PHAM VAN DONG

SELECTED WRITINGS

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Publishers' Note

This is a collection of reports and speeches by Pham Van Dong, ex-member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (at present Advisor of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam), in the period from 1954-1955, when the American imperialists began intervening directly in Viet Nam, to 1975, the year of complete victory of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance to US aggression.

The book will provide you with a systematic and comprehensive view of US imperialists' aggression on Viet Nam, the crimes they committed in both zones of Viet Nam, their repeated failures, and their final and complete defeat at the hands of the people of Viet Nam, a people with a long-standing tradition of unity in face of foreign aggression and benefiting from the judicious leadership of a Party which knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism to its country in a creative way.

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PART ONE
1954 - 1959

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION

Excerpts from the Speech Delivered at the Meeting in Honour of Independence Day, September 2, 1954

The Geneva Conference was a very heavy loss for the American interventionists They had been defeated in their attempts to prolong and extend the Indochina war and to draw many other countries into "taking up united action" in Indochina.

In spite of their repeated setbacks they have not yet resigned themselves to defeat. At present as the cease-fire agreement has been signed and peace is being restored in Indochina, they are trying to undermine the observance of the armistice and the restoration of peace.

By sending ships of the US Navy to carry North Vietnamese people forced by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to go South, working out a plan of "aid" to the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and scheming to set up the SEATO bloc, the American interventionists aimed to sabotage the implementation of the armistice agreement in Indochina.

Today the Vietnamese people celebrate Independence Day, September 2, in a jubilant atmosphere of newly-restored peace after nine years of arduous and heroic war of resistance. But this peace must be consolidated so as to create conditions for achieving peace, complete independence and democracy in the

whole country. The Vietnamese people, greatly confident and elated at this glorious task, are determined to achieve broad unity, unity between the people of North and South, and unity between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of friendly countries. They are determined to carry out a long-term, arduous and complex struggle against all attempts at sabotaging peace by the US imperialists and their henchmen. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, imbued with patriotism and a spirit of sacrifice and with the support of peace-loving people in the world, the Vietnamese people are determined to gain final victory, peace, reunification, complete independence and democracy for the fatherland.

Excerpts from the Report to the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly, March 20, 1955

Immediately after the Geneva Conference, the US imperialists dragged Britain, France and a number of US and British satellite countries into the Manila Conference to sign the aggressive SEATO pact. At the end of last February, they met in Bangkok. The aim of the Manila and Bangkok conferences was to build a machine of aggression and war for an offensive against the Vietnamese people, the DRVN, Cambodia and Laos and against China as well. In South Viet Nam, the US imperialists have frantically beefed up and directly trained the local armed forces, brought in additional weapons and American military personnel, and built more military bases.

Alongside their military schemes, they openly interfere in local politics, keep tight control over the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, use this administration to oust the French, seize all powers and build up their ruling machine. At US bidding, the Ngo Dinh Diem administration has ruthlessly cracked down on the people, terrorized the peace movement, suppressed democratic liberties and turned the administrative apparatus and policy in the South into fascist ones. The US imperialists have mapped out plans and assisted their lackeys in forcing or inducing a number of Northerners to move

South. They have sought every possible means to prevent the re-establishment of normal relations between the South and the North.

Meanwhile, the US imperialists and their lackeys daily feed the South Vietnam population with all sorts of lies : they talk about independence, democracy, social reforms and welfare but act in quite the opposite way. They falsely charge us with violating the agreements in the hope of covering up their machiavellian manoeuvres.

All these plots of the US imperialists, of the opponents of the agreements among the French colonialists, and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are aimed at intensifying US intervention in South Vietnam in a bid to turn the South into a colony and military base of the US imperialists, partition our country and prepare for war. The present enemies of our people are the US imperialists, the faction of French colonialists opposed to the agreements and their lackeys, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the principal and most dangerous enemy being the US imperialists.

The entire Vietnamese people must unite and struggle against the latter's wicked and perfidious designs, urge the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements, consolidate peace, realize reunification and henceforth achieve independence and democracy in the whole country.

This is a difficult, hard and complicated struggle but victory is surely ours.

The Geneva Agreements aim at restoring and strengthening peace in Indochina on the basis of recognition

and realization of the national rights of the Indochinese peoples national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

The Geneva Agreements are a solid basis for the present struggle of the Vietnamese people, first and foremost and basically the struggle to consolidate peace and realize reunification. Only when peace is consolidated and reunification realized shall we be able to achieve independence and democracy throughout the country. And only with the realization of reunification, independence and democracy throughout the country shall peace in Vietnam be consolidated, stable and lasting, thus contributing largely to the strengthening of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The consolidation of peace and the realization of reunification are linked together and inseparable from each other. At this moment, the US imperialists and their lackeys want to torpedo the Geneva Agreements, wreck peace and divide our country. In their manoeuvre, to wreck peace and to undermine Vietnam's reunification are interconnected : they wreck peace in order to prevent reunification just as they hinder reunification and occupy South Viet nam so as to use it as a base to wreck peace still more impudently.

It is imperative that our people should concentrate all fighting forces to consolidate peace and realize national reunification. Unless peace is consolidated, will conditions exist for the realization of reunification through general elections. The struggle for reunification in return will lend vigour to the consolidation of peace. In short, to struggle for peace also

means to struggle for reunification, to struggle for reunification also means to struggle for peace. In order to achieve independence and democracy, in the first place we must win the peace and reunification.

At present, the US imperialists are making frantic efforts to find ways to sabotage the newly-established peace in Indochina, torpedo the Geneva Agreements, whip up tension in this peninsula. That section of French colonialists who are against the Geneva Agreements are bent on tailing after the US imperialists. The aggressive imperialists are setting the stage to carry out their criminal and brazen manoeuvres. Compatriots throughout the country must be on the alert, determined to unite and fight against the US imperialists and their lackeys, against the aggressive SEATO bloc, against the military build-up in the South with US military aid, against the establishment of military bases, against the introduction of military personnel and new weapons into the South.

The Vietnamese people who cherish peace desire to live a peaceful life in their undivided country. The people of Vietnam, who have endured untold sacrifices to restore peace, are determined to safeguard and consolidate that peace.

The struggle for the consolidation of peace must be associated with that for the achievement of reunification.

Vietnam is a unified country.

Historically, geographically, economically, culturally and socially, Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one, no one can divide it.

From Lang Son to Cape Ca Mau, from the Eastern Sea to the Vietnam - Lao and Vietnam - Cambodia borders, Vietnamese territory belongs to the Vietnamese people who have built and safeguarded it over the centuries through countless sacrifices. The land of Vietnam forever remains the homeland of our Vietnamese people.

Nature has favoured our land. Our country covers a territory of 329,600 sq km. with more than 23 million inhabitants, many fertile lands, many mountains and forests, many mining areas which rank among the richest in the world and more than 3.000 km of coastline. The precious mines in the North, added to the fertile fields of the South, will render our country rich and powerful, our people prosperous, on the basis of a modern industry and a flourishing agriculture. Lying on the East-West route, our country has great advantages as far as trade relations are concerned. China is our next-door neighbour and through her we are connected with the countries in the camp of peace and democracy. We will progress rapidly with the fraternal help of the friendly nations.

Our national wealth belongs to all our people, to our compatriots in the South as well as in the North. We must join in common effort to exploit these riches, to build together a peaceful and happy life and to build a prosperous and powerful Vietnam so as to contribute our part to the consolidation of peace and to the strengthening of friendship between our country and the countries of South-East Asia and the rest of the world. Our people enthusiastically face this radiant future.

In order to realize their schemes to sabotage peace and partition our country, the US imperialists and their lackeys will spare no cruel and perfidious measures. Therefore, our people must be vigilant and must unite and fight back. Justice is on our side. We have the strength of the entire people and the support of the entire world. We are determined not to let the enemy of the nation threaten, cajole, seduce or influence us. At present, to struggle for the consolidation of peace and realization of reunification is the noblest duty and highest interest of our people, of every Vietnamese citizen.

We are for what is advantageous to peace and reunification and against what is harmful to them. Today in our country as well as elsewhere in the world, the people and the strength of their unity in struggle are invincible. Those who act against the people's will shall be overthrown, and those who act in line with the people's will shall win their support.

However, our people must bear in mind that this struggle, like any other struggle against aggressive imperialism, is a long, difficult, arduous and complex one. Just for that reason, we must be zealous, courageous, patient and resolute, However cruel and perfidious the enemy of peace and reunification may be, our patriotism will certainly prevail over it. Everyone of us must join in this struggle and, together we must build up a broad, stirring and vigorous movement in support of peace and reunification, of free and democratic general elections, of a consultative conference between the North and the South, the re-establishment and development of North-South relations and the resolutions of the National Assembly and Government of the DRVN concerning these issues. In both the urban and rural areas, in public offices,

factories and schools and in the families, everywhere, discussions and explanations on the problem of peace and reunification must be sponsored in order to find out what is right and correct and to dismiss what is wrong and incorrect. When controversies arise, a debate is necessary and it must lead to unanimity of view in line with what is right and correct, and to closer unity. Every Vietnamese patriot from North to South, man and woman, old and young alike, irrespective of social origin, political leaning and religious belief, must become a fighter for peace and reunification, courageous and intelligent, resolute and patient, and ready for sacrifices in the struggle until complete victory.

As democrats, we deeply believe in the patriotism, initiative, strength, talent and intelligence of our people. We are firmly confident that the movement for peace and reunification will gain in depth, scope, intensity and strength.

To struggle for the consolidation of peace and the realization of reunification is to struggle against the US imperialist aggressors, the faction of the French colonialists opposed to the agreements and their lackeys. Since the US imperialist aggressors are the chief saboteurs of peace and reunification, our people must direct the spearhead of their struggle at them.

The US imperialist aggressors flagrantly betray the Geneva Agreements and the final declaration of the Geneva Conference. They are trampling on the most cherished interests and aspirations of the Vietnamese people and other peoples as well. Today from the rostrum of the National Assembly, the people of Viet Nam and the Government of the DRVN denounce to the

world's people and public opinion the monstrous crimes of the US imperialists and their lackeys. They are the aggressors, the warmongers who are bringing great disasters to our beloved country. The Vietnamese people are determined to unite and fight against them, to guarantee the implementation of the Geneva Agreements aimed at consolidating peace and realizing reunification, hence to achieve independence and democracy throughout Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people are confident that in this just struggle they will always enjoy the warm sympathy and support of the peace-loving governments and peoples all over the world and that they will surely win.

The US imperialists want to enslave the whole world. The peoples of the world will certainly defeat them.

At present a movement against US imperialism is rising all over the world. The peoples of the world, especially those of Asia dislike the USA and do not fear it. The US imperialists had thought they could bribe them, use force to intimidate them, brandish the atomic bomb to blackmail them. But the US imperialists are grossly mistaken. They think they are strong but the peoples of the world are stronger than them.

For the Vietnamese people, to oppose US imperialism is patriotic and means to consolidate peace and realize reunification. At the same time the Vietnamese people make a clear distinction between the US imperialists and the peace-loving and democratic-minded American people who are themselves oppressed, exploited and deceived by the US imperialists.

Since the restoration of peace, the Southern people have joined their compatriots in the North in fighting for the common cause : the consolidation of peace, the realization of reunification and the completion of independence and democracy throughout the country. In view of the specific situation in the South, our compatriots there have been combining the nation-wide struggle with the struggle in the South against the savage and odious policy of the US imperialists, the opponents of the Geneva Agreements among the French colonialists, and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, to safeguard peace, protect their lives and defend democratic freedoms.

The people of the whole country warmly support the heroic and arduous struggle of our compatriots in the South.

Excerpts from the Report to the 5th Session of the First National Assembly, Sept. 15, 1955

The basic stand of our people in this historical stage is : peace, reunification , independence and democracy.

These are our people's most fundamental and most cherished interests and aspirations, and they are determined to fight for them.

At present, the implementation of the Geneva Agreements has reached the stage of political settlement, namely, realization of reunification of Viet Nam through free general elections. Therefore the Vietnamese people must pool all their strength and struggle hard for national reunification.

For historical, geographical, economic, cultural, and other reasons Viet Nam is an indivisible whole. It is impossible to partition Viet Nam just as it is impossible to partition the USA, Britain, France or any other country.

"From Lang Son to the cape of Ca Mau, from the Eastern Sea to the Viet Nam-Lao and Viet Nam-Cambodia borders, the land of the Viet Nam belong to the Vietnamese people and has been built and safeguarded by the Vietnamese people over the centuries through countless sacrifices. Forever the land of Viet Nam will remain the homeland of the Vietnamese people."

Viet Nam is one and the same country Certainly, Viet Nam must be reunified. This is a reality in both history and life: the Geneva

Agreements which recognize the Vietnamese people's right to unity, have thereby acknowledged this reality. To achieve the reunification of Viet Nam in conformity with the Geneva Agreements, one should take into account the present political situation in Viet Nam ; in the North and in the South there exist two different political regimes. It is because they are resolved to achieve national reunification through peaceful means that the Vietnamese people have to settle the question of different political regimes in the Northern and Southern zones in accordance with both reason and sentiment and with the spirit of the policy of nation-wide unity, of which President Ho Chi Minh has set such a bright example.

To take into account the different political systems in the two zones is to give due consideration to the interests of various sections of the population in each zone, and those of all administrative, military, religious, political, economic, cultural, social and other organizations, so that each individual in each organization come to realize the need to get together and struggle for the common interests of the nation and at the same time defend his or its own interests, and therefore achieve the people's great national union, resolutely oppose those who seek to split the country and use the South as a springboard for aggression against the North in an attempt to enslave our entire nation.

We must set up the bloc of nation-wide unity embracing various nationalities, social classes and strata, political parties, religious bodies and all the patriotic Vietnamese citizens who desire to see the country become peaceful, united, independent and democratic; this nation-wide united bloc would embrace both

the North and the South with all the differences between the two zones . This is a great and glorious task entrusted by history to the Vietnamese people with a view to completing the struggle for national liberation. The Vietnamese people will surely be equal to this great and glorious task.

Thus, the struggle for the consolidation of peace and the achievement of unity requires a very broad national united front, the broadest ever in our history. This front will embrace the whole country and the people of different social strata, different interests, different political tendencies, but who all love their Fatherland and pledge to unite and struggle, on the basis of a common platform of the Front which conforms to the present political situation in Viet Nam, so as to isolate and repel the US imperialists and their lackeys, and to advance toward the building of a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Such a broad Front has been founded and bears the name of Viet Nam Fatherland Front and such a platform has been unanimously adopted at the National Congress of the Vietnamese National United Front held from the 5th to the 10th of September 1955.

The Government of the DRVN warmly acclaims the newly founded Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its platform which symbolizes the basic aspirations of the Vietnamese people – namely peace, unity, independence and democracy. At the same time, basing itself upon the present political situation in Viet Nam, this platform shows the Vietnamese people how to

unite and struggle for national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy and through peaceful means. This is a precious contribution of the Viet nam Fatherland Front, symbol of the ardent and profound patriotism of the Vietnamese people.

The content and spirit of the platform clearly demonstrate the will of the Vietnamese nation to achieve independence and sovereignty. This nation is determined to decided its own destiny; it neither recognises nor tolerates any foreign interference. All the issues of the Vietnamese nation must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves through consultations and general consent and on the basis of common aspirations.

The first point of the platform clearly indicates the will of the Vietnamese nation to achieve independence, sovereignty and self-determination.

"Viet Nam's national sovereignty belongs to all Vietnamese citizens, regardless of nationality, social class, political tendency, creed and religion. In whatever field, political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic, Viet Nam has the sacred and inalienable right to self-determination. The Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference which recognizes independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity as Viet Nam's inalienable rights must be implemented. All acts and plots of sabotage against the Geneva Agreements must be opposed and all scourges of colonialism in Viet Nam eliminated."

A reunified Viet Nam must be a democratic country; the interests of all strata of the people – individual freedom and

democratic freedoms must be respected, all domestic, foreign, economic and cultural policies must reflect this basic principle of democracy

Independence and democracy are the fundamental principles of the platform. These principles have been applied in an appropriate manner to the present political situation in Viet Nam in the settlement of the problem of Viet Nam's reunification.

The platform contains this paragraph :

"Today the social and political situations in the North and in the South are different. With a view to the favourable realization of the reunification of our Fatherland we should give due consideration to the practical situations in both zones, the legitimate interests and aspirations of all sections of the popu tion and at the same time, through consultations, we should move towards holding free general elections in order to achieve reunification, without any coercion or annexation of one side by the other."

This idea has been further clarified in the following paragraph :

"The National Assembly elected through free general election will be the highest legislative body of the State. It will work out a new Constitution for the whole country. The privileges of the deputies to the National Assembly, including those of opposition parties, are guaranteed. A coalition government will be formed to increase unity among various political parties and groups, various social strata, nationalities and regions in all of Viet Nam and concurrently to gather good ideas from everybody.

"Due consideration being give to the different situations in the two zones, each local administration will have the power to enact such rules and regulations as will be in accordance with the characteristics of the locality and not at variance with the common State laws."

These are the main ideas. They are very important. In this spirit, policies in all fields should take into account the present political situation in Viet Nam, i.e. they must be broadly conceived, flexible and realistic.

For instance concerning land reform in the South :

"In the South, to realize a reduction of land rent, carry out land reform through repurchase by the State, at a fair and reasonable price, of the land of landlords owning upward of a certain amount of land (which varies with the state of land holdings in each area) and distribute the repurchased land to the peasants."

For instance concerning unification of national defence :

"To build a unified army of national defence. All existing Vietnamese troops in the North and in the South will be the components of the future unified army of national defence. Upon national reunification, the regimes now in force in the army of the South and that of the North will not be subject to immediate unification. Complete unification of the armies must be arrived at gradually through negotiation."

Thus, the platform of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front serves as a very good basis for the holding of talks exchanges of views and discussions among Vietnamese so as to reach unity of will and unity of action and subsequently unity in struggle for the achievement of national reunification.

It is firmly believed that the Vietnamese people, all social strata in Viet Nam, will warmly welcome the platform of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, welcome its content and its spirit The reunification of the Fatherland is an internal affair of the Vietnamese nation and no foreign countries should interfere in it The platform provides both a basis and a method for the Vietnamese people to grasp this sacred right of theirs, unite and struggle against any foreign intervention and encroachment and build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

In order to realize the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland on the basis of independence and democracy, free nationwide general elections should be held as provided for by the Geneva Agreements.

These general elections will be held jointly and simultaneously in all the country for the purpose of reunifying Viet Nam through the election of a unified National Assembly which would appoint a single coalition government for all of Viet Nam.

The basic principles of these general elections are: free nationwide general elections through universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. Universal suffrage means that all Vietnamese citizens, including militarymen, regardless of sex, nationality, social standing, occupation, financial situation, cultural standard, creed, political leaning, length of residence, etc. are eligible to vote and to stand for election. Equal election means that each elector shall cast one vote and all the votes shall have equal value. Direct election means that the

people shall directly elect their representatives to the National Assembly through no intermediary whatsoever. Secret election means secret balloting. All the above-mentioned things ensure that the general elections are totally free, without any intervention and pressure liable to influence the free choice of the voters.

As stipulated in Article 7 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, the general elections will be held under the control of an international commission for supervision and control comprising the delegates of India, Poland and Canada.

To reunify Viet Nam peacefully on the basis of independence and democracy, the governments in both zones must hold consultations to discuss and reach agreement on the very important problems outlined above : the basis of independence and democracy of a reunified Viet Nam and the organization of free general elections to realize reunification. Besides, discussions must also be held and agreement be reached on all other problems relating to national reunification, such as North-South relations, creation of a favourable climate for the two zones to reach mutual understanding to meet and to consult each other in a constructive spirit and with the desire to obtain good results.

The National Congress to found the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the common platform of the Front have clearly expressed the aspirations of the Vietnamese people. The Government of the DRVN has clearly expounded its readiness to hold a consultative conference and its position on the main questions to be discussed at this conference.

At present, two roads lie open before the authorities in South Viet Nam.

Either they will act in accordance with the aspirations of the people, respond to the proposal of the Government of the DRVN and agree to open a consultative conference. Then the Government of the DRVN will readily examine and discuss with them all the issues raised by them, in a spirit of comprehension and conciliation so as to come to agreement for the sake of the supreme interests of the Fatherland and the people.

Or they will obdurately follow the US imperialists, continue to wreck the Geneva Agreements, reject the holding of consultations and general elections, unscrupulously sell out the country and serve as henchmen to the imperialists in an attempt to partition the country and prepare for the resumption of war.

The first road is a glorious one. The second is a criminal path which will surely lead them to bitter failure.

The US imperialists and the international reactionaries often argue that if a consultative conference is convened and free general elections held, North Viet Nam will defeat South Viet Nam. This is a provocative and divisive argument aimed at sabotaging the movement for national reunification of our people. The fundamental question here does not lie in whether the North or the South will win. The fundamental question is that North and South should come to agreement on the questions relating to the reunification of the country. Who

will win ? Neither will the North defeat the South nor will the South defeat the North. Who will win then ? The Vietnamese people will win ! The US imperialist warmongers and their lackeys will be defeated.

As outlined earlier, the platform of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front charts the path for our nation to unite and struggle for the realization of national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy.

It ushers in a period of political struggle, a very difficult, arduous and complex struggle, but one bound to be victorious and make our country a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong one.

Formerly the Viet Minh front and its program led the Vietnamese nation to the triumph of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam ; the Lien Viet Front and its program took the War of Resistance to victory at Dien Bien Phu and at the Geneva Conference ; we are firmly convinced that the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its platform will lead the cause of national liberation to total victory. In the sprit of unity, we will rally the absolute majority of the Vietnamese people into an invincible force to reunify our Fatherland. In his appeal on the occasion of National Day, September 2, 1955, President Ho Chi Minh said, "Unity creates invincible strength. The strength of unity has helped the August Revolution to triumph. The strength of unity has helped the War of Resistance to win victory. The strength of unity will mobilize the people from North to South in the struggle for the achievement of peace, reunification, independence, and democracy throughout the country."

Excerpts from the Report to the 11th Session of the First National Assembly, Dec. 23, 1959

Despite the cunning sophistries of the present rulers of South Viet Nam, the South is a new-type colony and a military base of the US imperialists. In view of the conditions prevailing in our country and in the world, the US imperialists find it impossible to impose their direct rule over South Viet Nam as the French colonialists had done formerly with their colonial administration and army. Their domination of South Viet Nam has been achieved through the network of US advisers and through their lackeys, who have sold their bodies and souls to imperialism and betrayed the Fatherland and the nation. The Vietnamese people still remember Ngo Dinh Diem's statement that "the frontier of the USA extends to the 17th parallel."

Men of the South Viet Nam administration involved in terror operations against the population, when facing the angry curses of the people, shamelessly retort, "Yes, we are traitors. Whoever resists us will be beheaded."

These words give a clear and complete picture of the true colours of the present dictatorial ruling clique in South Viet Nam, lackeys to the US imperialists and representatives of the most reactionary pro-US forces of the feudalists and comprador bourgeoisie in South Viet Nam.

Despite their demagogic and cunning sophistries, the present ruling clique in South Viet Nam are tools used by the US imperialists to partition our country and turn South Viet Nam into a new-type US colony and military base in preparation for war. Their overall policy runs counter to the most fundamental and most cherished interests and aspirations of the Vietnamese nation.

Whereas our people desire peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, the present rulers of South Viet Nam seek to partition the country, enslave the people and foment war.

Whereas our people desire freedom and democracy, the present rulers of South Viet Nam carry out an extremely brutal fascist dictatorial policy.

Whereas our people desire a better life, the present rulers of South Viet Nam ruthlessly oppress, exploit and pauperize the people. That is why they meet with the protests of the Vietnamese nation and are opposed by the Southern people. Today they clearly realize that sophistry can in no way camouflage their true face and that demagogy can in no way hoodwink people but instead throw a stronger light on their true colours. They have no alternative but to increase terror, mad terror, against all patriots who desire peace, national reunification, national independence, freedom and democracy, against the masses of people who demand economic interests and the right to live. Law 10/59, roving guillotines and non-stop sweeps are the salient features of life in South Viet Nam, the symbols of the South Viet Nam regime which has been correctly termed a US-Diem regime by our people.

One of the most machiavellian terror measures being carried -out by the South Viet Nam administration is concentration of people, resettlement of villagers, in both the delta and the mountain regions, in so-called "prosperity zones," a type of concentration camp devised by the South Viet Nam regime.

The regime in South Viet Nam is a police regime without precedent in history, a regime that can match the former fascist regime in Germany in barbarity and cruelty.

