguyen Khanh resign. On 24 August 1964, 30,000 compatriots in Da Nang staged a march that was coordinated with market and class boycotts. On 20 September 1964, more than 100,000 workers in Saigon and Gia Dinh staged a strike and a protest march against the American-Khanh military dictatorship. On 15 October 1964, the heroic electrical worker Nguyen Van Troi turned an execution ground into a revolutionary court, denouncing the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys for their crimes. In November and December 1964, compatriots in Hue, Saigon, Da Nang, Da Lat and so forth staged demonstrations demanding the overthrow of the Tran Van Huong government.

The intense struggle being waged by our people rapidly intensified the crisis within the Saigon puppet government. In the space of only one and one-half years, that is, between November 1963 and June 1965, there were 14 coup d'etats among the lackeys of the United States. The people of Saigon and many other cities created the conditions for our armed forces to carry out many very bold and highly efficient attacks on U.S. commanders and their technical forces within their own strongholds; there was the attack on the U.S. Embassy, which killed 217 persons; the attack on the Kinh Do Theater, which killed 150 Americans; the sinking of the 15,000 ton aircraft carrier Cado in Saigon; the attack on an oil tanker of the United States on the Nha Be River, which destroyed 700,000 liters of gasoline; the attack on the Caravel Hotel in Saigon, which killed or wounded nearly 100 Americans; the bombing of the Bo Rinh Hotel in Saigon, which killed or wounded 68 Americans; the mortar attack on the Bien Hoa Airport, which

destroyed or damaged 13 aircraft; the attack on the Pleiku Airport, which killed 359 Americans and destroyed 42 aircraft; the attack on U.S. headquarters in Quy Nhon, which killed 107 Americans; and the attack on the Da Nang Airport, which killed 193 Americans and destroyed 47 aircraft.

In December 1964, on the strong momentum of development of the political and military struggles in all three strategic areas, our army and people in the South won a major victory at Binh Gia in Ba Ria Province. There, for the first time in the war, main forces of the liberation army took the initiative and attacked the main forces of the puppet army for 6 continuous days and nights, completely destroying two mobile battalions and one M113 armored vehicle detachment of the enemy while shooting down or damaging 37 aircraft. Whereas Ap Bac was a victory by our army and people in the South over the "heliborne" and "armorborne" tactics, the principal tactics used by the enemy to carry out their strategy of "pacification," the Binh Gia campaign was a victory of important strategic significance because it marked the bankruptcy of the principal measure employed by the enemy to implement the strategy of the "special war" in South Vietnam.

Following the victory at Binh Gia, the forces of our army and people in the South grew by leaps and bounds in every respect. The liberation army continued to annihilate many main force, puppet battalions in the battles of An Lao, Dec Nhong, Pleiku, Dong Xoai, Ba Gia, etc. In the battle of Ba Gia in Quang Ngai Province, although our forces and equipment were many times less than those of the enemy, we destroyed an enemy battle group consisting of four main force puppet battalions after 2 days of fighting (29 to 31 May 1965). All together, during the first 6 months of 1965, our army and people put more than 90,000 enemy troops, including 3,000 American aggressors, out of combat.

Our victories and defeats of the enemy changed the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy on the battlefield in the South in a direction favorable to us. Our army and people in the South had acquired new fighting strength and used it to destroy many mobile forces of the enemy. All three elements of our armed forces underwent extraordinary growth. The liberated areas were enlarged to the point where they constituted the majority of the South and became the direct and strong rear base of the revolution in the South. Within the liberated areas, the people exercised their right of ownership, the new social order emerged and the cropland of Vietnamese traitors was confiscated and distributed to farmers who lacked cropland. Meanwhile, on the enemy's side, the primary bases of the "special war," namely, the puppet army, the puppet government, the system of "strategic hamlets" and the cities, were shaking at their very foundations. The puppet army faced the peril of being smashed to pieces.

In the face of the offensive blows and uprisings by our army and people, practically all of the local armed forces of the enemy were routed and the

main forces of the puppet army were unable to deal with the attacks by our main forces. Four-fifths of the system of "strategic hamlets" had collapsed and the middle strata of society were becoming increasingly anti-United States and pro-peace and neutrality. The puppet government also faced the danger of collapse. The various formulas dreamed up by the Americans, such as "civilian coordinated with military," "entirely civilian" and "entirely military," failed to strengthen the lackey apparatus.

Aware of the danger of the collapse of the puppet army and government and the total defeat of the "special war" in the South and after learning the traitorous stand of the Beijing authorities(1), the U.S. imperialists sent U.S. combat forces to wage a "limited war" in the South while launching a war of destruction, primarily by means of air and naval forces, against the North in a vain attempt to reverse the situation. On 2 and 4 August 1964, the U.S. imperialists fabricated the "Gulf of Tonkin Incident" as an excuse for attacking the North with air and naval forces. On 5 August 1964, U.S. aircraft bombed and destroyed economic installations and killed people along the Gianh River in Quang Binh Province and at Lach Truong in Thanh Hoa Province and Bai Chay in Quang Ninh Province. In the opening battle against the war of destruction, the army and people of the North shot down eight U.S. aircraft and captured their American pilots.

The bankruptcy of the "special war" strategy marked a strategic defeat of the U.S. imperialists in their scheme of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese." By defeating the "special war" strategy, our army and people created very large material and spiritual forces for defeating the "limited war." By defeating the "special war" strategy, our people also bankrupted the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to use Vietnam as a place to test a series of war strategies that were very interesting to the United States in their scheme of carrying out aggression by means of neo-colonialism and the suppression of the national liberation movement in the world. In March 1964, President Ho pointed out:

"The present situation in the South clearly proves that the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid defeat in this 'special war.' The 'special war' that they are testing in South Vietnam has been defeated and they will be defeated everywhere else. This is the international significance of the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South in the national liberation movement in the world."(2)

The Victory Over the "Limited War" Strategy of the United States in the South and the Victory Over the First War of Destruction; the Continuation of Socialist Construction in the North (1965-1968)

Defeated in their attempt to implement neo-colonialism by means of the fascist, dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem and by means of the "special war," the U.S. imperialists recklessly shifted to the "limited war" in South Vietnam and unleashed a very savage war of destruction against the

North. In late 1965, the number of U.S. troops and vassal troops of the United States in the South rose to more than 200,000, consisting of 180,000 U.S. troops and more than 20,000 vassal troops, not including some 70,000 U.S. airmen and sailors on ships at sea or at bases in Thailand and the Philippines.

The 11th Plenum (March 1965) and the 12th plenum (December 1965) of the Party Central Committee deeply and comprehensively studied the situation caused by the new ~~war~~ and acts of war of the U.S. imperialists and decided many important questions regarding the strategy, guidelines and measures of the revolution in the new stage. The party observed that the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in the South was, in both nature and objectives, a war of aggression designed to implement neo-colonialism; however, this war, which was once primarily the war of the puppet army, had developed into a war of the United States, a war based on the two strategic forces of the U.S. expeditionary army and the puppet army. As a result, this war would be more arduous and fierce. However, the U.S. imperialists were intensifying and widening the war from a position of defeat, from a stagnated position and on the basis of a strategy filled with contradictions and frustrations. To begin with, the strategy of the United States reflected the deep antagonism between the political objective of saving the neo-colonialist regime and the sending of an expeditionary army to carry out the kind of aggression seen under old-style colonialism. The country-robbing face of the imperialists and the traitorous face of the puppet government and puppet army had been bared. The antagonism between all the people of Vietnam and the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique became a sharp and decisive antagonism throughout the country. Secondly, because of the unjust nature of the war of aggression, the U.S. expeditionary army was fighting without an ideal, was opposed by the Vietnamese, by progressive Americans and by the people of the world and its fighting morale was constantly declining. Despite their modern equipment, they could not successfully contend with the strength of the militant solidarity of our army and people, could not contend with our people's war. Thirdly, although the U.S. imperialists possessed the greatest economic and military might in the imperialist camp, the world situation as well as the situation within the United States did not permit them to use this might fully. They could not send any more troops to South Vietnam without taking into consideration the comprehensive difficulties faced on the battlefield in Vietnam, in the world and in the United States as well.

FOOTNOTES

1. While the Vietnamese were waging a brave and tenacious fight against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and while the people of China were supporting and helping our people in their fight, Chinese leaders said: if the United States does not interfere with China, China will not interfere with the United States; in other words, the United States could feel secure in attacking Vietnam.

As early as the start of 1964, the United States had made contacts by one method or another with China and learned that China gave "the green light" to the United States to send troops into the South and bomb North Vietnam. U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara reported this to the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress on 29 January 1964 and U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also presented this fact in an address in Washington on 25 February 1964.

In January 1965, through the American journalist Edgar Snow, Chairman Mao Zedong informed Washington:

"The Chinese army will not cross its border to fight. This is abundantly clear. The Chinese will only fight when attacked by the United States. Is this not clear? The Chinese are very busy with domestic work. To fight beyond the border of their country would be a crime. Besides, why would the Chinese have to do this? The Vietnamese can handle the situation." (E. Snow in his book "The Long Revolution").

2. Ho Chi Minh: Bao cao tai Hoi nghi Chinh tri dac biet "[Report at the Special Political Conference], "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 262.

[28 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] Meanwhile, the revolutionary forces of the Vietnamese had grown in every respect and were in a favorable position. In the South, the majority of the people had united within the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The front became the organizer and mobilizer of each patriotic force in the South. The liberation armed forces of the South had undergone extraordinary growth, possessed high fighting morale and were firmly entrenched in all important strategic areas. The revolutionary movement in the cities was becoming stronger with each passing day. The liberated zone, although not contiguous, encompassed the majority of the population and was being consolidated with each passing day. The party organization in the South had a broad and firm base, was tempered in combat, had close ties to the masses and had gained much experience in political struggle and armed struggle, in organizing the correct implementation of the line of the Party Central Committee.

In the North, the people thought of their blood brothers in the South each minute of each hour and, clearly aware of their responsibility, stood shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the South in order to carry out the resistance against the United States for national salvation. Through the more than 10 years of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the North became the solid base of the revolution throughout the country.

The just fight of the Vietnamese in both the North and the South gained increasingly positive and strong sympathy and support from the fraternal

socialist countries, the nationalist countries and the peace and justice-loving peoples of the world, including Americans.

Due to the heavy defeats of the enemy and the tremendous victories won by us, the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy did not undergo a fundamental change even though the U.S. imperialists sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. expeditionary troops to South Vietnam. Our people had strong foundations upon which to maintain their initiative and take the offensive on the battlefield and had the conditions needed to defeat every immediate and long-range scheme of the enemy. The U.S. imperialists, even though they had sent more than 200,000 troops to the South, could not win victory and could not win victory with even 400,000 or 500,000 troops.

On the basis of the analysis presented above, the Party Central Committee decided to mobilize the forces of the entire party, the entire army and all the people, "determined to defeat the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in any situation in order to protect the North, liberate the South, complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and eventually achieve the peaceful reunification of the country." (1)

To carry out this strategic decision, the Party Central Committee pointed out that it was necessary to fully understand the objectives of the war as well as the specific combat objective of ours, namely the U.S. Army and the puppet army; necessary to maintain the guideline of armed struggle in conjunction with political struggle; and, in particular, necessary to rapidly develop our armed forces in every respect, especially our main force units in strategic areas. In conjunction with further intensifying the guerrilla movement everywhere it was of decisive importance to successfully build three or four strong main force blocs and, at the same time, strengthen our strategic reserve forces. The North had to defeat the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists, protect the work of socialist construction and mobilize manpower and materiel for the war of liberation in the South while making every effort to prepare to defeat the enemy's army should they widen the "limited war" to the entire country.

In keeping with the resolution of the 12th Party Plenum, the Central Military Party Committee began carrying out comprehensive military activities in both the North and the South and set forth six combat guidelines for our people's armed forces in the South: 1) Intensifying the combat operations of main force troops in medium and large-scale campaigns under the form of offensives or counter-offensives against the enemy; 2) raising the guerrilla war to a high level of development; 3) attacking rear bases, warehouses, air fields, seaports and nerve centers; 4) cutting important water and land routes in order to create a position from which to surround and isolate the enemy; 5) intensifying activities in the cities; 6) coordinating combat operations with revolts by enemy troops and increasing the proselyting of enemy troops and puppets to strategic scale.

The arrival of more and more U.S. expeditionary troops in our country caused the antagonism between the Vietnamese and the U.S. imperialists to become

a sharp antagonism throughout the country and made the task of resisting the United States for national salvation the foremost task of all our people, from the North to the South. Under the leadership of the party, the people of our entire country resolutely fought under the slogan: "Everything for the defeat of the U.S. pirate aggressors." In March 1965, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam declared: "The people of the South and their armed forces are resolved to never put down their weapons until the basic goals of the people of South Vietnam, namely, independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, have been achieved. The people of South Vietnam are determined to continue to bring down thundering blows upon the heads of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and will surely win final victory."(2) In a speech delivered during the second session of the 3rd National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 10 April 1965, President Ho confirmed:

"Even if the United States commits several hundred thousand additional U.S. soldiers to this criminal war and succeeds in bringing the armies of vassal countries into this criminal war, our army and people are determined to fight and win victory over them."

In response to the appeal by President Ho and the appeal by the National Liberation Front, our people in the South maintained their initiative, launched continuous attacks and not only destroyed many large units of the puppet army, but also fought and defeated the U.S. Army in large battles.

The U.S. imperialists maintained that they were defeated in the "special war" because the puppet army was inferior, consequently, the military strengths of the U.S. imperialists could not be employed. Now, with the U.S. expeditionary army directly fighting the Vietnamese, with the modern weapons of the United States being used by the U.S. Army itself to kill Vietnamese, nothing could successfully resist them. This situation faced the people of Vietnam with a matter of survival: our people absolutely had to win victory over the U.S. expeditionary army. With the determination which President Ho imbued in our people during the resistance against the French, the determination that "we would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved," our army and people in the South gloriously met the first challenges in the test of strength with the U.S. expeditionary army. On 27 May 1965, as soon as the U.S. Army landed at Nui Thanh in Quang Nam Province, a company of U.S. Marines was killed by our local troops. On 18 August 1965 at Van Tuong in northern Quang Ngai Province, the first operation by 8,000 U.S. troops comprising six infantry battalions and two 105 millimeter artillery battalions with a number of large tanks and armored vehicles supported by air and naval forces was fiercely counter-attacked by a force of ours that was 10 times smaller. Some 900 Americans were put out of combat; four of their companies, 22 tanks and armored vehicles and 13 aircraft were destroyed. As the battle of Ap Bac in January 1963 launched the movement to annihilate the puppet army organized, trained, equipped and commanded by the United States,

the battle of Van Tuong launched the movement to kill the U.S. aggressor troops. The victory of Van Tuong proved that our army and people were fully capable of defeating the United States militarily in the "limited war," even though they had to fight the U.S. aggressor army as well as the puppet army.

The victories mentioned above caused a surge in the movement to "find Americans and attack them" and "find puppets and destroy them"; resolute "kill Americans belts" appeared in Hoa Vang and Chu Lai in Quang Nam Province, Cu Chi in Saigon and so forth. Tens of thousands of brave American killers recorded resounding feats of arms. On 19 October 1965, at Pleiku in the Central Highlands, our main force troops launched a counter-offensive that brought the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division into a "bloody battle": 3,000 of the 1,700 U.S. troops in this battle were killed, four enemy battalions were completely destroyed, many other units were heavily damaged, 59 aircraft were shot down and destroyed and 74 military vehicles and armored vehicles were destroyed. These first feats of arms over the Americans were of very important significance in that they confirmed that the guideline of continuing our offensive strategy, which was set forth by our party when the U.S. Army sent large forces to commit aggression against our country, was a very correct one.

The possibility of defeating the United States militarily in the "limited war" became reality in the winter and spring of 1965-1966 in the glorious victory of our army and people over the first dry season strategic counter-offensive(3) by 200,000 U.S. and vassal troops and one-half million puppet troops. In this counter-offensive (which lasted from January 1966 to April 1966), the enemy conducted 450 large and small operations, which included five key operations against eastern Nam Bo, the lowlands of Zone 5, Cu Chi, Ben Cat, southern Phu Yen, Quang Ngai and Binh Dinh, with the objective, as they boasted, of "breaking the back of the Viet Cong" in a vain attempt to re seize the initiative on the battlefield. From the pre-deployed battle positions of the people's war, our army and people stopped and fiercely attacked the enemy in every direction. Our major victories at Nha Do-Bong Trang in Thu Dau Mot, at Cu Chi, on the southern and northern banks of the Be River in Bien Hoa, the victory of the Binh Long campaign, the victory at Can Dam and Can Le in Thu Dau Mot, the victory at Ba Ria, the victories in the Central Highlands, at Bong Son (northern Bac Dinh), at Son Tinh (northern Quang Ngai), at Phu Yen and so forth were battles in which Americans were killed at their bases and the fierce political struggle in the countryside and the cities and the movement to resist and thwart "pacification" inflicted heavy losses upon the Americans and the puppets and forced them to quickly conclude their counter-offensive. Our army and people put 104,000 enemy troops (including more than 40,000 U.S. troops) out of combat. The United States lost the first round in the limited war.

In June 1966, we decided to open the Route 9-northern Quang Tri front in order to create a new offensive front within a vitally important strategic

area and force the enemy to dispatch an important contingent of their main forces to the North.

Following the heavy defeat of their first strategic counter-offensive, the second dry season strategic counter-offensive of the United States (which lasted from October 1966 to April 1967) was defeated by our army and people. Putting some 400,000 U.S. troops and over one-half million puppet troops into this counter-offensive, the enemy harbored the grand ambition of winning important "search and destroy" and "pacification" victories in order to reach a decisive turning point in the war. The enemy concentrated on attacking eastern Nam Bo with a view toward annihilating our main force troops and nerve centers; at the same time, they controlled the situation in other directions and mounted a positive defense along Route 9. The enemy launched 895 large and small operations, of which three were key operations: the Attleboro operation to attack the Duong Minh Chau combat zone, in which roughly 30,000 U.S. troops participated; the Xeda Phon operation against Ben Suc, the "Iron Triangle," in which three U.S. brigades participated; and the largest operation, the Johnson City operation, against the area along Route 22 near the Vietnam-Kampuchean border and the Dau Tieng, Minh Thanh and Ben Cui area, in which all seven U.S. brigades and two puppet combat groups with a troop strength of 40,000 to 50,000 men armed with very many modern weapons and pieces of equipment participated.

Our army and people throughout the South launched a series of counter-attacks to defeat their operations. Main force troops, local troops, militiamen and self-defense forces joined all the people in clinging to the enemy and annihilating and depleting their forces on all battlefields. The attacks on the enemy in the areas of their operations, in areas deep behind enemy lines, in enemy rear bases and on enemy nerve centers, the strong activities in the lowlands, in the Central Highlands and along the Route 9-Tri Thien front pulled the enemy's forces out in every direction and defeated three major enemy campaigns and many other campaigns, putting 151,000 enemy troops (including 68,000 Americans) out of combat. The enemy failed to achieve their "search and destroy" and "pacification" objectives in order to bring about the decisive turning point they had hoped to achieve in this their largest strategic counter-offensive.

In the two dry seasons, the people of the South put 290,000 enemy troops, including 128,000 U.S. and vassal troops, out of combat. The victories of our army and people in the South over the two dry season strategic counter-offensives defeated an important part of the "limited war" of the U.S. imperialists, thereby shaking their battle position, bringing the morale of enemy troops down and exacerbating the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy.

The political struggle was maintained and strongly developed even though our people were directly engaged in combat with the U.S. expeditionary army. In early 1966, the party led the people in practically all cities of the South in a struggle to topple the Thieu-Ky puppet government, the lackey of the

United States, demanding the withdrawal of the United States and freedom, democracy and improved living conditions for the people. The movement was most intense in Da Nang and Hue. In these two cities, the party organizations skillfully took advantage of the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy and mobilized the masses to stage continuous strikes, class boycotts and market boycotts which paralyzed the activities of the enemy and gave the people control of the cities for many days.

While the people of the South together with the people of the entire country were delivering thundering blows to the Americans, puppets and vassals, the people of North Vietnam, working with "a plow in one hand, a rifle in the other," "a hammer in one hand, a rifle in the other," won victory over the war of destruction and continued to build socialism under war time conditions. In February 1965, the U.S. imperialists continuously used air and naval forces to intensify the attacks on the North in order to cut off the tremendous support being provided by the people of the North to the war of resistance against the United States being waged by their blood brothers in the South, undermine socialist construction and weaken the determination of the people of the North to resist the United States for national salvation in a vain attempt to force the people of the North and the South to end the war of liberation on terms favorable to them. The U.S. imperialists boastfully declared that they would "push North Vietnam back to the stone age."(4)

The resolutions of the 11th and 12th Plenums of the Party Central Committee pointed out that the pressing tasks of the revolution in the North were promptly reorienting ideological and organizational work, reorienting economic construction and strengthening the North's national defense forces. This shift in direction had to insure that the North was strong enough to meet the requirements of protecting itself against the bombings, attacks and blockade of the enemy, was ready to deal with the widening of the war by the enemy on any scale and could wholeheartedly support the resistance of the compatriots in the South while meeting the requirements of building the material-technical bases of socialism in the North.

To carry out their scheme of attacking and destroying the North, the U.S. imperialists mobilized a very large air and naval force supported by all types of modern weapons. In the 4 years of the war of destruction, the U.S. pirates committed towering crimes against our people. They concentrated their attacks on municipalities, cities, towns and densely populated areas, killing many of our compatriots. The six largest municipalities of the North, Hanoi, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri and Vinh, were attacked repeatedly; 25 of the 30 cities of the North were attacked numerous times and 6 of these cities were destroyed: Dong Hoi, Ninh Binh, Phu Ly, Bac Giang, Yen Bai and Son La. Some towns, such as Ha Tu in Quang Ninh Province and Ho Xa in Vinh Linh province, were razed. Even more cruelly, the U.S. imperialists also attacked dikes and water conservancy projects and fired on schools, public health facilities, convalescent camps, churches and temples.

As soon as the U.S. imperialists unleashed the war of destruction against the North, our party correctly evaluated the strategy and the capabilities of the enemy, correctly evaluated the political and military weaknesses and strength of the enemy in the war of destruction and, in particular, developed upon the fundamental weakness of the United States in that war.

The war of destruction against the North was a part of the strategy of the war of aggression of the United States in Vietnam and had the purpose of rescuing them from defeat in the South. It was dependent upon the course of development of the war in the South and would, for the most part, only be concluded when the war of aggression of the United States in the South had been totally defeated. On the basis of this analysis and in the face of each tremendous victory of the revolution in the South, we adopted plans to thwart the schemes of the United States in its war of destruction against the North.

Our entire party, all our people and our entire army were determined to totally defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors. This very large determination was expressed in the appeal made by President Ho on 17 July 1966: "The war might last for 5, 10 or 20 years more. Hanoi, Haiphong and a number of municipalities and enterprises might be destroyed, but the Vietnamese are determined not to be afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country to be grander and more beautiful!"(5)

To fight the war of destruction, our party employed the correct strategy of waging a full-scale war of all the people practicing self-reliance while seeking international aid.

Under the leadership of the party, our people in the North showed the superior nature of the socialist system, efficiently deployed and employed each force and closely coordinated these forces in order to achieve the highest possible efficiency in the completion of their tasks.

The people's war in the North against the war of destruction was carried out under the policy of militarizing the entire population in order to highly develop the combined strength of the people's war, the nucleus of which was the people's armed forces with their three military elements, in order to win victory over the modern air force of the U.S. imperialists. This was a new, rich development in the people's war of our nation. It was a very important basis upon which our people could win even larger victories and defeat every scheme and form of aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 12th Party Plenum (December 1965).
2. "Nhưng van kien chu yeu cua Mat tran Dan toc Gial phong mien nam Viet-nam (Tu 11-1964 den 12-1965)" [The Primary Proceedings of the National

Liberation Front of South Vietnam(from November 1964 to December 1965)] ,
Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, p 12.

3. In the South, the dry season lasts for 7 months, from October to the end of April of the following year.
4. Statement made by Curtis Lemay, chief-of-staff of the U.S. Air Force.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi keu goi dong bao va chien si ca nuoc"[Appeal to the Compatriots and Soldiers of the Entire Country], Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 282.

[29 January 80, p 3]

[Text] By defeating the war of destruction of the United States, we smashed a part of the cruel war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and dealt a heavy blow to their aggressive will.

The war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists did not stop the compatriots in the North from providing tremendous support to their blood brothers in the South, did not shake the determination of all our people to resist the United States for national salvation and did not stop socialist construction in North Vietnam. To the contrary, our socialist system continued to be strengthened in many areas. The socialist economy was basically maintained and a number of sectors even developed. In the flames of war, cooperativized agriculture proved the strength and superiority of the collective way of life. By 1967, the number of farmers in agricultural production cooperatives constituted 93.7 percent of the total number of working farmers; there were 18,098 high level cooperatives in the North, which constituted 88.8 percent of the persons who had joined cooperatives; 4,655 cooperatives had been equipped with small machines, consisting of 6,350 electric generators and 9,362 working machines(1); and 2,551 cooperatives achieved the target of 5 tons of paddy per hectare for two seasons. Industrial production was basically maintained and local industry developed strongly. Industry only accounted for 17.2 percent of the national economy in 1955 but 49.5 percent in 1967. The local economy began to be formed in each important strategic area. The most pressing needs of production and combat were met; the lives of the people during the war were basically stable. Instead of being set back, cultural work, education and public health services developed strongly and recorded large achievements.

Communications and transportation were one of the primary targets of the U.S. imperialists in the North. Winning victory on this front was a strategic task to which the Party Central Committee, the government, the related sectors and the local party committee echelons attached particular importance. Under heavy attacks by the U.S. imperialists, the lines of communication of our country were regularly maintained and competently supported every requirement of production and combat in every situation.

Within the nationwide transport network, the North-South highway and water route strategic transport system, which was established in 1959, developed into a mechanized transport system that delivered large quantities of materiel and large numbers of combat forces to all battlefields, thereby excellently carrying out the strategic rear services task so that our army and people could win victory over the "limited war" strategy.

The resounding victory of our people in the fight against the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists was the result of the very correct people's war and national defense line of our party. The party set forth the guideline of all the people fighting the enemy, all the people performing national defense work and took the position of rapidly developing the people's armed forces. In conjunction with educating and organizing all the people to fight the war of destruction, the party gave its attention to leading the buildup of main force military corps consisting of various combined branches. Many new branches and services, especially air defense, engineer and transport units, were established. Very much importance was attached to increasing the equipment and combat capabilities of the local army, the militia and the self-defense forces. All our people and our entire army bravely fought the U.S. Air Force and Navy while preparing themselves to contend with U.S. infantry forces in case they recklessly sent U.S. expeditionary troops into the North.

The members of the party displayed bravery, intelligence and boundless loyalty and stayed close to the masses in order to lead them in every field of production and combat. This was the result of correct policies regarding the building of a party that was strong politically, ideologically and organizationally in order to insure that the party fulfilled its difficult and historic mission of leading all the people in winning victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors and successfully building socialism.

The party attached very much importance to raising the ideological and theoretical qualifications of cadres and party members, to training and promoting young cadres, female cadres and cadres who were outstanding workers, to training tens of thousands of scientific-technical cadres and economic management cadres; to strengthening the local party committee echelons and the basic organizations of the party; to improving leadership activities and work methods; to combating bureaucracy and authoritarianism and reminding cadres and party members to strengthen their ties with the masses. The party also conducted educational drives to heighten revolutionary qualities and ethics, combat individualism, develop the spirit of independence and self-reliance, heighten the spirit of responsibility, combat every influence of opportunism, protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and protect the unity and oneness of mind within the party. However, the Party Central Committee also observed that these achievements were clearly not enough to meet the requirements involved in carrying out the strategy of the party. Our victories were still being limited by many shortcomings and weaknesses. There were still negative phenomena, such as

taking advantage of war time conditions to abuse or weaken the collective economy, the theft of public property, speculation and profiteering. A number of cadres and party members were still displaying a bureaucratic, authoritarian style and violating the right of ownership of the people, even violating the socialist system of law to some extent. Cadres were not truly concerned with the life of the masses. Some of the people were not respecting labor discipline. Therefore, in 1968, the party gave its attention to strengthening its leadership on the economic front, combating lax management and teaching and developing the spirit of collective ownership of the people.

Under the leadership of the party and President Ho, our people in the North launched the resist the United States for national salvation movement, in which they engaged in production and combat at the same time, moved forward in an extremely strong spirit and performed jobs that normally could not be performed. The people's armed forces accelerated the "determined to win victory over the U.S. pirates" emulation movement and adopted the slogan "aim straight at the enemy and fire!" Male and female workers, firmly grasping a hammer in one hand and a rifle in the other, were diligent and creative in production, were brave and resourceful in combat and protected their enterprises while developing production. The emulation movement to work overtime in order to resist the United States for national salvation, make every effort to make innovations and technological improvements, improve the organization of labor, improve management and be determined to endeavor to achieve the "three highpoints"(high productivity, high quality and a high level of frugality) was intense at all enterprises, worksites and state farms. Cooperative member farmers, tightly grasping a plow in one hand and a rifle in the other, were diligent and brave in labor, were determined to combat natural disasters and enemy attacks and emulated one another to achieve the three targets of agricultural production: harvesting 5 tons of paddy per hectare in two seasons, raising two hogs per hectare cultivated and having each laborer work 1 cultivated hectare. Intellectuals emulated to carry out the "three resolves": resolved to support production and combat well; resolved to accelerate the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution; and resolved to build and develop the corps of socialist intellectuals. Among youths, the "three readies"(2) movement became a large revolutionary movement of the young. Among women, the "three responsibilities"(3) movement tapped the revolutionary zeal and the boundless spirit of sacrifice of Vietnamese women, thereby overcoming every difficulty in production and combat. In addition, the "two goods"(4) emulation movement of teachers and students, the "three improvements"(5) emulation movement of cadres and personnel, the "two excellents"(6) emulation movement in a number of localities and the "a thousand good deeds" emulation movement of teenagers and children blended with the movements mentioned above to create an intense, vast and unprecedented high tide of emulation in our country.

The resist the United States for national salvation emulation movement was of very profound significance. In this movement, the patriotism and

proletarian internationalism of our people reached a high stage of development. President Ho said: "Our people are fighting and dying not only for their own freedom and independence, but also for the common freedom and independence of the nations of the world and for peace in the world." (?) For this reason, progressive mankind not only attentively followed the fight being waged by our people with admiration and warm support, but also acknowledged that "the struggle of the Vietnamese is the vanguard banner, the center and the highest point of the revolutionary struggle of the working people and oppressed nations of the world against the U.S. imperialists." (8)

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution (1917-1967), President Ho wrote the article entitled "The Great October Revolution Opened the Way for the Liberation of All Nations" and Le Duan, the first secretary of the Party Central Committee, wrote the article entitled "Enthusiastically Advancing Under the Great Banner of the October Revolution"; on the occasion of the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx (1818-1968), Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, delivered the report entitled "Generations Shall Be Grateful to Karl Marx and Follow the Course Charted by Him." These writings generalized a number of theoretical points drawn from the realities of our country's revolution and the tremendous changes in the world revolution since World War II while shedding light on the independent, autonomous and creative revolutionary line and method of our party and reflecting the virtues of indomitability, tenacity, bravery and intelligence of our people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Working machines consist of water pumps, rice threshing machines, milling machines, grinding machines, etc.
2. Be ready to go into combat, be ready to join the army, be ready to go anywhere and perform any job required by the fatherland.
3. Responsible in production and work, responsible for the work of the household, responsible in supporting combat and in combat operations.
4. Learn well and teach well.
5. Improve work, improve organization and improve work methods.
6. Fight well and produce well.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve nhien vu chong My, cuu nuoc" [On the Task of Resisting the United States for National Salvation], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 57.
8. The resolution on Vietnam of the World Cultural Congress at Havana on 14 January 1968, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 22 January 1968.

[30 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] In January 1967, the Central Committee held its 13th Plenum at which it decided to intensify the diplomatic struggle and take the offensive against the enemy in support of our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation. The plenum pointed out that the military and political struggles were the primary factors that would determine victory on the battlefield but that the diplomatic struggle played an important, positive role. On the basis of the victories that had been won on the battlefield, it was necessary to intensify the diplomatic offensive in coordination with the political and military offensives with a view toward denouncing the crimes and deceptions of the U.S. imperialists, emphasizing the just cause of our people, winning the sympathy and support of the world and establishing a united front of the world's people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. On 28 January 1967, Nguyen Duy Trinh, member of the Political Bureau, deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs, declared: if the United States wants to talk, it must first of all unconditionally cease the bombing and every other act of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only when the United States unconditionally ceases the bombing and every other act of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam can the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States talk.

In January 1968, on the basis of the military, political and diplomatic victories that had been won, the 14th Plenum of the Party Central Committee observed: the efforts of the United States in Vietnam have reached their height. The trend of the enemy's situation in 1968 is for them to be increasingly on the defensive, even more than before. As for ourselves, we have won victory over the enemy both strategically and tactically. The fundamental changes that have occurred in the situation are that we are in the position of victors, are on the offensive and have advantages in our favor while the enemy is in a defeated position, a stagnated position and facing difficulties. We are facing major strategic prospects and opportunities. The situation permits us to bring the revolutionary war into a new period, to raise our revolutionary war to a higher stage of development. The plenum decided to launch the Mau Than Tet general offensive and mass uprising in order to deal a decisive blow to the aggressive will of the United States.

The plenum set forth specific immediate targets and, at the same time, predicted that the general offensive and mass uprising could develop in one of three ways: we could win a major victory and the enemy could suffer a defeat that would force them to end the war; or, we could win victory at many places but the enemy might consolidate their forces and continue the war; the third possibility was that the United States would send in many more forces and widen the war to the North and to Laos and Kampuchea. However, regardless of how the situation developed, we were determined to continue the military offensive until we had defeated them.

On 30 and 31 January 1968, in keeping with this decision, our army and people in the South staged an offensive and uprisings in 64 municipalities and

cities and in many rural areas close to the cities. Revolutionary governments were established in Hue and in many newly liberated rural areas. On 20 April 1968, the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Vietnam was established. The National United Front resisting the United States for national salvation in the South was broadened.

The general offensive and uprising in the early spring of 1968 were a thundering blow to the Americans and the puppets; not only were many enemy troops killed and a huge quantity of their means of war destroyed, but they were also forced to suddenly abandon their "search and destroy-pacification" plan and adopt a "sweep and hold" defensive strategy. Although they had more than 1 million troops, the Americans and the puppets still needed more. The Mau Than Tet offensive and uprising created a crisis of confidence, created a psychology of pessimism and discouragement within the U.S. ruling class concerning the possibility of winning victory in the war. U.S. Commander-in-Chief Westmoreland was fired. Johnson declared that he would not seek re-election and adopted the position of "de-Americanizing the war."

The victory of the Mau Than Tet offensive and uprising was of tremendous and comprehensive strategic significance: it overturned the strategic position of the enemy and shook the will of aggression of the United States; it bankrupted their "limited war" strategy; and it forced them to end the war of destruction against the North and enter into negotiations with us.

In the North, after 4 years of brave fighting, our people had won a glorious victory. As of 1 November 1968, we had shot down 3,243 U.S. jet aircraft, including 6 B-52's and 2 swing-wing F-111A's, the most modern aircraft of the United States at that time; we had also killed or captured thousands of pilots, set hundreds of large and small warships afire and totally defeated the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists.

On 31 March 1968, having been heavily defeated in both South and North Vietnam, the U.S. government was forced to declare "the limited bombing" of the North; on 1 November 1968, the U.S. government was forced to accept an unconditional halt to the bombing and attacks throughout the territory of the DRV and to enter into talks with representatives of our government and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam at the four party conference in Paris.

The Effort To Restore the Economy of the North, the bankruptcy of the "Vietnamization of the War" Strategy and the Victory Over the Second War of Destruction of the U.S. Imperialists (1969-1972)

The victory of the Mau Than Tet offensive and uprising shook U.S. public opinion and caused the will of the U.S. imperialists to continue their aggression to decline. The war machine of the U.S. imperialists was being attacked from many sides, even within the United States. The movement of Americans protesting the war and demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops

spread throughout the United States. In 1969, millions of Americans demonstrated in the cities. The U.S. Congress also issued a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all U.S. troops on Vietnamese soil as quickly as possible.

This situation forced the U.S. ruling class to revise its global strategy in order to stabilize U.S. public opinion; however, they continued to maintain the Nguyen Van Thieu lackey regime under the U.S. neo-colonialist system. Using the anti-war psychology of the American people, Nixon promised to end the war within the space of 6 months in order to win the U.S. presidential election in late 1968. On entering the White House, Nixon gave birth to the so called "Nixon Doctrine" and the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy while intensifying the war in Laos and widening the war to Kampuchea. The basic objective of Nixon's "Vietnamization of the war" strategy was to withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam but maintain the Nguyen Van Thieu lackey government. To achieve this strategic objective, Nixon used the maximum military strength of the United States combined with very clever political and diplomatic maneuvers in a vain attempt to achieve a position of strength and isolate and strangle the war of resistance of our people.

The maximum military strength of the United States was clearly evident in Nixon's decision to simultaneously employ three types of war: a war to win over the people, a war to strangle the opposition and a war of destruction in order to achieve the essential goal of "pacifying" the rural areas of the South.

Nixon's most clever political and diplomatic maneuver was his playing of the "China card" to take full advantage of the betrayal by Beijing ruling circles and take advantage of China's ambition to assume a position among the super powers and resolve the Taiwan issue in order to force China to bring pressure to bear upon Vietnam and demand that Vietnam accept the terms of the United States.

Our party observed: the "Vietnamization of the war" is an extremely malicious scheme of the U.S. imperialists designed to prolong the war of aggression and gradually withdraw all U.S. troops from Indochina while strengthening the puppet army and government. In the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy, the U.S. Army and the puppet army were, at first, the two strategic forces. The U.S. Army was the foundation of the puppet army, the foundation of the "Vietnamization of the war." The puppet army was the primary tool used to carry out the "Vietnamization of the war" and gradually took the place of the U.S. Army. The obstinate and crafty "Vietnamization of the war" policy of the United States caused us to encounter many difficulties in 1969 and 1970; our rural bases were heavily damaged, the mass movement declined and revolutionary bases were destroyed. These difficulties were also due to the fact that we did not fully evaluate the scheme and actions of the enemy as regards their attacking and "pacifying" the countryside and to the fact

that we did not promptly change our guidelines in the three strategic areas.

On 1 January 1969, in his New Year's message, President Ho pointed out that the task of the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country in the new period was: "To drive off the Americans and bring down the puppets.(1)

On 20 July 1969, President Ho issued an appeal to the army and people of the entire country: "The U.S. imperialists have clearly been defeated, but they refuse to abandon their savage ambition of clinging to South Vietnam. The army and people of the entire country, millions of persons as one, must display a high spirit of revolutionary heroism, fear neither sacrifice nor hardship and be determined to maintain and intensify the war of resistance, determined to fight and win, fight until all American troops have withdrawn, until the puppet army and puppet government have completely collapsed, determined to liberate the South, protect the North and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country."(2)

The 18th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (January 1970) set the immediate tasks as: mobilizing the entire party, the entire army and all the people in both the North and the South to make the greatest possible effort to develop upon the victories that have been won, maintain and intensify the war of resistance, continue to develop the offensive strategy in a comprehensive, continuous and strong manner, intensify the military offensive and the political offensive and coordinate them with the diplomatic offensive; maintaining the offensive against the enemy while making every effort to make our military and political forces increasingly large and strong in order to defeat the "Vietnamization of the war" scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their scheme to gradually de-escalate the war while prolonging it in order to create a position of strength in a vain attempt to maintain their neo-colonialism in South Vietnam; defeating the defensive strategy of the enemy, bringing about a new change in the war situation, gradually winning victory and eventually winning a decisive victory that forces the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops, brings about the collapse of the puppets and creates the basic conditions needed to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in the South and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country.

In response to the appeal made by President Ho and in keeping with the resolution of the party, our army and people in the South launched several punishing offensives when Nixon took power, killing tens of thousands of American and puppet troops.

On the diplomatic front, our people launched a face to face struggle with the U.S. imperialists at the negotiations in Paris. There, on 8 May 1969, the delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam set forth its 10-Point Total Solution(3) which demanded that the U.S. Army and vassal armies withdraw unconditionally and that the United States respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. Our

stand, which reflected our just cause, put the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique into a very confused and stalemated position.

On 6 June 1969, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Vietnam in the South and the other patriotic forces held the National Congress of Delegates of the South, which unanimously elected the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Council of Government Advisors. The birth of the Provisional Revolutionary Government was a victory in the process of perfecting the system of the revolutionary government in South Vietnam, a truly national and democratic government. In keeping with the position of the party, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the revolutionary government of the people of the South carried out democratic reforms in the liberated areas, especially agrarian reform. The slogan "land to the tiller" was implemented. The vast majority of farmers in the South acquired land to plant. Agricultural production and the handicraft trades developed. Important results were recorded in cultural work, education and public health services. The democratic reforms that were implemented first in the liberated areas accentuated the deep antagonisms between the two systems that were locked in a decisive struggle in the South: the people's democratic system and the neo-colonial system. The revolution of our people in the South was surging forward under a system filled with vitality and opposing an immoral system, the child of neo-colonialism, of the U.S. imperialists.