The recourse to terror and pauperization to subdue and enslave our compatriots in the South in an effort to turn the southern half of our country into a military base of the US imperialists and our people there into their mercenaries is at the root of the scheme of the US imperialist aggressors and the ruling clique in South Viet Nam. We still remember that some time ago, the South Viet Nam administration clamoured for a "march on the North." Today it still talks about a march on the North. If today it dares not do so as loudly, openly and frequently as before, it is not because it has renounced its war plots, but because it has met with opposition from our people in both the North and the South and from the world's people. The South Viet Nam administration's direct and indirect spending on military build-up and war preparations accounts for more than half of its revenues. US aid, chiefly military aid, is designed to build up and strengthen the armed forces of South Viet Nam. Construction projects in South Viet Nam are

also for military purpose. In fact, South Viet Nam has fallen into the grip of the aggressive SEATO bloc. Of late, the South Viet Nam administration has strengthened its ties with pro-American elements in Laos in an attempt to conduct activities against the DRVN.

On March 24, 1959, interviewed by the French paper *Le Figaro*, Ngo Dinh Diem brazenly stated that "Viet Nam now is truly in a state of war."

What war ? War with whom ?

Over the last five years, although peace has been re-established, not a single day has passed without gunfire being heard in South Viet Nam and without bloodshed. These are the gunshots of the army of the South Viet Nam administration engaged in killing people Especially since the Phu Loi massacre, the South Viet Nam administration has not ceased mobilizing whole divisions of its regular army with the support of air, artillery, navy and marine forces into sustained and large-scale military operations to terrorize and suppress our compatriots in the rural areas, first of all, the former resistance bases : Resistance Zone D, eastern Nam Bo, eastern Quang Ngai, etc.

These military actions have caused tremendous losses to our people in the South. In the past 5 years, in South Viet Nam , hundreds of thousands of our compatriots have been arrested, tens of thousands of others wounded and thousands more slain or missing These losses have been presented by the official propaganda organs of the US imperialists and the South Viet Nam administration as the result of "brilliant military exploit" of theirs. In the mopping-up operation still underway in western

Nam Bo, according to a newscast over the American radio station FEBC on November 30, 1959, troops of the South Viet Nam Administration killed 300 persons and arrested 1,300 others. The event was lauded by FEBC as "an important military victory for the South Viet Nam army" and "an exploit of the marines trained by American officers."

It is necessary to bring to everybody,s knowledge that all these mopping-up operations have been conducted under the command of US advisers or even under the personal command of General William, head of the US military advisory team, as in the operation in the province of Thu Dau Mot in December 1958, immediately after Phu Loi massacre.

What war then was in Ngo Dinh Diem's mind when he told *Le Figaro* about a state of war in South Viet Nam ?

It is a type of war of aggression conducted by the US imperialists and fought by proxy by the South Viet Nam army under the direct command of US officers to suppress the patriotic movement of our people in the South.

Partitioning Viet Nam, menacing peace, preparing for war, repressing and terrorizing patriots in the South, rejecting consultations with the DRVN Government constitute systematic and flagrant violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

In a nutshell, the South Viet Nam regime is an utterly reactionary, brutal and dark regime. It is the product of the US imperialists' policy of aggression and war preparation in

reactionary South Viet Nam. Nowadays the US imperialists are the most reactionary and warlike of the imperialist forces in the world. They rely on the most reactionary and truculent political and social forces in many parts of the world. It is clear that the US imperialists and their lackeys are attempting to oppose the national liberation movement which has grown in scope and in depth to a degree never seen before in history, has drawn in hundreds of millions of people of oppressed countries, and is surging ahead with irresistible might. This movement has defeated the US imperialists and their lackeys in many places and will certainly defeat them anywhere in the world. As the struggle movement of the people grows, the imperialists become ever more reactionary and more brutal. However, they can only deepen the hatred and harden the will of struggle of the popular masses and thus augment the strength of those who will surely destroy them.

The US imperialist aggressors and the South Viet Nam ruling clique will not escape such a fate.

The struggle of the Vietnamese nation is a just one. The US imperialists commit open aggression on the southern part of our country, brazenly violate the Geneva Agreements which their representative at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina undertook to honour, seek to partition our country permanently, turn its Southern part into a military base and prepare for war against the DRVN.

So long as they persist in their aggression against the southern half of our country, the entire Vietnamese nation is determined to strengthen unity and step up their struggle against them.

In this struggle, our nation upholds the banner of peace, reunification, independence and democracy which represents the most profound national aspirations and which is capable of mobilizing the vast strength of the nation, of all strata of the people of our country in order to win final victory.

Our country is one, our nation is one. To achieve the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland on the basis of independence and democracy, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements and with the cooperation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam, is the revolutionary task of the entire Vietnamese nation.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with their Southern compatriots, the people in the North are translating their hatred into the will to fight for reunification, and turning their deep feeling towards the South into creative labour, working with might and main for the building of the North and continually increasing the strength of the North and the entire nation in order to reunify the Fatherland peacefully and bring the national people's democratic revolution to completion in the whole country.

Living a hard and gloomy life under the South Viet Nam regime, our Southern compatriots all the more think of their

beloved, beautiful and glorious fetherland, and look to the North, to the DRVN, to our venerated President Ho Chi Minh, while constantly setting an example of unity and heroic struggle and opposing the US imperialists' policy of aggression and war preparations in South Viet Nam, the partition of the country, terror and repression, and demanding the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

We wish to convey to our compatriots in the South our heartfelt feelings and our deep admiration for their spirit of undaunted struggle. We would like to tell our compatriots there of the firm confidence of everyone of us in the victory of the patriotic struggle and the cause of the national reunification of our nation.

Justice is on our side. We possess the strength of a whole nation which has already defeated the imperialist aggressors and led the August Revolution to triumph and the War of Resistance to victory. We enjoy the powerful support of the socialist camp and the entire justice- and peace-loving world. Filled with enthusiasm and confidence, our compatriots in the North and in the South are determined to strengthen unity and struggle hard and persistently in order to reunify the Fatherland and build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Final victory will certainly belong to the Vietnamese nation !

PART TWO
1960 - 1964

AGAINST " SPECIAL WAR "

Excerpts from the Report to the 2nd Session of the 2nd National Assembly, April 12, 1961

PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH

In the recent past, while in the North of our country, major revolutionary developments have taken place, in the South momentous revolutionary events have also been reported[1]. The patriotic movement of our compatriots in the South is growing in force : it is the patriotic movement of various sections of the people–workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the gentry, the religious sects; it is gaining in scope everywhere–in the delta plains, in the uplands, in the urban areas; it is making inroads into the ranks of the army and administrative apparatus in South Viet Nam, it develops into many forms of struggle and testifies to the strength of the popular masses. It has grown in scope and in depth so rapidly because its slogans manifestly represent the most fundamental and most urgent rights and interests of all sections of the population, of the entire Vietnamese nation, in the South : the right to work and earn one's living, the right to democratic liberties, national independence and peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

The struggle of millions and millions of people , of the bloc of national union, has led to a highly significant success, namely, the very courageous confrontation with the major

sweeps conducted by the South Viet Nam army and the extremely brutal terror measures taken by the South Viet Nam administration. Sweeps and terror, the last weapons of the US-Diem clique, have proved ineffective as clearly shown by the fact that they have not only failed to stem the movement but instead have further stimulated its development.

In such circumstances, when the ruling clique falls into utter decay and shows more and more impotence, when the revolutionary movement surges ahead like tidal waves, the state of the South then will not remain as it is; it will be a state of crisis and prolonged crisis. The coup d'etat of November 1960 in Saigon should be viewed in the context of such a state if its meaning is to be correctly understood: it was a rather hard blow to Ngo Dinh Diem and contributed to a certain extend to aggravating and prolonging the crisis of the US-Diem system, and strengthening the patriotic movement in the South.

The major revolutionary events that have taken place in the South are having wide repercussions in world public opinion. Over the past year, the press everywhere has taken an interest in the situation in South Viet Nam and, for the most part, has arrived at similar conclusions in the assessment of the situation : the Ngo Dinh Diem regime is rotten and impotent, the people's struggle movement is on the rise, therefore the situation cannot remain as it is. Noteworthy is the fact that not only the left-wing press, but also the right-wing press, the Western press has written in the same vein.

Let us quote some of the most typical passages :

The American paper *New Republic* on January 30, 1961 wrote: "South Viet Nam is threatened by a collapse from the inside rather than an attack from the outside, This is a typical castle built in the air."

The correspondent of the *National Guardian* published in the US said on November 28, 1960 that although his stay in Saigon was very brief yet he firmly believed that the discontent of the masses was already like a volcano about to erupt.

The *London Observer* on November 13, 1960, noted that never before has the Ngo Dinh Diem regime been as near the point of collapse as it is today.

The British paper *Guardian* on November 12, 1960 wrote: "Happenings in South Viet Nam prove that the Diem regime is not such a solid bastion as it was believed to be. The more the pro-US administration shows its loyalty to the US the more it alienates itself from the masses and has to resort to dictatorial measures to maintain its rule."

The French paper *La Tribune des Nations* on November 25, 1960 wrote: "South Viet nam is a volcano ready to go into eruption, Diem had admitted. One could not better depict the situation of a country where all social classes entertain an implacable hatred of the government."

The Indian paper *National Forum* on November 14, 1960 wrote that discontent has grown to a breaking point in the Diem army and among the South Vietnamese people, and that it is clear that the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem is tottering and about to collapse

The Indonesian paper *Torch* wrote, "The more the Ngo Dinh Diem administration increases in ruthless oppression of the people, the more it accelerates the awakening of the South Vietnamese people. The day has come when the people in the South will gain victory,"

Similar quotations can be made from many other publications.

The world's people, peace-loving governments and democratic organizations in the world are following the patriotic movement in the South and the struggle of our people for the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland with deep sympathy and are giving positive support to our just struggle. The decision of the World Peace Council to award a gold medal to the peace movement in South Viet Nam and the decision of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization to observe July 20 as Viet Nam Day are most eloquent proof of that noble feeling and support. Recently, the Secretariat of the International Democratic Jurists' Association met in Berlin. After studying the situation in South Viet Nam, it sternly condemned the policy of terror and repression against former resistance members and patriots in the South, and the policy of the US-Diem clique to wage war against the South Vietnamese people. A resolution adopted at the meeting recognizes that our people in the South have the right to fight in self-defence to protect their right to live and other human rights in accordance with the preamble of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. The resolution also recognizes that the patriotic struggle in the South fully conforms to the Geneva Agreements and the resolution of the

15th session of the UN General Assembly concerning the abolition of colonialism in all its forms. The voice of justice in the world has shattered the slanderous fabrications of the US-Diem clique about "subversion" in South Viet Nam. This is a powerful source of encouragement to the Vietnamese people.

It is clear that the Ngo Dinh Diem regime is a traitorous and unpopular regime, condemned by our compatriots in the South and the world's people, in spite of fraudulent elections on the Syngman Rhee pattern But why then can such a regime still remain in existence? It is because the US imperialists are trying their best to keep their lackeys in power to enslave the southern part of our country and turn it into a military base in preparation for war. It is said that the US is fed up with Ngo Dinh Diem because the Ngo family has grown too unpopular and is already in jeopardy. It is looking for a replacement capable of both serving as an effective running-dog and winning the people's hearts or, to put it more correctly, of deceiving the people through demagogy. What an irony! To satisfy the US imperialists and to win the people's hearts are two opposites that cannot co-exist. The Ngo Dinh Diem regime is a creature of the US imperialists, the crimes committed by the Ngo family are those of the US imperialists. While opposing Ngo Dinh Diem, our people in the South are in fact opposing the US imperialists and so long as the US imperialists maintain their rule over the southern part of our country, they will continue to give birth to such offspring as Ngo Dinh Diem, and our people in the South will continue their struggle against the

domination of the US imperialists and their lackeys to win their right to democratic liberties, national independence and national reunification

While the US-Diem clique is thrown into panic and confusion and the patriotic movement is surging up everywhere, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation comes into being[2]. The founding of the Front with a correct political program which meets the aspirations of all sections of our people in the South, marks a new development in the struggle for the liberation of South Viet Nam. This is a success of great political significance won by our compatriots in the South thanks to the strength of their unity in struggle.

Confronted with the might and elan of the patriotic movement in the South, the US imperialists and their lackeys have raised a ballyhoo about "subversion". They falsely charge our Government with conducting "subversive" activities in the South and call on the International Commission for help. How ridiculous and contemptible! True, subversive activities are being conducted in the world today; they come from the outside and they aim to overthrow the legal national governments disliked by the US imperialists and to replace them with governments in the pay of the latter. To attain their dark goal, the US imperialists stop at nothing, using all kinds of wicked and cruel tricks, military, political and economic, including deception and assassination. Such is the national policy of the US. In the long run, US-style subversive activities are doomed to humiliating failure. Meanwhile, the just struggle of the people, the sacred struggle for the lofty rights and interests of the people and the nation, the struggle for the overthrow of

the aggressors and the traitors, the patriotic struggle of our people in the South, is bound to win glorious victory!

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

Following the historic Dien Bien Phu victory, the Geneva Agreements restoring peace in Indochina on the basis of recognition of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia were a victory of great international significance for the national liberation movement. The provisions of the said agreements record the achievements of the hard and courageous patriotic struggle of the peoples of the Indochinese countries.

For that reason the Vietnamese people are resolved to preserve the Geneva Agreements and carry on the struggle for their implementation. And for that reason too, the US imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration have persisted in refusing to implement them.

Nearly 7 years have elapsed since July 20, 1954.

In this long period, our country has remained divided, the Southern part of our country has become a new-type colony and a military base of the US imperialists, in contravention of the letter and spirit of the Geneva Agreements, although the Government of the DRVN has many times approached the South Viet Nam administration, the Cochairmen of and the countries participating in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina concerning necessity of and the measures for achieving the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam. Worse still, all relations between the two zones have been cut off, and the

temporary demarcation line along the Ben Hai river has virtually become a frontier between two states.

This is the most fundamental violation of the Geneva Agreements and the culprits are the US imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, their stooge.

They have violated all the military provisions. The Southern part of our country is now a military base of the US imperialists. In fact it is becoming a member of the aggressive SEATO bloc. American weapons and military personnel are being openly introduced into South Viet Nam. From Malaya, weapons are being illegally brought in. There, the US imperialists are plotting a new war against the DRVN.

All provisions concerning democratic liberties have been violated. Former Resistance members, patriots, and those who struggle for the most fundamental human rights and national rights are subjected to cruel and savage terror. The US-Diem clique employ their army, all their armed forces and police forces to suppress the patriotic movement. They have admitted that in the South, the war has never ended.It is a war waged against the people by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration in accordance with US policy, following a US plan and with US weaponry.

Such is the state of South Viet Nam seven years after the signing of the Geneva Agreements.

The reason is that the Ngo Dinh Diem Administration and the US Government have persistently refused to implement the Geneva Agreements and moreover have vied with each other in violating all the provisions of these agreements in a systematic

and brazen manner. The Ngo Dinh Diem administration even cynically declares its non-recognition of these agreements.

Once again the Vietnamese people and the Government of the DRVN energetically condemn the repeated and increasingly serious violations of the Geneva Agreements by the South Viet Nam administration and the US Government, tending to prolong the partition of Viet Nam and turning South Viet Nam into a military base of the US imperialists. We energetically condemn the violations of the provisions of the Geneva Agreements concerning the holding of a consultative conference between the two zones to realize the reunification of Viet Nam; we energetically condemn the violations of the military provisions such as the ban on the introduction of foreign weapons and military personnel into South Viet Nam, and of the provisions concerning democratic liberties, which prohibit reprisals against former Resistance members. We energetically condemn the US imperialists' policy of naked intervention and aggression in the Southern part of our country, a policy that has brought countless disasters to our people. We energetically condemn the policy of savage and cruel terror of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration vis-à-vis our compatriots in the South, and the large-scale mopping-up operations carried out by the Ngo Dinh Diem army with tank and air support to devastate villages and hamlets and massacre the people. We strongly denounce to our people and to world public opinion the towering crimes of the US-Diem clique. Our angry voice will echo far and wide among the broad masses of people in our country and will be translated into a strong, united struggle against the US interventionists and

their lackeys. This angry voice will echo far and wide among world public opinion and will draw ever more powerful support for the just struggle of our people.

When speaking of the need for a serious implementation of the Geneva Agreements, we must mention the schemes and activities of the aggressive SEATO military bloc aimed at meddling in the affairs of our country. Everybody still remembers that this military alliance was set up under a policy worked out by the US imperialists right after the signing of the Geneva Agreements with a view to undermining the implementation of the said agreements. The Government of the DRVN strongly protests against the discussion by the Council of the aggressive SEATO military bloc of the so-called "South Viet Nam problem," with the participation of a representative of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, and strongly protests against the statements revealing the SEATO's schemes and acts of interference in the affairs of our country in violation of the Geneva Agreements. The Vietnamese people and the peoples of South East Asian countries and the rest of the world have clearly realized that the SEATO military bloc like other military alliances is an instrument of intervention and aggression, an instrument of war of the imperialists, especially the US. They are determined to continue their struggle until these military alliances are abolished, in the interest of peace and of the inalienable rights of all nations in the world.

What are the consequences arising from the non-implementation of the Geneva Agreements? It is common knowledge that south Viet Nam is in total anarchy; peace and

security do not exist, the danger of war is looming large, posing a threat not only to the DRVN but also to Southeast Asia as a whole.

Let us draw an even more illuminating experience from the implementation and non-implementation of the Geneva Agreements in Laos. When these agreements went into effect there, the Kingdom of Laos embarked on the road of peace, neutrality and national concord; but when the implementation of these agreements was torpedoed there was a shift to war with the danger of the war expanding.

The US imperialists are playing with fire, such is their nature. As they play with fire they will be killed by fire. They deserve this fate. They never want Laos to enjoy independence, neutrality and national concord. They have frantically sabotaged the Geneva Agreements on Laos, and once even sought to evict the International Commission from Laos. By so doing, they thought, they could have a free hand to swallow up Laos. The situation, however, has changed not in the direction expected by the US imperialists but in conformity with the will and the strong unity and struggle of the Lao people. Today everybody deems it necessary to return to the Geneva Agreements on Laos and restore the activity of the I.C. Very good! Nevertheless the situation is now different; history does not repeat itself and today, even if it does, new conditions have prevailed with the balance of forces between the imperialists and the people, either on a world or on a national scale, having changed visibly in favour of the people.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the DRVN have worked persistently and resolutely for the full and strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements, in the interest of peace, unity, independence and democracy in Viet Nam and for the sake of peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia. We are determined to struggle against all violations and distortions of the Geneva Agreements. The greater our people's strength, the more support our just struggle will receive from the world's people and the greater our ability to demand the implementation of the Geneva Agreements, of all the provisions of these agreements, the most important of which being the realization of the reunification of our country.

Excerpts from the Report to the 6th Session of the National Assembly, 29 April 1963

THE GLORIOUS SUCCESSES OF THE PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH

To bring out the development of the situation in South Viet Nam since the United States imperialists started their military intervention there, let us recall the following important events :

– The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique of May, 13, 1961[3];

– The Staley-Taylor Plan[4] to "pacify South Viet Nam within 18 months" beginning mid-1961;

– The establishment of the US military Command in Saigon headed by General Paul D. Harkins on February 8, 1962;

The rapid growth of the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation since 1961 and especially in 1962; the successive victories in foiling the Staley-Taylor Plan; the resounding influence of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in the international areas, especially on the occasion of visits by the Front's delegates to many countries;

– The battle of the Ap Bac[5] (My Tho province) on January 2, 1963.

The open letter sent by 62 American intellectuals and other personalities to US President Kennedy on March 1, 1963.

Those events shed light on the development of the situation, and help people draw appropriate conclusions. President Kennedy had admitted that he is in a tunnel with no end in sight! How indeed can the aggressive US imperialists see the end of the tunnel while they want to go still deeper into it? On the contrary, for the Vietnamese people, the situation is brightening: the US aggressors have suffered initial setbacks, the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam has recorded initial successes, and, certainly, will finally win complete success. If for the US imperialists, the situation is becoming more and more difficult and gloomy, for our Southern compatriots, for us, it is becoming ever brighter and better! This is the law governing the dialectic development of the war in South Viet Nam, and also the law governing the dialectic development of the world situation in our time, the time of transition from capitalism to socialism, the time of distintegration of imperialism.

Following US Vice-President Johnson's visit to Saigon, in mid-1961, the US aggressors made public the Staley-Taylor Plan to "pacify South Viet Nam within 18 months." General Taylor is a militaryman, and is now Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff; Staley is an economist: both are trusted collaborators of Kennedy. The Staley-Taylor Plan is a summing-up, from the imperialist view-point, of experiences drawn from wars of repression against the national liberation movements in certain parts of the world. The US aggressors had much confidence in this plan, and believed that by the end of

1962, South Viet Nam would have been "pacified", and the patriotic forces there, annihilated.

But the situation has developed quite contrary to the US imperialists' will, and in accordance with the predictions of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. Right after the Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communiqué was signed, and especially since the Staley-Taylor Plan was worked out, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation called on all our compatriots in the South, without distinction as to class, political affiliation, religious belief and nationality, to stand up as one man, unite closely and fight valiantly, with the determination to foil the Staley-Taylor Plan, defeat the aggressive war waged by the US imperialists, defend the Fatherland and national independence, win back the right to life and to freedom, and achieve peaceful reunification of the country. Spearheaded at the US aggressors, the patriotic struggle in South Viet Nam inspires the people as a whole to stand up and be ready to sacrifice everything, resolved to win final victory.

We still remember the intense activities of US ruling circles, especially of top-ranking officers of the US Navy, Army and Air Force in Washington, Saigon and Honolulu, aimed at rapidly strengthening the military forces of the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities in South Viet Nam. We still remember their boastful statements in early 1962, to the effect that within only one year, the war would end successfully for them.

The 18-month period had expired, yet at the beginning of this year the US imperialists could not sing the triumphal

hymn. On the contrary, a broad and powerful movement was surging throughout South Viet Nam, from rural and mountain areas to cities; and since then, the news of the glorious victory at Ap Bac, and news of other victories: at Mrong (Dalat), Plei Mrong (Pleiku) etc. and many other parts of heroic South Viet Nam, have echoed throughout the world. Recently our compatriots won many battles, especially in Phan Thiet, Quang Ngai, and Ca Mau. We warmly hail the successes of the patriotic movement in the South!

Why has the Staley-Taylor Plan failed to bring the US aggressors the expected results?

As everybody knows, the Staley-Taylor Plan consists of two main points:

1. Setting up of "strategic hamlets" to concentrate the population;

2. Intensification of military activities to annihilate the patriotic forces.

There lies the vicious design of the US imperialists: to stamp out the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam, and at the same time to prepare for attacking the North and sabotaging peace in Indochina, Southeast-Asia and the world.

The US Diem put high hopes in the plan for setting up "strategic hamlets". They foolishly reckoned that if they succeeded in concentrating the South Vietnamese people into "strategic hamlets" they would be able not only to easily persecute and dominate the people, but also to easily wipe out the patriotic forces that were left outside. That is why they have used all forces and all manoeuvres, from flagrant, downright repression to enticement and cajolery, in the hope of realizing

the "strategic hamlets" plan, first in important areas, then everywhere. This plan which envisages the herding of 14,000,000 rural, urban and mountain people into concentration camps, tramples upon the life, customs, habits, democratic freedoms and most common sentiments and interests of human beings. That is why the South Vietnamese people have risen up, mobilized all forces, applied all forms of struggle, struggled day and night, month after month, determined to destroy the "strategic hamlets."

So far, a large part of such concentration camps have been destroyed, many for dozens of times. In some places, "strategic hamlets" have been transformed into fighting villages of the patriotic people. The overall plan to set up "strategic hamlets", due to powerful opposition from our Southern compatriots, has not been realized as desired by the US-Diem. The struggle between the building of "strategic hamlets" by the US-Diem on the one hand, and the destruction of "strategic hamlets" by the South Vietnamese patriotic people on the other, is an extremely fierce see-saw struggle, a tremendous struggle of paramount and many-sided significance for the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam. Final victory will belong to our South Vietnamese compatriots!