In the North, despite the very many sinister schemes employed by the U.S. imperialists and against the background of a temporary halt in the war of destruction, the tasks of pressing importance were to gain time, to make every effort to overcome the consequences of the war and to restore and further develop the national economy in order to stabilize the life of the people and create additional strength on the part of the North for supporting the South.

On the momentum of victory, in the revolutionary-offensive spirit and by practicing self-reliance, the people of the North enthusiastically engaged in productive labor in 1969 and recorded noteworthy achievements in their effort to restore production, stabilize their lives and support the front-lines.

On 3 September 1969, while all our people in both the North and the South were intensifying the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and accelerating their socialist construction, President Ho, the brilliant leader, the father of our nation and our party, an outstanding warrior of the international communist movement and the national liberation movement, passed away. Our entire party, all our people and our entire army in both the North and the South were deeply saddened and grief-stricken. Our friends throughout the world shared the deep loss of our people.

On 3 September 1969, the Party Central Committee issued the following appeal: may the cadres and members of the entire party, the soldiers of the people's armed forces, the compatriots of our entire country and Vietnamese overseas, millions of persons as one, turn their grief into revolutionary action, bravely move forward to continue the great undertaking of President Ho, victoriously achieve his ideals and ambitions, advance the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and the socialist revolution to total victory and build a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength.

Between 4 and 10 September 1969, the people of our entire country held the most solemn of funeral services for President Ho everywhere. During these days, our party, National Assembly and government received 22,000 telegrams and letters of condolences from 121 countries. Many countries in the world held memorial or commemorative services for President Ho. Forty delegations from foreign countries came to Hanoi to attend the funeral services there.

On 9 September 1969, a solemn memorial service for President Ho was held in Ba Dinh Square in the capital Hanoi. During the ceremony, Le Duan, the first secretary of the Party Central Committee, read the eulogy of the Party Central Committee and the Testament of President Ho.

After expressing the deep sorrow of the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country over the loss of President Ho, the eulogy summarized his contributions and work. From the time he was a teenager until the final moment of his life, President Ho devoted his entire life to the revolutionary undertaking of our people and the people of the world. President Ho was the first Vietnamese to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the circumstances of our country; he charted the course of the Vietnamese revolution to victory after victory and led our people in writing the most glorious pages in this history of our fatherland. President Ho was the person who founded, led and forged our party, the person who built the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National United Front, the beloved father of the Vietnamese people's armed forces. President Ho brought glory to our nation, our people and our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Thu chuc tet nam moi" [New Year's Greetings], Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 322.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi keu goi nhan ngay 20-7-1969" [Appeal on the Occasion of 20 July 1969], Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 327.
3. The 10-Point Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam can be summarized as follows:

1. Respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese, namely, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.
2. The U.S. government must withdraw all troops, military personnel, weapons and means of war of the United States and vassal countries from South Vietnam without demanding that any conditions whatsoever be met.
3. The right of the people of Vietnam to fight to protect their fatherland is the sacred and inviolable right of self-defense. The issue of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam will be resolved by the Vietnamese parties together.
4. The people of South Vietnam will resolve their own internal affairs without intervention by any foreign country.
5. During the period of time from the restoration of peace until the general elections, no party shall coerce the people of South Vietnam into accepting their political system.

The political forces representing the various strata of people and the various political tendencies in South Vietnam, including persons who, due to political reasons, must live overseas but endorse peace, independence and neutrality, will hold negotiations to establish a provisional coalition government on the basis of the principles of equality, democracy and mutual respect with a view toward achieving a Vietnam of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality.

6. South Vietnam will implement a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.
7. The reunification of Vietnam will be gradually carried out by peaceful methods on the basis of discussions and agreements between the two zones without intervention by any foreign country.
8. North and South Vietnam pledge to not join in any military alliance with a foreign country, not permit a foreign country to put military bases, army troops and military personnel in their country and shall not recognize the protection of any country, alliance or military bloc.
9. Resolving the consequences of the war:
 - a) The parties shall hold negotiations concerning the release of military personnel captured during the war.
 - b) The U.S. government must assume full responsibility for the damages and destruction caused by the United States to the people of Vietnam in both the North and the South.
10. The parties will reach an agreement concerning international supervision of the withdrawal of the army, military personnel, weapons and means of war of the United States and the foreign countries within the U.S. camp from South Vietnam.

[31 Jan 80, p 3]

[Text] The eulogy concluded with five solemn promises: "We promise to forever brandish the banner of national independence, be determined to fight and win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors, liberate the South, protect the North and reunify the country in order to fulfill his dream."

"We promise to do our very best to continue the struggle to achieve the lofty ideals of socialism and communism that he revealed to our working class and people, thereby bringing prosperity to the country and happiness to our compatriots."

"We promise to wholeheartedly maintain the unity and oneness of mind of the party as the apple of our eye and increase the fighting strength of the party so that it is the nucleus of the solidarity of all the people and insures the total victory of the revolutionary undertaking of the working class and nation of Vietnam."

"We promise to always display the pure international sentiments of President Ho, wholeheartedly contribute to the restoration and strengthening of the solidarity of the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism while tightening the friendly unity among the nations of Indochina and making every effort to support the revolutionary movement of the peoples of all countries, thereby making a positive contribution to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

"We promise to study the virtues and style of President Ho throughout our lives, cultivate revolutionary qualities, fear neither hardships nor sacrifices and forge ourselves to be soldiers who are loyal to the party, loyal to the people and worthy of being the comrades and students of President Ho. Following his example, all our people and all our youths promise to make every effort to turn themselves into new persons, into masters of the country, masters of the new society carrying the ever-victorious banner of President Ho to its final objective."

When he departed from us, President Ho left his historic Testament behind for our entire party and all our people.

First, he talked about the party. As a result of possessing tight unity and wholeheartedly serving the people and the fatherland from the time it was founded, our party organized and led our people in an enthusiastic struggle that progressed to victory after victory. From the Party Central Committee to the party chapters, it is necessary to maintain the unity and oneness of mind of the party as the apple of our eye. The best way to strengthen and develop the unity and oneness of mind of the party is to practice broad, constant democracy and strict self-criticism and criticism within the party. Every party member and cadre must truly possess revolutionary virtues and

truly be diligent, thrifty, honest, righteous and devoted. We must keep our party truly pure, must insure that it is worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people.

President Ho reminded our party to concern itself with teaching and training our Youth Union members and youths to be persons who possess all the qualities and skills needed to build socialism.

He advised that we adopt very good plans for developing the economy and culture and constantly raise the standard of living of our people.

He emphasized that we must be determined to fight the U.S. pirates until total victory was won. President Ho was confident that our people would, regardless of the difficulties and hardships encountered, win total victory, that the U.S. imperialists would have to withdraw from our country, that our fatherland would be reunified, that the compatriots of the South and the North would dwell under the roof of one home.

As regards the international communist and worker movement, he hoped that our party would make every effort to contribute to strengthening the solidarity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in a manner conforming to both reason and sentiment.

At the end of his Testament, President Ho stated his final wish:

"May our entire party and all our people unite in the struggle to build a Vietnam of peace, unity, independence, democracy, prosperity and strength and make worthy contributions to the world revolution."

The Testament of President Ho is a document of major importance, one that reflects the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, the thinking, ethics and pure sentiments of President Ho, the beacon lighting the way for the united struggle of our entire party and all our people toward the completion of large but very glorious tasks: completing the national democratic revolution and building socialism and communism in our country.

On 23 September 1969, the 5th session of the 3rd National Assembly held a solemn memorial ceremony for President Ho and unanimously elected Ton Duc Thang to serve as president and Nguyen Luong Bang to serve as vice president of the DRV.

On 29 September 1969, in keeping with the Testament of Uncle Ho and turning our grief into strength, the Political Bureau decided to launch a phase of political activities to "study and work in accordance with the Testament of President Ho."

In 1970, the party decided to launch three major campaigns: the productive labor campaign; the campaign to spread democracy and strengthen the system of

collective ownership of the mass of cooperative members in the countryside; and the campaign to improve the quality of party members and accept party members into the Ho Chi Minh Class. The initiation of these three major campaigns expressed the determination of the party to take advantage of favorable times and resolutely overcome shortcomings and weaknesses in order to accelerate the development of production, strengthen the economic and national defense potentials of the North, intensify the support of the revolution in the South and fulfill our international obligation to the Lao revolution and the Kampuchean revolution.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party, Le Duan wrote the book "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism." The book summarized the experiences of the party in its 40 years of leading the revolution and presented matters that were in the nature of laws of the Vietnamese revolution. The book presented a number of strategic matters related to the national, democratic revolution, among which the two factors determining victory are the leadership role of the party of the working class and the role of the alliance of workers and farmers. "To have the party, the vanguard unit of the working class, and the alliance of workers and farmers is to have everything." Compared to establishing strategic guidelines and targets, adopting an appropriate revolutionary method in order to win victory over the enemy of the revolution as quickly as possible and as advantageously as possible is a matter of no less importance. With regard to the socialist revolution, the book pointed out that in the period of transition to socialism in the North, the basic elements of the class struggle are struggling to upgrade small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and firmly controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. As regards party building, the book confirmed that the basic factor determining every victory is the leadership of our party, a new style proletarian party that firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism, faithfully represents the vital interests and the legitimate aspirations of the working class, the laboring people and the nation, is tightly organized, has a tradition of solidarity and is close to the masses.

Le Duan's book was of important theoretical and practical significance in guiding the immediate tasks of the revolution, advancing the national democratic revolution in the South to total victory and preparing for socialist construction on a nationwide scale.

In January 1971, the Party Central Committee held its 19th Plenum. At this plenum, the restoration and further development of the economy of the North were thoroughly discussed. While confirming that the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation continued to be the foremost task of our entire party and all our people, the plenum pointed out the basic elements of the class struggle, the struggle between the two ways of

life during the period of transition to socialism in the North and resolve a number of problems related to lines, policies and organization with a view toward taking the agricultural economy of the North one step closer to large-scale socialist production.

On the basis of theoretical matters that had been summarized and on the basis of fully examining the actual situation, the plenum stated: to thoroughly implement and apply the common line of the party in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism and under the circumstances of the war of resistance, the guidelines for the development of the economy must reflect the line of giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development and coordinating the economy with the national defense system. The tasks of restoring and developing the economy and developing the culture must be designed to meet the requirements of the fight against the United States for national salvation in order to support the life of the people, build and protect the material-technical bases of socialism, gradually build the structure of large-scale socialist production and prepare for future economic development.

The efforts to restore the economy achieved a number of important results. Within agriculture, rice production increased by nearly one-half million tons in 1970 compared to 1969. In 1971, the people of the North faced larger and more pressing tasks regarding supporting the South than in previous years and, in addition, had to overcome the consequences of the August flood, the largest flood in 100 years. Nevertheless, in 1971, grain output in paddy equivalent was 5.6 million tons (nearly 5 million tons of paddy alone), which was higher than the yearly average. A large percentage of the industrial installations attacked by the enemy were restored. Transportation along main roads was resumed within a short period of time after the end of the first war of destruction.

In early 1972, the 20th Plenum of the Party Central Committee observed: economic management is still a weakness of ours. Strengthening and improving economic management are one of the pressing and important jobs of our party and state. The plenum set forth the basic guidelines for improving economic management as: abolishing the administrative-supply management system; implementing management based on the socialist mode of business; overcoming the handicraft, decentralized management organization of small-scale production; establishing the methods of organization and management of large-scale industry in order to accelerate the advance by the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

In the South, due to achieving a number of results in various campaigns and through very savage "pacification" in the countryside, the U.S. imperialists thought that the time had come to wage the war to strangle the revolution. On 18 March 1970, the U.S. imperialists masterminded the coup d'etat that toppled the royal government of Kampuchea and put Lon Nol into power. Through

this action, the U.S. imperialists sought to turn Kampuchea into a new-style colony and "safe" military base of theirs and cut our resupply lines to the battlefields in the South. However, contrary to the desires of the United States, the people of Kampuchea resolutely fought them and developed their revolution by leaps and bounds. In the face of this perilous situation, the U.S. imperialists mobilized hundreds of thousands of Saigon puppet troops and launched various operations designed to crush the Kampuchean revolution. The people of Kampuchea, with the close and positive coordination of our army and people, smashed the operations of the Americans and puppets and expanded the liberated zone and revolutionary base to the majority of the rural areas, areas populated by 4 million to 5 million of the 7 million persons living in Kampuchea at that time.

On the Lao battlefield in 1970, the Lao liberation army had twice defeated the scheme of the United States to reoccupy the Plaine de Jarres and northern Laos and reclaim many large areas in the strategic Bolovens Plateau in southern Laos.

In early 1971, our army and people in the South, together with the fraternal army and people of Laos, won another resounding victory on the Route 9-southern Laos front. There, the U.S. imperialists had decided to launch a major campaign to sever the Ho Chi Minh "Trail" and totally cut off the support from the North to the South. McNamara once had a plan to achieve the same objective by erecting an electronic fence along the 17th parallel, but this plan met with defeat. This time, Nixon had decided to throw into the battle the best trained units of the Saigon puppet army backed by very strong support from the U.S. Air Force, thereby implementing the basic formula of the "Vietnamization of the war," namely, main force puppet troops plus U.S. firepower equals victory. However, our party very accurately predicted the scheme of the enemy and became determined to fight and totally defeat their scheme. After 43 days of fighting, the armies and peoples of Vietnam and Laos had smashed the enemy's operation, killing more than 25,000 troops, shooting down or destroying nearly 500 aircraft of all types and capturing nearly 600 military vehicles and 150 artillery pieces. Nixon's scheme to isolate the revolution in the South had met with total defeat.

The heavy defeats of the United States on the Route 9-southern Laos front once again shattered Nixon's illusion of winning a military victory. The war of aggression in Vietnam had very profoundly affected every aspect of life in the United States, every aspect of the lives of the American people, thereby creating a disadvantage for Nixon in the 1972 U.S. presidential election. In the face of this situation, the White House plotted to come to an agreement with the authorities in China in order to resolve its dilemma.

In early 1972, while the United States was intensifying the bombing, mining and blockade of Vietnam, China was warmly welcoming Nixon. The United States and China pledged: China would help the United States to maintain the Thieu government in South Vietnam and the United States would abandon Taiwan to China.(1)

In this way, the United States hoped to keep South Vietnam under the yoke of U.S. neo-colonialism. And, in this way, the U.S. imperialists hoped to disorient the struggle of the revolutionary forces in the world, which was then directed at the United States. However, the great war of resistance against the United States for national salvation of the Vietnamese and the broad movement of the people of the world in support of Vietnam's fight against the United States reflected an iron-clad truth, that is, today "the spearhead of the world revolution must be directed at the U.S. imperialists, not at anyone else."(2)

In May 1971, following the victory on the Route 9-southern Laos front, the Political Bureau decided to seize the opportunity and launch the 1972 strategic offensive, which resulted in an important military victory, defeated Nixon's "Vietnamization of the war" strategy and forced the U.S. imperialists to end the war through negotiations. In early 1972, in keeping with the decision of the Political Bureau, our army launched a strategic offensive throughout the South, an offensive in which Tri-Thien was the primary front.

In the spring of 1972, after Tet had passed, the Americans and the puppets, seeing that our army and people were not engaged in major activities, thought that our people had lost the ability to conduct an offensive; suddenly, on 30 March 1972, the strategic offensive by our army and people in the South began. Several offensive campaigns marked by large-scale coordination among the various branches of the main force troops in coordination with the local armed forces and the political forces of the masses were occurring at the same time, the momentum and strength of which overwhelmed the external defense lines of the enemy on the three fronts of Quang Tri, Kontum and Binh Long. Then, repeated attacks occurred on the inner defense lines of the enemy in northern Binh Dinh and a number of other places.

FOOTNOTES

1. The joint communique of the United States and China at Shanghai in February 1972 stated: the United States confirms that its ultimate goal is to withdraw all forces and military installations of the United States from Taiwan. During the interim and depending upon the degree to which tensions in this region decline, the United States will gradually reduce the military forces and installations of the United States in Taiwan." "The degree to which tensions in this region decline" means the war in Vietnam being brought to a conclusion. This section of the communique meant: if China wanted the United States to withdraw its troops from Taiwan, China would have to pressure Hanoi into making concessions to the United States in South Vietnam. This is something that was stated many times by the leaders of China, namely, that "toppling the Saigon puppet government is a long-range matter."

After issuing the joint communique, Kissinger said to journalists that he was very surprised when he learned that China considered Vietnam to be

the largest obstacle on the road to improved Sino-American relations and that, from then onward, Kissinger and Nixon would only have to concern themselves with "dealing with Moscow and crushing Vietnam."

-(Book: "Kissinger" by Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb).

2. Truong Chinh: "Ve cong tac mat tran hien nay," [Present Front Work], speech at the 3rd Congress of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, December 1971.

[1 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] In only a short period of time, one-half of the 13 puppet main force divisions and many puppet regiments and battalions, infantry and artillery as well as armored regiments and battalions, had been destroyed or had suffered heavy losses. Some puppet regiments protested the war and surrendered. Security, civil defense and civil guard units were annihilated and deserted or fled their positions in large numbers. Many very strong defense lines of the enemy from Quang Tri to the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo were breached. Newly liberated areas were opened in the mountainous jungles, the lowlands and along the seacoast, thereby creating a new position for the revolution in the South.

Surprised strategically, Nixon recklessly escalated the war by sending a very large air and naval force of the United States into combat in the South and starting another war of destruction against the North, a war that involved the use of nearly one-half the total number of B-52's of the United States in attacks deep within the hinterland and the mining and blockading of the ports and rivers of the DRV. By means of extremely cruel military actions combined with very clever political and diplomatic tricks designed to divide and control a number of socialist countries, the U.S. imperialists planned to isolate and surround the war of resistance of our people. The resolution adopted by the Political Bureau on 1 June 1972 observed:

"The Nixon administration will make every effort to carry out this scheme because of their extremely bellicose and obstinate nature and, on the other hand, because of new, complex changes in the international situation. Our people must always be firm, must heighten their vigilance, must actively guard against this scheme of the enemy and must continue to fight and win victory in every situation."

In August 1972, at Georgetown, the capital of the Republic of Guyana, the conference of 59 non-aligned countries exposed the insidious and malicious scheme of the United States. The conference formally recognized the legitimacy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and of the Royal Government of National Unity of Kampuchea within the great family of non-aligned, anti-imperialist countries, but did not recognize the representatives of the Saigon puppet government or the Phnom Penh puppet government.

Heavily defeated both militarily and politically on the battlefields of Vietnam and Indochina and isolated in the international arena, the Nixon administration increasingly found itself in an extremely chaotic and bad situation at home: the dollar had been devalued, unemployment was increasing with each passing day and narcotic addiction and other social ills were becoming more serious with each passing day. U.S. ruling circles were deeply divided. The international prestige of the United States had seriously declined.

In this situation, the draft of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam presented by our government's delegation at the Paris Conference on 8 October 1972 was an unexpected blow to the White House. The Nixon-Kissinger gang had no choice but to basically agree with the contents of the draft, which conformed to both reason and sentiment. However, they still had many clever schemes up their sleeves. On the one hand, they promised to sign the agreement by 31 October 1972; on the other hand, however, they looked for ways to postpone and delay the signing and wavered over articles on which agreement had already been reached. These delaying tactics and vacillation of the United States were designed to win time to strengthen the forces of the puppet army and puppet government in a vain attempt to make them strong enough to stand on their own after the United States withdrew its troops, with a view toward guaranteeing victory in the presidential election while pressuring us into withdrawing troops from South Vietnam and maintaining the Nguyen Van Thieu administration. To carry out this strategy, the United States quickly put together a massive airlift to urgently pour weapons and ammunition into the South⁽¹⁾ while preparing a plan to occupy the liberated areas after the signing of the agreement and preparing for a large-scale bombing of the North. In order to add weight to this insane ambition and carry it out more effectively, the United States collaborated with the leaders of China in order to pressure Vietnam into making concessions to the United States.

In the face of the vacillation of the United States and the betrayal by Beijing, our party, faithfully representing the indomitable, unyielding will of our people, unswervingly adhered to the basic principle that the U.S. army had to withdraw from South Vietnam while our army held its existing positions. The party decided to promptly expose the vacillating attitude of the United States to domestic and world public opinion while preparing to smash the new offensive of the enemy. On 26 October 1972, our government announced the primary contents of the draft of the agreement that had been reached by the two sides and was waiting to be signed, thereby revealing the deceptive, vacillating attitude of the United States while confirming the results that had been achieved by our people at the Paris Conference. The draft of the agreement rapidly became an effective weapon in the political struggle of our people, the American people and the people of the world.

Of course, after he had been re-elected, it was Nixon's long held ambition to abolish the basic clauses of the draft of the agreement that had been

negotiated with us. The Nixon-Kissinger clique issued an order to assemble a very large force of strategic B-52's, F-111A aircraft and other types of modern aircraft to savagely bomb Hanoi, Haiphong and many other places. This was the largest strategic air offensive ever conducted in the history of warfare. During 12 days and nights (from 18 to 29 December 1972), the U.S. imperialists dropped a total of 100,000 tons of bombs (40,000 tons on Hanoi alone) with a destructive force equal to that of five of the atomic bombs dropped by the United States on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945. In this way, the leaders in the White House hoped to create a psychology of panic, bring pressure to bear upon us and create a position of strength on the battlefield and at the negotiating table.

Under the resolute and prompt leadership of our party, the army and people of the North, in general, and the army and people of Hanoi, in particular, dealt the U.S. imperialists appropriate punishing blows. During these 12 days and nights, we shot down 81 U.S. aircraft, including 34 B-52's and F-111A's. Hanoi shot down 30 U.S. aircraft, including 23 B-52's and 2 F-111A's. Many aircraft were downed on the spot. During the entire second war of destruction (which lasted from April to December 1972), the army and people of the North shot down nearly 700 U.S. aircraft, including 54 B-52's and 10 F-111A's, and sunk or set afire many U.S. warships.

The very large victory of the strategic offensive in 1972 and the outstanding feat of arms recorded by our army and people by smashing the strategic B-52 offensive against Hanoi and Haiphong ultimately forced the U.S. government into signing the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam on 27 January 1973 in Paris.

The Paris Agreement stated: the U.S. imperialists must end the war of aggression in Vietnam, withdraw all troops of the United States and vassal troops from South Vietnam, pledge to respect the basic national rights of the Vietnamese, namely, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, pledge to respect the right of self-determination of our people in South Vietnam, end the military involvement and intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and recognize the actual situation existing in South Vietnam, namely, two governments, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

Then, on 2 March 1973, 12 delegations from the governments of the USSR, China, the United States, Great Britain, France, the DRV, the Republic of South Vietnam, the Saigon puppet government and four countries of the Commission To Control and Supervise the Implementation of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, Hungary, Poland, Indonesia and Canada, held an international conference on Vietnam in Paris. The conference adopted an agreement on acknowledgements and guarantees of the agreement and the protocols on Vietnam, which were scrupulously and thoroughly implemented.

On 29 March 1973, the U.S. command in Saigon held a flag lowering ceremony. The final unit of U.S. expeditionary troops withdrew from South Vietnam

under the supervision of Vietnamese officers on the Four-Party Joint Military Commission.

On 28 January 1973, the Party Central Committee issued an appeal, which pointed out: this is a very large victory of the most brilliant war of resistance in the history of our nation's resistance against foreign aggression. This is also a victory of the peoples of Indochina, who have united in the fight against the common enemy.

The victory of the Vietnamese was a victory of historic and epochal significance of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, of the peace, freedom and justice loving peoples of the world.

Continuing To Restore and Develop the Economy in the North; Making Every Effort To Support the Revolution in the South in the Winning of Victory (1973-1974)

After the Paris Agreement on Vietnam was signed, the North was at peace. The party decided to rapidly restore and develop the economy, accelerate socialist construction and make every effort to support the South in order to complete the national democratic revolution.

Of course, with the North advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and in view of the fact that the economy was still primarily one of small-scale production and had been ravaged by the war, we were encountering numerous difficulties. Our greatest difficulties were that the material-technical bases of socialism were still very weak and labor productivity was still low. The population was growing at a rather rapid rate but the gross social product was increasing only slightly. National income had virtually stopped growing and no capital was being accumulated domestically. However, we had basic advantages in our favor: our people are diligent, brave, intelligent and creative, wholeheartedly follow the party and were moving forward on the momentum of the revolution following the victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation; we had a large labor force and a relatively good force of scientific and technical cadres; our country has rich natural resources and much land that had not been developed or put to use; our country also had the aid and assistance in many areas of the USSR and the other fraternal countries and had the conditions needed to increase its economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and broaden its economic and technical relations with other countries; our party had much experience in the revolutionary struggle, had adopted the correct revolutionary line, had led our people in winning victory over the U.S. imperialists and would surely lead our people in successfully building socialism.

The tasks and guidelines for restoring and developing the economy following the war were set forth at the 22nd Plenum of the Party Central Committee

held in late 1973. The plenum deeply analyzed the serious consequences of the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and pointed out that these consequences were the principal cause of the underdeveloped production, the underdeveloped economy and the difficult lives of our people. At the same time, the plenum pointed out the shortcomings in leadership, the guidance of implementation and the management of the state. The failure to promptly correct these shortcomings was the cause of the laxity in economic management and social management as well as the cause of unwholesome phenomena in social life.

The 22nd Plenum of the Party Central Committee stated:

"In the new stage, the common tasks of the North are: uniting all the people, struggling to maintain the peace, making every effort to carry out socialist industrialization, carrying out the three revolutions and rapidly, strongly and steadily advancing the North to socialism; closely coordinating the economy with the defense of the nation, heightening our vigilance and being prepared to defeat every scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; making every effort to fulfill our obligations in the struggle to achieve independence and democracy in the South, eventually bring about the peaceful reunification of the fatherland and fulfill our international obligation to the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions."

To carry out these tasks, the Party Central Committee adopted the 1974-1975 2-year plan on economic restoration and development. The tasks of these 2 years were part of the initial stage of the process of socialist industrialization in the North and designed to meet the following primary requirements: 1. Mobilizing and organizing the social labor force in production and construction in a spirit of intensity in order to make full use of the potentials of the economy and accelerate production and the practice of economy; raising the level of production of each economic sector and economic unit to or above the highest level achieved in 1965 and 1971; endeavoring to rapidly increase the gross social product and national income; providing for the entire social consumption fund from national income by 1975 and beginning to accumulate capital from national income by 1976; and meet the requirements of supporting the revolution in the South; 2. strengthening and further improving socialist production relations in both the state-operated and collective sectors and overcoming the negative phenomena in economic life and social life; 3. strengthening the party's leadership in the management of the state; revamping management activities from the central to the installation levels; and resolving immediate problems well while preparing for the long-range economic and cultural development plan.

The restoration and development of the socialist economy were carried out under conditions in which the national liberation struggle and the class struggle in the South were very sharp. These sharp struggles constantly affected the North in many ways. The spirit of the resolution of the party

plenum was that our entire party and all our people must constantly display high revolutionary vigilance and be ready to deal with every situation. However, there was no reason to give light attention to construction. To the contrary, the people of the North had to take advantage of the peace that existed and make every effort to restore the economy, heal the wounds of the war, develop the economy and culture, build the material-technical bases of socialism, coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation, strengthen the military and economic potentials of our country, stabilize their own lives and fully support the revolution in the South while fulfilling their international obligation to the Lao revolution and the Kampuchean revolution.

Under the light of the resolution of the 22nd Party Plenum, the working class, collective farmers and socialist intellectuals throughout the North worked hard to overcome the consequences of the war, restore and develop agriculture, industry, communications-transportation, capital construction, etc.

In 1973, the gross social product was slightly higher than in 1965 but the administrative staff had increased significantly and the consumption of materials was high; labor productivity was only two-thirds of what it was in 1965 and national income was still lower than in 1965.

However, the situation had improved. Two consecutive bumper rice crops were harvested; paddy output for the entire year exceeded the plan by 8 percent and represented a 21.4 percent increase over 1973. Thai Binh Province average 7 tons of paddy per hectare. Many other provinces in the lowlands achieved high yields. More and more provinces, municipalities, districts and cooperatives recorded yields of 5 tons of paddy per hectare. A number of cooperatives even averaged 10 tons of paddy per hectare.

New advances were made in the construction of material-technical bases within agriculture. The class of collective farmers made every effort to restore and upgrade farmland water conservancy systems, fill in the holes in fields made by enemy bombs and mines, restore and build breeding farms, clear land, build new economic zones, plant forests, etc.

Importance was attached to strengthening agricultural production cooperatives. Many cooperatives strengthened their management of cropland, reclaimed cropland that was being used illegally and eliminated the waste of cropland. The campaign to reorganize production and further improve agricultural management along the lines of large-scale socialist production began to be expanded in a number of districts and cooperatives.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the period during which they postponed the signing of the agreement, the U.S. imperialists poured into South Vietnam a quantity of weapons and means of war worth roughly 6 billion dollars (according to UPI,

6 March 1973) and quickly turned over U.S. military bases in the South to the Saigon puppet government.

[2 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] In industrial production in 1974, total industrial and handicraft output value exceeded the plan by 4 percent and represented a 15 percent increase over 1973.

Although the coal sector did not reach its pre-war production level, it did surpass the plan by 12 percent for output and 8 percent for the stripping of overburden. The amount of coal supplied to industry and agriculture and the quantity exported increased significantly compared to previous years. Electricity output in 1974 exceeded the plan by 2 percent and represented a 66 percent increase compared to 1965. The machine sector doubled its output value compared to the pre-war level. The production of many important products, such as metal cutting machines, electric motors, small tractors and so forth, increased significantly. Six new machine works were put into production. A number of large machine works, nitrogen fertilizer plants and textile mills were under construction. The artisan and handicraft industry, with its large consumer goods production capacity, was restored and developed to a level higher than the pre-war level.

As regards communications and transportation, the total volume of cargo transported in 1974 increased 30 percent compared to 1973 and 60 percent compared to 1964. Many seaports and roads were rapidly restored. Many bridges damaged by the enemy were repaired. Work was started on the construction of a few important bridges. Workers and army troops worked together to disarm mines and dredge port channels; large ships were able to easily enter and leave ports.

However, our restoration and development of the economy were also marked by weaknesses and shortcomings. The percentage of the plan that was completed by us was low compared to the increasing requirements of the national economy. Many types of materials and commodities failed to meet needs; meanwhile, our large potentials were not developed well. Economic management was improving slowly. The state plan did not fully reflect the economic law of socialism in the North of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. At a number of places, there were still manifestations of a lack of responsibility and a poor sense of organization and discipline in the implementation of directives, resolutions, policies and regulations and the implementation of state plan norms; there were even cases of violations of the law and the mishandling of property of the state and the collective. Determined steps had not been taken to overcome bureaucracy, the lack of democracy and rightism in economic management and the management of social order and security.

Generally speaking, in 1974, a number of important areas of agricultural and industrial production met and exceeded the production levels of 1965 and

1971, the 2 years of highest economic development in the 20 years of socialist construction in the North. The life of the people was stabilized and gradually improved.

The restoration of the economy of the North stabilized the life of the people and insured that the requirements of supporting the war of resistance in the South in its final stage would be met. In the 2 years 1973 and 1974, 150,000 youths joined the army and left for the front in keeping with the appeal made by the party and the fatherland. Tens of thousands of shock youths and specialized, technical cadres and personnel were sent to the South to resist the United States for national salvation.

In order to insure the completion of each revolutionary task in the new stage, the party attached full importance to cadre work. Cadre work is one of the matters of decisive importance in the entire revolution. Therefore, all preceding plenums of the Party Central Committee that have discussed the immediate situation and tasks have also discussed the matters of party building, in general, and cadre work, in particular. In February 1973, the Political Bureau issued a resolution on cadre work in the new stage. The Political Bureau emphasized the need to implement the working class line of the party in building the corps of cadres of the party and state. The resolution of the Political Bureau set forth five specific standards on the ethics and talents of cadres. They are: loyalty to the fatherland and the revolution; complete agreement with the lines and viewpoints of the party; the ability to complete the task assigned by the party well; respecting and upholding the right of collective ownership of the people; and displaying a high sense of organization and discipline. The education and training of cadres to improve their revolutionary qualities and work skills must be based on these five standards.

In late 1974, the Party Central Committee held its 23rd Plenum to discuss strengthening the leadership and increasing the fighting strength of the party. This was the first plenum of the Central Committee to deal exclusively with party building. The plenum fully examined the situation of the party and the situation surrounding party building. The resolution of the plenum stated: in order for the party to continue to fulfill its responsibility to our nation and the international communist movement, it is necessary to intensify party building to insure that our party always firmly adheres to and creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism under the new circumstances of our country's revolution, follows a correct line and policy, practices thoroughly revolutionary thinking, has a strong, solid organization, has the ability to fully lead and guide implementation and is worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people. This was the party building task in the new stage, a task that had the purpose of strengthening and further displaying the working class nature of the party.

The resolution of the Plenum deeply reflected the viewpoints of our party concerning a host of basic matters regarding theory and the new realities of

party building. It was a document of major significance in building our party in the immediate future and over the long range as well. It set forth relatively complete guidelines for building the party in the stage in which our party was leading the government, carrying out the socialist revolution in the North, liberating the South, reunifying the fatherland and preparing the conditions for the advance by the entire country to socialism.

The General Offensive and Uprising of the Spring of 1975 that Totally Liberated the South (February 1973-April 1975)

The Paris Agreement marked a major change in the comparison of forces and the war situation on the battlefield, thereby giving us the ability to complete the national democratic revolution in the South.

However, the U.S. imperialists, unwilling to accept defeat, obstinately clung to Indochina, clung to the "Nixon Doctrine" and the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, continued to use the Saigon puppet government as the tool of the United States, schemed to place all of South Vietnam under the ruling yoke of neo-colonialism and to permanently divide our country. To achieve these goals, the U.S. imperialists and the Saigon puppet army looked for every way to annihilate the political forces and armed forces of the revolution and abolish the existing situation of two governments, two armies and three political forces in the South "which they called abolishing the "tiger stripe arrangement"). The Nixon-Kissinger clique hoped to implement these strategy by strengthening the puppet government and supplying more arms to the puppet army under the formula (the puppet army plus U.S. aid and the U.S. command baton." They hoped to implement this strategy through the "deterrence" provided by U.S. forces and by taking advantage of detente in the world and closely coordinating with the big nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China.

After the Paris Agreement, Beijing ruling circles outwardly welcomed the agreement; inwardly, however, they began making every effort to impede our people's fight to liberate the South, reduced their aid to the lowest level ever and collaborated with the U.S. imperialists in their scheme to maintain the Thieu government and permanently partition our country.(1)

To carry out this strategy, the U.S. imperialists made every effort to build the puppet army into the "strongest army in Southeast Asia" with 1,100,000 men organized into four military corps consisting of 13 divisions and many brigades, regiments and battalions with 1,850 aircraft of all types, 1,588 pieces of artillery, 2,074 tanks, 1,611 warships and hundreds of millions of tons of war supplies sent to the South before and after the signing of the Paris Agreement. In addition, there were also fully armed security and civil guard forces.

On this basis, they adopted one war plan after another(2), the objectives of which were to occupy all of our liberated areas and place all of South Vietnam under their control in the space of 3 years, from 1973 to 1975.

However, the enemy incorrectly evaluated the development of the revolutionary forces and overestimated their forces following the signing of the Paris Agreement.

In South Vietnam, there were two zones of control, two armies and two governments. The revolutionary armed forces were firmly in control of the important strategic areas. The prestige of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was constantly growing in the international arena. The high level conference of nearly 80 non-aligned countries held in Algeria in September 1973 recognized the Republic of South Vietnam as an official member of the movement of non-aligned countries and recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government as the only legitimate representative of the people of South Vietnam. Following the Paris Agreement, the Vietnamese revolution, the Lao revolution and the Kampuchean revolution developed smoothly. The liberated zones of the three countries of Indochina now touched one another and combined to form a vast, interconnected and very effective base area for the revolutions of the three countries.

As for the enemy, their position was constantly eroding. Following the withdrawal of their troops from South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists found themselves deeply involved in a serious crisis. The United States was submerged in a "crisis of confidence," the U.S. economy had declined, inflation and unemployment were increasing, U.S. society was in chaos and the administration and the political parties were deeply divided internally. The Watergate scandal made the situation in the United States even worse. A disgraced Nixon was forced to leave the White House. U.S. military aid to the Saigon puppet government was gradually cut, from 1.614 billion dollars in 1972-1973 to 1.026 billion dollars in 1973-1974 and 701 million dollars in 1974-1975.

The Nguyen Van Thieu puppet government was encountering mounting difficulties that could not be overcome. A shortage of ammunition, a nearly 60 percent decrease in fire power support, a shortage of aircraft, vehicles and fuel, and a 50 percent reduction in mobility forced Thieu to appeal to the puppet army to shift to the "poor country" style of fighting. The "ground war" strategy, the objective of which was to "protect territorial security to the maximum degree possible," caused the forces of the enemy to be spread out over areas that were too large. As a result of this decentralized deployment, the enemy army could not counter the strength of the attacks and uprisings everywhere by our army and people on all battlefields.

In July 1973, the 21st Plenum of the Party Central Committee established the tasks of the revolution in the South following the signing of the Paris Agreement. The resolution of the plenum stated: the basic task of the revolution in the South in the new stage is to complete the people's national democratic revolution. The immediate tasks of the southern revolution are: uniting all the people, waging an effective and flexible struggle on the

political, military and diplomatic fronts and, depending upon the time and place, coordinating these three struggles to force the enemy to scrupulously comply with the Paris Agreement on Vietnam while preparing for a counter-offensive to win total victory. The resolution stressed: regardless of the situation, the road to the victory of the revolution in the South will continue to be a road of violence, consequently, we must firmly adhere to an offensive strategy.

After the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, South Vietnam did not enjoy 1 day of peace. The Americans and Thieu assembled every available force, resorted to every possible scheme and employed "pacification" and land-grabbing operations as their foremost strategic measures in a vain attempt to abolish the liberated areas, the peoples liberation armed forces and the people's government, strengthen their government and army and eventually destroy the fruits of the revolution, ignore the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and place all of South Vietnam under the yoke of U.S. neo-colonialism.

In keeping with the resolution of the 21st Party Plenum, our people in the South resolutely retaliated against the acts of war of the Saigon puppet government by taking appropriate steps everywhere. The liberation armed forces not only resolutely retaliated against the "pacification" and land-grabbing operations of the enemy, but also fought the enemy at the bases from which they conducted their sweep and land-grabbing operations. The result was that, during the 2 years 1973 and 1974, our army and people defeated practically all of the land-grabbing operations of the enemy, took back many areas under enemy control, reduced the size of the area under enemy control, maintained and expanded our liberated zone, pushed the enemy into a defensive position and forced them to draw back to the urban areas and along important roads.

In mid-1974, a new pattern emerged on the battlefield in the South. After our army had liberated the district seats of Thuong Duc, Minh Long, Nha Bich, Tong Le Chan, Tanh Linh, Mang Den, Gia Vut and so forth, the enemy had to admit that these towns were lost and that they were unable to regain them. These victories proved that the puppet main force army was unable to contend with our main force army and also proved that the possibility of totally defeating the puppet army had become an immediate, real possibility. This conclusion was further confirmed by our liberation of Phuoc Long City and the entirety of Phuoc Long Province on 6 January 1975.

By the end of 1974, the situation had undergone fundamental changes. The conditions for liberating the entirety of the South were ripening. The people's armed forces, consisting of the three military elements, were constantly growing in size and quality. Mobile military corps consisting of many combined branches were born, thereby creating powerful fists and sharp prongs in the important strategic areas. Our armed forces and people, who were maintaining the initiative on the battlefield, were not only able to

defeat the land-grabbing "pacification" plan of the enemy, but also had the strength to launch major campaigns, annihilating the large military corps of the enemy and liberating many large, densely populated areas, even in the lowlands and cities. The network of strategic transport roads and campaign roads stretched for more than 20,000 kilometers, running along the Truong Son Mountain Range into eastern Nam Bo and the various battlefields and telephone lines now stretched from Hanoi to Loc Ninh, as a result of which the great rear area could talk directly to the liberated areas by telephone; large quantities of grain, weapons, gasoline, oil and equipment were transported to the battlefields, thereby providing good rear service support of the liberation war in its final stage. The achievements of restoring the economy of the North during the 2 years 1973 and 1974 enabled the people of the North to provide a high level of support in terms of both manpower and materiel. The political struggle in the cities of the South, although not uniformly developed, did reflect a common trend toward toppling the dictatorial, warmongering, fascist regime of Nguyen Van Thieu and demanding peace, independence, democracy and improved living conditions.