Along with the "strategic hamlets" plan, the US-Diem have intensified military activities in an attempt to annihilate the patriotic forces in South Viet Nam. Here, too, they had wrongly calculated that if they intensified their military strength to a certain degree, they would win. Therefore, they have endeavoured to rapidly increase their military forces and to supply them with modern military equipment, arms, means of

communications, transport and liaison...To tighten its grip upon the Ngo Dinh Diem army, General Harkins' Command has set up a US military system at all levels, taking direct command of the Ngo Dinh Diem military organizations and units, even during raids. Under the direct command of American officers, the US-Diem armed forces have uninterruptedly opened big operations, mustering large forces and various branches of the army to raid almost all parts of South Viet Nam, razing villages, burning and destroying crops, killing people, and forcing them to build "strategic hamlets". The US imperialist aggressors have stopped at no savage manoeuvres. They have of late sprayed toxic chemicals on South Vietnamese villages and fields, damaging vegetation and crops, killing cattle, and poisoning our compatriots. This extremely cruel act has aroused a powerful wave of indignation in our country and in the world.

In over a year, the US imperialists have introduced into South Viet Nam 15,000 troops, modern weapons of various kinds, and a huge quantity of war equipment, set up a US military command in Saigon, and directly waged a war of aggression, an undeclared war, in South Viet Nam. This is an extremely serious event in the present international situation, a direct threat to the security of the DRVN, to peace in Southeast Asia and the world, and an excessively flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the United Nations Charter.

The US aggressors had though that their powerful military forces and cruel manoeuvres could subdue our compatriots in the South. They were mistaken. They have but fanned up the

flames of undaunted struggle in the hearts of our Southern compatriots, of the entire people of South Viet Nam, who pledge to sacrifice everything to fight the aggressors and save their country and their homes. South Viet Nam as a whole is seething with anger, and each South Vietnamese citizen, man and woman, old and young, in the countryside, the mountain areas or the towns, is a patriotic fighter ready to defeat the enemy and save his country. In their hard and heroic fight against an enemy who is militarily stronger, the South Vietnamese patriotic forces have grown rapidly in all fields, morally and materially – thanks to the war equipment captured in battles or brought by soldiers who left the Ngo Dinh Diem army. Early last year, General Harkins came to Saigon and set up the US Military Command. Early this year, the South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle won many successes having strong repercussions in South Viet Nam and among public opinion in the United States and the world over. This constitutes a suitable and highly significant reply to the aggressive ambitions of the US war-maniacs.

The Staley-Taylor plan attaches great importance to winning over the mountain people in the Central Highlands. The US-Diem have long been considering the Highlands as an important strategic area and hoping to control it firmly. To win over our mountain compatriots, they have resorted to all manoeuvres, combining repression with enticement and cajolery. The US aggressors have even availed themselves of the people's hatred for the Ngo Dinh Diem administration to draw them to their

side. Throughout 1962, they made tremendous efforts in this work, and towards the end of the year, on some occasions they boasted about having severed the mountain people from the jungle and from the influence of the patriotic movement! But, what is the truth? On March 18, 1963, Radio FEBC reported that from the beginning of the year, over 4,000 mountain people of various nationalities had left newly-established US-Diem concentration camps, taking arms with them. The American magazine *Newsweek* on February 12, 1963, wrote that mountain people, supplied with arms by the United States at training centres, later turned out to be "communist agents".

The Highland people thus remain masters of their jungle and mountains, and have upheld their patriotism and tradition of indomitable struggle; they have won and are winning gloriously.

The 18-month period has expired: the Staley-Taylor plan has visibly gone bankrupt.

Recently, the US aggressors had to speak of a protracted war. Thus, they begin to admit their setbacks. As for our people, our South Vietnamese compatriots who have fought against the imperialist aggressors, they are resolved to carry on their persistent struggle against US aggression. The more they fight, the stronger they become, and the international situation will evolve in a direction ever more favourable to the liberation struggle in South Viet Nam and more unfavourable to the US aggressive and warmongering imperialists.

The patriotic movement in South Viet Nam will have to undergo still greater trials, but we firmly believe that it will grow ever stronger and will overcome every test, and final victory will belong to our South Viet Nam compatriots.

Let us now review the factors that have led to these important successes We are convinced that these factors will lead to still greater successes in the time to come, and finally bring decisive victory to the South Vietnamese people's struggle for self-liberation.

These factors are:

1. *The South Vietnamese people's patriotic movement has grown rapidly, has gradually become an invincible force, and will finally defeat the aggressive war waged by the US imperialists in South Viet Nam.*

On the rapid growth of the South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle, the recent session of the Standing Bureau of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation's Central Committee made the following assessment:

"In 1962 and in the first months of 1963, the South Vietnamese people underwent big trials. The US imperialists had launched a war of aggression in South Viet Nam. They threw tremendous forces into their attack against the South Vietnamese revolutionary movement, and made all-out efforts to carry out the "Staley-Taylor Plan" to "pacify South Viet Nam within 18 months". But, they have got bogged down and suffered initial setbacks in their 'lightning war' tactics. Now they have to speak about a protracted war."

This is a correct appraisal of the successes which our Southern compatriots have recorded since the US aggressors set foot on South Viet Nam. This assessment also proves that the hard and protracted struggle for liberation of the South Vietnamese people will certainly win.

Let us compare the situation in early 1963 with that in early 1962. At that time, the US imperialists thought they could quell the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam. Now, the balance of forces has visibly changed: the patriotic forces have grown in all fields, the patriotic movement is surging everywhere, and the South Vietnamese people are firmly confident in their just cause and in victory.

The US aggressors have attributed their setbacks to the fact that troops of the South Viet Nam (puppet) administration refused to fight. That's perfectly true! Since American officers took over direct command of the army of the South Viet Nam administration, it has become clearer and clearer that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is a tool and lackey of the USA. The fact that the US imperialists are using Diem troops to massacre our Southern compatriots has awakened many members of the Ngo Dinh Diem army and administration. They have joined, and will join the patriotic movement in greater and greater numbers and turn their guns against the aggressors and traitors. Of late, many of them, including provincial governors, have protested against the spraying by Americans of toxic chemicals in Ben Tre and many other places. Some American soldiers, realizing the truth on the "dirty war" of which they were victims, became

so distressed that they committed suicide. All these changes show how inspiring the just patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people is.

The US aggressors only rely upon weaponry, violence and cruelty, regarding these as the decisive factor. Reality in South Viet Nam and other parts of the world in our time, however, shows that the people's Revolutionary struggle is the decisive factor. The more the imperialists rely on force and cruelty, the more united and resolute the people will grow and will certainly defeat them. The Staley-Taylor Plan is directed against the people, and aims to quench their patriotism, then annihilate their patriotic forces altogether – that is, to isolate the fish from the water, then scoop the water and catch the fish! But the American aggressive war has brought fish and water ever closer together. Wherever there is water, there is fish, wherever there are people, there are patriotic forces and the patriotic movement is surging like the high tide and will bury the US aggressors and their flunkeys altogether.

The use of toxic chemicals as a war means in South Viet Nam does not in any way show that the enemy is strong. On the contrary this is but the act of a man at bay who stops at no heinous crime! The entire Vietnamese people energetically condemn the American's crimes. Public opinion throughout the world is highly indignant at such acts. Many well-known political, social and scientific figures in various countries have denounced them. Most symbolic is the letter from the famous British philosopher Lord Bertrand Russell. He wrote: "Chemical warfare is employed for the purpose of

destroying crops and livestock and to starve the population. The American Government has suppressed the truth about the conduct of this war, the fact that it violates the Geneva Agreements concerning Indochina."

At present, the struggle against the US-Diem use of toxic chemicals as a war means is going on powerfully in our country and in the world.

2. *With its correct programme, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation – the organizer of all successes of the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam – has become the genuine representative of the Vietnamese people in the South.*

Shortly after its founding (December 20, 1960), the influence and prestige of the Front spread throughout South Viet Nam and took deep root among the people of all strata, from town to country, from the mountain to coastal areas, and, from South Viet Nam , the Front's fame has echoed all over the globe.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is the leading force of the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam, the organizer of all successes of the South Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle against the US aggressors and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to liberate South Viet Nam. The Front symbolizes the unity and struggle of various strata of the South Vietnamese people, without distinction as to classes, political parties, religious communities and nationalities. The Front's programme reflects the will of the 14 million South Vietnamese people and is the genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Gradually, world public opinion has on the one hand realized the powerlessness, rottenness and unpopularity of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, and on the other seen ever more clearly the great strength and prestige of the Front, and its correct line and policies. The Front's delegation headed by Professor Nguyen Van Hieu has been warmly welcomed in many countries. At present, the Front has its official representatives in a number of countries, and its affiliated organizations, such as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, international youth, students' and journalists' organizations, and the Economic Cooperation Council of Asian countries. Many international organizations have set up committees of solidarity with and support for the patriotic people of South Viet Nam, many international organizations and many countries have given the South Vietnamese people assistance in finances, medicines, medical equipment, and so on.

3. *The sympathy and support of the world's peoples is a source of strength that gives more enthusiasm and confidence to the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam, a firm support for the struggle for South Viet Nam's liberation.*

The patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people in the South is of important international significance. That is why it enjoys warm sympathy and resolute support from the world's peoples. At present, aggressive and warlike US imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of the world's peoples, of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The US imperialists regard their aggressive war in South Viet Nam as an "experimental" war, and try to carry out well this "experiment"

so as to apply it to many other parts of the globe Thus by resolutely struggling to defeat the US aggressive war, our compatriots in South Viet Nam will not only liberate themselves but also prove to the world's peoples that in the present time, any nation, provided it is united as one man and self-sacrificingly struggles to the end, will certainly succed in opposing the aggressive wars of the US imperialists. It is because they have clearly realized the just cause and international significance of the struggle of our compatriots in South Viet Nam that the world's peoples whole-heartedly support this struggle. This support reflects the indignation of the world's peoples at the aggressive and warlike policy of US imperialism, and also their confidence in the certain victory of the South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle. It constitutes a strong stimulus and a firm prop for the South Viet Nam liberation movement.

On this occasion, the Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and the other socialist countries, to the peoples of Indonesia, Algeria and other countries in the world for their wholehearted support of the South Vietnamese people,s patriotic struggle.

The just struggle of our compatriots in South Viet Nam, wich enjoys warm support from world public opinion, has brought about a notable result: public opinion in the United States has seen ever more clearly that the aggressive war waged by the US imperialists in South Viet Nam will certainly fail, and demands that the Kennedy Government put

an end to this "dirty and cruel war", an undeclared war running completely counter to the American people's interests. Symbolizing this ever broader opinion is the open letter from 62 American personalities, comprising people of various political, scientific, literary, artistic, economic, religious and military circles. Reflecting the correct stand of progressive public opinion in the United States, the letter brings out the truth that the US Government has deliberately sought to keep Viet Nam divided and to make South Viet Nam a US military base. It denounces the US Government for sending American soldiers and weapons to wage an undeclared war some 10,000 miles from the United States to bolster up Ngo Dinh Diem's brutal dictatorship, against the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation which is a coalition of different political parties, ethnic groups and religious communities, and represents a broad, nation-wide movement. The letter holds that the United States cannot win despite its tremendous military force , and comes to this conclusion: the US military intervention in South Viet Nam must be brought to a halt, and the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina must be restored.

The Vietnamese people warmly hail the brave action of progressive circles in the United States, the genuine representatives of the American people who cherish freedom and justice for themselves and for all other nations in the world.

In the all-out struggle against the US imperialist aggressors, the Vietnamese people clearly distinguish between the US imperialists – their enemy – and the American people –their

friends on the other side of the Pacific – and pledge to struggle shoulder to shoulder with the American people against the aggressive war waged by the US imperialists, for friendship between the two peoples and for world peace.

TOWARD NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

We knew long ago that the imperialists, especially the US imperialist aggressors, would be die-hards. "Though beaten to death, a villain remains a villain" (a Vietnamese saying – *Editor*), such is the nature of imperialism and other reactionary forces. At present, despite their successive failures in South Viet Nam, the US imperialists still are increasing their forces, and seeking by all means to speed up the building of "strategic hamlets" and to expand raiding operations. Flagrantly violating the Geneva Agreements and paying no heed to international law, the US imperialists are, on the one hand, intensifying their aggressive war in South Viet Nam, and , on the other, trying to send spies and commandos to and multiply sabotaging activities in North Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people who have fought against imperialist aggression for self-liberation and have drawn valuable lessons from their nation-wide, total, protracted and victorious war of resistance, are now drawing fresh lessons from the struggle against US aggression. The patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South, having gone through tremendous trials, is developing in strength and scope. In spite of the great trials still ahead the South Vietnamese people will march

forward steadily. Final victory will certainly belong to our compatriots in the South, to the Vietnamese people as a whole.

Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. The people in North Viet Nam always turn their thoughts and love to the suffering and heroic South. They clearly realize that the heroic struggle of their Southern compatriots has helped safeguard peace in North Viet Nam, and checked the US-Diem scheme to "march to the North". The sons and daughters of South Viet Nam living in the North as well as all North Vietnamese have turned their love for South Viet Nam into revolutionary ardour and creative labour in the construction of North Viet Nam. The visit of the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to North Viet Nam late last year war a vivid expression of the love between North and South, of the entire Vietnamese people's iron will to reunify the Fatherland. It was a moving image showing that our heart is one, that our country is one, without any demarcation line, a moving view of the future when the country will be reunified, and North and South will be under the same roof again.

Every day, new reports from the heroic South expose the towering crimes of the enemy and recount the boundless sacrifices and brilliant exploits of our Southern compatriots. The people in the North will always stand by the side of their Southern compatriots and wholeheartedly support their great struggle for the nation's interests. The more they think of the South, the more they will work devotedly to build

socialism and increase the strength of the North, deeply conscious of the fact that this strength is a very important factor in the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

At the closing session of the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954, the delegation of our Government declared:

"The Conference has set the date for the realization of Viet Nam's reunification We shall realize and achieve that reunification, just as we have achieved peace. No force on earth, inside or outside the country, can divert us from the path leading to national reunification by peaceful and democratic means. This will be a step to complete our national independence.

"People throughout Viet Nam! All compatriots in the South! Victory will belong to us! It is up to us to achieve the independence and reunification of our Fatherland. Friends of peace and justice throughout the world sympathize with us. Let all our compatriots remember President Ho Chi Minh's word that "the struggle is bound to be hard, but in the end, we will certainly win."

The 1954 Geneva Conference represented a great success of the Vietnamese people. These accords clearly laid down the indispensable provisions to end war and restore peace, and the indispensable provisions to consolidate peace and prevent the resumption of war, namely, those banning the introduction of weapons and military personnel from outside, the establishment of foreign military bases on Vietnamese territory, and the adherence to military alliances.

The correct implementation of these provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements guarantees the maintenance of peace in Viet Nam, and at the same time, contributes to the maintenance of peace in Indochina, South-East Asia and the world .

In the future as well as in the past, the Government of the DRVN will always implement just as it has always implemented correctly and thoroughly the Geneva Agreements and resolutely demands that all parties concerned do the same.

But why have the Geneva Agreements not been implemented?

It is precisely the aggressive and warlike US imperialists who have blatantly violated these accords, kindled war in South Viet Nam, and created tension and the war danger in many parts of the world, such as in Laos at present.

To struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements in order to restore peace in South Viet Nam and advance toward peaceful reunification of Viet Nam is precisely to struggle against the US aggressive war in South Viet Nam. Only by defeating this aggression and forming a national democratic coalition government in South Viet Nam as advocated in the programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation can there be conditions to achieve peaceful reunification of the country.

Basing itself on its programme, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has proposed these urgent measures for national salvation: to end the US policy and acts of aggression; the parties concerned in South Viet Nam must

cease all military activities, restore peace, and dissolve all "strategic hamlets"; to form in South Viet Nam a national democratic coalition government comprising representatives of various political parties, political tendencies, circles, religious communities and nationalities in the South; that government has the immediate tasks of holding general elections in South Viet Nam to elect a national assembly, and of carrying out urgent policies on democratic freedoms; externally, that government will pursue the policy of peace and neutrality, establish friendly relations with all countries, first of all the neighbouring countries; it will not adhere to any military bloc, will not allow any country to establish military bases in South Viet Nam, and will accept aid without political conditions attached from any countries.

That is the only correct and reasonable path and the most realistic measure to end war, restore peace and normalize the situation in South Viet Nam, in order to advance toward peaceful reunification of the country.

The Government of the DRVN has on many occasions clearly expounded its views on the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam. To achieve reunification by peaceful means is to reunify the country not by means of war, of armed force, but through negotiations, mutual consent and mutual concessions, without coercion or annexation of one side by the other. To reunify their Fatherland is the affair of the Vietnamese people, in which nobody has the right to interfere. The genuine representatives of the two zones must meet, discuss and settle together all problems concerning national reunification.

Peaceful reunification is a revolutionary struggle of the people throughout our country, of the whole Vietnamese nation. It is the result of the socialist construction in the North and of the national and democratic revolution in the South. Peaceful reunification is the natural victorious outcome of the unity and struggle of all patriotic Vietnamese, with the sympathy and support of peace-loving people throughout the world.

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The DRVN has always held high the banner on which are inscribed the deepest aspirations of the Vietnamese people – independence and freedom for the whole country, peace and reunification. Eighteen years ago, our people brought the August Revolution to victory, and founded the DRVN. Since then, our people's revolutionary struggle has recorded many new, glorious successes, and their forces have become much stronger. Meanwhile, the world situation has developed in a direction favourable to our people's revolutionary cause. Our people firmly believe in the victory of the cause of Viet Nam's reunification which no reactionary force can prevent, and we will certainly succeed in building a peaceful, reunified, independence, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, thus contributing to the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

Excerpts from speech delivered at meeting commemorating the 19th founding anniversary of the DRVN, September 2, 1964

At a time when the people in North Viet Nam are eagerly engaged in peaceful construction, the US imperialists have brazenly taken another extremely serious step in their policy of aggression and war-provocation in Indochina. Following a series of violations of our territorial waters and airspace by US warships and aircraft, the US imperialists groundlessly sent aircraft of the Seventh Fleet to launch surprise attacks on a number of places in North Viet Nam on August 5, 1964.

These criminal acts of the US imperialists aimed at carrying out the first step of the scheme of "carrying the war into the North" as openly declared many times by the US ruling circles. But in order to cover up their true colours and deceive public opinion, the US imperialists fabricated the fiction that their warships had been "attacked" in international waters and that they only acted in "retaliation". Moreover, they resorted to the trick of a thief crying stop thief by lodging a "complaint" against the DRVN with the United Nations Security Council.

The fallacious allegations of the US imperialists are really ridiculous. But however cunning they may be, the US imperialists cannot cover up the hard fact that on August 5 , US aicraft, on orders from President Johnson, openly strafed and bombed many parts of our territory. Public opinion in the world

and even in the United States has pointed out that the US imperialists are the provocateurs and aggressors.

Now, what made the US government commit this war crime against the DRVN on August 5?

The US imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression in South Viet Nam is going bankrupt. The US "special war" against the people of South Viet Nam is sustaining heavy setbacks; great military losses have been suffered, political chaos reigns, the puppets are bewildered and frightened, and the US imperialists have become more and more isolated and condemned everywhere in the world, even in the United States of America.

In this predicament, the US imperialists recklessly carried out acts of provocation and aggression against North Viet Nam with the following perfidious designs: with regard to the North, they expected to intimidate our army and people, and threatened to destroy the fruits of our peaceful labour; with regard to the South, they wanted to boost up the morale of their agents and give them new strength to intensify the war of aggression; with regard to the world, by levelling slanderous charges against the DRVN, they wanted to escape isolation, to have a pretext to secure a UN intervention in Indochina, and to involve other countries in their war of aggression; in connection with the US internal problems, at a time when the presidential election campaign is in full swing, President Johnson committed that criminal act against North Viet Nam in an attempt to cope with his opponents who have been bitterly attacking his failures in South Viet Nam and Indochina

Trying to kill several birds with one stone, the US imperialists thought that the trick was a masterpiece. Unfortunately, by committing themselves more deeply to an adventurous policy, they have sustained still greater defeats. Who sows the wind can only reap the whirlwind.

The US imperialists have tasted their first defeat in North Viet Nam. In spite of this massive surprise attack, our armed forces have heroically and vigorously fought back and have inflicted serious losses on the enemy: eight planes shot down, three damaged, and one US pilot taken prisoner.

This first and brilliant victory shows that our people and armed forces have always been on the alert and ready to staunchly defend the sovereignty and territory of their Fatherland, the peaceful labour of the people and the outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. It also shows that our people and armed forces are very courageous, that they are gloriously carrying forward the spirit of the August Revolution and the Dien Bien Phu tradition of "determination to fight and to win", and are fully capable of dealing telling blows at the US imperialists should they again dare to violate the airspace, territorial waters and territory of our country.

On this occasion, we once again warmly congratulate the anti-aircraft and naval units, the people's armed security, militia and self-defence units, and the cadres and compatriots in the areas subjected to enemy attacks, for their most courageous fight and their determination to wipe out the enemy. They have achieved a brilliant military feat.

The US imperialists intended to threaten and intimidate the people of North Viet Nam, but they have only aroused a wave of seething indignation from North to South, and raised further the patriotism and revolutionary spirit of our compatriots. After this first test of fire, our people and armed forces in the North have grown still more confident in their own courage and strength; they have closed their ranks around the Party and the Government, and are all the more eager to surge ahead, determined to fulfil the State Plan while displaying an iron will to defend our revolutionary gains and protect the airspace, territorial waters and territory of the Fatherland. After the US war act of August 5, our people in the North, from the cities to the countryside, from the coastal areas to the mountain regions, are striving with increased energy to fulfil all the targets of the State plan, stepping up the emulation drive for socialist construction, keeping the utmost calm while heightening their vigilance. Hammer or sickle in one hand, gun in the other, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the people's army and militia, ready to deliver telling blows to the enemy and to smash all acts of provocation and aggression.

After August 5, 1964, the situation in South Viet Nam has become still more critical for the US imperialists and their agents.

In vain the US imperialists have poured into the south of Viet Nam nearly two million US dollars a day, thrown tens of thousands of armymen into the aggressive war, worked out one plan after another, replaced US ambassadors and

commanding officers in South Viet Nam, and changed horses in midstream several times[6]. They have been unable to avert increasingly heavy and ignominious defeats.

It is a law of the patriotic struggle in South Viet Nam that the heavier the defeats suffered by the US imperialists and their agents, the more truculent and rabid they become, and the deeper they stray into the blind alley. On the other hand, the longer the fight, the stronger the people of South Viet Nam become, the greater their victories in the political and military spheres, the higher the prestige and international position of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the warmer the sympathy and support of the people in the socialist countries and in the world, and the steadier their progress towards the final goal: the liberation of South Viet Nam.

It was while they found themselves in this predicament that the US imperialists resorted to the August 5 act of war against the DRVN in an attempt to brace up the morale of their stooges, give them a shot in the arm and try to retrieve their disastrous defeats in the aggressive war in South Viet Nam. However, since August 5, 1964, the news has come of great victories recorded by the South Vietnamese people from Quang Tri and Thua Thien provinces to South Central Viet Nam and Nam Bo (South Viet Nam proper–Ed). Of these, the most recent one was won in Ben Tre, where, on the Americans' own admission, the highest casualties in a single battle so far were inflicted upon them. The political situation is even more dangerous for the US imperialists and

their agents. In order to suppress the fierce opposition of the people, they undertook to strengthen General Nguyen Khanh's fascist dictatorship. It was at this very moment that a strong wave of struggle swept with unprecedented vigour all South Vietnamese cities, from Saigon to Hue, drawing students, Buddhist believers and other strata of the population. In defiance of the curfew, demonstrations were staged by the people, demanding an end to the dictatorship of Nguyen Khanh, his resignation, the abrogation of the reactionary "Charter", the abolition of press censorship, and the promulgation of democratic freedoms. An ultimatum was handed to Nguyen Khanh. Furthermore, the people demanded that the United States put an end to its intervention and withdraw from South Viet Nam. Inspired by the resounding victories of the South Viet Nam Liberation forces, and along with the broad struggles in the countryside which have caused big breaches in the "strategic hamlets" system, the recent struggles in South Vietnamese cities further testify to the inevitability of the defeat of the US imperialists' policy of aggression, and the serious and unretrievable weakening of the US invaders and their agents.

The US imperialists' war act against the DRVN has strengthened even further the militant unity of our compatriots all over the country. Congratulating our anti-aircraft and naval units on their glorious victory, the High Command of the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces wrote in a message: "These successes further confirm this truth: all adventurous schemes of the US imperialists and their agents against the northern

part of our country will be severely punished and are doomed to ignominious defeat. The South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces deem it their duty to increase their attacks on the enemy forces, to wipe them out and punish them on all battlefields in order to contribute to the defence of the northern part of our Fatherland – a most sacred duty of the entire Vietnamese people."