Seeing the danger of the collapse of the Saigon puppet government, the imperialists and international reactionaries looked for every way to prevent the total victory of the southern revolution. On 20 January 1974, with the approval of the United States, the Chinese authorities sent troops to attack and occupy the Paracel Islands of Vietnam. This collaboration between the United States and China was once again exposed to world opinion. Whereas 10 years ago, China collaborated with the United States so that the United States could send troops into the South and bomb the North, now, the United States was collaborating with China so that China could occupy territory of Vietnam.(3)

In the face of the new situation, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a conference in October 1974 and January 1975 that evaluated the situation and issued an historic resolution.

The conference observed that the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy throughout the country as well as on the southern battlefield had undergone basic changes and that we were now stronger than the enemy. Never before had we had such a favorable strategic opportunity for completing the national democratic revolution in the South. The conference decided to:

"Mobilize the entire party, the entire army and all our people in both the North and the South to make the greatest possible efforts during 1975 and 1976 to intensify the military struggle and the political struggle in coordination with the diplomatic struggle in order to bring about rapid and comprehensive changes in the comparison of forces on the southern battlefield in a direction advantageous to us, very urgently carry out and complete all the necessary preparations, create the necessary conditions and carry out a general offensive and general uprising that annihilate and rout the puppet army, topple the puppet government from the central to the local levels, put political power into the hands of the people and liberate the South." At the same time, the conference stressed the need to make every

effort to fully prepare for assembling the forces of the entire country and liberating the South when the historic opportunity arises, even as early as 1975.

The conference pointed out that the general offensive would be one of decisive significance and had to be given priority.

FOOTNOTES

1. At the time, Chinese authorities were encouraging the United States to "not accept defeat in Vietnam, not withdraw from Southeast Asia" (General A. Halg, the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 20 June 1979).
2. There were: the 1973-1975 three year war plan of the puppets which was designed to restrict our armed operations to squad level and within the scope of 15 bases; the 1974-1979 six year plan to build up the puppet army, which was designed to modernize the puppet army and make it a well trained army; and the 1973-1980 eight year post-war economic plan, which was designed to make the puppet economy stronger than the economy of the North.
3. At that time, U.S. Ambassador A. Martin in Saigon had rejected the aid request of the Nguyen Van Thieu government and the U.S. fleet in the Pacific was ordered to move far away from the Parcel Islands.

[5 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] As regards the possibility that the United States would intervene and return to the South, the conference observed: when the U.S. imperialists suffered a heavy defeat and were forced to withdraw their troops, it became very difficult for them to send troops back to Vietnam to commit aggression; however, they might intervene by means of air and naval forces should the puppets face the danger of collapse, provided that the puppets mount a stiff resistance. The conference concluded that we have the determination and conditions needed to win victory over them regardless of the situation.

The Central Highlands battlefield was selected as the primary offensive front, with Ban Me Thuot being selected as the site of the key, opening battle.

The work of guiding, commanding and organizing combat operations of the Central Military Party Committee and the High Command throughout the course of the general offensive and uprising was under the close leadership of the Political Bureau.

The party organizations of the localities in the South as well as the North and all sectors focused every effort on meeting the tremendous requirements of the new task, ready to seize this historic opportunity.

The general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975 won its first resounding victory in the Central Highlands campaign (which lasted from 10 to 25 March 1975). To open this campaign, after cutting strategic lines of communication and destroying a number of important bases, we cleverly used decoy troops to draw the enemy's attention toward Pleiku; and, when Ban Me Thuot, the key target of the Central highlands campaign, became relatively weak, we used the strong, combined forces of various branches to boldly launch a surprise attack directly on the city. After nearly 2 days of fighting, we took total control of Ban Me Thuot.

This was a thundering blow that caused the enemy's army to reel in confusion.

On 12 March, Thieu issued the order to "hold Ban Me Thuot at all costs." The enemy sent troops to launch an insane counter-attack in a vain attempt to reoccupy Ban Me Thuot, but our troops defeated them. On 14 March 1975, strongly threatened by the offensive and uprisings by our army and people on all battlefields, Thieu and the puppet high command hastily reached the decision to withdraw from the provinces of Pleiku and Kontum in a vain attempt to preserve their forces. The Political Bureau and the Central Military Party Committee predicted that this situation would occur and directed units to prepare to annihilate them. The withdrawal by the enemy's army turned into a flight in panic and, on 24 March 1975, all fleeing enemy forces were destroyed. The Central Highlands battle had resulted in total victory.

The vast, strategic Central Highlands and its population of some 600,000 persons of the various ethnic minorities were liberated. Some 120,000 enemy troops had been killed. Charging forward in the midst of victory, our main force military corps developed their offensive toward the central coastal lowlands. In close coordination with the Central Highlands, our army and people made every effort to attack the enemy on all fronts. The offensive and uprisings were developing strongly in the provinces of Central Vietnam and southern Trung Bo. Under the flexible and determined leadership of the local party organizations, our people coordinated with troops to arise and win the right of ownership, liberating the provinces of Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa (including the military port of Cam Ranh), Lam Dong, Tuyen Duc and Quang Duc. The entirety of the puppet's military region 2 had been taken over by us.

Immediately after liberating Ban Me Thuot and the Central Highlands, the Political Bureau observed: we have the ability to win a large victory at a faster rate than projected; in fact, with this victory, the strategic general offensive has begun. The Political Bureau decided to totally liberate the South before the 1975 rainy season.

The victory of the Central Highlands campaign was followed by the victory of the Hue-Da Nang campaign.

As soon as the Central Highlands campaign began, the army and people of Tri Thien, following the directive of the Political Bureau and the Central Military Party Committee, strongly coordinated their activities and launched attacks and uprisings at many places. On 19 March 1975, we liberated all of Quang Tri Province. Then, the army and people of Thua Thien-Hue surrounded Hue by means of numerous prongs of attack and tightly controlled the roads being used by enemy troops to flee to the sea and into Da Nang. On 24 March 1975, Tam Ky and Quang Ngai were liberated. On 26 March 1975, the people's armed forces, together with the large revolutionary forces of the masses, surrounded and destroyed the bases defending Thua Thien-Hue, which were manned by more than 40,000 enemy troops, thereby taking control of the city of Hue and all of Tri-Thien.

The resounding victory in Tri Thien-Hue together with the victories in Tam Ky and Quang Ngai totally isolated Da Nang.

In the face of the changing situation of the Central Highlands campaign, especially during the days of the liberation of one province after another in southern Trung Bo, the Political Bureau and the Central Party Committee issued a directive to the army and people of Interzone 5 instructing them to make preparations for the battle of Da Nang. Responding to the new situation, the party committee and command of Interzone 5 shifted their offensive toward the North and became determined to totally liberate Interzone 5 in keeping with the spirit of the directive of the Political Bureau and the Central Military Party Committee.

On 24 March 1975, when the battle for Hue was at its height, the Central Military Party Committee and the High Command decided to launch the attack on Da Nang under the following guidelines: attacking as promptly, swiftly, boldly and unexpectedly as possible and be assured of victory.

The puppet government declared its determination to "fight to the end" and defend Da Nang at all costs. With a force of roughly 100,000 troops from all branches and services, the infantry, artillery, armored units, the air force, the navy, security troops, self-defense troops, civil guard troops and police, they hoped to stop our offensive. They also calculated that we would need at least 1 month following the liberation of Hue to prepare for an attack on Da Nang. However, every plan of the enemy collapsed. In the face of the panic of the Americans and the puppets, a new storm of the revolution appeared over the heads of the country-robbers and traitors.

On 27 March 1975, main force corps of ours moving from three directions, Hue, Tam Ky and Thuong Duc, boldly advanced toward Da Nang where, together with local army units and the people, they staged an extremely strong and decisive offensive and uprising. This was followed by a strong offensive and uprising by the army and people of Quang Ngai; the army and people of Quang Nam staged an uprising and offensive that liberated Hoi An City, the army and people of Da Nang staged an uprising and offensive in which they liberated the prison,

surrounded and disarmed the enemy, suppressed reactionaries and quickly led main force troops to occupy enemy positions and protect economic and cultural installations. On 29 March 1975, only a little more than 30 hours after their offensive and uprising began, our army and people had won a brilliant victory, liberating Da Nang, the second largest city in the South, and killing or routing more than 100,000 enemy troops, including the command of the puppet's Military Region 1, while destroying the strongest combined military bases of the enemy in Trung Bo. The puppet's Military Region 1 had been abolished. The enemy's newly initiated plan for a strategic drawback in a vain attempt to maintain their hold on the coastal lowlands had been smashed.

While we were launching major attacks in the Central Highlands and on Hue-Da Nang, the army and people of eastern Nam Bo, coordinating their combat operations, staged a strong offensive and uprising that totally liberated Binh Long Province, destroyed many of the enemy's district seats, subsectors and military bases and opened a very important liberated area to the north and northwest of Saigon. In the Mekong River Delta, our armed forces and compatriots also arose and launched violent attacks against the enemy, winning the right of ownership in many localities. These victories created additional advantages for our army and people to develop their forces in every respect in order to carry out the general offensive on Saigon and liberate all of Nam Bo.

The victory of the Hue-Da Nang campaign and the victory of the Central Highlands campaign as well as the victories won on all other battlefields put the enemy's army into a desperate situation, their morale fell, their organization was in a shambles and they were frustrated both tactically and strategically. Even the U.S. imperialists had to admit that these were blows from which one rarely recovered and that they had no miracle whatsoever for restoring the situation. However, due to their extremely reactionary and obstinate nature, the Americans and the puppets still looked for every way to mount a defense.

Under the supervision of U.S. General Weyland and with a large quantity of weapons provided through emergency aid from the United States by means of a new air lift from Bangkok(Thailand), they quickly built the defense line extending from Phan Rang southward in a vain attempt to hold on until the rainy season and adopted an urgent plan to consolidate and strengthen their forces in preparation for new tests of strength. In the Saigon area, their final stronghold, the enemy deployed large forces to control the roads leading into the city; infantry divisions and brigades, armored units, paratroop units and so forth were heavily deployed in every direction. They also placed obstacles to impede our infantry and tanks and mobilized three air force divisions to provide direct combat support.

Meanwhile, and intense revolutionary-offensive spirit and strong confidence in final victory filled the heart of each of our soldiers and compatriots from the North to the South.

Following the 25 March 1975 meeting of the Political Bureau, during which the specific task of liberating Saigon before the onset of the rainy season on 31 March 1975 was set forth, the Political Bureau met again and observed: the strategic general offensive has won an extremely large victory, killing or putting out of combat two enemy military corps, liberating 16 provinces and increasing the number of people within liberated areas to 8 million. In terms of both position and forces, we possess overwhelming strength and the enemy army has shown itself to be powerless, to be unable to avoid total collapse. The strategic opportunity for a general offensive and general uprising in the stronghold of the enemy has fully ripened and we must be fully determined to complete this final, decisive strategic battle as best possible in April 1975. The Political Bureau observed: Saigon is the final stronghold of the enemy, is the place that will determine the fate of U.S. neo-colonialism and the lackey government; therefore, the enemy will have to use every available force in a "do or die" defense of Saigon. The Political Bureau decided to establish a Saigon Front Command and Party Committee led and guided by a collective of Political Bureau members on the battlefield (Le Duc Tho, Pham Hung and Van Tien Dung); Van Tien Dung, the chief-of-staff, personally served as campaign commander while Pham Hung served as its political officer. Before that meeting, on 25 March, the Political Bureau decided to establish a Battlefield Support Council with Pham Van Dong as its chairman. Every job was carried out under the slogan: "Lightning-like speed, boldness, surprise, sure victory." Number one priority was given to the campaign to liberate Saigon.

Many large, main force military corps were sent from many different directions into the battle and, together with the military corps and units already fighting on the battlefield, formed the strong troop formations of the campaign. Some military corps had to travel thousands of kilometers with all of their technical equipment, had to fight while conducting this operation and had to overcome every difficulty and obstacle on their way to the battle.

Large groups of cadres from the various sectors and levels and reinforced units of new troops together with large quantities of supplies, weapons and grain from every region of the country, including the newly liberated areas, were continuously sent to the frontlines in keeping with the plan of the battlefield Support Council.

Under the direct leadership of the local party organizations of the South, the people in the areas under enemy control, in the countryside as well as the cities, began preparing for the most decisive fight. Experienced in the face to face struggle with the enemy, our people saw the opportunity that existed and were ready to stage an offensive and uprising in the final decisive battle. A plan for a mass uprising throughout Nam Bo and within the city of Saigon-Gia Dinh in order to coordinate with the offensive by main force troops was drawn up on the basis of the directive of the Political Bureau.

The atmosphere of a major festival of sending troops into battle became extremely exciting when our entire party, all our people and our entire army learned the news that the Political Bureau had decided to name the campaign to liberate Saigon the Ho Chi Minh campaign.

In early April 1975, we conducted strong activities east of Saigon, attacking Xuan Loc, a vital defense area of the enemy in this direction. In mid-April 1975, the large formation of troops that were advancing on Saigon from the east liberated Phan Rang, destroying all enemy forces there, including the forward command of the puppet's military Region 3. Next, the local armed forces and political forces of the masses staged uprisings that liberated Binh Thuan and Binh Thuy. Continuously attacked and under strong pressure, the enemy forces at Xuan Loc were forced to flee and were destroyed. To the southeast, one of our military corps attacked and occupied Ba Ria. To the southwest, we opened a corridor along Route 4 and established a springboard for a large formation of troops to attack Saigon from this direction. To the north and northwest, two large troop formations established battle positions and advanced on the enemy, annihilating many forces, paralyzing their artillery positions and cut the roads that provided them with military. In Saigon and its suburbs as well, under the leadership of the Saigon-Gia Dinh Municipal Party Committee, the masses intensely prepared for the largest of all battles; commando, self-defense and sapper units were deployed immediately outside Saigon and at stipulated targets.

While our people's fight to liberate the city of Saigon was being urgently prepared, repeated victories were also being won in the war of resistance against the United States in Kampuchea. On 17 April 1975, the people of Kampuchea, with the combat support and positive assistance of the people of Vietnam and the people of Laos, liberated the capital Phnom Penh. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys suffered a heavy defeat and did not dare make any response whatsoever. This was further proof of the total lack of power of the United States in the face of the unstoppable victory of the peoples of the countries of Indochina.

On 26 April 1975, the major offensive on Saigon began. Heavy combat and fierce fire fights occurred first on the eastern front, where the enemy had concentrated many forces and organized a very intense resistance. Our five large troop formations began moving from all directions; joining with the local armed forces and with the help of the masses staging the uprising, they launched a mass attack on the enemy with the power of a typhoon. Between 26 and 28 April, we destroyed an important contingent of the enemy forces on the outer defense line and tightened the encirclement of Saigon. On the afternoon of 28 April, our air force bombed Tan Son Nhut airport, destroying many enemy aircraft.

[6 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] The Americans and the puppets were extremely terrified in the face of the imminent peril of total collapse. On 18 April 1975, U.S. President

G. Ford issued an order to quickly evacuate Americans from Saigon. This flight by the United States, which was called the "life saver" operation, was carried out in haste and panic by means of a large air and naval force of the United States. After Huong replaced Thieu (21 April) and Minh replaced Huong (28 April), the lackey puppet government truly found itself in a desperate situation. Nevertheless, the enemy still tried to use its remaining divisions in a vain effort to hold onto the land they still had. Through the malicious schemes of the imperialist clique and the international reactionaries, the Americans and puppets still hoped to reverse the situation by means of clever diplomatic tricks. On 29 April, three representatives of the Saigon government were sent to a delegation of ours at Tan Son Nhut to explore and present a "cease fire" proposal for the purpose of negotiations. The U.S. ambassador in Saigon also asked to meet with our delegation. This was a move taken by the Americans and the puppets to stop our general offensive, which was about to win total victory. In the face of the death throes of the Saigon puppet government, the Chinese authorities schemed to persuade many puppet generals, colonels and government officials to resist the general offensive and uprising of our army and people. However, the fate of the Saigon puppet government had already been determined and this scheme of Beijing to save this government was also thwarted in its infancy.

On the morning of 29 April 1975, the Political Bureau sent a message that praised the feats of arms of all of the cadres, soldiers, party members and Youth Union members participating in the campaign and appealed to everyone to rapidly attack the stronghold of the enemy with the greatest possible determination, disarm the enemy's troops, abolish the puppet governments on the various levels, liberate Saigon-Gia Dinh and win thorough victory. The Political Bureau reminded the cadres and soldiers who would enter the city to concern themselves with the lives of the people, maintain strict discipline and protect the life and property of the people.

On 30 April 1975, with the very brave combat coordination of well trained special forces, commando forces and self-defense forces in the city and its outskirts together with widespread and very timely uprisings by the masses in and outside the city, our powerful troop formations deeply penetrated the city with lightning-like speed and occupied the important targets within Saigon-Gia Dinh: "Independence" Palace, that is, the office of the puppet president, the staff headquarters and regional command of the various branches of the enemy's army, Tan Son Nhut Airport, the puppet Ministry of National Defense, the port of Bach Dang, the radio station, the capital special zone and police headquarters. The residents of Saigon joyously welcomed the armed forces, who were their own children, and, together with troops, pursued the enemy, disarmed them, killed hoodlums and spies, appealed to enemy soldiers to join the revolution, guided troops around the city and protected economic and cultural installations. Shortly before the morning of 30 April, U.S. Ambassador Martin sneaked out of Saigon in a helicopter. Acting puppet President Duong Van Minh was forced to declare an unconditional surrender. At exactly 1130 hours on 30 April 1975, the flag of the revolution was raised above the office of the puppet president.

Since the first days of April 1975, in the course of liberating the provinces of central and southern Trung Bo, our army and people liberated a number of islands along our country's seacoast. On 14 April, Military Region 5, in coordination with naval headquarters, liberated the Spratley Islands, which were being held by the Saigon puppet army. On the momentum of victory following the liberation of Saigon-Gia Dinh, the compatriots and soldiers of the provinces still remaining in Nam Bo, in keeping with the plan of the Central Department and Regional Command and under the guideline of "villages liberating villages, districts liberating districts, provinces liberating provinces," arose as one in an offensive and uprising that resulted in the occupation of bases, district seats and cities and forced the puppet army to lay down its weapons and surrender. In the face of a rout that could not be reversed, the entire armed force and puppet government in the puppet's Military Region 4 collapsed. By 2 May 1975, all of the remaining provinces in Nam Bo had been liberated. Remote islands, such as Phu Quoc, Con Son and so forth, were also liberated one after the other during this time.

All together, during this period of time, we killed or routed more than 400,000 enemy troops in the puppet's Military Regions 3 and 4, destroyed the entire control system from the central to the basic levels, captured all weapons and property in the hands of the puppet army and government and liberated Saigon-Gia Dinh and all remaining provinces and cities in the South.

The general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975, the highpoint of which was the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, ended in total victory.

The very correct and bold strategy of the party had been thoroughly implemented. Under the leadership of the party, our people excellently carried out the Testament of Uncle Ho: "Our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation, regardless of how many hardships and sacrifices might be involved, will surely result in total victory... Our fatherland will surely be reunified, the compatriots of the South and the North will surely live under the roof of one house."

Evaluating this victory, the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party stated: "As the stage of development of the final phase of the entire war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, as the combined result of all forces and factors that created the strength of inevitable victory of our people in the great patriotic war, the general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975 accomplished in 1 day what would ordinarily take 20 years to achieve. In the space of only 55 days and nights, with overwhelming military and political power, our army and people won total victory... More than 1 million puppet troops and the entire puppet government apparatus were routed. The neo-colonialist system built by the United States under five presidents totally collapsed."

The victory of Vietnam was also a tremendous victory for the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world. It made an important contribution to the common struggle of all nations and will go down in the history of the world as a great feat of arms of the 20th century, as an event of tremendous international importance and profound epochal significance.

In the 200 year history of America, this was the largest, heaviest and most disgraceful defeat, was the "Waterloo of the United States." (1) Their scheme to turn South Vietnam into a new style colony and military base of theirs and permanently partition our country had been smashed. Their counter-revolutionary global strategy had been overturned. The U.S. imperialists were seriously weakened militarily, politically and economically and still had to bear many deep and long-range consequences.

The victory of our people in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation concluded the 30 year war to liberate the nation and protect the fatherland, ended the more than 1 century of imperialist rule, excellently completed the historic tasks of national liberation and reunification set forth by the 3rd Congress of the Party and brought about the great turning point that began the advance by the entire country to socialism.