In its Statement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam NFL pointed out: "If the US imperialists and their henchmen are rash enough to plunge headlong into a

dangerous military adventure, and refuse to give up their scheme to expand their aggressive war to North Viet Nam, the 14 million South Vietnamese people, united like one man, together with their Liberation Army and paramilitary forces, will stand side by side with their 18 million northern brothers and sisters and the brotherly People's Army, in order to resolutely struggle to the end and wipe out the US imperialists and their henchmen throughout the country." We warmly welcome these worlds full of the strength of kith-and-kin feeling!

As in North and South Viet Nam, developments in the world on and after August 5, have run counter to the US imperialists' wild hopes

The US imperialists' criminal act has aroused all over the world a wide and strong outburst of indignation at the aggressors and warmongers

In recent days, indignant protests against the US imperialists' act of war vis-à-vis North Viet Nam, demanding their withdrawal from South Viet Nam and warning them against any further action against the DRVN, have resounded throughout the world, from our brothers and neighbours and from far-off friends thousands of miles from our borders. Millions of Asian, African, Latin American, European and Australian people have demonstrated to voice their solidarity with, and firm support for, our people, giving us added strength in our struggle against the aggressors, and increasing our confidence in the victory of our just cause. On this occasion, I wish to express the deep and sincere gratitude of our peoples and Governments to the people and governments of the fraternal socialist countries, to the world's people, and to progressive American people.

Over the recent days, the fraternal socialist countries, and particularly China, our neighbour who is as closely related to us as the lips are to the teeth, have sternly condemned the US imperialists' act of aggression, and have expressed sympathy with and strong support for the correct stand and firm attitude of our Government and people. Tens of millions of people in many fraternal socialist countries have held anti-US meetings and demonstrations. Democratic parties, mass organizations and friendship associations have successively issued statements condemning the US imperialists and supporting our country. We have received tens of thousands of letters and telegrams from fraternal countries expressing indignation at the aggressive act of the United States and iron resolve to support the struggle of our

people. This support imbued with proletarian internationalism has made our people realize deeply that one thousand million people of the socialist countries are standing by our side, ready to join us in the fight against the common enemy.

The just struggle of our people has always enjoyed the strong sympathy and support of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Immediately after the August 5 bombing of our coastal areas by US aircraft, strong anti-US meetings and demonstrations took place in Japan, Indonesia, Algeria, Pakistan, New Zealand and other countries. In many places, the demonstrators gathered right in front of the US diplomatic missions to protest against the US action. In those grave days of trial, leaders of nationalist countries have expressed warm feelings for our struggle. The Vietnamese people are deeply moved by the solidarity and support of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, brothers who are in the same situation as we and are waging the same struggle against the common enemy, the US imperialists, in order to win and preserve national independence, their sacred and inalienable right.

The US imperialists' act of war against our country has aroused a broad wave of protests in the capitalist countries and in the United States itself. The working class and peace-loving people in those countries have voiced their solidarity with our people and their indignation at the US imperialists' criminal act. The Communist Parties of France, Japan, and Canada, Austria, etc., mass organizations, prominent political and social personalities, and a great number of

ordinary citizens in many capitalist countries have voiced their protests against the US imperialists and their support for our people. Meetings and demonstrations have been organized in Great Britain, France, Canada, Denmark, Austria, West Germany, Italy and in the United States.

In the August 14 issue of the British weekly *Tribune*, US Senator Wayne Morse wrote: "We (i.e. the USA – *Ed*) have violated the Geneva Accords and the UN Charter time and again. We are pursuing neither law nor peace in South East Asia. We are not even pursuing freedom. We are maintaining a military dictatorship over the people of South Viet Nam, headed by an American puppet to whom we give the orders and who moves only under our orders. What is worse, we have publicly threatened war where no direct threat to American security is at stake... The day of the Westerner is finished in Asia."

At present, the movement in support of our people's just struggle and the wave of opposition to the US imperialist aggressors and warmongers are still mounting impetuously. The peoples throughout the world are standing by our side. This constitutes an immense force. We are firmly confident that should the US imperialists and their stooges recklessly expand the war to North Viet Nam, they will suffer defeats, in the face of our people's strength and the unity of the peoples of the socialist countries and the world.

PART THREE

1965

THE WHOLE OF VIET NAM FACING THE AGGRESSORS

Report to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly, April 8, 1965

The U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggressive war in the southern part of our country. At the same time, they are extending the war to the North with their air force, seriously encroaching on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and directly jeopardizing the peace and security of the peoples of this part of the world.

Allow me, on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to present to the National Assembly a report on the new situation brought about by the U.S. aggressors, and on the new tasks to be fulfilled by our people to defeat them.

PART I

NEW SITUATION AND NEW TASKS

The war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists on our country is taking very dangerous developments. Therefore, the patriotic struggle of our people has also to take new developments, and to become more determined and vigorous than ever.

In the light of the present situation, we realize all the more clearly the process of the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression against our country, and also the growth of our people's patriotic struggle and its prospects of certain victory.

Indictment Against the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors

Today, from the rostrum of the National Assembly the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam solemnly announces to the entire Vietnamese people and the world peoples the indictment against the aggressive and warlike U.S imperialists.

After World War II, availing themselves of the collapse of the defeated German, Italian, and Japanese imperialists, and of the serious weakening of the British and French imperialists in spite of their victory, the U.S. imperialists have been striving to establish world hegemony; they have successively kicked out and replaced the other imperialists to enslave the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thus playing the role of an international gendarme.

The U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression in Viet Nam and Indochina is part of their strategy in the Western Pacific area. It is also part of U.S. overall strategy as materialized in the establishment of a network of U.S. military bases, and a U.S.-led system of military alliances aimed at encircling the socialist countries, bringing the national liberation movement under control, preparing for a nuclear war, a world war, and waging limited wars as in Korea formerly and "special war" as in South Viet Nam today.

Immediately after World War II ended with the great victory of the Soviet Army and the world democratic forces, the entire Vietnamese people, under the clearsighted leadership of the Party, stood up, accomplished the August Revolution, founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

on September 2, 1945 and established the people's power all over Viet Nam, from North to South. However, only a few months after the proclamation of our independence, the Chiang Kai-shek militarist clique – a tool of the U.S. imperialists – entered North Viet Nam while the British imperialists stepped into South Viet Nam, paving the way for the French colonialists' comeback.

Our resolute and clever struggle in 1946 drove the Chiang Kai-shek militarist clique out of our country, thus avoiding the danger of U.S. imperialist intervention. For their part, the French colonialists gradually encroached on our territory from the South to the North, and finally provoked an outbreak of the war all over our country on December 19, 1946. In recalling our people's heroic resistance war we want to make it clear that the U.S. imperialists began their intervention in our country as early as that time.

In 1949, the great People's Republic of China came into being. One year after, in 1950, the victorious campaign on the Viet Nam-China border broke the imperialists encirclement of the Vietnamese revolution, and connected our country with the mighty socialist camp.

Frightened by the development of our people's resistance war, the U.S. imperialists frenziedly intensified their intervention in Viet Nam, and took a direct part in the aggressive war by sanctioning the French military plans, bearing a great part of the war expenditures, and setting up in Saigon a military mission named M.A.A.G.

When the French were nearing their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the U.S. imperialists redoubled their efforts to protract

and extend the Indochina war. Together with the French advocates of continued war, they mapped out the "Vautour plan" for massive bombing of the northern part of our country in an attempt to save the French from defeat at Dien Bien Phu. However, confronted with the vigorous struggle of our people and army, and the mounting demands of the world's peoples for peace in Indochina, the U.S. imperialists could not carry out their dark schemes. On May 7, 1954, the Dien Bien Phu victory resounded throughout the world. On May 8, 1954, the Geneva Conference on Indochina held its opening session.

It was the Dien Bien Phu victory which, in the main, determined the outcome of the Geneva Conference. In spite of all the sabotage activities of the U.S. imperialists the Conference ended in success. At its closing session, the U.S. Government representative was compelled to pledge respect for the Geneva Agreements on the Indochina countries.

But immediately after the end of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the United States enticed a number of countries to sign the Manila pact and set up S.E.A.T.O., an aggressive military bloc; and disregarding the explicit clauses of the Geneva Agreements, it placed South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in the so-called "protection area" of the bloc.

According to the 1954 Geneva Agreements, Viet Nam was temporarily divided into two zones for the sake of eliminating the state of war, mainly for the French Expeditionary Corps to regroup in South Viet Nam and withdraw thereafter to France. However, the U.S.

imperialists and their flunkeys – the Ngo Dinh Diem clique at that time – blatantly violated a very important provision of the Agreements – the provision on the holding of a nation-wide free general election in July 1956 with a view to reunifying Viet Nam.

Here, we clearly see the U.S. imperialists' perfidious design of bringing about a permanent partition of our country, to turn South Viet Nam into a military base and a new-type colony of the United States, and to prepare for a new war of aggression against North Viet Nam and the whole of Southeast Asia.

After the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. imperialists gradually replaced the French colonialists in South Viet Nam, set up the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet administration, wiped out one by one the opposition groupings, and carried out most ruthless and wicked repressions against the people. They drowned in blood all patriotic forces aspiring to independence, democracy and peaceful national reunification. They organized camouflaged concentration camps dubbed "prosperity zones", "agricultural settlements", and "strategic hamlets". On the other hand, the U.S.-Diem clique frantically strengthened their military forces: they rigged up a half-a-million-strong mercenary army which a corps of U.S. advisers closely controlled from top to bottom. They build up over a hundred air and naval bases and a whole network of strategic roads. They dream of quickly stabilizing the situation in South Viet Nam, then attacking the North, and carrying out their "March to the North" plan.

But the heroic South Viet Nam people, bringing into play the indomitable tradition of the nation, resolutely stood up against the US imperialists and the puppets. Their patriotic struggle surged up all the more impetuously as the enemy resorted to savage terror. The enemy plan for rapid pacification of the South and a march to the North was smashed. In 1960, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being, carrying aloft the banner of national salvation and calling on the South Vietnamese people to unite and struggle in accordance with its correct programme. Since then, our Southern compatriots have risen up in arms against the enemy in a still more vigorous drive.

In 1961, the U.S.-Diem clique made a further step in their wicked scheme: it was the May 11, 1961, Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communiqué which was actually a military pact marking a very serious turning point in U.S. policy of military intervention in South Viet Nam. Immediately after this, the United States set up an operational command in Saigon, brought into South Viet Nam tens of thousands of U.S. servicemen along with a great number of planes, warships, all kinds of modern weapons, napalm bombs and toxic chemicals aimed at increasing the fighting capacities of the South Viet Nam puppet army and stepping up the aggressive war in the South of our country in the form of "special warfare".

The most perfidious policy of the U.S. aggressors was materialized in the Staley-Taylor plan for "pacification of South Viet Nam within 18 months". This plan aimed at herding the

entire South Vietnamese population into "strategic hamlets", isolating and annihilating the patriotic forces, first of all the armed forces, and also preparing conditions for an attack on North Viet Nam after the pacification of South Viet Nam. It has now gone bankrupt. The U.S. imperialists and their agents have suffered heavy losses and landed in a serious military and political crisis.

After being compelled to swap horses in midstream and to remove the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the U.S. imperialists set forth the Johnson-McNamara plan[7] for the "pacification by priority sectors" in South Viet Nam, that is to say, for the consolidation of a fairly large area surrounding Saigon-Cholon. However, with the ever-stronger struggle of the South Vietnamese people and their successive victories, this plan had to be gradually reduced from 8 provinces to 5, then to 3, and finally to the defence of Saigon-Cholon only. But even in Saigon, the U.S. aggressors and their agents are in a shaky position because of the vigorous growth of the mass struggle.

While intensifying their intervention and aggression in our country, the U.S. imperialists have ceaselessly stepped up their policy of intervention and aggression against the Kingdom of Laos and the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Soon after the 1954 Geneva Conference, the United States brought its military personnel and its satellites' troops into Laos and rekindled the flames of war to annihilate the Lao patriotic forces, and prevent the Kingdom of Laos from going along the path of genuine peace and neutrality. Having failed in this manoeuvre, the U.S. imperialists and their

agents were forced to sign in 1962 a new Geneva Agreement recognizing the neutral status of Laos. But over the past three years, they have frenziedly undermined Lao national concord, sabotaged the tripartite coalition government, torpedoed the policy of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos, launched repeated military operations to encroach on the area controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralist forces, ceaselessly extending the war in Laos and making the situation here more and more strained. The Laotian people and patriotic forces have heroically and persistently struggled against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkeys to defend the achievements of the revolution and their national rights, and have won glorious victories.

Under the clearsighted leadership of their Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian Government and people have resolutely steered their country into the path of peace and neutrality. The Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia has rejected the "SEATO protection" and refused to accept U.S. "aid". For the last ten years, the U.S. imperialists and their agents in South Viet Nam, Thailand, and "the Free Khmer" have continuously resorted to perfidious means, from political threat to economic pressure, from attempted assassination and subversion to violation of the Cambodian border and territory. But all these manoeuvres have been defeated by the Cambodian people's struggle. The Kingdom of Cambodia has successfully preserved her independence and neutrality, the anti-US movement there has ceaselessly developed and is now deeper and wider than ever.

The above-mentionned indictment sheds light on the extremely serious crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in our country:

1. For the last 20 years, the U.S. imperialists have been persistently pursuing their manoeuvres of aggression and enslavement in our country as well as in neighbouring Laos and Cambodia. For over four years now they have waged in the southern part of our country the most "dirty" and ruthless war of aggression in the world. Recently, because of their bitter defeats in South Viet Nam, they have brazenly launched air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country and a member of the socialist camp.

2. The U.S. imperialists have heaped up in our country, particularly in the South, the most hideous and unpardonable crimes. Over the past years, they have used most cruel means to raze villages to the ground, and destroy crops and vegetation: they have resorted to napalm bombs, toxic chemicals, and even poison gases to massacre our compatriots with Hitler-like savagery; they have massacred big numbers of innocent people, disembowelled and quartered children, burnt alive old men, raped women; they have endeavoured to propagate depraved ways of life, particularly in towns and cities, and tried by every means to turn our youth into hooligans and poison our people's mind.

3. The U.S. imperialists have systematically and blatantly violated the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. All their policies and acts in this area are aimed at doing away with the legal basis and the most important provisions of the said Agreements,

and denying to the Vietnamese as well as Cambodian and Lao peoples their universally-recognized national rights.

The purpose of this brief indictment is not merely to record the crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors against our people. To condemn the U.S. imperialists is to voice one's will and determination to oppose and defeat them. Like the Vietnamese people, the peoples of Asian, African, Latin American and even European countries can draw similar indictments, denounce similar crimes and by so doing, enhance their will and determination to struggle against aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialism, the most wicked and dangerous enemy of mankind today.

The South Vietnamese People Will Win

The past 20 years or so were years of U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression in our country and also of a persistent and staunch struggle of our people for self-liberation and in defence of their freedom and independence.

In South Viet Nam, the process of development of the U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention and aggression is also a process of development of the people's patriotic struggle. Never before in the history of our nation's struggle against foreign invasion, has there been such a deep and broad mobilization, and this has made it possible to bring into play to a very high extent the strength and intelligence of all social strata from the countryside to the towns, from the coastal areas to the mountainous regions.

In the course of a hard struggle against a modernly-equipped and extremely cruel enemy, in the course of a nationwide, all-out and protracted war waged by the entire people, our South Vietnamese compatriots have created everything, built up a several-million-strong political army with a great variety of effective forms of struggle, built up an ever-stronger armed force, capable of defeating the enemy in ever-bigger battles, and which will deal him crushing blows.

The root cause of the growth of our Southern compatriots and their glorious victories lies in the ardent patriotism, the close unity, and the fighting determination of the entire people. Our army and people's traditional will to fight and to win has been brought into play to a very large extent. Revolution is the work of the masses. Once the masses have risen up, resolved to sacrifice everything and to defeat the enemy with a view to winning back the sacred rights of the country, the right to life and the dignity of human beings, once millions of people are imbued with such determination, they become an invincible force capable of crushing any enemy.

The U.S. aggressors and their agents know very well that to have a "grip" over the people is essential for their "special warfare" in South Viet Nam. That is why all through these long years, they have tried every means – military, political and economic – to mislead and control the people, and thus keep them under their sway. This policy reached its highest peak with the "strategic hamlets" program, the most vicious trick of the U.S. imperialist aggressor and the mad "State policy" of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique who wanted to turn all South

Vietnamese villages and towns into appalling concentration camps and heavily-fortified strongholds. But the people's strength has smashed their schemes. The correct land policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, which safeguards the achievements of the revolution and the Resistance war and meets the basic interests of the peasant masses, has powerfully aroused million of South Vietnamese to stand up and destroy the "strategic hamlets". To date, over four-fifths of these hamlets have been completely destroyed, while the rest are in a process of disintegration. A considerable number have been turned into people's fighting villages and strongholds of the patriotic war. The struggle for the destruction of the "strategic hamlets" is an extremely arduous and valiant one. It is a fiercest confrontation between the revolutionary forces of the people and a most ruthless and wicked enemy. The outcome has been victory for the people; the bulk of the "strategic hamlets" system has been razed to the ground, and as a result, the liberated areas have been rapidly expanded, linked together and strengthened in all respects to form a solid base for the liberation struggle. This is shaking to the roots the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their agents.

Parallel to the struggle for the destruction of the "strategic hamlets" and the expansion of the liberated areas, is the struggle to counter and foil enemy's mopping-up plans, to wipe out piecemeal his military forces. In the flames of this extremely arduous and glorious fight, the South Viet Nam Liberation Army and other people's armed forces have rapidly grown up in all fields: in number and quality, in political standard and combat efficiency, in equipment and weapons. This rapid

growth has been eloquently demonstrated in all battlefields of South Viet Nam by ever-bigger battles and ever-greater and more significant victories from Nam Bo to the Central Highlands and the plains of South Central Viet Nam: Ap Bac, Bien Hoa, Plei M'rong, Cha La, Binh Gia, An Lao, Phu My, Pleiku, Viet An, Phong Phu, etc. In the course of the patriotic war, the South Vietnamese army and people have created from scratch a wonderful force capable of fighting and defeating an enemy several times bigger in number and equipped with all types of planes, naval craft, armoured cars, automatic rifles, artillery, napalm bombs, noxious chemicals, and even toxic gases. The forms of struggle they have used are very original and mark a development of the people's patriotic war to new peaks. At the same time, the mercenary troops are continually weakening, as they realize more and more clearly that they are acting as a vicious tool for the U.S. aggressors to massacre their own compatriots, destroy their homes, and betray their Fatherland. With the fierce patriotic struggle resounding ever more deeply in their hearts and among their ranks, they realize all the more clearly that they are committing crimes. That is why they do not want to fight. In their aggressive war in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists rely mainly on the puppet forces; but it is now obvious that they cannot rely on an army practically demoralized although very well-armed and equipped. This is a victory of tremendous significance for the patriotic war in South Viet Nam.

The struggle for the destruction of the "strategic hamlets" and the ever-greater military victories all over South Viet Nam has had direct, deep and wide repercussions in South

Vietnamese towns and cities. Over the recent years, almost all South Vietnamese towns and cities: Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Ben Tre, My Tho, Nha Trang, Qui Nhon, Quang Tri, etc., have been swept by big mass movements, involving all social strata: workers, pupils, students, intellectuals, Buddhists, etc. These movements powerfully surged up wave after wave in highly varied forms and with the exalted spirit of people rising up to become masters of their towns, lay bare the traitors and demand a U.S. withdrawal. Once, Saigon students sent an ultimatum to Nguyen Khanh. Saigon workers compelled the rulers and the enterprise owners to meet all their claims. On many occasions, the masses managed to secure the control of the streets in Saigon and Hue. In Quy Nhon demonstrating students seized control of the radio broadcasting station. At present, the mass movement is vigorously forging ahead in towns and cities, rallying in its ranks broad social strata, from the labouring masses to public figures, under the slogan of peace and neutrality. In short, the South Vietnamese towns which were bases of the United States and its agents are now becoming the arena of ever more significant struggles of the people.

The "strategic hamlets" network – the backbone of the ruling apparatus of the U.S.imperialists and their agents –, the mercenary army – the main instrument of the U.S. aggressive war along neo-colonialist pattern –, and the towns – their safest rear area – all these three mainstays are now in a parlous state and a process of disintegration. The ground is crumbling under the U.S. aggressors' feet. In the meantime since the historic Ap Bac battle in spring 1963, the patriotic struggle in South Viet Nam has undergone a wonderfully rapid growth, and the balance of forces between the people and the enemy has

changed in favour of the cause of liberation of South Viet Nam. Political and military struggles closely combine with each other and impel each other's development; the various regions, the countryside and the towns emulate with one another to score resounding feats of arms, our 14-odd million Southern compatriots are powerfully marching ahead along the path to victory, and no reactionary force whatever can check this advance.

The above situation explains why the U.S. aggressors can not rig up a stable government in Saigon. The successive coups d'état in South Viet Nam are reflections of the strength of the patriotic struggle to defeat the aggressors and the traitors, and also forerunners of their irretrievable collapse. Nowadays, any South Vietnamese hireling administration can be nothing else than a set of puppets in a poor show, and likely to be thrown down at any time. This also shows a basic weakness of the U.S. imperialists and constitutes a heavy defeat of their "special war."

Meanwhile, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the mobilizer and organizer of the patriotic forces in South Viet Nam, the leader who has taken the people to ever-greater victories, is now controlling 3/4 of the territory and 2/3 of the population of South Viet Nam. It has gained ever-higher international prestige and position, and is being recognized by more and more foreign countries and world opinion as the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. Its sound programme constitutes the banner of unity and struggle for national salvation which rallies broad social strata in the fight to overthrow the yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their

agents with a view to achieving independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Viet Nam, and eventual peaceful reunification of the country. The March 22, 1965 Statement of the Front[8] is resounding in the world as the strong voice of a people determined to fight and to win, the voice of justice, the voice of the just cause of the Vietnamese people and of the present epoch, the voice filled with national pride and heroism, the voice of a people who are firmly taking the country's destiny into their own hands, the voice of our compatriots of South Viet Nam, the brass citadel of our Fatherland.

The development of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy in South Viet Nam as well as the growth of the patriotic war of our Southern compatriots clearly show that the U.S. imperialists' "special warfare" is heading for irretrievable defeat.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a most machiavellian political and military brain-trust in an attempt to find a way to victory in South Viet Nam; they have used modern weapons, and have brought into this small battlefield 1/4 of their army officers. However, for the U.S aggressors, there is not yet a single ray of light at the end of the tunnel. The situation is such that more and more people in the United States are coming to realize that Washington is being defeated and will be completely defeated in South Viet Nam.

It is very gratifying to note that our Southern compatriots are going on to ever greater victories, as the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has worked out a correct and scientific line to meet the U.S. imperialists' counter-revolutionary war of aggression with a patriotic war, a revolutionary war of the people, and gradually and steadily to

build its forces and win step by step ever-greater political and military victories. The situation is developing in favour of our Southern compatriots, and no matter what great and frenzied efforts the enemy may make, he cannot possibly reverse the tide to avoid an ignominious defeat.

The Vietnamese People Will Win

Having sustained bitter defeats in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, of late, have frenziedly embarked on new and most wicked adventures in an attempt to retrieve their critical position and defeats.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sternly exposes and denounces to all our compatriots and to the peoples of the world the new and extremely serious war acts of the U.S. imperialists: on the one hand, the later are intensifying the aggressive war in the South, and on the other, they are carrying out air and naval attacks on the North. By engaging in this very dangerous military adventure, they stupidly expect that they can cow our people and also pose a threat to the peace-loving governments and peoples in the world. They hope that our people and the world peoples will flinch out of fear, and thus they will be in a position to shift from a weak to a strong position!

But in face of their new aggressive acts, the Vietnamese people from the South to the North are waging an ever more resolute struggle, and the world peoples are extending us an ever more vigorous support. It is clear that still heavier defeats are in store for the U.S. imperialists.

In an attempt to intensify the aggressive war, the U.S. imperialists have recently brought into South Viet Nam a number of anti-aircraft missile units, 3,500 marines, and 2,000 South Korean troops; they are planning to send in more U.S. combat units. U.S.-piloted jet planes are carrying out bombing and strafing raids in increasing numbers in South Viet Nam. More than ever, our 14 million Southern compatriots, responding to the appeal of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, are bringing into play their staunch fighting spirit; the entire people in arms are united and determined to hit vigorously and accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their agents, to liberate South Viet Nam, and achieve national salvation.

Ten years ago, the French Expeditionary Corps in spite of its 200,000 picked troops ended in defeat at Dien Bien Phu. A U.S. expeditionary corps will inevitably meet with the same ignominious fate in South Viet Nam. For their part, our Southern compatriots "are prepared to fight with determination, to fight to the end, to fight until not a single U.S. soldier is to be seen in our country, even if they will have to struggle for 10 or 20 years or longer, however great the difficulties and hardships." (March 22, 1965 Statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation).

While intensifying the aggressive war in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists are expanding it to the North with their air force, on the ground that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is at the origin of the patriotic struggle in South Viet Nam! These are obviously impudent acts and perfidious tricks of corsairs.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a member of the socialist camp, is steadily advancing to socialism; this is the common achievement of the Vietnamese revolution, the fruit of the common endeavour of the people of the whole country. It is a strong base for the patriotic struggle in the South and the peaceful reunification of the country. In laying hands on the North, the U.S. imperialists encroach upon the valuable and sacred achievement of our 30-odd million compatriots and commit an intolerable crime against our Fatherland. By attacking the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they have completely scrapped the Geneva Agreements and grossly violated international law and all human laws. They must pay for their crimes!

In North Viet Nam, since August 5, 1964, the people's armed forces and the population have fought with the greatest heroism, and dealt the U.S. imperialist aggressors ever-stronger blows. The people of the North, closely united, are determined to struggle in a self-sacrificing spirit to defeat all enemy aggressive schemes, to defend the North, and more than ever to stand side by side with our Southern compatriots and wholeheartedly support their liberation struggle till final victory.

In laying hands on the North, the U.S. warmongers expose themselves not only to well-deserved counter-blows in the North, but also to still more telling blows in the South as was pointed out in the March 22, 1965 Statement of the Liberation Front:

" To defend the beloved North, the army and people of the South have directed the flames of their anger at the U.S.

aggressors and their agents. If the U.S. imperialists lay hands on the North of our Fatherland the army and people of the South will deal them much harder blows. In February 1965, while the aggressors and traitors attacked the North, in the South, the Liberation Army launched stormy attacks on important military bases and main forces of the enemy, putting out of action 20,706 enemy troops (including nearly 600 U.S. aggressors killed, wounded or captured), seizing 4,114 guns of various kinds and shooting down, damaging or destroying 111 aircraft of various types."

The U.S. imperialists ceaselessly talk about seeking "a position of strength". Why? Precisely because they are in a weak position. But never will they attain a position of strength! In the present epoch, in Viet Nam as well as everywhere else in the world, the weakening and defeat of the U.S. imperialists have become a law of nature, an inexorable law governing the present trend of the world, an inexorable law of the development of human society: U.S.-headed imperialism and all other reactionary forces in the world are on the path to defeat and collapse; the more reckless, adventurist, impudent and perfidious they are, the more hatred for them will blaze up everywhere, and the more vigorously the world's peoples will stand up to defeat them! That is a radiant truth of our epoch!

In these circumstances, the more frenzied the U.S. attempts to extend the war to North Viet Nam, the more disastrous will be their defeat! An anti-U.S. wave of indignation is now surging up in the world. The governments and peoples of the socialist countries, newly-independent countries, the international

organizations, the peoples the world over, progressive circles and various social strata in the United States are extending an ever more resolute and vigorous support and assistance to our just struggle. Our people, both in the South and in the North, are all the more firmly standing on the frontline of the world people's front against U.S. imperialism, bringing into play their forces to defeat the U.S. imperialists for the sake of their revolutionary cause as well as for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world. That is why the entire Vietnamese people are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships, to fight to the end in a self-sacrificing spirit and with a rock-like confidence in their certain victory. Even now, our people have already vanquished the U.S. aggressors because theirs is a just cause, and because they have the will and determination and enjoy world-wide sympathy and support. At the start of our national resistance war nearly 20 years ago, our forces were very small, but the entire Vietnamese people were at one in fighting and defeating the aggressors, and the outcome was victory for us. Today, we are much stronger than before, stronger in the North, stronger in the South, and enjoying stronger world support. For their part, the U.S. imperialists are being bogged down in South Viet Nam and encountering great difficulties in various fields and in many places. That is why our people are all the more heightening their will and determination, are animated with even greater enthusiasm and confidence in their just and certainly victorious struggle, and are resolved to devote all their forces to driving the U.S. aggressors out of our country, to defend the North, to liberate the South, eventually to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and to

contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

Our people will certainly win, the U.S. imperialist aggressors will surely be defeated. The reasons for our victory can be briefly stated as follows:

1. The Vietnamese people have grasped two points which were tested and proved in the long history of our people's struggle against imperialist aggression, before the August Revolution, and particularly since our resistance war:

a) To unite the entire people, to wage a resolute and persistent struggle, to be prepared to sacrifice everything for the nation's supreme interests: freedom and happiness of the people, unity and territorial integrity of the Fatherland.

b) To know how to use a weapon capable of defeating any imperialist aggressors including the U.S. imperialists: the people's revolution war. Our army and people in the South have developed the people's revolutionary war to a high level, in an all-round, multiform and steady manner. This is a valuable contribution to the struggle against U.S. aggression all over the world.

2. The world situation is very favourable to our people:

a) The socialist camp is becoming ever stronger; all socialist countries are extending wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people.

b) In the world the newly-independent countries, the international working class, the forces of peace and progress in all countries including the United States, are vigorously supporting us.

3. At the same time the U.S. imperialists and all reactionary forces in the world are suffering defeat after defeat and are in the process of weakening and annihilation.

Over the past few years, the weakening of U.S. imperialists has become still more obvious in economic, political and military fields. The sharpening contradictions between the United States and other imperialist countries and the struggle for democracy, freedom and peace in the United States itself have driven the U.S. imperialists into greater embarrassment and isolation than ever.

In that lies the root cause of the great successive victories of the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples. In that also lies the root cause of the certain victory of our people.

PART II

THE NORTH CARRIES ON PRODUCTION AND FIGHTING, DEFENDS ITSELF AND SUPPORTS THE SOUTH

Warmly Commending Our People and Army for Their Victories

Since August 5, 1964, and especially since February 7, 1965, the U.S. imperialists have used planes of the U.S. Air Force and Navy and also of the South Vietnamese puppet air force for continual attacks on many places near the Demarcation Line and other areas of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. They have put into action hundreds of up-to-date supersonic jets which, starting from their bases in the Pacific (including the Seventh Fleet), in South Viet

Nam, in Thailand, and using all kinds of bombs including napalm and phosphorous bombs, have carried out daily raids on populated areas, urban centres, in an attempt to cause losses and cow our people.

A year ago, during the first session of the 3rd National Assembly from this rostrum, we sternly warned the U.S. imperialists: "Beware! Don't play with fire!" Today the fire from the anti-aircraft guns of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the flames of hatred of our people, the movement against U.S. aggression throughout the world are dealing telling blows at them.

Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Quang Ninh, Bach Long Vi and other places have been staunchly standing on the frontline of socialist North Viet Nam, repeatedly winning victories over the U.S. aggressors, and setting a brilliant example of both gallantry in fighting and eagerness in production.

The people's armed forces, from anti-aircraft regular units, navy, air force, people's armed security forces to regional troops, militia and self-defence units, have been fighting with admirable gallantry, worthy of the Dien Bien Phu tradition, worthy of heroic South Viet Nam! Our officers have shown high determination and courage, some have refused to leave their fighting positions even after being hit several times by enemy bullets. Political commissar Nguyen Viet Xuan[9] of an anti-aircraft unit had his wounded leg cut off which hindered his movements, ordered other injured fighters to be cared for first, and continued to give effective

command to his unit, urging his men to shoot down more U.S. aircfaft till he fainted. Navy cadet Tran Gia Tue, amidst the flames calmly, rapidly and accurately aimed at enemy targets; grievously wounded, he continued to fight; after being relieved, he undertook to supply his mates with ammunition instead of leaving the field. Pilot Pham Ngoc Lan cleverly and flexibly reacted to complicated situations, and valiantly dived straight on enemy aircraft to shoot them down, thus achieving together with his mates the first glorious feat of arms of our air force. Security sergeant Nguyen Quoc Co, amidst fierce enemy bombing, picked up and threw away a number of steel-pellet bombs about to explode in an air-raid shelter, thus saving the lives of those who were there. These are but a few instances among the many examples of admirable valour in the fight. We warmly hail the splendid feats of the heroic Viet Nam People's Army and other people's armed forces!

The militia, self-defence corps and the people's security played an outstanding part in the fighting. They actively helped in supplying ammunition, extinguishing fires, giving first aid to the wounded, ensuring liaison, capturing prisoners, maintaining security and order, and protecting the people's life and property. Furthermore, using rifles and machineguns, they efficiently co-ordinated their fire with the air defence forces and navy. A typical example is the shooting down of a U.S. jet with rifle shots by a militia team of Tran Phu Cooperative (Dien Chau district, Nghe An province) comprising four men: Tran Hieu, To Duc Hung, Nguyen Uoc and Pham Nho.

Factory workers and civil servants also valiantly fought to defend their enterprises and offices, and to ensure their normal functioning during enemy attacks.

The recent resounding victories are due to the line of people's war, to the valiant and resolute fighting of our entire people. They are victories of the unity between the army and the people, the army defending the Fatherland and the people, and the latter encouraging, helping the army and participating in the fight together with the army. In all places subjected to enemy attacks, the people showed indomitable spirit, calm, and steady morale. Everybody stood firm on his fighting position, enthusiastically took part in the fight against the U.S. aggressors and fulfilled his duties in spite of bombings and strafings. Many old men stood indefatigable in the trenches or by the gun emplacements for many hours at a stretch to lend a hand to the young people fighting U.S. aircraft. Many youths offered their own bodies as mounts for A.A. machineguns and fought with admirable gallantry, others valiantly climbed on elevated and exposed places to be able to shoot more accurately at enemy planes. Many young pioneers moved about under enemy fire to act as liaison agents. Throughout three days' fighing, Mother Suot rowed to and fro across the Nhat Le river 45 times transporting ammunition. Doan, a nurse in the Gianh river area, crawled three kilometres under fire to get medical supplies for the wounded. Even while the fight was raging, the soldiers were provided with hot rice and excellent soup served at their very gun emplacements by local women. The people constantly stood shoulder to shoulder with the troops whom they

stimulated, encouraged and efficiently helped. At the same time, all combat duties and preparations: digging of air-raid shelters, evacuation of towns and cities, extinguishing fires and removal of time-bombs after enemy raids, maintenance of security and order, and protection of the people's property, etc., were carried out with a high sense of urgency, great determination and discipline. In these circumstances of hard ordeals, our compatriots showed even greater mutual love and affection, and increased confidence in the Party and Government. They also clearly manifested their ardent patriotism and attachment to socialist construction in the North.

Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Quang Ninh, Bach Long Vi and a number of other places have shown both fierce fighting spirit and ability in production work, there fighting and production are closely linked tasks. The more resounding the victories over the enemy, the greater the people's eagerness in production. Since late 1964, the provinces near the Demarcation Line have gloriously fulfilled three big tasks at one time: shooting down a great number of enemy aircraft, making up for the heavy losses resulting from the recent big floods and typhoons, and ensuring a vigorous development of production in the winter-spring crop. The very provinces which had to fight in the North were those which completed the transplanting of rice-seedlings at an early date. In comparison with the same period last year, they have recorded an increase of nearly 50,000 hectares in acreage and also a marked progress in the application of new farming techniques, especially in irrigation and use of fertilizers. Hundreds of thousands of peasants are daily going to

the fields in an exalted spirit, with ploughs in their hands and rifles on their shoulders, fighting the enemy when he comes and resuming production work after he has been driven away. In coastal areas, even on days when U.S. air and naval craft carried out raids, many fishing teams sailed out, and even got greater catches than usual. Whenever a battle is fought in Ho Xa, Dong Hoi, Ha Tinh, Vinh and Thanh Hoa, immediately after the firing ceased, workers of all enterprises and construction yards returned to their work and each time the hours of fierce fighting were followed by even more vigorous emulation drives marked by increased labour productivity.

To engage in fighting and production has become part of the people's daily life. The way of living has been entirely adjusted to the new situation, which means a higher sense of urgency, increased vigour, more practicalness and greater efficiency.

In the face of the ever more impudent and wicked U.S. war acts, every citizen, from old people to little children, have only one wish: to hit at the U.S. aggressors even more vigorously and more accurately, wage a persistent struggle, and be prepared to sacrifice everything to win victory, to carry out production work as vigorously as fighting; to get many aircraft shot down, at the same time to get a good harvest. Only one this condition can we continuously increase our strength and fight persistently until final victory!

We warmly commend the glorious victories recorded by the army and people in Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh,

Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Quang Ninh, Bach Long Vi and other places. We particularly commend our compatriots who have shown determination and fortitude in face of the enemy, and have done their best to contribute to the fight against the U.S. aggressors, setting a brilliant example and accumulating valuable experience for the entire people.

In the last few months, our army and people in the North have inflicted significant losses on the enemy. However, our greatest victory and the enemy's biggest defeat lie in the fact that he cannot cow our people, indeed he cannot even intimidate our children. Public opinion in the West and in the United States itself has more and more clearly realized that the air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have not brought about any result for the United States except the vigorous counter-blows of our people and the strong condemnation of the world's peoples.

The Whole of North Viet Nam Carries Out Production Work, Fights and Prepares for More Fighting

In the northern part of our country, all regions, branches and social strata are now seething with hatred for the U.S. imperialists, and making every effort to strengthen their fighting capacity, ready to strike at the U.S. aggressors while calmly and unflinchingly boosting production and the building of the material and technical basis of socialism.

The armed forces are strengthening their fighting capacity in all fields. Officers and men are eagerly studying and

striving to carry into effect President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "Be loyal to the Party and the people, fulfil any tasks, overcome any difficulties, defeat any enemies". The entire armed forces are enthusiastically emulating to build the army, to score feats of arms, and to win the honour of keeping President Ho Chi Minh's reward banner bearing the words: "Determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors". Such is the iron will of the armed forces of the North who are the heroic fighters of a heroic people!

Everywhere, our people are doing their best to step up air defence work, develop the militia and self-defence forces, temper themselves physically, undergo military training, carry out marches with full equipment on their backs, prepare their weapons, set up aircraft-hunting teams, first-aid groups, fire brigades, anti-toxic gas groups, patrols. Our entire people are organizing themselves into battle formations!

The leading bodies of the Party and the State, the people's organizations, the economic and cultural branches – industry, agriculture, capital construction, communications and transport, post and broadcasting services, trade, finance, banking, culture, education, public health. . – are making with a high sense of urgency all necessary preparations to meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks.

Along with the preparations for combat, the emulation movement for the "three high peaks"[1] and for the overfulfilment of the State plan is developing more vigorously than ever.

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1 The three high peaks are: high productivity, high quality of products, and high efficiency and economy. *Ed.*

The workers are highlighting the slogans "Let us hold firm both our hammer and our rifle", and "Whenever we lose time once as a result of alerts, we will work twice as hard to make up for the lost time"; they are turning their hatred for the U.S. imperialists into a lever for practical actions in production and combat, and striving to make of each enterprise, construction site, State farm, forestry yard, department store, government office a socialist production and fighting unit. Producers are at the same time fighters, and the leaders in production, the commanders in combat.

The peasants are highlighting the slogans "Let us hold firm both our plough and our rifle" and "Let us fight the enemy whenever he comes and resume production after he is put to flight"; they are actively emulating each other to secure a successful winter-spring crop. They have now overfulfilled the State plan in terms of acreage and recorded market progress in the application of new farming techniques. They are determined to develop to the fullest extent the capabilities of the agricultural co-operatives to boost production to an unmatched level, thus enhancing the superiority of the new relations of production. At the same time, all able-bodied peasants are militamen and members of the self-defence corps, ready to fight the enemy.

Our youth are doing their best to play their role as a shock brigade in production, in fighting as well as in studies and training to defend the Fatherland and to build socialism. So far, more than 1,800,000 youths have volunteered to achieve the "three ready's" – ready to accept any task, ready to fight whenever the enemy comes, and ready to enlist in the army. They

are workers, peasants, intellectuals, civil servants, students, pupils, youths from minority nationalities. The ardour and the force of our youth must be closely and vigorously mobilized to further their role on all fronts – the fighting front and the front of economic development and of defence build-up.

Our women are stepping up throughout the North the "three responsibilities" movement as a support for the "three ready's" movement of the youth. Hundreds of thousands of people, from old women to young girls, have volunteered to assume production work in their localities, to look after their families so that their husbands, sons and brothers may confidently enlist in the army, and to serve the front or to participate directly in the fight whenever necessary.

The whole people of the North are warmly responding to the Statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Statement of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, they are at the same time carrying out production, fighting and combat preparations, determined to do their best to build and defend the North and to extend wholehearted support to the cause of Liberation of the South. In the present juncture, all social strata, all citizens must work more, with a higher sense of urgency and higher productivity; everybody must , according to his capacity and strength, make the most effective contribution to the common cause of the country.

In response to the appeal of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the South Viet Nam cadres, army-men and simple citizens regrouped to the North have enthusiastically voiced their readiness to return to their native land to fight with

arms in hand or do any work for national salvation. Pending orders to this effect, all of them are striving to boost production and actively work to contribute to the defence and the building of the North. We warmly hail their patriotism and combat-readiness!

New Tasks of Our People and Army in the North

In face of the new and extremely serious juncture due to the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy in our country, proceeding from the present situation and tasks as expounded in Part I, and on the basis of the experience gained by our people and army in carrying out both production and fighting over the recent period, it is necessary to work out and urgently implement correct and adequate policies and measures so as to strengthen the economic and defence potential of the northern part of our country, thus fully demonstrating our entire people's iron will to increase the strength of the North in all fields, defeat the U.S. imperialists and defend the Fatherland.

Economic tasks

In the economic field, through the carrying out of the first 5-year plan, the potential of socialist North Viet Nam has been obviously strengthened

On the basis of the initial achievements in the consolidation of the socialist relations of production, and with the steady growth of the forces of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia in the

political, cultural and technical fields, the economy of the North, organized and managed in a planned way, has gradually become a solid socialist economic system.

On the other hand, the material and technical basis has been further strengthened, production has developed at a fairly quick tempo. The first establishments of heavy industry have already gone into production or are being built; light industry and locally-run industries are much more developed than before. Industry has managed to meet part of its requirements in technical equipment and ensure the supply of raw materials in increasing quantities and that of the major part of consumer goods. With the progress made in water conservancy, intensive cultivation, increased land yield, multiplication of annual crops, reclaiming of waste lands, agriculture is undergoing an all-round development. Food production is in process of meeting the increasing requirements of the socialist North. In the field of communications, the network of roads has been improved and expanded, the transport capacity on the main lines has been increased. First steps have been made in the way of a sound redistribution of manpower among the various economic branches and between the delta and the highlands.

From a backward and dependent agrarian economy mainly based on small production, we are building an independent and self-supporting economy, and advancing by steady steps to socialism. We are striving to enhance all capabilities of the national economy and at the same time to make the most of the aid from the fraternal countries with a

view to meeting the ever greater requirements of economic construction, improvement of the people's livelihood and strengthening of national defence.

We are now in a position to mobilize rapidly and in a planned way much more manpower and material resources than before for the defence of the Fatherland. We must redouble our efforts, endeavour to overcome our weaknesses and shortcomings, strengthen the key branches of the national economy, and adequately consolidate North Viet Nam in order to raise its economic and defence potential.

In the years to come, the economy must be built and developed in line with the new situation. On the one hand, the urgent requirements of the revolutionary tasks must be fully met: we must, at the same time, boost production and stand combat-ready, strengthen our economic potential and defence capabilities, resolutely defend the North and extend all-out support to the revolution for the liberation of the South. On the other, great attention must be paid to securing the advance of the socialist revolution, adequately pursuing the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism, and firmly consolidating the socialist relations of production, in order to strengthen the defence of the North.

The basic contents of this task are:

1. Adequate measures must be taken to strengthen the defence of the people's life and property and of production bases.

2. The reserves of vital materials must be increased, the requirements of economic development and national defence must be met to the highest extent.

3. Strenuous efforts must be made to promote agricultural and industrial production with much attention being paid to locally-run industries, and to develop post and communications in conjunction with the consolidation of the whole rear-area. In this connection, concrete plans must be worked out and efforts made to reach concrete objectives in each stage; marked progress must be recorded after several short stages.

4. While endeavouring to meet the above-mentioned urgent requirements we must adequately pursue the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, strengthen the work of basic survey, geological prospection, scientific research, training of cadres with a view to meeting the new requirements in conjunction with long-term ones.

5. On the basis of boosting production, more resources must be mobilized so as to ensure an adequate supply of manpower and resources for fighting duties and economic development; the requirements of the armed forces are to be satisfied, and the basic needs of the people's livelihood are to be met.

6. Continued efforts must be made to steadily consolidate the socialist relations of production, and to ensure good management of the State-owned enterprises on the basis of the achievements of the "three 'for' and three 'against'" movement; particular attention must be paid to the consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives in the delta and in the highlands, to fishing and salt-making cooperatives in the costal area; on that basis, to educate, organize and

lead the masses in boosting production, fighting and making combat preparations actively fulfilling all tasks with the determination to win ever-bigger victories.

Strenuous efforts must be made to improve and strengthen the management of our economy and finances, that of production, circulation and distribution, prices and markets. The ranks of cadres and workers must be readjusted actively, rationally, closely and steadily in order to meet the new requirements in the field of production and fighting.

Thrift must be strictly put into practice in production, construction and consumption; corruption, waste and bureaucratism must be fought in all State-run economic branches, government services, agricultural cooperatives, and in the life and activities of everybody.

7. To fulfil the new tasks in the new situation, we must rely mainly on our own resources while doing our best to secure the sympathy and assistance of the world's peoples, first of all, of the fraternal socialist countries.

Defence tasks

It is necessary to mobilize the whole army and people to urgently strengthen the defence capabilities of our country, resolutely to defeat all acts of sabotage and encroachment on the North, to be prepared to face and smash all the enemy schemes of expanding the war, to maintain security and order, to defend the security of the Fatherland, and defend the socialist construction of our people in the North.

To this end, it is necessary to fulfil the following concrete tasks:

1. To strengthen the armed forces, to promote training and combat readiness, to ensure that our army is ready to fight and to win everywhere and in all circumstances. In order to strengthen the armed forces so as to meet the requirements of the new situation, it is necessary to adequately extend the duration of military service and to carry out partial mobilization.

2. To strengthen particularly the active air defence capacity of the armed forces, along with the strengthening of the civilian air defence with a view to effectively countering enemy raids.

3. To strive to consolidate and develop the regional armed forces: regional troops, guerrillas, militia and self-defence corps, particularly in key areas.

4. To strengthen all rear-area work closely related to the fighting and combat preparations of the army.

5. To intensify political work in the armed forces, to achieve a vigorous change in thinking, organization and style of work so as to meet the new requirements; to launch in the entire army a wide emulation movement aimed at enhancing its "determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors".

Guiding principles

In fulfilling the above tasks of economic construction and national defence build-up, it is necessary to grasp the following guiding principles:

1. To work against time, to concentrate our forces so as to meet the most important and urgent requirements of the most essential branches and areas, to combine the immediate tasks of economic construction with those of long-term development, to carry on and promote socialist industrialization in the North.

2. To combine the forces at central and regional levels: at the central level, attention must be paid to the strengthening of forces so as to meet the important requirements which cannot be met at the regional level. The various regions must rely mainly on their own resources and do their best to bring into play all capabilities with a view to meeting their own requirements.

3. To ensure the centralized leadership and unified management of the central authorities, and on that basis, to increase the power of the various branches and the local authorities in an adequate manner, to enable them to deal in good time with all questions falling within their responsibility.

4. The leadership should show initiative and diligence and make timely, practical and effective moves, thus bringing fully into play the role of the leading bodies and officials.

5. To enhance ideological work, to powerfully arouse the revolutionary ardour, combativeness and creative labour of the masses, to mobilize the cadres, labouring people and the whole people of North Viet Nam, to highlight the traditions of heroic struggle and industry, to heighten their sense of responsibility and discipline, to step up the emulation movement to redouble efforts, to hold the hammer or the

plough in one hand and the rifle in the other, so that all branches, units and individuals may fulfil their tasks.

It should be clearly realized that a good solution of the immediate requirements in the sphere of economy and national defence is basically in keeping with the long-term requirements of economic construction and national defence build-up. We have been endeavouring to develop agriculture, locally-run industries, transport and communications, and to promote economic construction in the mountainous areas. These tasks should now be carried on with stepped-up efforts, with more concentrated forces, and at a quicker tempo. Such efforts are essential and beneficial to the fulfilment of the immediate tasks in the field of production and fighting; at the same time, favourable conditions will thus be brought about to promote socialist construction in the North and to strengthen its economic and defence potential. On the other hand, we must overcome all difficulties to carry on the building of key projects under construction, and start the building of a number of other necessary projects.