To the world, the victory of the Vietnamese smashed the largest counter-offensive since World War II by the imperialist ringleader against the forces of the revolution; diminished the position of imperialism, expanded the position of socialism; destroyed an important defense line of the U.S. imperialists in Southeast Asia; overturned the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the imperialists and international reactionary powers; put the United States in a position of unprecedented difficulties; weakened the imperialist system; increased the strength and the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents of our times; brought confidence and enthusiasm to hundreds of millions of persons on the earth struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Through this victory, the Vietnamese proved to the entire world that the total bankruptcy of neo-colonialism is unavoidable just as the victory of the 1945 August Revolution and the victory of the resistance against the French imperialist aggressors proved to the world that the total collapse of old-style colonialism had begun.

Under the leadership of the Lao people's revolutionary party, the struggle for peace, independence and democracy of the people of Laos strongly surged throughout the country. The political struggle of the masses, the pressure brought to bear by the revolutionary armed forces, the desertions within the army and the legal struggle within the coalition government were powerful offensive blows that caused the rapid collapse of the rightist army and government. In the space of only 4 months, the entire rightist, lackey government apparatus and army of the United States in Laos totally collapsed.

In keeping with the aspirations of the people, the Lao people's revolutionary government decided to convene a national congress of representatives of the people. On 2 December 1975, the congress decided to abolish the monarchy and found the Lao People's Democratic Republic with Souphanouvong serving as president and Kaysone Phomvihane as prime minister.

The great feat of arms of our people was the result of many combined factors: the correct leadership of the party; the tenacious, indomitable and heroic spirit of the Vietnamese, the strength of the socialist system in the North; the militant solidarity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; and the sympathy, support and international assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and worker movement, the national liberation movement and the struggle for peace and justice of the people of the entire world, including Americans.

From July 1954 to April 1975, in the course of leading the successful implementation of two revolutionary strategies, our party had much experience in the nature of a law.

In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the party brandished the two banners of national independence and socialism and simultaneously carried out two revolutionary tasks: the people's national democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North in order to achieve the common objective of completing the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, reunifying the country and creating the conditions for advancing the entire country to socialism.

Brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism, our party mobilized the forces of the people of the entire country, of the revolution in the South and the revolution in the North as highly as possible in order to win victory for the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism, our party coordinated our people's fight for national salvation with the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism of the people of the world, thereby creating a broad international front supporting Vietnam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The party combined the strength of our people with the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times, thereby creating a combined strength for winning victory over the enemy.

In the course of leading the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our party firmly adhered to and continuously practiced an offensive strategy, gradually repulsing and winning victory over the enemy and creating both the position and forces needed to win total victory.

The party constantly attached importance to strengthening and protecting the rear area in the North while accelerating the offensive to gain control over

and defeat the enemy's infantry in the South. However, when the United States escalated and widened the war, the party was determined to lead the people in winning victory over every type of war of the United States while looking for ways to force them to gradually de-escalate and advance to total victory for ourselves.

The national democratic revolution in the South won victory because our party employed scientific and creative revolutionary methods. These methods were: using the combined strength of the revolution, consisting of the political forces of the masses and the people's armed forces, staging local uprisings and developing them into a revolutionary war; coordinating the military struggle with the political and diplomatic struggles; coordinating uprisings by the masses with revolutionary war, uprisings with attacks, attacks with uprisings; attacking the enemy in all three strategic areas: the mountainous jungles, the rural lowlands and the cities; fighting the enemy by means of the three spearheads: military activities, political activities and troop proselyting; coordinating the three military elements: main force troops, local troops and militia-self-defense forces; coordinating the guerrilla with the conventional war; coordinating small-scale attacks with medium and large-scale attacks; gaining control in order to annihilate the enemy and vice versa; adhering to the strategic guideline of fighting a protracted war while knowing how to create and seize opportunities to launch strategic attacks that change the war situation and lead to a general offensive and uprising, to total victory.

The effective strategic guidance of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau and the art of organizing combat operations of the various party echelons and army command echelons are other experiences of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

The victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation proved: in the present age, an age in which the forces of the revolution are on the offensive, a small nation that does not have a large population but is closely united and struggles with determination under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, adopts a correct revolutionary line and correct revolutionary methods, brandishes the banners of national independence and socialism and has the sympathy, support and assistance of the socialist countries, the revolutionary forces and the progressive people of the world, is fully capable of defeating every imperialist aggressor, even if that aggressor is the ringleader of imperialism.

In the course of leading the socialist revolution in the North, our party observed that the prerequisite of decisive significance in advancing the socialist revolution to total victory is the need to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people.

The socialist revolution in our country is a process of comprehensive, continuous, deep and thorough revolutionary change. It is the process of

simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. It is the process of coordinating transformation with construction, with primary emphasis upon construction; the process of gradually establishing the system of socialist collective ownership, the system of large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the new, socialist man. In this process in our country, building an efficient socialist economic structure means building a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure in which the central economy is coordinated with the local economy, the economy is coordinated with the defense of the nation, our economic ties with the fraternal socialist countries are strengthened and economic relations are developed with other countries.

Part Five: The Party Leads the Work of Building and Protecting the Independent, Reunified and Socialist Vietnamese Fatherland (1975-1980)

Stabilizing the Situation in the South, Completing the Reunification of the Fatherland and Advancing the Entire Country Toward Socialism

The total liberation of South Vietnam was an historic turning point of major significance for our entire nation, one that ushered in a new stage of the Vietnamese revolution.

Our country, which was once partitioned and was the scene of a savage, long war, had become independent and reunified. The Vietnamese revolution advanced from simultaneously performing two strategic tasks to the entire country carrying out the task of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

Even while the war was still in progress, our party made every preparation necessary to promptly meet the requirements of this change in the revolution. The new situation of the country following liberation faced our party with the responsibility of amending and developing its line with a view toward changing the direction of the revolution throughout the country while establishing specific tasks consistent with the characteristics of each region.

As a result, the takeover of the management of the newly liberated areas, from the cities to the countryside, from the mainland to the islands, from military bases to production, administrative, cultural and other installations, was carried out in an urgent and successful manner. Many aspects of the reunification of the country were quickly completed. The pursuit and suppression of counter-revolutionaries were carried out in a positive manner; political security and social order were maintained. Immediately after liberation, every activity of the people in the rural and urban areas, including Saigon, rapidly returned to normal.

In August 1975, the Party Central Committee held its 24th Plenum, which established the strategic tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage

as: "We must complete the reunification of the country and advance the entire country rapidly, strongly, and steadily to socialism. The North must continue to accelerate socialist construction and perfect the socialist production relations; the South must simultaneously carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction."

As regards the socialist revolution in the South, the resolution of the plenum emphasized that while applying the common line of the period of transition to socialism, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the primary guideline in socialist transformation and socialist construction, namely: "closely coordinating transformation and construction in the entire process of the revolution and in the following areas: politics, the economy, technology, culture and ideology on the scope of all of society and within each unit." The resolution pointed out that the coordination of transformation and construction must yield the practical results of constantly developing production, constantly raising social labor productivity, constantly increasing the output of products and commodities, making social life increasingly wholesome and progressive and constantly improving the material and cultural lives of the people.

The resolution set forth the immediate tasks as: building strong, solid revolutionary governments of the people on all levels; resolutely suppressing counter-revolutionaries; abolishing the compradore bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal landowner class; restoring and developing production and eliminating the unemployment left behind by the old system; resolving the problems of circulation, credit, finances, banking and monetary activities; applying appropriate economic management measures; overcoming the harmful consequences of the culture and thinking of the old society and building the new culture and new ideology; accelerating the revolutionary movement among the masses; and intensifying the building of the party in order to insure the success of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage.

As regards socialist construction in the North, the resolution pointed out: in the new stage, very large efforts are needed to overcome every difficulty while continuing to exert the North's positive impact upon the development of the revolution throughout the country.

The reunification of the country would create new strength and new advantages for developing the economy and culture and strengthening the national defense system. The reunification of the country would provide even more conditions for increasing Vietnam's influence in the world. Therefore, the resolution asserted: "The sooner reunification is achieved, the more rapidly we can develop the full strength of the fatherland."

FOOTNOTES

1. Waterloo was the scene of the tragic defeat that led to the total defeat of Napoleon, a famous emperor and general of France in the early 19th

century. There, on 18 June 1815, Napoleon's army was defeated by a joint British-Prussian army, which led to the total collapse of Napoleon's monarchy.

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[Text] While continuing to accelerate the reunification of the country in all fields, we made active preparations for reunification in terms of state administration and the reunification of the revolutionary mass organizations and the national front. The tremendous victory of the general election of the 6th National Assembly, the common national assembly of the entire country, on 25 April 1976 proved the desire for reunification and the spirit of revolutionary awareness of all our people. This confirmed that our compatriots in the South, during the many years they lived under the yoke of control of the neo-colonialist system of the United States, always had confidence in the party, were clearly aware of the inevitable development of history, namely, the reunification of the fatherland and the advance by the entire country to socialism, and clearly realized that socialism was the only path to follow in order to maintain independence and freedom and advance to a civilized and happy life.

In June 1976, in keeping with the aspirations of the people, the National Assembly decided during its first session to change the name of our country to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Saigon was officially renamed Ho Chi Minh City. Hanoi became the capital of the entire country. During this session, the National Assembly also decided to abolish the zone level of administration and merge a number of provinces to form large, strong, administrative-economic units under the direct leadership of the central level and establish good coordination between agriculture and industry, between the economy and the defense of the nation, between the central economy and the local economy.

Together with the brilliant victory of the reunification of the country in terms of state administration, our people made every effort to heal the wounds of the war and stabilize their lives. The economies of the North and the South now had the conditions needed to trade with and support each other.

The North had to accelerate socialist construction to maintain and gradually improve the life of the people, actively support the South in the work of taking over management and stabilizing the situation and advancing the South to socialism while fulfilling its international obligation in the new stage. The socialist production relations in the North were constantly strengthened and broadened. The reorganization of production and the improvement of management were having a more positive impact with each passing day.

The economic installations that were heavily damaged in the two fierce wars of destruction of the United States were rapidly restored and additional ones

were constructed. Many projects and factories were reconstructed and expanded. The output of the majority of important products met and exceeded pre-war levels. A number of new products were promptly put into production and immediately began supporting the restoration of the economy. The corps of technical cadres and workers was growing rapidly. Education, public health services, cultural activities and art activities were developing strongly.

The transformation of the old society and the construction of the new society in the South had achieved initial results. The people's governments on all levels were being strengthened with each passing day. The mass organizations were growing strongly.

The productive labor movement made marked advances. Factories and enterprises tried to overcome their difficulties and resume normal operations. The movement to build water conservancy projects, clear land, restore fields to production and practice intensive cultivation and multicropping developed at many places. A state-operated commerce system was established, thereby helping to limit speculation, hoarding and monopolization of the market.

Wholesome cultural and educational activities were developed. All manifestations of the reactionary, decadent culture were denounced and prohibited. The system of general schools, colleges and vocational middle schools began to be transformed and reorganized. The various strata of the people were becoming increasingly ardent over independence and reunification and more clearly understood socialism and their role of being the masters of the country in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Together with completing the unfinished tasks of the people's national democratic revolution (building people's governments, suppressing counter-revolutionaries, the lackeys of the imperialists, abolishing the remnants of the feudal ownership of cropland and so forth), socialist transformation and the start of socialist construction were accelerated. Although domestic and foreign reactionaries were making every effort to undermine the revolution, order and security were maintained and the situation in the South was stable and underwent good changes in the direction of development of the revolution.

In July 1976, the Political Bureau issued a resolution on the immediate jobs to be performed in the South. The resolution deeply and comprehensively analyzed transformation and construction in the South in the spirit of rapidly bringing all aspects of the situations in the North and the South closer together within socialism, especially the economy. The Political Bureau emphasized the need to strengthen the revolutionary governments on the various levels and set forth specific guidelines for economic restoration and development. The Political Bureau set forth the requirements of firmly controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat and relying upon the strength of the working masses exercising collective ownership to

successfully carry out specific programs and policies designed to abolish the compradore bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal landowner class in 1976 and, on the basis of rapidly, strongly and steadily developing state-operated economic forces, gradually carry out the socialist transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce. The Political Bureau especially emphasized the need to intensify the struggle on the cultural and ideological front and set forth the program for resolving a pressing problem, namely, strengthening the organization and improving the work methods and the relationships among the various levels and sectors throughout the country in a manner consistent with the new situation.

In addition, the Political Bureau asserted the need to firmly adhere to and correctly implement the guideline of closely coordinating transformation and construction as stated in the resolution of the 24th Party Plenum.

To strengthen the political and ideological unity of the entire party, increase its fighting strength and stimulate the revamping and strengthening of organization and the improvement of work methods to suit the requirements of the new situation and tasks in keeping with the spirit of the Political Bureau's resolution, a political activities campaign was launched throughout the entire party in both the South and the North. Through this campaign, cadres and party members deepened their knowledge, heightened their sense of responsibility and heightened their determination to fulfill the tasks of communists in the stage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country.

The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party

While all our people were enthusiastically working, healing the wounds of the war and bringing about revolutionary changes in every field of social life, the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held from 14 to 20 December 1976 in the capital Hanoi.

More than 1,000 delegates representing more than 1.5 million party members throughout the country attended the congress. The Political Report, the Report on the Guidelines, Tasks and Principal Objectives of the Second 5-Year State Plan(1976-1980) and the Summary Report on Party Building and the Revision of the Party Statutes of the Party Central Committee were presented at the congress.

The congress decided to change the name of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party to the Vietnam Communist Party.

The congress summarized the rich experiences gained in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

The resolution of the congress pointed out the three major characteristics of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage:

First, our country is in the process of developing from a society whose economy is still primarily one of small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development.

Secondly, our fatherland is at peace, independent and reunified and the entire country is advancing to socialism with many very large advantages in its favor; however, there are still many difficulties due to the after-effects of the war and the remnants of neo-colonialism.

Thirdly, the socialist revolution in our country is being carried out under favorable international circumstances; however, the struggle to determine "who defeats whom" between revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces in the world is still an arduous and violent struggle.

The congress set forth the common line of the socialist revolution in our country as:

"Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutionary tasks: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution; accelerating socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism; building the system of socialist collective ownership, building the system of large-scale socialist production, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man; abolishing the exploitation of man by man, abolishing poverty and backwardness; constantly displaying high vigilance, regularly strengthening the national defense system and maintaining political security and social order; successfully building a Vietnamese fatherland of peace, independence, unity and socialism; and making positive contributions to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."(1)

The line on building the socialist economy in our country is:

"Accelerating socialist industrialization, building the material-technical bases of socialism and upgrading our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development; coordinating industrial and agricultural development throughout the country within an industrial-agricultural structure; simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development; coordinating the central economy with the local economy within a united national economic structure; coordinating the development of production forces with the establishment and improvement of the new production relations; coordinating the economy with the defense of the nation; strengthening our relationships of cooperation and mutual help

with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism while developing economic relations with other countries on the basis of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefitting both parties; making Vietnam a socialist country that has a modern industrial-agricultural economy, a progressive culture, science and technology, a strong national defense system and a civilized and happy life."(2)

The congress deeply analyzed the system of socialist collective ownership in our country.

Socialist collective ownership encompasses many areas: political ownership, economic ownership, cultural ownership and the ownership of society; being the masters of society, the masters of nature and the masters of oneself; being the masters on a nationwide scale, within each locality and at each installation; and closely coordinating the right of collective ownership with the legitimate freedoms of each individual. This is true ownership, the fullest possible ownership.

The system of socialist collective ownership is most vividly manifested in the right of collective ownership of the working people (the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers), which is exercised primarily through the socialist state under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class.

The economic base of the system of socialist collective ownership is the system of large-scale socialist production.

In conjunction with building the system of socialist collective ownership and the system of large-scale socialist production, it is necessary to build the new culture and mold the new, socialist man.

In order to protect the socialist revolution and protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland, positive steps must be taken to build a strong and solid national defense system of all the people. In view of the fact that our country's economy still faces many difficulties, the party has decided that the armed forces, in addition to their task of always being ready to protect the fatherland, must also actively work in economic construction.

To apply the general line and the economic line of the party to the specific situation that exists, the congress established the guidelines, tasks and principal objectives of the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan in order to achieve the two basic goals of taking one step in building the material-technical bases of socialism and beginning the formation of a new economic structure throughout the country, the main element of which is an industrial-agricultural structure, while further improving the material and cultural lives of the working people.

The resolution of the congress set forth the guidelines for the development of the various national economic sectors, the development of science and technology, the transformation of old production relations and the strengthening and improvement of socialist production relations.

The congress set forth a correct international task and foreign policy, which fully reflect the pure proletarian international spirit which President Ho Chi Minh taught to our party, our people and our army.

The party took the position of making every effort to achieve favorable international conditions in order to rapidly heal the wounds of the war, build the material-technical bases of socialism, strengthen the national defense system and continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal socialist countries and all nations of the world struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In the face of the scheme of the imperialists and the international reactionaries who are making every effort to undermine and divide the socialist countries and undermine the international communist and worker movement, our party maintains that strengthening the unity within the socialist system, within the international communist and worker movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a matter of extremely important significance. Within this bloc of tight unity, our party attaches full importance to protecting and developing the special relationship between the people of Vietnam and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

To insure the successful performance of each revolutionary task of the party, the congress decided the line on party building in order to improve the leadership ability and increase the fighting strength of the party in the new stage.

The resolution of the congress stated that party building must be carried out under the following guidelines:

It is necessary to build a party that is strong in all three respects: politically, ideologically and organizationally. In party building, ideological work and organizational work must be closely coordinated and must be based on the political line and task; at the same time, it is necessary to insure that the political line and task are correct, are thoroughly understood and are fully implemented.

It is necessary to build the party within the revolutionary movement of the masses. The masses must be organized to participate in party building by helping to inspect the activities of the party and inspect the work and qualities of cadres and party members.

The building of the party must be closely linked to strengthening the organization and improving the management ability of the state, closely linked to building and strengthening the mass organizations.

The improvement of the quality of cadres and party members must be coordinated with improving the quality of party chapters and basic party organizations, coordinated with strengthening the leadership agencies of each echelon and sector. In the work of developing the party, importance must be attached to quality and the tendency to place emphasis upon numbers must be combated; the development of the party must always go hand in hand with strengthening the party. On the one hand, it is necessary to accept outstanding persons who meet all standards; on the other hand, it is necessary to promptly expel from the party persons who have degenerated or become deviant. We must vigilantly guard against opportunist elements, spies and reactionaries infiltrating the party.

The congress adopted the statutes (revised) of the Party and elected a new Central Committee consisting of 101 official members and 32 alternate members.

The Political Bureau of the 4th Party Central Committee was also elected, consisting of 14 official members and 3 alternate members. Le Duan was elected as general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

The 4th Congress of the Party was of very important historic significance.

It was the congress of the total victory of the cause of national liberation. The congress summarized the entirety of the people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam and presented very rich and profound lessons. These lessons light the way for the activities of the party in the new stage of the revolution.

It was the congress of the reunification of the fatherland, the congress following 30 years of a brave war of resistance against the partitioning of the country by the old-style colonialism of the French and the neo-colonialism of the United States. The congress marked a new stage of development of our country's revolution and was an important milestone in the history of the nation of Vietnam.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Vietnam Communist Party: "Nghị quyết Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ tư" [The Resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 29.

2. Ibid., p 30.

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[Text] It was the congress of the advance by the entire country to socialism. The congress marked the great leap by our entire nation into the new stage of history. The congress clearly defined the course of development of unified

Vietnam and established, in an independent and autonomous manner, the line, guidelines and tasks of the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country.

The congress was also of very important significance as regards strengthening our organization. The various party committee echelons and the corps of cadres of the party have been selected, trained and utilized in exact accordance with the political line of the congress, thereby assuring their quality, assuring unity and oneness of mind and providing additional strength with which to complete the tasks of the revolution in the new stage.

The tremendous victory of the congress caused the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, and the great nation expansionists and big power hegemonists of China to be extremely jealous and panic-stricken. The plan to build a Vietnam of independence, unity and socialism with strong economic and national defense might and a civilized and happy life, which was set forth by the congress, poses an obstacle to their sinister schemes in this region.

The resolutions of the congress are guiding every Vietnamese in using his talents and intelligence and making every effort to build a Vietnam of independence, unity and socialism.

The brilliant victory of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party inspired the entire party and all our people to begin the new fight and "build our country to be grander and more beautiful," as was the constant dream of President Ho.

The Initial Efforts To Implement the Second 5-Year Plan (1976-1980)

The building of the fatherland in the new stage was begun with the implementation of the second 5-year plan (1976-1980).