We must step up the emulation movement for "three high peaks", strive to raise labour productivity in all branches, to overfulfil the 1965 State Plan and the First Five-Year plan. Particular stress must be laid on the necessity to raise labour productivity in all branches of the national economy. We are facing very heavy tasks in the field of production and fighting, a greatly increased volume of work and rising demands in manpower. More than ever before, urgent steps should be made to readjust and improve organization and

guidance in execution, to better technique, rationalize production and popularize the use of improved tools and semimechanized equipment in all branches of production, so that each individual worker may increase productivity twofold, and even three or fourfold.

The new situation and the new tasks require that we determine the direction of economic construction in relatively wide areas with a view to increasing the output of agriculture and locally-run industries, so as to meet on the spot the totality or an important part of the requirements in the field of production and fighting, and the vital needs of the local population. Along with the task of determining and putting into execution the direction of economic construction in each area, care should be taken to ensure the unity and balance of the national economy, to abide by the principle of democratic centralism applied to economic and State management.

Strengthen Ideological and Organizational Work

Ideological work is of decisive importance to the fulfilment of the heavy and urgent tasks mentioned above, and should take pride of place. We must see to it that the entire army and people fully grasp the new situation and the new tasks, and on this basis, raise further their revolutionary ardour, bring into play the nation's tradition of heroism, enhance their sense of responsibility toward the defence and construction of the North, as well as toward the patriotic struggle in the South; we should enhance their fighting will,

their determination to defeat the U S. imperialist aggressors. their readiness to courageously endure hardships and make sacrifices, to overcome all difficulties and to fulfil any task whatever it may be; we should heighten their spirit of self-reliance: every region, every branch, every unit and every individual must rely on their own strength and promote their capabilities to the fullest extent in order to fulfil their production and fightig duties; we should enhance their sense of discipline, their determination to implement with initiative, creativeness, diligence and seriousness all directives and orders of the competent authorities; we should enhance their revolutionary vigilance, and their sense of strict secrecy; we should overcome pacifism, desire for tranquillity, fear of sacrifice, difficulties and hardships; we should do away with the mentality of relying on outside assistance; subjectivism and underestimation of the enemy, lack of vigilance and combat-readiness; we must promote industry, thrift and a simple and healthy life.

Special attention should be given to organizational work in order to fulfil the immediate tasks in production and fighting. We must work out and implement in an active and steady manner the necessary organizational measures designed to strengthen combativeness in all branches and at all levels. Our apparatus should not be cumbersome, it should be light but strong and effective; democratic centralism should be observed, and strict discipline enforced; close coordination of action between the various branches at all levels should be ensured; a diligent and practical style of

work should be developed. At the same time, all regulations must be thoroughly observed, especially as regards secrecy.

The slogan of our Northern compatriots is: to carry out production and fighting, to defend the North and support the South. The entire political, economic and cultural life of North Viet Nam should be permeated with this slogan in all its significance and contents.

It must be clearly realized that North Viet Nam is facing a new situation and new tasks in very favourable conditions. We are now given a good opportunity to fulfil, in an exalted spirit of determination to fight and to win, a number of tasks which are bound to confront us in the building of North Viet Nam, namely, boosting agricultural production and locally-run industries, strengthening certain regions of special importance, etc. This is also a good opportunity for us to undertake in a more concentrated manner such tasks as basic survey, scientific and technical research, training of cadres, in order to meet the immediate requirements and at the same time prepare for the long-term economic development of North Viet Nam. These tasks in the field of production and fighting provide a strong impetus and inspiration to all branches of the national economy as well as the cultural, educational, public health and art activities. All branches and all levels must step up their activities to a quicker tempo and with a higher spirit in order to score outstanding progress. It is more necessary than ever to maintain security and order so that the most favourable conditions may be ensured for the mobilization of all forces in North Viet Nam

for production and fighting. To this end, the responsible State organs must rely on the masses for the successful discharge of their mission.

North Viet Nam is now engaging in a fierce struggle against the U.S. aggressors with the revolutionary optimism of people who have the situation under control, who are firmly taking in hands their own destinies, and are determined to defeat the enemy. The socialist regime in North Viet Nam will grow stronger and more consolidated in the process of production and struggle. The northern part of our country, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. will fully play its great role as the base for the liberation of South Viet Nam and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

PART III

OUR PEOPLE'S PATRIOTIC STRUGGLE IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE WORLD PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST AGGRESSIVE AND WARLIKE U.S. IMPERIALISM

Characteristic Features of the Present-day World

The international situation is developing very favourably for the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people.. The outstanding features of this situation are: the all-round growth of the forces of socialism, the tempestuous development of the national liberation movement, the new progress of the working class movement in capitalist countries and the growth of the forces

of world peace. Meanwhile the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, along with all reactionary forces in the world, are facing innumerable difficulties and are declining. Spearheading their struggle at U.S.-headed imperialism, the world's peoples are more and more united in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The mighty socialist camp is developing unceasingly and is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. The socialist camp is the bulwark of world revolution and world peace, and a firm support for the national liberation forces. The great and brilliant successes scored by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, technological, and national defence fields, constitute important contributions to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the strengthening of the revolutionary and peace forces. China's first successfull nuclear test and the launching of the Soviet spaceship "Vostok-2" with a man stepping into outer space for the first time in history to carry out scientific observations, are remarkable achievements which bring great enthusiasm to the peoples of the whole world.

In face of the danger of aggression and war created by the U.S. imperialists, the socialist countries will certainly close their ranks and take joint actions, determined together to defeat the common enemy. The peoples of the socialist countries, firmly united under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, represent an invincible and indestructible force.

During the last twenty years, the national liberation movement, enjoying the encouragement and support of the socialist camp and the international workers' movement, has ever more strongly developed and has grown into revolutionary storms resulting in the collapse of big parts of the colonial system of imperialism. More than fifty colonial and dependent countries have at varying degrees won their political independence. The flames of revolution are burning in many places throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The U.S. imperialists have now to face millions of people who have risen up in arms against them. Like the people of South Viet Nam, the peoples of many countries understand ever more clearly that violence by the masses is the only way to oppose violence by the imperialist aggressors. At present the movement of armed struggle is expanding or has been kindled in many countries: the Congo (L), Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese, Guinea, South Africa, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Honduras, Brazil and Argentina. This shows that the struggle against U.S. imperialism is developing into an immense front, with an increasing impetus. Like the Congolese patriots who affirmed their "determination to turn the Congo into a grave for U.S. imperialism", the peoples of many Asian, African and Latin American countries victims of U.S. aggression, will turn their homelands into burying grounds for the U.S. brigands, the aggressors and warmongers, in order to reconquer genuine national independence and freedom.

In the flames of the struggle, the solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is being strengthened. Slogans of support for the Vietnamese, the Cuban and the Congolese peoples, etc., have indeed become slogans of united struggle of the national independence movement and of the world's peoples. The U.S. imperialists in vain endeavoured to divide and sabotage the world people's anti-imperialist front. The 2nd Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo, the Preparatory Meeting for the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference, the Indochinese Peoples' Conference held in Phnom Penh[10], raised their voices in unison to condemn the U.S. imperialists, express their determination to support the peoples struggling against American aggression, and express their resolute opposition to the imperialists' agents of all kinds, such as the Tshombe clique.

Due to the U.S. imperialists' frenzied activities, Southeast Asia has become the scene of bitter struggle, a key point of the immense front of the world's peoples against U.S. imperialism. This movement is gaining both in magnitude and strength, and reaching high degrees of development in many countries: Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, etc. It is emerging in U.S. satellite countries such as Thailand and the Philippines. The Southeast Asian peoples are doing their utmost to strengthen their solidarity and struggle in order to deal ever more decisive blows to the U.S. imperialists and their gang, thereby actively contributing to the cause of independence, peace and social progress of the peoples of the world.

As a consequence of the powerful and unrelenting offensive of the national liberation movement in Asian, African and Latin American countries, the rear of imperialism is disintegrating contradictions within the imperialist camp are deepening, further conditions are created for the development of the worker's movement in capitalist countries. At the same time, this movement constitutes a great support for the building of socialism and communism in the socialist camp, and an important contribution to the preservation of world peace.

In capitalist countries, the struggle against the arms race, for a better life, for democratic rights, is gaining momentum. In the United States itself, jointly with the struggle for their vital interests, the workers and labouring people wage a determined fight to put an end to racial discrimination against the Black people, and to oppose the U.S. policy of armed aggression in Viet Nam. With the participation of millions and millions of people and with an ever stronger impetus, the struggle in capitalist countries for peace and democracy is effective in checking and pushing back the imperialist schemes of aggression and war. This struggle also constitutes a great support for the socialist camp and the national liberation movement in the world.

While the forces of socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy are powerfully and continuously developing, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism is going deeper into the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, and it is weakening further and further. U.S. imperialism itself

encounters more and more difficulties and is becoming more isolated at home and abroad. In the economic field, the United States is facing the prospect of a grave crisis, the number of unemployed (more than five million) remains constant, U.S. economy and finance are so unstable that they are badly shaken by the competition of West European countries in gold and foreign currency. In the political field, at home the Johnson Administration faces mounting protests from the labouring people and a growing struggle of the Black people for political and social rights, abroad, the prestige and influence of the United States are seriously decreasing, as a result of its continuous failures in all parts of the world, especially its bitter failure in the war of aggression in South Viet Nam. The ever-deeper contradictions within the imperialist camp make the United States ever more isolated and embarrassed.

More than ever, U.S. imperialism has laid bare its extremely reactionary and cruel face, exposing itself as the enemy of socialism, national independence and progressive mankind. The more it is cornered, the more frenzied, ferocious and treacherous it becomes. This is its unchanging aggressive, war-seeking and reactionary nature. That is why the peoples of the world must further increase their vigilance and resolutely struggle against imperialism, spearheading the fight at U.S. imperialism.

At present, the world situation is rapidly developing in favour of the anti-imperialist struggles. Facts have proved that these struggles have been attacking U.S.-led imperialism, winning successive victories in one area after another, in one field after another. Tempered by struggle, the world's

peoples become ever more proficient in the use of every method and form of political, military, economic and cultural struggle against the policy of aggression and enslavement carried out by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In this great struggle, the peoples of the world will certainly win complete victory.

The Whole World Support Us

We are standing on the frontline of the world peoples' anti-imperialist struggle. The Viet Nam problem has become a central problem in international political life, a burning issue having a far-reaching impact on the world's peoples.

For more than ten years now, and especially since the U.S. imperialists started brazen acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the peoples of the newly-independent countries and peace-loving people throughout the world have constantly been siding with our heroic people in the struggle against aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialism.

The Government of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have issued statements severely condemning the U.S. Government for its aggressive war in South Viet Nam, for its brazen air attacks against North Viet Nam, which constitute an aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a member of the socialist camp; they also expressed unreserved support for the just struggle of our entire people, and their determination to do their utmost to

help our people (in North and South Viet Nam) in our arduous but certainly victorious struggle. Using varied forms of struggle, such as demonstrations with the participation of millions of people, with a high spirit of struggle, the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries daily express their militant solidarity and their firm determination to support our entire people's just struggle. We are greatly moved and encouraged by this support which makes us believe still more strongly in our final victory.

The governments of many newly-independent countries have raised their voices to demand that the United States stop its aggressive war in South Viet Nam and its acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and to express deep sympathy and strong support for the just struggle of our people.

Since August 1964, in Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Japan, Algeria, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, India, Iraq, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Venezuela, Guatemala... millions of people have taken to the streets to demonstrate against U.S. imperialism. They smashed U.S. embassies and U.S. information halls and shouted slogans: "Down with the U.S. imperialists! U.S. imperialists, get out of South Viet Nam!"

In the capitalist countries such as France, Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Australia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Austria, etc., the movement against the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war in Viet Nam has reached an unprecedented scope and degree, involving millions of people and using varied forms of struggle.

International organizations like the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Committee for Solidarity with the People of South Viet Nam, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council, and many others have raised their voices strongly to protest against U.S. aggression in South Viet Nam, and U.S. air attacks against North Viet Nam, to express deep sympathy with our people, and strong support, both moral and material for the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam. The meeting of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Viet Nam and the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace held in Hanoi were warm manifestations of the support extended by the world's peoples to our just struggle.

We are greatly moved and elated by the fact that in recent months, even in the United States, the opposition to the U.S. imperialists' attempt to step up the aggressive war in South Viet Nam and intensify their acts of war against North Viet Nam has been expanding steadily. This movement involves Americans from all walks of life: workers, the youth, women, students, intellectuals; clergymen, Congressmen, newsmen... The forms of struggle are reaching a higher and higher level and becoming more and more varied: statement issued by the American Communist Party to condemn the U.S. aggressive policy in Viet Nam; protest letter sent by 416 American professors and students to U.S. President

Johnson; all-night demonstration by 4,200 professors and students; hunger strike by many groups of students and other people; intervention by hundreds of youths to prevent a U.S. ship from carrying troops and weapons to South Viet Nam. We were deeply moved when learning of Mrs. Helga Herz's self immolation by fire to protest against the U.S. policy of war in Viet Nam, thus setting an example of noble sacrifice for peace and friendship between the American and Vietnamese peoples. The American people's movement of opposition to the "dirty war" in Viet Nam has influenced many U.S. politicians. Never before has the U.S. Government faced such strong opposition by the American people.

The entire Vietnamese people, the National Assembly and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are sincerely grateful to the Governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, to the Governments and peoples of the newly-independent countries, and peace-loving people throughout the world for their sympathy and wholehearted support and assistance. We are resolved to do our utmost to further intensify the patriotic struggle, to uphold our revolutionary cause and at the same time to actively contribute to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

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The anti-U.S. struggle of our people has won unprecedented sympathy and support from the world's peoples– the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the peoples of the Western

countries including the United States. This is a fact of very great international significance. The struggle against U.S. imperialism has become a front comprising the forces of socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy.

In the present epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, this struggle, by its significance, its goal and its achievements, promotes the evolution of world events and influences international life. At the same time, this is a very complex struggle in many forms – military, political, economic and cultural – a struggle which is particularly conspicuous in a number of countries like Viet Nam and Indochina, Berlin, Cuba, the Congo while in other places it is also acute and bitter though less visible.

As they grow weaker and weaker under continual attacks from all sides, and are nearing their collapse, the U.S. imperialists are more frantically embarking on the adventurist path of war provocation. That is why the socialist countries and the newly independent countries, the forces of peace and democracy must further unite, and spearhead their struggle at U.S. imperialism to win victories step by step and piece by piece until complete victory.

In this widespread and fierce struggle, the socialist countries extend their full support to the national liberation movement, to the anti-imperialist struggle in all fields – military, political and economic. The socialist countries should also do their utmost to support the newly-independent countries in their struggle against colonialism, old and new, and its camouflaged forms, such as UN intervention

In their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to win and preserve national independence, to build a self-supporting economy, the more the newly-independent countries receive effective support and assistance in all fields from the socialist camp, the greater are their abilities to struggle powerfully and resolutely to the end in order to develop along the non-capitalist path, in conformity with their peoples' aspirations.

Our Foreign Policy

Obviously the peoples of the world are more and more united in their struggle against the aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialists, to defend peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Vietnamese people, from North to South, in solidarity with the world's peoples, are determined to struggle against U.S. imperialism in their own territory and in Asia, Africa and Latin America That is why in the recent years, the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has scored important successes. The whole world is warmly supporting the just and certainly victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people. Highly significant is the fact that since the U.S. imperialists staged an act of war against the northern part of our country on August 5, 1964, the Republic of Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Tanzania, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and Ghana have established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We are happy to see the international status of our country enhanced day by day. These achievements testify to the correctness of our foreign policy. More than ever, we must now spearhead our struggle at

the U.S. imperialists, resolutely isolate them and defeat them. We must make great efforts to win ever stronger and more effective international sympathy and support for our people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression.

In response to the warm feelings of the world's peoples, we will contribute all the more actively to the strengthening and expansion of the world peoples' front against the aggressive and war-seeking U.S. imperialists.

We will always struggle together with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries for the consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in defence of the socialist camp and world peace, against the manoeuvres of U.S.-led imperialism.

We warmly hail the victory scored by the Chinese people and their Liberation Army in checking the provocative acts of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique. We resolutely support the Chinese people's struggle for the liberation of Taiwan, an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

We resolutely support the Korean people who are holding firm at the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, and are heroically struggling against the U.S. imperialist aggressors to drive them out of South Korea and peacefully reunify their country.

We resolutely support the German Democratic Republic and the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty in the struggle against the claims of the U.S. imperialists and the West German revanchists for a revision of postwar borders and for

the supply of nuclear weapons to West Germany. We resolutely oppose all perfidious plots of the imperialist countries and the West German revanchists, like subversion, "peaceful evolution", which create a grave danger for peace and security in Europe and the world.

We resolutely support the heroic Cuban people who are carrying out a staunch struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and holding aloft the anti-U.S. imperialist banner in the Western Hemisphere. We resolutely support the legitimate 5-point demand put forward by Premier Fidel Castro to ensure the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cuba.

We resolutely support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for recovering and preserving national independence. We are confident that the holding of the Second Afro-Asian Conference in June 1965 will make an important contribution to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We warmly hail the recent victories of the Lao patriotic forces and resolutely support the Lao people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its henchmen in order to safeguard the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, the Tripartite National Union Government, and peace and neutrality for Laos. We reaffirm once again our support for the reconvening of the 14-nation conference without any preconditions to ensure the implementation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos.

We resolutely support the just struggle waged by the Cambodian people, under the clearsighted leadership of their Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, against brazen provocations by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, in order to defend the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia. We fully support the proposal of the Cambodian Royal Government for the holding of an international conference to guarantee the peace, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

We warmly welcome and support the resolutions of the Indochinese Peoples' Conference held in Phnom Penh last March. This historic conference opened an era of consolidation of the fraternal solidarity among the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in their common struggle against the U.S. imperialists, to defend national independence, peace and security in this part of the world. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has made and will make every effort to develop good-neighbour relations with the Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence.

We resolutely support the Indonesian people who under the clearsighted leadership of President Sukarno, are valiantly struggling to crush Malaysia, an offspring of U.S.-British imperialism; we resolutely support the people of North Kalimantan who are valiantly struggling for freedom and independence. We warmly approve and support the decision

taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to withdraw from the UNO and the endeavours made by the Indonesian Government and people in the struggle to defend national independence and to build a self-supporting economy.

We warmly hail the Japanese people who, under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party, are undauntedly struggling against the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese monopoly capitalists, with a view to building an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan and smashing the U.S. imperialists' scheme in the illegal conclusion of a Japan-South Korea treaty which is aimed at pushing ahead the manoeuvre for the founding of the NEATO aggressive bloc.

We resolutely support the valiant struggle for liberation of the Congolese (Leopoldville) people and other African peoples against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and are confident that this struggle will gain strength and will win glorious victory.

We fully sympathize with and support the valiant struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries against the collusion of U.S. imperialism and West Germany with their Israeli stooges to threaten the national independence and security of these countries.

We resolutely support the ever-widening struggle of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and other Latin American countries against U.S. imperialism, to drive the U.S. aggressors out of that part of the Western Hemisphere, their very "backyard", thus making an important contribution to the struggle against U.S. imperialism in the world.

Our Objectives

We often say that the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people is closely linked to that of the world's peoples. More than ever this correct view has now been eloquently illustrated by facts. The Vietnamese people are struggling against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, in the interests of their own revolutionary cause, and also of socialism, of the national liberation movement and world peace. On the other hand, the peoples of the socialist countries, newly-independent countries and capitalist countries and peace-loving people the world over are extending us wholehearted support and assistance, because victory over the U.S. aggressors in the Viet Nam battlefield not only benefits our people but also peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

Therefore the great international obligation of our people is, first of all, to fight resolutely to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in our country. At the same time, we should do our best to give more information and better explanation about our struggle to the governments and peoples of other countries and to the international organizations...

The content and aim of this information and explanation work is to tell the truth about the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war and the just struggle of our people, our certain victory and its cause.

This task must be well done, the more so as among the people all over the world who sympathize with and support our cause, many want to know more about our country's situation and our people's struggle. On the other hand, the

U.S. imperialists are using every possible means to deceive world opinion, to create misunderstanding and confusion about very simple and clear facts. They are even so perfidious as to mix up wrong and right, calling black white; for instance they say that if they extend the war to the North, this is because the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has provoked the liberation struggle in the South.

We must in time strongly and sharply expose the U.S. aggressors as a thief crying "Stop thief". We should arouse the world peoples' vigilance to these cunning tricks of the U.S. corsairs. One has to be careful when bandits speak of humanity and justice; they are only trying to enter one's house without having to break the door.

We think that the world's people must be vigilant when President Johnson speaks of coming back to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam! This is really ridiculous! Everybody knows that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Geneva Agreements, that the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon lackeys never officially recognized these Agreements, and even refused to officially recognize the International Commission for Supervision and Control of the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. At this very moment, they are more brazenly than ever trampling underfoot the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. Nor have they ever observed the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Cambodia and the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and they are now stubbornly opposing the reconvening of a Geneva-type conference on Cambodia and Laos.

The U.S. imperialists are now compelled to speak of the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, but they do so only to distort completely the basic principles of the Agreements in an attempt to further their scheme of permanent partition of our country, considering the North and the South as two separate countries! For their part, our Government and people have always been struggling to preserve the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam as well as those on Cambodia and Laos which we consider as the legal basis of the inalienable and sacred national rights of the three fraternal peoples. President Johnson's speech of April 7, 1965 contains a series of irreconcilable contradictions between the misleading words and the criminal deeds of the U.S. Government in Viet Nam:

1. In his speech, President Johnson talked about peace, about ending the war, and "unconditional discussions". But meanwhile the U.S. Government is intensifying the aggressive war in the South, and extending the war to the North, and according to General Taylor's statement, there will be no limit to the "escalation" in the North!

2. President Johnson talked a lot about an "independent" South Viet Nam "free from outside interference, tied to no alliance", "a military base for no foreign country". But it is the U.S. imperialists who are sticking to South Viet Nam at all costs, bringing in more and more U.S. combat units, and staging attacks on the North precisely in an attempt to cling to the South. It is as clear as daylight that the U.S. Government is the aggressor in South Viet Nam, yet, it has the cheek to slanderously accuse the North of "aggression" in the South!

President Johnson himself stated in his speech: "We will not withdraw either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement!" This impudent assertion exposes the whole of U.S. policy with regard to Viet Nam; this is a challenge to world public opinion.

3. President Johnson also hypocritically talked about "economic development, raising the living standards", and about earmaking to this end 1,000 million dollars in an attempt to lure the Southeast Asian peoples. But the fact is that the U.S. imperialists are sowing the horrors of war every day in Viet Nam, Laos and other places, committing countless crimes, and even using toxic gases not only in military operations but also to stamp out the struggle of the people in towns and cities.

4. President Johnson threatened to continue using force, but this does not make us flinch. The Vietnamese people are determined to fight and to win, they do not fear any difficulty or any enemy. The U.S. imperialists are being defeated, and will certainly suffer complete defeat.

In view of the pressure of public opinion in the United States and the world for the U.S. Government to withdraw its troops from South Viet Nam, and to stop its acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, President Johnson has had to resort to a demagogic language, which is a mere trick, a deceitful manoeuvre aimed at misleading public opinion, and soothing the ever-broader and stronger opposition in the United States and in the world to the aggressive war in Viet Nam.

That is the reason why the Vietnamese people and the world's peoples must heighten their watchfulness in the face of this ignominious trick: to talk about peace and negotiation with a view to intensifying the war, and also to slandering others as bellicose!

It is the unswerving policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, and to correctly implement their basic provisions as embodied in the following points:

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw from South Viet Nam all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, cancel its "military alliance" with South Viet Nam. It must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Viet Nam. According to the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government must stop its acts of war against North Viet Nam, end definitely all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

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

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

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

This stand will certainly enjoy the approval and support of all peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is of the view that the above-expounded stand is the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Viet Nam question. If this basis is recognized, favourable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam declares that any approach contrary to the above stand is inappropriate; any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention in Viet Nam's affairs is also inappropriate because such approaches are basically at variance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

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On September 2, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh solemnly proclaimed our country's independence before our people and the peoples of the world. He said: "Viet Nam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence and has actually become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to devote all their moral and physical strength, their lives and property to the preservation of this freedom and independence."