The task of foremost importance of the second 5-year plan is to concentrate forces on developing agriculture in a comprehensive, strong and steady manner while accelerating forestry, fishing and consumer goods production. We must build and develop the heavy industrial sectors; develop communications and transportation; intensify capital construction; reorient circulation, financial activities and banking activities to meet the requirements of transformation, construction and the development of the socialist economy; expand our economic ties with foreign countries; accelerate scientific research and develop the key role being played by the scientific-technological revolution; establish, strengthen and perfect socialist production relations; build the socialist culture, accelerate the ideological and cultural revolution and further improve the life of the people.

As regards the measures for implementing the plan, it is first of all necessary to reorganize social production and redistribute production forces

throughout the country; at the same time, it is necessary to improve the management methods and increase the efficiency of the state apparatus.

To implement the second 5-year plan, the Party Central Committee held its 2nd Plenum in July 1977 and its 3rd Plenum in December 1977. The 2nd Plenum adopted the position of using every available force of the country to successfully carry out the task of developing agriculture.

The plenum pointed out that it is necessary, in the next several years, to bring about a leap forward in the development of agricultural production, forestry and fishing, resolve the grain and food problem, create favorable material conditions for building the material-technical bases of socialism and, at the same time, further improve the material and cultural lives of the people.

The plenum asserted the need to establish uniform socialist production relations throughout the country. Together with strengthening and strongly developing state-operated state farms in both the North and the South, it is necessary to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives in the North and carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture in the South.

The 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee reviewed the economic situation during the 2 years 1976 and 1977 and set forth the pressing economic tasks of the 1978 state plan. The plenum observed that the economic situation had begun to change for the better and that new positive factors had emerged, factors that show new capabilities for overcoming difficulties and strongly advancing production. The plenum took the position that an effort must be made to overcome the slow improvement of production and economic management in recent years and bring about a strong change within the economy, thereby providing momentum for implementing the plans of the remaining years of the second 5-year plan.

Our people began the implementation of the second 5-year plan with very basic advantages in their favor: their abundant labor force; the tremendous potentials of the reunified national economy; the economic and technical assistance and cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries and other countries; political unity and the spirit of enthusiasm of all the people following the victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Besides these advantages, however, our people still faced very many difficulties. The serious consequences of more than 30 years of savage war and the colonialist systems, both old and new, will require a long time to overcome. Meanwhile, the pressing needs of the lives of the people following the war require that we take rapid action. We must reorganize our poor, backward economy which is based primarily on small-scale production and build the system of large-scale socialist production throughout the country. We must constantly improve the life of the people while accumulating capital with which to build the material-technical bases of socialism and strengthening the national defense system.

Before much could be done to overcome the aftereffects of the war and correct the backwardness of our country's economy, new and repeated difficulties arose. The hostile actions of the expansionists and big power hegemonists of China and the lackey Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary clique against the SRV caused our people to encounter many new difficulties while facing our country with many new and very large national defense requirements. Harsh natural disasters during several years in a row caused agricultural production to suffer major losses. In particular, the continuous typhoons and floods that occurred in both the South and the North in 1978 caused grain production to fall off by 3 million tons and destroyed or heavily damaged means of production.

Our people, displaying the spirit of "sharing food and clothing," helped one another and overcame the difficulties and challenges. Many new, positive factors emerged in production, construction and combat. In the flood stricken areas, cadres and troops joined with the people in an effort to overcome the aftereffects, stabilize life and restore and develop production. During the 3 years from 1976 to 1978, the agricultural sector grew by nearly 1 million hectares of land as a result of restoring fields to production and opening new lands. Within industry, power output increased by 88,000 kilowatts, coal production increased by 1.9 million tons and cement production increased by 220,000 tons. In communications and transportation, the railroad and highway systems were restored and further strengthened. After being cut for more than 30 years, the Thong Nhat Railroad from the capital Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City was restored to operation.

In the South, the socialist transformation of the various segments of the economy also recorded major victories. Private, capitalist installations were turned into socialist enterprises of many different types. Moreover, artisan and handicraft laborers were reorganized in various forms of collectives. Small merchants were also reorganized. The socialist economic system gained absolute dominance within the industrial and commercial sectors and began playing the key, leadership role within the economy of the South. These victories created the conditions for intensifying the transformation and development of agriculture. Farmers joined work rotation teams, production solidarity teams and production collectives. These various forms of cooperative productive labor had the effect of intensifying the water conservancy movement, intensive cultivation and the restoration of fields, encouraged farmers to contribute to the state and, at the same time, familiarized farmers with collective labor. In the effort to gain the participation of farmers in collective production, we have employed increasingly highly developed forms of organization and stages which are based on the principle of voluntary association by farmers, insure economic returns, closely coordinate transformation and construction and are consistent with the laws of cooperativization as well as consistent with the characteristics of the South. By the winter-spring season of 1978-1979, the coastal provinces of central Vietnam and the Central Highlands had virtually completed agricultural cooperativization. Initial results had

also been achieved in the provinces of Nam Bo, with nearly one-third the total number of farm families having joined production collectives and a number of the first agricultural cooperatives. The process of cooperativization has been closely coordinated with the improvement of technology and the development of production. At many cooperatives, yields have markedly increased. The income of many cooperative members is higher than their former income as private farmers.

The unification of the currencies of the North and the South created favorable conditions for unifying economic and financial management policies and regulations and broadening economic trade throughout the country.

The productive labor emulation movement and the savings movement have developed. The water conservancy movement, the land clearing movement, the movement to plant subsidiary food crops and develop winter crop production, the cooperativization movement and the movement to reorganize production within agriculture, the emulation movement to make technological advances, economize on materials and find substitute materials within many industrial enterprises and, most deserving of attention, the "bit of soil is a bit of gold" movement to accelerate the production of grain and food products are developing strongly.

Party building has been accelerated in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 4th Party Congress. The apparatus on the various levels have been further strengthened. The number of party committee members who have a college or middle school education has increased from 1 to 5 percent, and to 11.8 percent on the provincial level. The teaching of theory to cadres and party members has been strongly accelerated through long-term training under the basic program or short-term training in lines and policies. The expulsion of unqualified members from the party has been coordinated with constantly improving the quality of party members and strengthening party chapters. The acceptance into the party of outstanding persons from among the working masses and within the people's army has increased the quality of party members and further increased the fighting strength of the party.

However, these efforts have not been enough to enable our people to immediately overcome the difficulties caused by natural disasters and enemy attacks. These difficulties have not been corrected well because we have displayed shortcomings in the guidance of implementation and the organization of management. We have adopted the correct line and guidelines for economic development but they have not been thoroughly reflected in policies, in the organization of management or in the organization of implementation. We do not have a full sense of awareness regarding building an independent, autonomous economy, consequently, we have not taken positive steps to resolve the pressing economic problems that we are capable of resolving. Economic management policies and regulations do not correctly or creatively reflect the economic laws of socialism in a manner consistent with the characteristics

of our country and do not provide true incentive for production. Not much has been done to correct the administrative management system of one echelon overlapping another nor the problem of giving light attention to economic returns. The management apparatus and the guidance of implementation do not insure the correct implementation of the lines and policies of the party and do not reflect firm adherence to the foremost task of making every effort to develop agricultural production and advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production. The organization of production has been revamped slowly. Organizational work and cadre work do not meet the requirements of tasks and do not insure the completion of tasks in the new period.

Together with the economic victories won in both regions of the country, our diplomatic activities have also been strongly developed. The SRV's joining the United Nations was a tremendous victory of ours in diplomatic activities.

The visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Laos by a delegation from our party and government led by Le Duan and Pham Van Dong was a brilliant success. On 18 July 1977, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and Laos, the treaty defining the national border between the two countries and the treaty between Vietnam and Laos on aid and loans during the 3 years from 1978 to 1980 were signed in the capital Vientianne. This historic event marked a new and extremely important stage of development of the militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. The treaty defining the national border between Vietnam and Laos is a beautiful expression of the perfect combination of genuine patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism, is a model of the policy of neighborly friendliness between the SRV and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. With this treaty, the peoples of the two countries are determined to build the Vietnam-Lao border into a border of firm and permanent friendship.

In December 1978, the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee unanimously evaluated the advances made during the first 3 years of the implementation of the resolution of the 4th Party Plenum, pointed out the new difficulties caused by the scheme and actions of the Chinese reactionaries and by natural disasters and, at the same time, pointed out the shortcomings in our guidance of implementation and economic management. The plenum established three major tasks for our people in the new situation: 1) 1) Stabilizing the life of the people; 2) strengthening the national defense and security systems and protecting the fatherland; 3) continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

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[Text] The Defeat of the Two Wars of Aggression of the Great Nation Expansionism and Big Power Hegemony of China on the Southwestern Border and the Northern Border of Our Country

Following decades of the destructive war of aggression of imperialism, our people needed peace when the war of resistance against the United States for

national salvation ended in total victory in order to rebuild the country.

However, the imperialist clique and the international reactionaries did not want to see a socialist, independent, reunified, prosperous and strong Vietnam. Throughout the past 30 years, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles constantly took the position of maintaining the partitioning of Vietnam, maintaining a weak Vietnam that was, as a result, dependent upon China; if the right conditions existed, they would not hesitate to annex our country. They made every effort to carry out their extremely reactionary global strategy based on their "three worlds!" doctrine.(1) The goals of this strategy are to abolish Marxism-Leninism, abolish socialism, divide and undermine the socialist countries and implement the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of China in the world, beginning in Southeast Asia.

They urgently requested the assistance of the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists and the international reactionary powers, and volunteered to serve as the counter-revolutionary assault soldier resisting the USSR, Vietnam and the socialist countries, resisting the three revolutionary currents in the world.

During the war of resistance of the Vietnamese against the United States for national salvation, they used the assistance being given by them to our people to break the encirclement by the United States of China while trying to pressure us into abandoning our independent, autonomous line; they used the fight of our people to make a deal with the United States; they both helped and restricted us, afraid that our country's revolution would rapidly grow; they helped and prepared the conditions for expanding into Indochina and Southeast Asia. They collaborated closely with the U.S. imperialists in a scheme to maintain the Saigon puppet government and permanently partition our country. However, under the correct leadership of our party and with our independent, autonomous line, the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation won total victory. Our fatherland was reunified and the entire country began advancing to socialism. The scheme of the Americans and the Chinese reactionaries to divide our country was totally thwarted. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution overturned the global counter-revolutionary strategy of the imperialist clique and the Beijing reactionaries. This was a painful defeat for the U.S. imperialists and a bitter defeat for the Chinese expansionists as well. The birth of the SRV posed the largest obstacle ever to their strategic goals. Therefore, the Beijing reactionary gang began looking for every way to collaborate with the imperialists in order to undermine the socialist construction of our people, weaken our country, prepare the annex all three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, conquer the peoples of these three countries and then annex the other countries in Southeast Asia and go on to larger schemes of expansionism.

After their grand schemes and tricks to pressure us into following their line of betrayal were defeated, the Chinese reactionaries began to openly pursue a systematically hostile policy toward our country.

Taking advantage of the victory of the Kampuchean people's resistance against the United States, the Beijing reactionary authorities used the dictatorial, warmongering, anti-national and anti-popular Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackey clique as an assault force in the experimental implementation of the strategy of expansionism and big power hegemony of China with a view toward turning Kampuchea into a military base, a new style colony, a springboard for attacks against the countries of Indochina and Southeast Asia. They threw into Kampuchea hundreds of thousands of weapons and means of war of all types, including hundreds of tanks, hundreds of long-range artillery pieces and dozens of jet aircraft together with 2,000 military advisors and billions of dollars. They quickly built up the army of the Kampuchean reactionaries from 7 divisions in mid-1975 to 23 divisions by the end of 1978 in order to rapidly turn this band into a competent mercenary army. Using counter-revolutionary force and guided and supplied with everything they needed by their Beijing bosses, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique made every effort to implement an extremely reactionary policy both at home and abroad.

At home, they carried out a totally inhumane policy of genocide. Copying China's "proletarian revolution," they carried out an intense internal purge, annihilated the genuine revolutionary forces in Kampuchea and massacred Kampucheans by methods of unprecedented cruelty. Applying the example of the Chinese commune, they forced the people into concentration camps where they were forced to perform servile labor and slowly died from beatings, illness and starvation. They prohibited every social activity, abolished family life and village life and took away every democratic freedom as well as every means of normal life. They abolished money and markets, closed schools and murdered intellectuals. They proclaimed this to be a "thorough revolution."

The extremely reactionary policy of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang inflicted a tragedy of extremely horrible genocide upon the people of Kampuchea. Three million Kampucheans were killed. The remaining 4 million people were forced to live lives of extreme misery. The country of Kampuchea was ravaged. It was inevitable, therefore, that a struggle to save the country and the home would break out among the people of Kampuchea.

Overseas, under the command of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique unleashed a war on the southwestern border of our country. Immediately after South Vietnam was totally liberated, the Kampuchean reactionaries conducted a series of military operations to occupy land in our country and provoke our country. On 3 May 1975, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique sent troops to attack Phu Quoc Island. On 8 March 1975, they invaded Vietnamese territory at many places from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh and, on 10 May 1975, they attacked Tho Chu Island. In late 1975 and early 1976, they repeatedly violated the border of our country in a systematic and

increasingly large-scale manner. In April 1977, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique used many divisions to attack Vietnamese territory many times, very barbarously massacring our compatriots along the border. Then, they broadened the armed conflicts on the border into a war of aggression against our country. The Kampuchean reactionaries also collaborated with reactionary forces within our country in a vain attempt to coordinate their attack from the outside with an insurrection within our country. Our people, unwaveringly displayed good will in a desire to resolve the border problem through peaceful negotiations. However, the Kampuchean reactionaries considered our good will to be a sign of weakness. They stubbornly rejected the proposals made by our government, proposals that conformed with both reason and sentiment(2), and replied to them with new acts of aggression.

In the face of their extremely barbarous crimes, it was inevitable that the people of Kampuchea would rise in resistance and our compatriots along the border were also forced to fight in order to protect their sovereignty, territory and lives. As a result, the war of our people to protect the fatherland was smoothly coordinated with the uprising and war of national liberation of the people of Kampuchea.

The Chinese reactionaries directed the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in its attack against our country on the southwestern border while pressuring us militarily on our northern border. They also schemed to foment rebellion and overthrow the Lao people's democratic government in a vain attempt to bring pressure to bear upon us from the west. In May 1978, the Beijing reactionary authorities fabricated the "overseas Chinese" incident, made every effort to entice and force Chinese residents in our country to migrate to China and then falsely accused us of "expelling" the Chinese. In June 1978, they closed three of our general consulates in China. On 3 July 1978, the Chinese government unilaterally decided to suspend all economic and technical aid to Vietnam and recalled all engineers and technical cadres of China still working in Vietnam. In order to generate national hatred, divide the Vietnamese from the Chinese and Khmer and undermine the friendship between the people of Vietnam and the people of China, the people of Vietnam and the people of Kampuchea, they used propaganda on a daily basis to incite anti-Vietnamese feeling.

Their actions clearly revealed to the people of the world that they have taken the side of the exploiting classes against the working class and laboring people, have taken the side of the imperialists in opposing the revolution, opposing all progressive mankind.

In this situation, two opposing forces were formed in the world: the forces of the revolution and progress in the three revolutionary currents of our times and, on the other side, the imperialist, reactionary forces opposing socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, which include the United States, the ringleader of the imperialist forces, and the Beijing reactionary gang, the largest international reactionary power and an ally of the United States.

In Southeast Asia, the main antagonism is between national independence and socialism, on the one hand, and the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of China and the imperialist forces, on the other hand, which are struggling for interests and influence in this region. The Beijing reactionary gang is playing the role of the most dangerous counter-revolutionary assault force, directly resisting the three revolutionary currents in Southeast Asia.

In the face of the sinister scheme and the increasingly bold hostile acts of harassment and provocation by the Chinese reactionaries, our party promptly pointed out who the new and very dangerous enemy of our people is, and, on this basis, set forth the task of rapidly strengthening our economic and national defense potentials and making every preparation to be ready to defeat the Chinese aggressors. The party pointed out: defeating every scheme and action of great nation expansionism against Vietnam is the historic mission of the people of our entire country in order to protect our national independence, advance rapidly, strongly and steadily to socialism, help to protect and strengthen socialism in the world and in China and maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

To meet the requirements of the new situation and task, the Party Central Committee issued a resolution on strengthening our organization and improving work methods. The resolution stated: In the new situation, in order to fulfill our historic mission to the nation and the people of the world, we must strengthen our organization and improve our work methods in order to achieve the goals of raising labor productivity, insuring the quality of products and increasing economic returns; we must profoundly change our viewpoint concerning the building of our organization, bring our methods of guidance up to date and take determined steps to eliminate work methods and habits that are not consistent with the new stage of the revolution; we must be ready to rapidly respond to every situation in a way that insures that both requirements are met: construction and combat-combat readiness.

Our people totally agreed with the party's observations concerning the nature and actions of the expansionism and big power hegemony of China and the two strategic tasks in the new stage of accelerating socialist construction and protecting the fatherland; fighting and maintaining combat readiness.

The resolution of the party was rapidly converted into intense actions by the people of our entire country in all fields of the economy, the national defense system, foreign affairs, ideology and organization.

The high degree of unanimity of the entire party and all the people created a tremendous strength in every area; the productive labor movement within agriculture was accelerated; new advances were made in industry; combat activities, combat support and the maintenance of political security were

carried out well. Our people had to devote an important percentage of their labor, supplies and cadres to strengthen the national defense system and the border areas. Tens of thousands of cadres were sent to strengthen installations, strengthen the district level and strengthen the provincial level on the borders. Hundreds of thousands of laborers were also sent. The various military commands were strengthened.

The production, combat readiness and combat movement became increasingly intense as the acts of harassment and provocation of the expansionists and big power hegemonists of China became increasingly brazen and their intention to invade our country became increasingly clear.

As soon as the expansionists and big power hegemonists began to threaten war against our country, the socialist countries, many other countries in the world and all progressive mankind, under the slogan "hands off Vietnam," raised their voices in sympathy and support and assisted the just cause of our people, denouncing the schemes and actions of the Beijing reactionary authorities.

The fraternal socialist countries have wholeheartedly helped our people to build the socialist economy while helping to increase the strength of the socialist system. In June 1978, CEMA unanimously agreed to accept the SRV as a member country. Our joining CEMA showed that the fraternal friendship and unity among the socialist countries are being strengthened and developed in every way with each passing day. On 3 November 1978, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was signed. Besides the important articles dealing with the development of political, economic and scientific-technical relations between the two countries, the treaty also states: the two parties will exchange opinions with each other concerning all important international issues related to the interests of the two countries. In the case of one of the two parties being attacked or being threatened with attack, the two parties will immediately exchange opinions with each other with a view toward eliminating this threat and taking appropriate, effective steps to insure the peace and security of the two countries.

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and the USSR marks a new stage of development in the relations between the two parties and two countries. By broadening their cooperation with the Soviet Union as well as the other fraternal socialist countries, our people are able to bring more strength to the work of building socialism and protecting the fatherland, thereby helping to stabilize the situation in Southeast Asia and the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to the "three worlds" theory, the "first world" consists of the USSR and the United States, the two "super powers," but the USSR is

"the number one and most dangerous enemy"; the "second world" consists of the developed capitalist countries in Europe and the socialist countries in Europe, with the exception of the USSR; the "third world" consists of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and China itself.

2. On 5 February 1978, our government presented the following three-point proposal:

1. That every hostile military action immediately end in the border area, with the armed forces of each side being stationed within their own territory no closer than 5 kilometers to the border.
2. That the two sides meet immediately in Hanoi, Phnom Penh or at a site on the border between the two countries to discuss and sign a treaty and pledge to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, not commit aggression against the other, not use armed force or the threat to use armed force in the relations with each other, not intervene in each other's internal affairs, not to engage in subversive activities against each other and to treat each other as equals and live in peace and friendship in good neighborly relations.

The two sides will sign a treaty on the border between the two countries on the basis of respecting each other's territorial sovereignty within the present border.

3. That the two sides will reach agreement on a suitable form of international guarantees and international supervision.

[11 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] While our army and people on the southwestern border were continuously thwarting the land-grabbing operations of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the people of Kampuchea also staged continuous uprisings to topple the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary regime and win the right of ownership in many localities. The liberated areas were constantly being expanded. On 2 December 1978, a congress of representatives of the revolutionary forces and the various strata of people in Kampuchea established the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and announced a revolutionary platform to unite all the people in a fight to topple the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary gang, build a Kampuchea of peace, independence, democracy, neutrality and non-alignment and advance to socialism.

Under the leadership of the front, uprisings by the people rapidly developed into a widespread revolutionary armed struggle.

In late December 1978, the reactionary gang in power in China ordered the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to open a large offensive on our country's border.

On 23 December 1978, they attacked the Ben Soi area of Tay Ninh Province with many of their best trained divisions with the intention of occupying Tay Ninh City and opening the way for subsequent military adventures.

To maintain their territorial sovereignty and protect the life and property of the people, our army and people rapidly and strongly retaliated. Within a short time, we had totally smashed the large-scale offensive by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary aggressors, pushing them from all parts of our country and restoring peace along the Southwestern border of our fatherland.

Seizing this extremely favorable strategic opportunity, the revolutionary armed forces and people of Kampuchea staged a general offensive and mass uprising. On 7 January 1979, the capital Phnom Penh was liberated. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was born. The Kampuchean Revolutionary People's Council was established with Heng Samrin serving as chairman.

This great victory saved the people of Kampuchea from the tragedy of genocide caused by the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of China and their lackey clique. The heroic country of Kampuchea came back to life and entered a new era: the era of independence and freedom, of the advance to socialism.

This great victory was a common victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The heroic struggle of the three fraternal peoples on the Indochina peninsula entered a new stage, the stage of close unity in the advance to socialism. The Chinese expansionists have made every effort to implement their scheme of dividing the peoples of the three countries in Indochina in order to easily annex and conquer these peoples. However, the victory of the people of Kampuchea thwarted this scheme and closely linked the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in a stronger and closer unity.

The great nation expansionists and big power hegemonists of China used the Kampuchean reactionary lackeys to undermine the Vietnamese revolution. They continuously instigated war in order to cause unstable political security in South Vietnam and erode and rapidly weaken our forces in order to pressure us into following their reactionary line. However, this malicious scheme was smashed by the brave self-defense effort of our compatriots on the southwestern border and the resounding feat of arms of the people of Kampuchea.

The great victory of the people of Kampuchea and our people extinguished a very dangerous crucible of war in the southwestern region of our country by demolishing an important strategic base and smashing the bellicose, lackey assault army which Beijing had worked so hard to build. This victory made an important contribution to the effort to strengthen peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

On 16 February 1979, on an invitation from the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, a delegation from our government led by Premier Pham Van Dong made an official visit of friendship to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. On 18 February 1979, the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and Kampuchea along with other important agreements were signed in the capital Phnom Penh. The treaty states in part: the two sides pledge to wholeheartedly support and assist one another in every way and every form necessary in order to increase the ability to protect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and peaceful labor of the people of each country and combat every scheme and act of sabotage of the imperialist forces and international reactionaries. The two sides will take effective measures to fulfill these commitments when requested by either of the two sides.

After suffering continuous and heavy defeats in a series of schemes to annex and conquer Vietnam, after being driven from the country of Kampuchea, the Beijing reactionary authorities brazenly launched a large-scale war of aggression against our country. On 17 February 1979, they sent 600,000 troops comprising 30 division of 9 main force military corps with thousands of tanks, armored vehicles and pieces of heavy artillery to stage a mass attack on our country along 1,400 kilometers of the northern border from Phong Tho in Lai Chau Province to Mong Cai City in Quang Ninh Province. The Chinese aggressors burned houses, looted, massacred people and committed extremely barbarous crimes against our compatriots along the border. Employing a "sea of humanity" tactic and considering their soldiers to be nothing more than pieces of straw, they insanely risked their lives in an attempt to push deep into the territory of our country, reaching a distance of 50 kilometers at one point, and occupied and razed the four cities of Lao Cai, Cam Duong, Cao Bang and Lang Son as well as many other areas in the six border provinces.

In the more than 1 month during which they trampled upon the border areas of our country, the Chinese aggressors committed extremely barbarous crimes. They murdered whole groups of civilians and numerous women and children in cold blood, savagely bringing back the barbarous methods of murder employed by the medieval tyrants, the blood-thirsty Hitler fascists, and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers. All four of the cities in the areas in which they attacked were levelled; all 320 villages were burned to the ground; 691 child care centers, 428 hospitals and 735 schools were completely destroyed. They also systematically destroyed industrial, agricultural and forestry installations, water conservancy projects, communications-transportation projects and other instruments of production, including important factories and mines, 41 state farms and 31 forestry sites. Their malevolent plan was to destroy every means of life of our people, primarily for the purpose of weakening our economy and forcing us to surrender to them.

On 17 February 1979, our government issued the declaration on the war of aggression against Vietnam by the Chinese reactionaries. The declaration

stated: "The people of Vietnam, a determined, brave and unyielding people, have won victory over every aggressor and have unshakeable confidence that, under the correct leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party and the government of the SRV and with the sympathy and strong support of their brothers and friends throughout the world, they will surely win victory over the war of aggression of the Chinese authorities, protect their independence and sovereignty and make a worthy contribution to safeguarding peace and maintaining stability in Southeast Asia and the world."

As soon as the Chinese aggressors stepped foot in our country, they encountered tenacious resistance by our people.

Relying upon their pre-deployed battle positions, our army and people in the six provinces along the northern border, displaying the determination "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," immediately dealt appropriate blows to the Chinese aggressor army and protected each bit of soil of the fatherland. Our local armed forces, consisting of the three military elements, and the armed people's public security forces together with the compatriots of the various nationalities coordinated as one and resolutely and bravely blocked each advance by the enemy from the very outset and on the frontline, causing the enemy to suffer heavy losses and defeating their strategy of rapidly attacking and occupying targets in a vain attempt to seize the cities of Cao Bang, Lang Son and Lao Cai in the space of 48 hours. Examples of bravery and resourcefulness in combat by collectives and individuals were seen on all fronts, in all age groups, among all nationalities.

The local people's war in the war to protect the fatherland reached a new level of development.

In concert with the frontlines fighting the enemy, the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country, displaying the spirit of a Dien Hong of our times, arose as one with the determination to win victory over the Chinese aggressors and did everything they could to reinforce the frontlines. Millions of persons volunteered for the armed forces and left for the front, for the frontlines to build battle positions.

On 4 March 1979, the Central Committee of the VCP issued the Appeal to the Compatriots and Soldiers of the Entire Country, which stated: "At present, the Beijing reactionary authorities are the immediate and dangerous enemy of our people. They have become the dangerous enemy of the entire socialist system, the national independence, democracy and peace movement in Asia and the world... Winning victory over the Chinese reactionary aggressors this time is the glorious national obligation and, at the same time, the noble international obligation of the Vietnamese.

On 5 March 1979, the president of the SRV issued the General Mobilization Order in order to protect the Vietnamese socialist fatherland and win

total victory over the war of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; the Council of Ministers issued a decree on the militarization of all the people and the arming of all the people in order to win victory over the Chinese reactionary aggressors and protect the fatherland.

From the very outset and throughout the course of the just fight of our people against the Chinese expansionist army, our people had the enthusiastic support and valuable assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive mankind.

The government of the USSR, the governments of the socialist countries and the communist parties and governments of many countries of the world issued declarations denouncing the war of aggression of the Peking authorities and demanding that they immediately end their war of aggression against Vietnam and withdraw all troops from Vietnam. The government of the USSR asserted that it would fulfill its obligations in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV. The mass organizations, progressive political parties and personalities and the various strata of peace and justice loving people throughout the world were extremely outraged and violently opposed the Beijing reactionary authorities, determined to support the Vietnamese in winning victory over the Chinese aggressors.

Clearly aware of the insane intention of the Chinese reactionaries, the people of the world have continued to denounce and thwart their new adventures. Between 6 and 8 March 1979, an emergency international conference in support of Vietnam was convened by the World Peace Council and the Committee To Safeguard World Peace of Finland in Helsinki. Representatives of more than 100 countries and more than 30 international organizations attended. The conference denounced the acts of aggression of the Beijing reactionary authorities and demanded that China immediately withdraw its troops from Vietnam, never commit aggression against Vietnam again and make complete reparations for the damages caused by them in Vietnam.

Although they were kept in the dark and suppressed, the people of China increasingly raised their voices in protest against the unjust war. Many wall posters and leaflets denounced the reactionary authorities. In Beijing slogans such as the following were seen: "We protect the attack on Vietnam," "Immediately withdraw the aggressor army from Vietnam," etc. In order to deal with the reaction by the people of China, the Beijing reactionary authorities prohibited all demonstrations, mass assemblies and any talk of the war of aggression against Vietnam. They considered these steps to be a part of the emergency war time measures of China.

In the face of the strong retaliatory blows by our army and people along the border, in the face of the determination of all our people to defeat the war of aggression regardless of the situation and in the face of the strong opposition of the people of the world and the people of China, the aggressors were forced to withdraw their troops. However, ever bellicose

and brazen, they declared that they still have the "right to teach Vietnam another lesson." (1)

In 30 days and nights of brave fighting, from 17 February to 18 March 1979, our army and people had put 62,500 Chinese aggressor troops out of combat and destroyed many means of war. One major defeat of the enemy was their failure to carry out their scheme to foment insurrection within our country. This victory of our people forced the Chinese reactionaries to withdraw their troops in disgrace and begin negotiations.

Following the initial victory, the party promptly reminded our compatriots and soldiers to not be confused about the scheme of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries for 1 minute and to urgently defend the country well and always be ready to fight to protect the fatherland.

On 19 March 1979, our Ministry of National Defense issued a communique which set forth the tremendous victories of our army and people and pointed out to the cruel and arrogant Chinese reactionaries and all warmongering aggressors that work as accomplices with them that they should remember one lesson: any enemy that commits aggression against Vietnam will suffer ignominious defeat.

The very glorious victory of our people over the Chinese aggressor army was a comprehensive military and political victory.

The Beijing reactionaries hoped to overwhelm our army with their much larger aggressor army and destroy a contingent of our regular force army. However, the bitter truth dashed the hopes of the enemy's army. With only the local armed forces and the battle positions of the people's war on the frontline of the fatherland, we dealt dizzying blows to more than one-half million aggressor troops. Our army and people gained much more experience in fighting to protect the fatherland. We used local strength, used local forces to stop the enemy on the frontline of the fatherland and won victory over them in a short period of time. We implemented our strategy of being the masters of the country, being the masters of the battlefield in order to destroy the enemy and destroy the enemy in order to be masters of the country, the masters of the battlefield, thereby displaying the combined strength of the people's war to protect the fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Prior to sending troops to commit aggression against Vietnam, Deng Xiaoping declared in talks with U.S. President Carter: "We will teach Vietnam a lesson." On 1 May 1979, Deng Xiaoping repeated this statement to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim (report by AP, Beijing, 1 May 1979). In early July 1979, Vice Premier Ly Tien Niem responded in an interview by the U.S. Journal NEWSWEEK as follows:

"Our retaliation against Vietnam in February was not enough to teach Vietnam a lesson...and I do not want to exclude the possibility that China will retaliate against Vietnam again for self-defense purposes" (Vietnam News Agency, 13 July 1979).

[12 Feb 80, p 3]

[Text] Our people won victory over the war of aggression of the Chinese expansionists amidst circumstances in which our entire country had recently experienced 30 years of a savage war involving countless difficulties in every area and the enemy had spent decades preparing to annex our country. This proved that our nation has the strength to defend itself in the new era, proved that it has both the ability and the conditions needed to win victory over any war of aggression by any enemy, regardless of how large their army is, regardless of the weapons and means of war they use. The Chinese reactionaries brazenly committed aggression against our country in order to carry out the plan of imperialism, primarily the U.S. imperialists, in exchange for technical assistance from imperialism for the purpose of carrying out the "four modernizations." However, the tragic defeat of the Chinese aggressor army on our country's border reduced the confidence that the imperialists have in the Beijing reactionary gang. As a result of this war of aggression, China is encountering more difficulties in many areas. The social situation in China, which has never been stable, is now even more unstable.

By instigating and commanding the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackeys in the attack on Vietnam on the southwestern border and by directly committing aggression against Vietnam on its northern border, the Beijing reactionary authorities revealed their strategic intention of desiring to be the center of the world and ruling the entire world, beginning with ruling Southeast Asia. The war of aggression against Vietnam was only the opening phase of the process of carrying out the scheme to commit aggression against Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and the other countries of Southeast Asia. Today, more than ever before, the Chinese reactionaries have revealed their true nature to the entire world; they are not only the immediate and dangerous enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, but they have also become the dangerous enemy of all the people of the socialist countries, of the entire independence, democracy, peace and progress movement of the people of the world, including the people of China. By having their lackeys attack Vietnam and by sending troops to commit aggression against Vietnam, the Chinese reactionaries revealed their nature as a reactionary, bellicose, cruel, malicious, obstinate and crafty gang. They steal from others and shout that they are being robbed, they send hundreds of thousands of troops to commit aggression against our country while proclaiming themselves to be the protectors of independence, freedom and peace; they loudly denounce aggressors, denounce imperialism, expansionism and hegemony and proclaim their support of the national liberation movement while it is they who are the imperialist aggressor, are the most evil expansionist and big

power hegemonist collaborating with all imperialist and international reactionary powers to resist the national liberation movement everywhere. The Chinese reactionaries are notorious for their clever deceptions, for false accusations and the distortion of the truth, for their ability to turn right into wrong, turn white into black, turn aggressors into persons who are the victims of aggression, to turn victims of expansionism into expansionists.

By carrying out these two wars of aggression against Vietnam, the Chinese reactionaries fully revealed the deceptions which they once tried to conceal. The false banners of revolution and socialism which they had long used to deceive the gullible were torn to shreds.

The largest defeat, a defeat of strategic significance of the Chinese reactionaries this time was their failure to divide and weaken the militant unity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This unity has not only been restored, but has also been strengthened with a new quality and is now as strong and solid as a large dike preventing the tide of Chinese expansionism from sweeping into Southeast Asia. Chinese expansionism and hegemony not only lost a foothold in Kampuchea, but were also defeated in the attempt to foment insurrection and overthrow the People's Democratic Republic of Laos in order to turn Laos into a second "democratic Kampuchea" of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique in order to oppose Vietnam. The victory of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina defeated an important part of the malicious scheme of China and the imperialists in Southeast Asia, thereby rapidly and deeply changing the comparison of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution in this region.

On 22 March 1979, the Treaty of Economic, Cultural, Educational and Technical Cooperation between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos was signed in the capital Phnom Penh, thereby affirming the militant solidarity and the warm friendship between the peoples of these two countries. This treaty created a new strength reflecting the determination of the peoples of the two countries to protect their independence and freedom, advance to socialism and be ready to defeat every scheme of sabotage and aggression of the Chinese reactionaries against the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The defeat of Chinese expansionism and hegemony in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea was also a defeat for imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and the international reactionaries in their attempt to use the expansionism and big power hegemony of China to weaken Vietnam and control the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia. The scheme of the Chinese reactionaries to take advantage of the weakened position of imperialism following the Vietnam war in order to assume the position of a super power was also dealt a heavy blow.

The victory of our people together with the victories of the people of Laos and the people of Kampuchea made an important contribution to increasing the strength of the socialist system, of the three revolutionary currents in the world and to increasing the ability to maintain independence, peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia. These were common victories of the peace and justice loving people of the entire world, of all progressive mankind, including the revolutionary people of China and the genuine communists in China.

In August 1979, the Party Central Committee held its 6th Plenum to review socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland during the 4 years from 1976 to 1979 and set forth the pressing, immediate tasks of our entire party and all our people.

The plenum observed that, following the reunification of the country, our people should have been able to devote their energies to peaceful labor, to building the country. However, before our people had time to heal the wounds of the war, they had to deal with two wars of aggression on the southwestern and northern borders of our country which were masterminded and launched by the Beijing authorities; at the same time, they had to contend with serious natural disasters for 3 years in a row. Under these extremely difficult circumstances, our people, under the leadership of the party, waged a tenacious struggle, defeated the two wars of aggression of the Chinese reactionaries, maintained the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland, fulfilled their international obligation to the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Kampuchea and Laos and stopped the expansionism and hegemony of China. Our people recorded important achievements in healing the wounds of the war, combating natural disasters, restoring production, supporting everyday life and continuing to build the material bases of socialism.

The plenum set forth the pressing tasks as accelerating production, stabilizing and supporting the life of the people, strengthening the national defense and security systems, being ready to fight and defend the fatherland and overcoming the negative aspects of economic and social activities. The plenum established the guidelines, tasks and important measures for developing local industry and the consumer goods industry. On the basis of the line on the socialist revolution and the economic development line established at the 4th Congress and on the basis of the laws of socialism and the practical experiences gained in the past, the plenum decided to revise a number of policies and measures in order to uphold the right of collective ownership of the people, insure that the common interest of all the people, of the collective and of each producer are correctly met, show concern for the material interests of the workers, bring about changes in production and everyday life and move the revolution forward.

3 February 1930-3 February 1980

Under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the nation of Vietnam has experienced one-half century filled with difficulties and challenges, but also filled with glorious victories.

In the 4,000 year history of the nation, there has never been a period in which so many large and profound changes have occurred. During these several decades, our people smashed the rule of the French colonialists, abolished the feudal system and won the right to be the masters of the entire country; defeated the war of aggression of the old-style colonialism of the French imperialists; defeated the neo-colonialist war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, totally liberated the South and began advancing the entire country to socialism; the North abolished the exploitation of man by man, established the system of socialist ownership and began building the material-technical bases of socialism; the South virtually completed the socialist transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce and is carrying out cooperativization and collectivization. Recently, we won victory over the two wars of aggression of the great nation expansionism and big power hegemony of China on the southwestern and northern borders of our country, thereby beginning to defeat their scheme to annex our country, maintaining and strengthening the special solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and making positive contributions to strengthening peace, independence, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia and the world. Once persons who had lost their country, our people arose to become the masters of their country, the masters of society; they began to consciously create their own history, entered the era of independence, freedom and socialism and took their place in the ranks of the vanguard nations struggling for the noble ideals of mankind.

At the 2nd Congress of the Party held in February 1951, when reviewing the changes that had occurred in the world during the first half of the 20th century and reviewing the 21 years since the birth of our party, President Ho predicted: "Through the efforts of revolutionaries, the next half century will be one of greater and more glorious changes." (1)

History proved President Ho to be correct.

Having led the people in achieving great feats of arms, our party is truly worthy of the honor of being the revolutionary vanguard unit of our working class, of our people and nation.

The tasks facing our people are extremely large and complex. We must overcome the serious aftereffects of the more than three decades of war caused by the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists. We must abolish small-scale production, poverty and backwardness in order to develop a balanced, modern system of large-scale socialist production. The

basic goal of our people is to build a Vietnam of independence, unity and socialism, a Vietnam that has a modern industry and agriculture, a progressive culture and science, a strong national defense system and a civilized and happy life.

In view of the grudge they bear, the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries will never willingly allow our people to achieve this goal. Having been driven from South Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the U.S. imperialists have collaborated with the Chinese reactionaries and are looking for every way to undermine the independence and unity of our country, undermine the socialist system. Heavily defeated in Kampuchea and on the northern border of our country, the Chinese reactionaries still have not abandoned their scheme of expansionism and big power hegemony, their scheme to annex our country; they are frantically preparing forces, continuing to engage in new adventures and constantly trying to undermine and threaten the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries might pose many new difficulties to our country. Therefore, socialist construction and the protection of the fatherland are two tasks that must be carried out simultaneously.

Our people have every reason to feel confident that we will surely defeat each sinister scheme of the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries, will surely build and firmly protect the independent, reunified and socialist Vietnamese fatherland. The tenacious, unyielding tradition of the nation and the tradition of brave fighting under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party have given our people a number of factors that insure victory. Our people are very heroic, are deeply patriotic, are imbued with the proletarian international spirit, have full confidence in the vanguard party and are the masters of the country in every respect, politically, economically, culturally and socially. Our armed forces are well equipped, are very courageous and resourceful, have excellent leaders and commanders and possess the lofty combat ideals of "being loyal to the country and filial to the people," "completing every task, overcoming every difficulty, defeating every enemy." Our socialist state is a state of, for and by the people. The firm militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are constantly being strengthened in the process of building and protecting our fatherland. The wholehearted, large and effective cooperation and support in many areas of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the international communist and worker movement, of progressive mankind for the just cause of the Vietnamese are growing with each passing day. The factor determining each victory of our country's revolution is the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the tempered, experienced and clear-sighted revolutionary vanguard unit, the factor that has created the combined strength of the entire nation.

Filled with confidence and pride, our entire party, all our people and our entire army are closely united around the Party Central Committee led by

Le Duan and will overcome every difficulty and sacrifice, determined to carry out the ever-victorious banner of the party and President Ho to its final objective!

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao chinh tri tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu hai cua Dang Lao Dong Viet Nam" [Political Report at the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party], "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghĩa xã hội," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 96.

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