At present, when the U.S. imperialists are intensifying the aggressive war in the South, brazenly launching air attacks on the North, and violating the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Proclamation of Independence and President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal resound all the more deeply in the hearts of our people and stimulate all of us to "devote all our moral and physical strength, our lives and property" to the preservation of freedom and independence in the North, to the recovery of freedom and independence in the South and to eventually achieving peaceful reunification of the country.

The flames of hatred are burning in our hearts! The entire Vietnamese people are determined to fight more vigorously and valiantly than ever for the beloved Fatherland: to defend the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, homeland of socialism in our country, to liberate the South, to sweep all the invaders out of our territory, so that our land may become again green, our sky again bright and our people from the Red river basin to the Mekong delta may be re-

united at an early date "under the same roof"! How beautiful and splendid our beloved Fatherland will be then!

US aggressors, beware! During the many thousand years of the history of the Vietnamese nation, each major trial was always followed by a new prodigious growth of our people who defeated the aggressors and consolidated the country. Now more than ever our hearts are filled with national pride, deep attachment to our homeland and affection for our compatriots. Each of us is a staunch fighter, determined to fight to the end in a self-sacrificing spirit, to win a great victory in the patriotic struggle against the U.S. aggressors, to fulfil our internationalist duty toward the peoples of the socialist countries and of the world, and to write down the most glorious pages in the glorious history of the Vietnamese nation!

In these grave hours, we feel all the closer to our Southern brothers. Our Fatherland is very proud of the undaunted South and of its heroic sons and daughters who have been fighting with the utmost gallantry, who are worthy of the title of "Brass Citadel of the Fatherland", and who have recorded resounding feats which give international glory to the Vietnamese people! The people of the North pledge to be worthy of the expectations and confidence of their Southern compatriots, to do their best in production and fighting, to develop the economy and strengthen national defence, to defend the North and to extend all-out support to the liberation of the South.

Dear compatriots! Under the glorious banner of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, let us steadily march forward as the victors, determined to defeat the U S imperialist aggressors, build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and contribute to the defence of the socialist camp and of peace in Southeast Asia and the world

PART FOUR

1966 - 1972

TO DRIVE OUT THE AGGRESSORS TO OVERTHROW THE PUPPETS

Excerpts from the Report to the Third National Assembly, 3rd Session, April 16, 1966

1965 witnessed great victories of our Southern compatriots, particularly since the beginning of the dry season.

To correctly assess them we should clearly realize the design behind the American imperialists' stepping up of their aggressive war in the South of our country. They have introduced an expeditionary force to establish military bases along the coats and in the most important strategic regions, which they have been trying to link together into a solid network, while at the same time sending swiftly the best of their units to various theatres of operations in coordination with actions by the 7th Fleet and Thailand, and Pacific-based air and naval forces.

Johnson, Dean Rusk, McNamara, Taylor and the U.S. warlike circles firmly believed that, with such a big and formidable force massively brought into South Viet Nam within a few months -- in the period from the rainy to the dry season[1] – and by concentrating its action in a small theatre and in important strategic regions, they would certainly score the successes they had wished for.

Nevertheless, from the very outset the US forces were dealt thunder blows by the South Vietnamese people along

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1. The rainy season lasts roughly from May to November and the dry season from November to May of the following year. (*Ibid.*)

the coast – in the vicinity of, and even right at, their own bases – and particularly on crucial fronts: the Central Highlands, the plain, the coastal areas of South Central Viet Nam, around Saigon-Cholon, and in the eastern part of South Viet Nam. The aggressors pinned much hope on the dry season which would enable them to make the fullest use of all their forces, of their fire power and mobility. But it was precisely in the dry season that they received a succession of hard blows and sustained very heavy losses, and since then the process has not stopped.

The great and resounding victories of our people in the South are eloquent proof of the strength of the people's patriotic and revolutionary war and of the quick and powerful growth of the heroic South Vietnamese army and people. At the same time, they are also eloquent proof of the correct political line and military strategy of the Liberation Front, the combat skill of the Southern armed forces, the simultaneous growth of the three categories of forces and the bravery of the Southern fighters. Far from being frightened by the enemy and avoiding contact with them, far from being driven to the defensive and scattered, the steely fighters of the Liberation Forces of the heroic South stood ready. Hardly had the enemy set foot on the South when they came under terrifying pre-emptive attacks, some of them resulting in whole enemy units being completely destroyed.

The political and military significance of the victories won in 1965 and from the dry season up to now in the South lies in the proof they give that the South is strong enough to

fight and defeat the American aggressors and their henchmen. In late 1964 enemy forces numbered 30,000 American troops plus about 500,000 puppet troops. At present, they have reached the figures of 230,000 American and satellite troops plus about 520,000 puppet troops. Yet, the enemy have suffered the heaviest failures. In the next dry season, enemy forces may increase to 400,000 American and satellite troops plus about 600,000 puppet troops. The more troops they have, the heavier defeats they will suffer and the greater the victories won by the army and people of the heroic South. This is the irresistible trend of the war situation in the South.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE U.S. EXPEDITIONARY FORCE INTO SOUTH VIET NAM

1. The U.S. expeditionary force was brought into South Viet Nam at a time when the American aggressors had suffered successive defeats and were in a desperate position and when the South Vietnamese army and people, holding the initiative of the operations, had won victory after victory. No sooner had it appeared on the theatre of war than it was driven into the defensive and received staggering blows. This has created a still more distressing situation for the U.S. aggressive war and all the more favourable conditions for our Southern compatriots' liberation war.

Politically, the presence of the expeditionary force lays bare the nature of the U.S. aggressive war, which is a war of conquest, a colonial war; this force plays the role of an army of occupation in many places and, at the same time, serves as the

core of the enemy forces confronting the L.A.F. Earlier, the Americans' valets – the puppet administration and army – were able to use the "national independence" signboard to some extend to deceive a certain number of people. Now it has become evident to everybody that the real masters in Saigon, those who wield real power there, are the Americans and their military and political bodies.

In the zones temporarily controlled by the enemy, they are free to do whatever they please and station their troops wherever they wish. Morality and reason mean nothing to them. Right in Saigon, Bien Hoa, Da Nang and other provinces, American troops rob people in broad daylight, rape women in market places, beat or kill anyone who resists them. Everyday, they commit the most brutal, dastardly and immoral deeds.

This situation has brought about deep and far-reaching changes in the opinion of various sections of the Vietnamese people, in particular in the cities and other U.S.-occupied areas. Hatred is seething in millions of South Vietnamese patriots, both those who have been struggling for years and those who have just joined the resistance. The sight of their country placed under foreign occupation, their native villages subjected to devastation, their fellow-countrymen massacred, their nation as a whole held in contempt, the fine national traditions trampled under-foot and the people's feelings utterly outraged, this sight has fanned up our Southern compatriots' love for their Fatherland and national pride and incited them to rise up against the aggressor Such changes are taking place even in the ranks of the puppet troops and in the puppet administration

and will develop with each passing day. For over one year now desertions and defections of the puppet forces have assumed ever more serious proportions while the anti-war movement among them continues to rise. Of late, towards the end of last March, officers and men of the 1st armoured regiment stationed at Thu Dau Mot staged a mutiny, killing their wicked commanding officers, seizing and then destroying entirely the M.113 armoured car squadron and the M.41 tank squadron, and storming many enemy positions before crossing over to the side of the NFL. This event has taken on the significance of a symbol, for it marked a new step in the anti-war movement among the puppet troops and foreshadowed eventual uprisings in many other puppet units.

Economically, the introduction of the American expeditionary force into South Viet Nam has caused a danger which is extremely serious in many respects, and the consequences of which cannot be fully assessed yet. More than 240,000 U.S. troops and a colossal war machine are wrecking the crippled economy of South Viet Nam. It Is undermining production, construction, communications and transport, and exhausting the economy of the South by harnessing it to the service of the U.S. expeditionary force and war machine. It is often alleged that the United State has been spending billions of dollars there, but these only serve to enrich the most influential business firms in the USA and in some of its satellite countries, and some South Vietnamese compradore capitalists. Those companies compete with one another to reap profits from the deaths and

devastations the war is now causing in our country. As a result of all this, production is paralysed, building brought to a standstill, while communications and transport only serve the American forces. Consequently, the life of the Vietnamese, especially in the places under American occupation, is seriously disturbed, and the hardest privations are imposed on them. All traditional branches of activity and trades are jeopardized. The prices of consumer goods, and above all, those of foodstuffs (rice, vegetables, meat and others), have soared out of the reach of the common people, the workers and civil servants. Inflation, inherent in war and in an economy which is going bankrupt, sends prices further upward and causes countless hardships and sufferings to the people. Those consequences of the introduction of the U.S. expeditionary force into South Viet Nam have fanned up the hatred felt by the masses of the people for the aggressors.

Militarily, in the eyes of our people the dispatch of a U.S. expeditionary force to South Viet Nam throws a brighter light on the aggressive designs of the United States as well as its tools, means and methods of war. The American imperialists have proved no less perfidious, cruel and inhuman than the German and Japanese fascists. After a year of fierce fighting, the South Vietnamese army and people have more clearly seen the true character of the criminal war of the Yankees who use extremely inhuman war means and methods including: 1) chemicals to destroy food crops and vegetation and to kill livestock; in certain places thousands of people have been poisoned and many

killed; 2) poison gases not only in military operations but also, on a large scale, against the civilian population in areas of bitter fighting; 3) strafings and massive bombings to kill all, burn all and destroy all in extensive and population areas

The barbarous war waged by the American imperialists has provoked strong indignation among the Vietnamese people and an ever-mounting wave of protests in public opinion in the United States and all over the world.

In 1965 and the first months of 1966, the U.S. aggressors made use of toxic chemicals and poison gases in 26 out of the 45 provinces of South Viet Nam. They sprayed chemicals on villages, ricefields, mountains and forests, and poured gases into people's anti-air raid shelters. As a result, according to still incomplete statistics, up to March 1966, thousands of people were killed, tens of thousands of others poisoned, while over 700,000 hectares of land under rice, subsidiary crops and fruit-trees were devastated, and draught animals, pigs and poultry completely exterminated in many places.

During the year 1965, the American aggressors dropped tens of thousands of tons of bombs in South Viet Nam. Strategic B.52's struck at populated regions, destroying even churches and schools. Following air bombings and strafings were "scorched earth" raids described in substance by an *AP* correspondent as follows: Uninterrupted air and artillery strikes levelled to the ground all houses; the paratroops arrested all those they could find and set fire to anything that

could serve as food or dwelling; they burnt down all houses, broke all kitchen utensils, felled all trees and tore all bed mats to pieces.

The farce staged recently in Honolulu by Johnson and Co, and their lackeys, the Thieu-Ky clique, was aimed at covering up harsh facts in South Viet Nam. But how can they conceal these "explosive" facts? They are "explosive" because they shock human conscience and provoke vigorous struggle against those who are perpetrating crimes unheard of in the history of war.

2. Thus, contrary to the expectations of the American

imperialists, the presence of their expeditionary force has further stimulated the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam and the people's war there which is growing at an extraordinary tempo. This is a source of inexhaustible strength for the forces that dealt crushing blows at the U.S. expeditionary force when it first set foot on our territory, the forces that will completely defeat it.

One thing in the present situation in South Viet Nam should be emphasized here: in face of the massive introduction of U.S. troops which is bound to increase in the future, the patriotic movement and the people's war against American aggression have grown markedly and will undoubtedly advance by leaps and bounds to reach new heights in the heroic struggle for national liberation in the South. Who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind! Wherever the American forces are stationed they meet with the people's fierce struggle, carried out with the most diverse

watchwords and in the most diverse forms, at U.S. bases, in U.S -held political centres, and particularly in the battlefields, the graves for thousands and thousands of aggressive troops of the United States and its satellites.

And this fierce struggle will certainly be carried on to defeat the aggressors, smash the traitors, and win victory for the liberation war in the South of our country.

The people's love for their country, their national pride, their will to fight for freedom and independence, their boundless strength and intelligence and the multiple capabilities of the people's war, all this is past the American aggressors' comprehension. They reckon in a most complacent way that while in early 1965 they had 30,000 troops in South Viet Nam, if by the end of the year they could muster 200,000 or more, they would gain absolute superiority and have the situation under control!

The more they dream of big results, the heavier defeats they will suffer!

Our army and people in the South have anticipated new steps by the U.S. imperialists in their "escalation", and stand ready to defeat them!

The above review of the whole situation is necessary to explain why our Southern compatriots have been fighting so valiantly and have won victory after victory, why the Liberation forces -- regular troops, regional troops and guerillas – have achieved such a miraculous growth, and why they have been emulating one another in fighting the aggressors with confidence in the certainty of victory. Our

enemy only rely on their weapons. They have failed because we command better weapons than theirs: people's war and people's armed forces These extremely sharp weapons were tempered in the Resistance War against French colonialism and have again been tempered in many years of struggle against American aggression. Now that U.S. expeditionary troops have been massively brought into South Viet Nam, the people's war and people's armed forces have grown even more powerful, more seasoned and are strong enough to defeat the enemy.

In short, ideologically, politically, strategically and tactically, the South Vietnamese army and people hold absolute superiority. While developing this superiority they have been striving night and day to overcome their weak points and shortcomings, to tide over increasing difficulties and to train hard so as to continue their progress toward final victory. At the same time they incessantly strike at the enemy's weaknesses and deficiencies. As a result, they have won big victories in 1965 and in particular since the beginning of the dry season.

An American correspondent has compared the GI to a "blind heavy-weight" and the Liberation armyman to an extremely nimble lightweight with eyes in front and in the back. True, the American soldier is a blind boxer, and the heavier he is, an easier target he becomes. They are blind in face of the extreme mobility and versatility of the people's war, the effect of which is incalculable for them. One of the greatest advantages of the strategy and tactics of people's war is

to hold the initiative, the initiative in starting the fight and defeating the enemy in the most favourable conditions created by the LAF themselves.

The American troops are boxers who are not only blind but also lack combativeness. They are forced to wage an unjust and utterly inhuman war. They have to fight on a terrain and in conditions that are unfamiliar to them and offer many difficulties. They do not understand why they should have to sacrifice their lives on this cruel battlefield! That is why they are faint-hearted and fear everything: they fear our fighters, our people, our climate. The increasing fierceness of the war and the mounting American casualties will further shake their morale: it will sink still lower when the campaign against Johnson's "dirty" war spreads from wide sections of the American public into the ranks of the U.S. forces in South Viet Nam.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BATTLEFIELDS AND DRY-SEASON BIG VICTORIES

Now let us have a general survey of the major developments in the South Viet Nam theatre of operations following the onrush of the U.S. expeditionary force. Many military bases have been built by the Americans and many of their most seasoned units sent to the front to closely coordinate their action with the puppet troops. The Americans banked on the dry season to win back the initiative, and in selecting a number of important strategic objectives, they hoped to bring about a radical change in the military and political situation, thereby

turning the tables on their adversary. They threw all available forces into major campaigns that they had carefully prepared many months before-hand. Throughout the dry season, from 50,000 to 70,000 American and puppet mobile troops were constantly in action.

What have been the results of these wild schemes and frantic efforts of the U.S. imperialists?

Starting with the great Van Tuong victory[11] won by the LAF on August 18, 1965, continuous and fierce fighting has taken place on all South Vietnamese battlefields. The LAF give battle to U.S. troops wherever they are found. It was at the beginning of the dry season that they engaged in major battles and scored successive great victories in the Central Highlands, in Eastern Nam Bo, in the plains of the former 5th zone (central and southern part of Central Viet Nam - *Ed.*), around Saigon, and so on. Exerting strenuous efforts to rapidly concentrate powerful forces in certain places and at given moments, the enemy are convinced they are strong enough to overwhelm the LAF. But they are repeatedly attacked and, in major battles, receive hard blows and suffer very heavy losses.

Since October 1965, nearly thirty great engagements have occurred, including those at Plei Me, Dat Cuoc, Bau Bang, Dau Tieng, Dong Duong, Cu Chi, Tan Hiep (Giong Rieng), Nha Do, Bong Trang, Tan Dinh, and the recent anti-raid operations in Northern Binh Dinh, Zone D, Tuy Hoa, Son Tinh. In each of these engagements, the LAF wiped out entire combat groups of several battalions of American, satellite or puppet troops. Such crack units of the enemy as the 1st Air Mobile Cavalry Division

the 1st Infantry Division, the 3rd Marine Regiment, the 25th Division, the 101st and 173rd Paratroop Brigades, the division of Pak Jung Hi troops, the 5th and 7th puppet divisions, were dealt telling blows. Some of them lost one-half or one-third of their effectives.

Big airfields, serving also as bases for ground forces and paratroops, and smaller ones from the Highlands to southern Trung Bo and southern Nam Bo such as Chu Lai, Da Nang, Tan Son Nhat, Than Cuu Nghia, Nuoc Man, An Khe, Phu Loc, Soc Trang, Can Tho, Tra Noc and others, have been repeatedly struck at , and nearly one thousand planes have been destroyed.

The enemy have been the target of crushing surprise attacks, whether when they were on the march or stationed at their bases; they received violent counterblows and suffered losses even when fighting in places and at moments of their own choice, or in the course of their "mopping-up" operations. They cannot cope with the LAF, who attack them from all sides, in many ways, and at all times – day and night – now in lightning actions, now in protracted operations lasting months on end. In short, the enemy have completely lost the initiative and have sustained ever heavier losses. The number of U.S. troops put out of action in South Viet Nam was about 700 in 1963, well over 2,000 in 1964 and nearly 20,000 in 1965. Thus American casualties in 1964 were over three times higher than in 1963, and in 1965 nine times as many as in 1964. And from the beginning of 1966 their defeats have assumed even larger proportions; in the first three months, according to Liberation Press Agency, the South Vietnamese army and people wiped

out 67,000 enemy troops, among them 27,000 Americans and mercenaries, shot down or destroyed on the ground 940 planes, destroyed or damaged 600 military vehicles and sank or set afire 30 warships.

Acting in coordination with the regular forces on all fronts, the regional troops and guerillas never lose contact with the enemy, striking at both American and puppet troops, and have been making rapid progress in every respect in the course of bitter fighting. These two categories of forces have made a very important contribution to disrupting and decimating enemy troops as well as to frustrating their "pacification" and demagogic policies, safeguarding and consolidating the liberated zones, and tightly encircling the enemy's bases, chiefly American ones.

In a number of provinces our regional troops have been able to wipe out enemy forces by the battalion. In the districts, they can destroy one or two platoons at a time; they train the guerillas and provide effective support to the people's political struggle. Together with the population, the guerilla force which now comprises hundreds of thousands of fighters and have been developing everywhere, takes part in the building of fighting villages, combines armed struggle with political struggle and propaganda work among puppet and U.S. troops; it counters or fights off battalion-size forces in their "mopping-up" operations. The guerillas encircle enemy posts, force their defenders to withdraw while helping the people herded in "strategic hamlets" to rise up and demolish them. Wherever the guerilla movement is

strong enough, one can see village guerillas wipe out enemy troops by the platoon. Together with the population they never cease to strike at communication lines, cutting up strategic roads. In groups they actively operate around important American bases, strike at their defensive belts, and sow panic among the garrisoning troops. While the LAF are reputed for their mobility, flexibility and ability to take their opponents by surprise, the guerrillas' resourcefulness and ingenuity are beyond the enemy's comprehension. In brief, the enemy are immersed in the sea of people's war.

Now, in our initial appraisal of nearly a year of confrontation with the U.S. expeditionary force in South Viet Nam, we have come to this conclusion of paramount significance: the South Vietnamese army and people have frustrated the American military plan aimed at regaining the initiative of operations, scattering the LAF and forcing it into isolated guerilla actions, consolidating and linking together various U.S. military bases, consolidating the puppet troops and administration, and stabilizing the situation in South Viet Nam.

At present, our people have clearly seen and world public opinion has also begun to realize that the whole military and political plan of the American imperialists just as the high hopes they nurtured have come to grief. It is therefore obvious to everyone that they are faced with a most difficult, desperate situation. What will they do? To what extent will they intensify their aggressive war in South Viet Nam? How far will they escalate the war? Certain people in the U.S. ruling circles have begun to understand that the further they persist in this criminal

war, the heavier the defeat they will bring on themselves, and that nobody can foresee all the consequences of such an eventuality. Meanwhile, as the people's war progresses towards victory the waves of struggle put up by the various strata of the people surge in the towns and especially in the larger cities of South Viet Nam. In Saigon, Da Nang and Hue, for nearly a week now, daily demonstrations have been staged by hundreds of thousands of people, involving even puppet troops, policemen and civil servants, with such slogans as "U.S. imperialists get out of South Viet Nam", "Down with the traitorous administration!" In some places the demonstrators seized the local radio station, and used it to broadcast their demands that the U.S. imperialists be outsed and Thieu and Ky be executed.

We must be aware of the great political significance of the patriotic movement which is surging up in the South of our country. While hundreds of thousands of enemy troops are brazenly trampling our beloved country and crushing under their feet what is most sacred to us, people living in areas controlled by the enemy under the threat of their guns have risen up and taken to the streets to fight, shouting this slogan: "We will not live under the same sky with the U.S. pirates!" The enemy will resort to violence and terrorism to suppress the movement; they will use political tricks such as "civilian government", "democratic elections", "constituent assembly" in an attempt to fool the people. In spite of the enemy's brutal and cunning tricks, the movement will develop ever more powerfully; it will become ever more mature; it will adopt various forms of struggle and draw hundreds of thousands of people in the towns and enemy-controlled zones into a

persistent and valiant drive. The torrent of the patriotic movement is surging up powerfully right in the enemy's political and military centres and flowing in the direction of the liberation of the South under the glorious banner of the Front.

The whole situation, the patriotic struggle and the people's war in South Viet Nam lead to this eloquent and very encouraging conclusion:

The South Vietnamese people are perfectly capable of frustrating the U.S. aggressive war although the American imperialists may bring the strength of their expeditionary force up to 300,000, 400,000 or more.

The people's war and the people's armed forces have gained invaluable experience in the recent period .This has caused the LAF to make very substantial progress in all fields, and enabled them to improve their posture and strength so as to bring our all-out, protracted and hard war of resistance to complete victory.

THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION, SOLE GENUINE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

Since the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being, holding high the banner of unity and national salvation, the patriotic movement, the people's war and the national liberation revolution in the South have developed at an extraordinarily quick tempo and have won glorious victories. The important statement made by the Front on March 22, 1965, confirmed before world public opinion the Southern people's

determination to pursue the war of resistance till final victory although they will have to undergo untold hardships and sacrifices and to persevere in the fight for a long time. The statement stresses that the Southern army and people are determined to fight on until not "a single American aggressor remains on our soil". In the speech made on the occasion of the 5th founding anniversary of the Front (December 20, 1965), President Nguyen Huu Tho repeated the most important points of the March 22, 1965 Statement:

"The U.S. imperialists are the saboteurs of the Geneva Agreements, the most brazen aggressors and the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.

"The heroic people of South Viet Nam are resolved to drive out the U.S. imperialists in order to liberate the South and build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Viet Nam, pending national reunification.

"The heroic people and liberation armed forces of South Viet Nam are resolved to fulfil their sacred duty: to drive out the U.S. imperialists so as to liberate South Viet Nam and defend North Viet Nam.

"The South Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the peace-and justice-loving people throughout the world for their wholehearted support, and declare their readiness to receive assistance, including weapons and all other war material, from their friends in the five continents.

"Our entire people, united and with arms in their hands, will continue to march forward heroically, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors."

Why have all sections of the people in the South irrespective of social class, nationality, religious belief and political affiliation, felt such deep faith in the Front and grown ever more resolute and enthusiastic in joining the fight under the Front's victorious banner? It is thanks to the Front's correct, clear-sighted line and policies which completely correspond to the most fundamental interests of all sections of the Southern people. They are clearly expressed in the Front's program, which point out the targets to be struggled for by the South Vietnamese people, namely independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. In his December 20, 1965 speech, President Nguyen Huu Tho urgently called on the Southern people to *strengthen national unity,* for the sake of the vital interests of the people and the liberation of the beloved South.

"Because unity means life and disunity death, we call on all Vietnamese, who descend from the same ancestors, to rise up, unite, shatter the shackles of oppression and slavery, and win back independence and freedom.

"State affairs are important. National will stands above all!

"For the great cause of our nation, on the occasion of this glorious anniversary, we earnestly call on all forces, all people, – regardless of political tendency, social class, religious belief, and nationality, whatever their past, their present political and social positions, their political views and tendencies, – to join forces with the National Front for Liberation in the fight against foreign aggression, for national independence and freedom.

"The affairs of the South are the internal business of the people of South Viet Nam. Let all the people unite under the banner of national salvation! For its part, the Front will do all it can to create opportunities for promoting united action and struggle for the common objectives, so as to put an end to the policy of intervention and aggression of the U.S. and enable the Vietnamese people to settle themselves the South Viet Nam problem."

All our people warmly support the correct policy of the Front, the clear-sighted and valiant leader of the sacred struggle of our people in the South; we are strongly convinced, that the Front's appeal and the will of our nation will have a deep and wide impact on all sections of the people, especially on the members of the puppet army and administration, who, faced with the atrocious situation of the country and the people's readiness to rise up, will hear in the Front's appeal the sacred voice of the Fatherland and the urging of their own conscience.

The influence and the prestige of the South Viet Nam NFL are rising ever higher. The liberated areas under the control of the Front cover 80 per cent of South Viet Nam's territory, and are inhabited by 10 million people. Here, NFL policies are being carried out step by step; the people are building up a new life while fighting under extremely hard conditions and working zealously. All enemy attempts to attack and nibble at the liberated areas, which have been continually consolidated and expanded, have been frustrated. Here life is full of the joy of an indomitable people, full of the love felt by the people for their comrades and compatriots, full of the determination to fight and

defeat the enemy. The peasants who have received two million hectares of cultivated land are stepping up agricultural production in several of the richest rice-growing areas of South Viet Nam. They are doing their best to expand the cultivated areas, apply new techniques and increase the per hectare yield of rice and industrial crops. Besides agriculture, small industry and handicrafts have been restored step by step. A national economy including many branches is taking shape. The general-education schools of the first and second levels (primary and junior secondary – *Ed.*) receive a total enrolment of half a million pupils. Tens of thousands of adults are attending complementary education schools. Each village has its infirmary and its maternity home. Damage resulting from natural calamities and enemy raids has been rapidly overcome, the people's material and cultural life improves substantially. Hence our compatriots' greater enthusiasm in contributing manpower and material resources to the patriotic war. Young literature and art reflecting the indomitable spirit of the people are blooming with such representative works as those which have just been awarded Nguyen Dinh Chieu Prizes. These are fine flowers of a life which has been praised by many foreign journalists and friends after their visits to the liberated zones of South Viet Nam: there life overflows with songs, the truth of our epoch is to be found, and one can learn impressive lessons on the unlimited vitality and the wonderful capacities of man.

All this bears eloquent evidence to an obvious and undeniable truth established in South Viet Nam: *The NFL is*

the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, it is extraordinarily powerful and will certainly defeat the enemy.

The Saigon puppets have always been mere U.S. instruments and henchmen, and have never been elected by the people who have never trusted them. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreements which they have never ceased to oppose, they are not a lawful administration. In the eyes of the Vietnamese people and in particular of our compatriots in the South, they are criminals who have shamelessly sold their country to the Americans and committed many crimes against their country and their people. Who have welcomed GIs to South Viet Nam? Who have allowed the Americans to set up military bases in South Viet Nam? Who have requested the Americans to use barbarous war means and methods there? All this has been carried out in accordance with the invaders' "commitments" to the traitors, which the Vietnamese people never tolerate and which have been strongly condemned by the population right in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, etc.

Washington has made every effort to give glamour to their henchmen. With this end in view they staged the recent Honolulu farce. But immediately after this conference, Johnson's lackeys again sought to cut one another's throats while the South Viet Nam urban population, from Hue, Da Nang to Saigon, rose up to unmask the traitors, demanding their overthrow and shouting slogans against U.S. aggression, for national rights and democratic liberties and better living conditions

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are as thick as thieves, and rely on one another. But, in fact, U.S. political and military circles in both Washington and Saigon despise their puppets and have no confidence in them. World public opinion looks down upon them, considering them U.S. tools which may suffer the fate of Diem and Nhu at any moment.[1]

Meanwhile, the influence and the prestige of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has been rising in the international arena. The world's peoples and broad sections of American opinion have recognized that the NFL is the genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH ALWAYS STAND SIDE BY SIDE WITH THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SOUTH

The past year, that is to say in the period from the last session of the National Assembly till now, the heroic South has won very great victories and has matured very quickly! At present, the patriotic movement and the people's war in the South are developing everywhere and are being consolidated in all fields. In the time ahead, the fire of the liberation war will rise even higher on the frontline of the Fatherland.

The more the American aggressors strengthen their military force and intensify and extend their aggressive war in the South, the more easily they will be attacked and the heavier defeats they will suffer!

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1. In the February 11, 1966 issue of the French paper *Le Monde*, Donald Duncan, former US adviser to the puppet "Special Forces" in South Viet Nam, revealed the real opinion of US political and military circles in Saigon regarding the puppet administration, the puppet army and the South Vietnamese people. He said that in their eyes "in South Viet Nam, all was but deception, government members were corrupt, officers rotten, soldiers cowardly and the man-in-the-street an illiterate thief".

How can we express all the deep feelings of the people in the North, of all of us, toward our fellow-countrymen in the South, the Brass Citadel of the Fatherland! Over the past ten years or more, overcoming untold hardships and sacrifices our Southern compatriots have valiantly fought and defeated the enemy, shouldering extremely heavy and glorious tasks: to liberate the South, defend the North, and safeguard the fruits of the August Revolution and the long-term war of resistance against French colonialism. Our Southern compatriots have firmly upheld the pledge of independence: "We would rather die than be enslaved!" How can we adequately express the feeling of kinship and love between North and South and our boundless pride in our heroic compatriots of the South, in our heroic people! Through thousands of years building and defending their country, the Vietnamese people have enriched their history with glorious pages! But what exploit at any time can be compared to that being performed by our army and people in the South in the patriotic struggle against American imperialism, on account of its great significance for the Vietnamese nation and the anti-U.S. struggle of the world's people. That's why the 17 million people in the North unanimously assure their 14 million compatriots in the South of the love which binds the whole Vietnamese people together in this holy struggle! Our country is one! Our nation is one! All of us will always stand side by side with our Southern compatriots, and fight and win together with them. The more the enemy want to partition our country, invade the South and carry out air-attacks against the North, the more all our country and people are united as one man, and with unity of mind and action are resolved to bring the patriotic resistance against

American aggression to a glorious end. This sacred kinship in a source of strength for the Vietnamese nation in its determination to fight and win!

We always turn our deepest feelings and finest thoughts toward our beloved compatriots in the South. We know very well in what difficult and hard conditions our compatriots are fighting. But we are strongly convinced that the Southern army and people, who are extremely heroic, and rich in experience and creativeness, will overcome all difficulties and hardships, and march forward, ready to wage more battles and win more victories. At present in all battlefields, everywhere, there is a stirring emulation movement in which all strive to develop the successes of the Congress of Heroes and Elite Fighters of the SVNLAF, respond to the Front's appeal, and become valiant fighters and heroic units in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their puppets. How can we name all the heroes and mention all their exploits in the struggle at the front and in the rear! In the South of our country, fighting is part of daily life! Everyone is a combatant in a great fight!

Our army and people in the South will certainly win!

The cause of liberating the South will certainly be brought to triumph.

THE JUST AND CERTAINLY VICTORIOUS STAND OF OUR PEOPLE

Our Government has made public its 4-point stand. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has made public its 5-point stand. The stands of our Government and

the Front are in conformity with reason and sentiment and enjoy ever greater sympathy and support from the world's people including the American people. Yet, the Johnson administration still pretends to be blind and deaf, and keeps repeating that it "has not received any signal from Hanoi" while stepping up its aggressive and criminal war in Viet Nam.

Let us see what the American authorities' attitude is toward the just stand of the DRVN Government?

They have never made a formal statement recognizing our stand.

They oppose point 3 in the 4-point stand because they persist in invading, occupying and turning South Viet Nam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base .

To oppose point 3 means to oppose the whole 4-point stand. The four points, in their content and sense, are closely related, closely connected and complement one another. They form a single stand of which point 3 is a very important part.

Points 1 and 2 mainly repeat the principles and clauses explicitly put down in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. They lead to point 3 which deals with a political solution to the South Viet Nam problem: "The internal affairs of South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, without any foreign interference". In this context, point 3 affirms: The Front is the only genuine

representative of our people in the South; all the affairs of South Viet Nam must be solved together with the Front through negotiations with it. Let us see how long the American administration will persist in opposing point 3 and refusing to recognize the Front!

For the above reasons point 3 is very important. At the same time it determines point 4 which deals with the achievement of the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

The fundamental principle of the 4-point stand as well as point 3 is the right to self-determination of all nations, i.e., the right to determine their own destinies, to be independent in solving their internal affairs without any foreign interference.

The American ruling circles have said that they could discuss 4 points, 14 points, or even 40 points. This is the insolent allegation of a bandit who wants to confuse right and wrong, white and black, and put on an equal footing the aggressors and those who struggle against aggression for self-defence and for their independence and sovereignty. Our 4-point stand expresses the inviolable rights of the Vietnamese people.

It is a principled stand and a just and fair basis on which to find a correct solution to the Viet Nam problem; it is not something to haggle about.

The American ruling circles are still scheming to use the UN as a signboard to conceal their dark and criminal design. Once again we denounce their perfidious trick. The UN is not in the least entitled to interfere in the affairs of Viet Nam.

Concerning the complete stand of Viet Nam, in his letter, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "If the American Government really wants a peaceful settlement it must recognize the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and match its words with deeds. It must for ever and unconditionally end its bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Only then can a political solution to the Viet Nam problem be envisaged."

Since the U.S. imperialists carried out aero-naval attacks against the North, violating the territory of the DRVN, world public opinion has strongly condemned them. The American aggressors have attacked the North in the hope of retrieving their dangerous situation in the South. By attacking the North they try to find a pretext for denying that a liberation struggle is under way in the South and alleging that "the North is invading the South". They have gone on attacking the North, scheming to extend the war to the whole of Indochina. This is an extremely serious danger.

At present, opposition in the world against the danger of "escalation" comes from people of many sections, social circles and broad political tendencies. And this opposition is developing.

Our people's just struggle finds its clear and true expression in the judicious stands of our Government and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. This struggle and stands have caused the fundamental and urgent demands of our people to have strong repercussions in world

public opinion: real independence closely bound with genuine peace. These are very just demands which benefit from ever greater and more resolute sympathy and support by the world's people.

So far, no national liberation movement has ever enjoyed such deep sympathy and support of the world's people. At present, this movement of support is developing in a wide, powerful and multiform way. These are telling blows dealt at the American aggressors and a very precious source of encouragement for our people who are fighting on the frontline of the world's people's struggle against American imperialism!

That is why the just struggle of the Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious!

Report to the Third National Assembly, Fourth Session, May 24, 1968

Since 1965, resisting the war of aggression conducted by the U.S. imperialists against the entire Vietnamese people, and fighting against about 1,200,000 enemy troops, including more than half a million men of the American expeditionary force, our people, united as one man and pooling their efforts and energy, have been confronting the adversary with matchless valour. They have been holding initiative of action, gaining ever more strength and winning ever-greater victories. The South Vietnamese armed forces and people have made an important step in the process of defeating the U.S. "limited war", and so have the forces in the North while confronting the U.S. war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Early this year a general offensive and simultaneous uprisings[12] broke out on all theatres of operations in the South, marking a very great defeat of the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, and their irreversible course towards collapse, and taking our people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to a new period that will lead to complete victory.

In the world, the profound international significance of our people's just struggle, our resounding victories and the correct policy of our Party and State on international relations have won ever-broader and more vigorous support and assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and the world's people,

including progressive people in the United States. This support and assistance is making an important contribution to the certain victory of the Vietnamese people.

At present, our people are pushing ahead their struggle on three fronts–military, political and diplomatic–to secure complete victory for our resistance to U.S. aggression, defend the North, liberate the South and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland, thus contributing to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The Government report consists of the following three parts:

– The South fights victoriously;

– The North also fights victoriously;

– The whole world supports our people.

PART I

THE SOUTH FIGHTS VICTORIOUSLY

"This Spring Far Outshines the Previous Springs"

This New Year's wish expressed by President Ho Chi Minh has been materialized. The 1968 spring was one of general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in South Viet Nam with the heaviest blows delivered to the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen ever since the start of American aggression in Viet Nam, and also with the greatest

victories of our people since the beginning of their resistance to this aggression. It was a spring that "shook the world" as Western press put it, and took the struggle of our whole nation to a new period.

This victorious general offensive and these simultaneous uprisings are the logical result of a process in which we shall win and the enemy will lose The whole development of the revolutionary struggle in the South over the last fourteen years led us throughout its successive stages to these spring victories.

After the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, in utter violation of their commitments, the American imperialists interfered in South Viet Nam, rigged up the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet administration and rejected the general elections stipulated by the Geneva Agreements and due to be held in July 1956 with a view to the reunification of Viet Nam. They thus attempted to turn the South into a colony and military base of theirs so as to invade our whole country. Immediately, our Southern compatriots counter-attacked the enemy by stepping up legal and illegal struggle, supported by armed propaganda and armed self-defence, thus keeping up the revolutionary movement in the South.

When the U.S. Diem clique, carrying out a fascist policy, terrorized and massacred the people in cold blood with the hope of wiping out the revolutionary forces, our compatriots switched to an offensive strategy, staging partial insurrections in a number of vast rural areas. The success of the simultaneous uprisings in the Nam Bo delta in late 1959

and early 1960 provided the groundwork to broaden and impel political and military struggle, and to start an all-out people's war under the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation's banner of unity for national salvation.

This was the first failure of the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression against the Southern part of our country. This was also a victory of paramount importance for our Southern compatriots as it opened the way for more glorious successes in their resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

When the U.S. imperialists waged "special warfare", mainly relying on the puppet army and administration under their direct guidance and their increasing assistance, they did their best to liquidate the revolutionary forces in the countryside by setting up a system of "strategic hamlets", and to "search and destroy" the newly-organized revolutionary armed forces. The people in the South and their armed forces concentrated their strength on breaking the enemy's grip and most of his "strategic hamlets", controlled the countryside, developed political and military struggle and co-ordinated their spearheads in all the three strategic areas–countryside, hills and forests, and towns On the other hand, they rapidly increased their revolutionary strength, especially their military force, destroyed many puppet regular units, and foiled the enemy's new tactics. The victories at Ap Bac, Binh Gia and other places from early 1963 to Winter 1964-Spring 1965, together with the high tide of struggle to dismantle the "strategic hamlets" in the countryside and the wave of mass political struggle in the

towns, brought down the Ngo Dinh Diem fascist dictatorial rule and many following puppet administrations, thereby driving the U.S. imperialists' "special warfare" to bankruptcy.

Late in 1964, it was obvious that the American aggressors realized that they had been defeated in their "special warfare" in South Viet Nam whereas our compatriots there were nearing victory. Not resigning themselves to defeat, they stepped on a new, extremely dangerous rung. On the one hand, they massively sent in U.S. troops and switched to a "limited war" in the South; on the other, they started an air and naval war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, actively intervened in Laos, repeatedly tried to intimidate Cambodia and drew several of their satellites in the Pacific into their war of aggression against South Viet Nam. They had thought that by intensifying and expanding the war to such a scope, they would overpower the Vietnamese people, but they were mistaken: they suffered heavy setbacks and our people scored glorious victories.

When the American aggressors launched their first dry season strategic counter-offensive (1965-1966)[1] with 200,000 U.S. satellite troops and over half a million puppet troops, they hoped that they could drive the Liberation armed forces back to the defensive or to a stalemate. But our people and their armed forces in the South resolutely upheld their offensive position, fighting both the Americans and the puppets. After dealing thunderous blows at the G.I's at Nui Thanh and Van Tuong,

1. As usual, the enemy's major operations in 1965-1967 took place in the dry season, from October to the end of April the next year.

they won major battles at Bau Bang, Plei Me, Dat Cuoc, etc; they repeatedly attacked and registered great victories, and constantly kept the strategic initiative in all theatres of operations, thus inflicting an initial setback upon the U.S "limited war"[1].

When the U.S. aggressors mounted their second dry season strategic counter-offensive (1966-1967) with over 400,000 Americans and more than half a million puppet and satellite troops, the South Vietnamese Liberation armed forces and people fiercely attacked the enemy in the Quang Tri – Thua Thien theatre, compelling him to further scatter his mobile forces, thereby shattering his plan to expand the war north of the demarcation-line and bring troops into the Mekong delta. Meanwhile, they crushed his big "search-and-destroy" operations, like the *Junction City*[13] campaign, vigorously broke his "pacification" pincers and held the plains under firm control. They thus upset his strategy and drive him into a more passive position[2].

Therefore, with over one million American, puppet and satellite troops the U.S. aggressors had mounted two dry-season strategic counter-offensives aimed chiefly at "searching and

1. Enemy losses in the first dry-season strategic counter-offensive – (1965-1966):
– 114,000 troops wiped out, including 43,000 G.I.'s.
– 1,440 aircraft downed or destroyed.
– 1,310 military vehicles demolished, among them 330 tanks and armoured cars.
– 200 posts and 6 military subsectors razed. (*Ed.*)

2. Enemy losses in the second dry-season strategic counter-offensive (1966-1967):
– 175,000 troops wiped out, including 70,000 American and 15,000 satellite troops.
– 1,800 aircraft downed or destroyed
– 3,985 military vehicles demolished, among them 1,785 tanks and armoured cars.
– 200 posts and 6 military subsectors razed. (*Ed*).

destroying the main force" in an attempt to smash the South Vietnamese people's liberation war. However, in both dry seasons they suffered heavy losses and were compelled to switch from strategic counter-offensive to passive strategic defensive; this was a setback for their strategy in the South Vietnamese theatre.

This is also a great strategic failure of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in the South of our country just before the Winter 1967-Spring 1968 campaign. It stemmed from the following fundamental causes:

First of all, the failure of the American imperialists' military strategy which originated from their political fiasco in Viet Nam, in the United States and in the world.

Second, the obvious failure of the "limited war" strategy intended to maintain U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam in face of revolutionary war, invincible people's war developed to a high degree.

Third, the fundamental failure of a series of military tactics[1] - the main support of U.S. strategy. The enemy's failure was due to our victory, the victory of a patriotic and just war bound to win in our time, the victory of a highly developed people's war in extremely rich and creative forms. It was due to the success of the Front's clever conduct of the war both in strategy and in tactics, keeping the initiative of operations, and compelling the adversary to fight battles in conditions of its choice and to los-

1. The enemy's military tactics mainly rely on strong firepower, chiefly on air bombings and artillery shellings, and at the same time on his mobility (helicopter tactics, air cavalry, etc.)

them as it had anticipated, in engagements fought with extremely flexible tactics unexpected by the enemy.

As regards North Viet Nam, over the past three years the American imperialists have been stepping up their air and naval war of destruction in an attempt to break the fighting solidarity between the North and the South, sabotage our socialist construction and dampen our people's determination, thus compelling us to end the war on their terms. But our armed forces and people have valiantly fought off, and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy air force and navy, while rapidly developing their armed forces, ready to cope with the American design to expand their ground war to the North. On the other hand, our people have in time geared their economy to war-time conditions, kept up and boosted production, and ensured communication and transport, determined to safeguard and strengthen the North, stand shoulder to shoulder with the heroic South, and support it with might and main.

At the same time, the American imperialists have failed in their scheme to encroach upon the liberated areas of Laos and to turn this country into a springboard to attack us from the west. They have failed to extend the McNamara line from Viet Nam to Laos. They have also failed in their attempts to intimidate Cambodia and encroach upon it from all sides with the hope of forcing it to give up its policy of peace and neutrality, and using it to step up their war of aggression against South Viet Nam.

It was with successes on our side and setbacks on the enemy's that we entered the Winter 1967-Spring 1968 campaign.

Since the beginning of this campaign, with even more initiative the armed forces and people in South Viet Nam have fought and won great victories in East Nam Bo, Binh Long, Phuoc Long, Dac To (Central Highlands) and Quang Tri – Thua Thien. Meanwhile, they struck the enemy all over South Viet Nam, driving him into strategic defensive, and creating conditions for still harder blows and still greater successes. On Tet's eve, unleashing in a general offensive and simultaneous uprisings a force accumulated in many years of victories and of growing people's war, they dealt thunder blows at the U.S. aggressors and the puppets, hitting them at the same time in almost all cities and provincial capitals and in their important bases. Then, throughout the past three months, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people mounted unremitting attacks in all battlefields with all kinds of forces and weapons, applying every form of military and political struggle. The first week of this general offensive and these simultaneous uprisings resulted in the crumbling of an important part of the structure built up by the Americans and the puppets. The losses were so serious that even now they cannot yet evaluate all their consequences; the whole of their 1968 strategic plan has been frustrated and the situation on the battlefields has changed completely. The war has thus entered a new period.

This is an all-sided strategic victory for the South Vietnamese people.

As pointed out by the special communiqués of the P.L.A.F. Command, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people have within a short period of time wiped out and caused the disintegration of a great part of the enemy's forces, and destroyed a large quantity of his war means. Meanwhile, their military and political strength have grown rapidly, both in quality and in quantity. All the three categories of armed forces have grown up very quickly in fighting, and have gained very valuable experience, particularly in appraising the enemy's capacity and their own. The liberated zone has been widened, and the people's control consolidated and extended to the urban centres, even to Saigon.

The general offensive and simultaneous uprisings beginning from the Tet festival this year were a very judicious undertaking. Because they have given full play to the strength and winning position of the war of liberation in South Viet Nam, and supplied it with a good opportunity to forge ahead. Because they have given ample scope to the fighting capacity and revolutionary mettle of millions of combatants and people rising up to fight the enemy and his 1,200,000 well-equipped troops in his own political and military centres, well-fortified bases and leading organs that he had firmly believed to be impregnable. Moreover, they trounced him everywhere at the same time in surprise attacks thus not only inflicting very heavy losses upon him, but striking him with fright, throwing him into confusion, shattering his illusions, and as a result, further disintegrating the puppet army and administration, and shaking the U.S. aggressive will. This undertaking was judicious in that it created a new strategic

position, a battle-array which enabled the Front's armed forces, other patriotic armed forces and the popular masses to strike the enemy anywhere, at any time , using their marvellous combat methods to hit him accurately and give him no chance of escape, bringing into full play their strong points while limiting the enemy's advantage in weapons, technique and firepower. It was judicious that in no time it afforded an opportunity for several million people living in the enemy's grip in the occupied urban centres of South Viet Nam to rise up and liberate themselves and take part in the sacred struggle of the entire nation. This is a force of great significance from both the military and political points of view, since it embraces the youth, women, workers, labouring people, intellectuals, patriotic personalities, even sections of the national bourgeoisie, all of whom hold an important position in the town and cities. This undertaking was judicious in that it resulted from a scientific analysis of the balance of forces in the concrete conditions of the war at that time. It has also borne out the revolutionary spirit, courage, heroic mettle of the Vietnamese people who dare to fight and know how to win; it has shown the boundless confidence that the Front reposed in the masses in South Viet Nam, including the townsfolk, staunch fighters in this sacred struggle. In such a situation the enemy has had to fall back and concentrate efforts on defending his vital positions in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Khe Sanh, on the Central Highlands and the Mekong delta, where new thunder blows may be delivered to him at any moment. Such is the situation of an aggressor army that has been driven to the wall. Such is also the new period which

has opened up very splendid vistas to us. Our people's strength is increasing, our people are more and more in a position to overpower the enemy, and the time is becoming more and more favourable to us. Thus, we have all favourable conditions for success: opportunity, terrain and men. As the Fourth Special Communiqué of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces Command (March 19, 1968) put it:

"Obviously, the time has come when the Americans and the puppets are irretrievably declining and disintegrating, while we begin attacking them relentlessly, setting up revolutionary power and developing our forces until complete victory is won."

The underlying and immediate causes of the resounding victories won by our compatriots in South Viet Nam so far, particularly since the beginning of this year, lie in the policy of broad union for national salvation of the Front headed by Dr Nguyen Huu Tho. The Front's Political Programme[14] is an expression of the iron will of the 14 million people, of all social strata in South Viet Nam "to unite, fight and win", which is making its effect felt widely and deeply everywhere in the South.

Another victory of the policy of broad union for national salvation in the present situation in South Viet Nam is emergence of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces[15] led by Dr Trinh Dinh Thao, which represents various political tendencies, religious beliefs, and nationalities. This is an alliance of patriotic forces in the towns and cities which, responding to the appeal of the Front, have come forward to assume their important and glorious responsibility in the

fierce struggle at present Our people in the North affectionately convey to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces their warmest greetings of militant solidarity and success.

While the military and political strength of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people is growing vigorously and rapidly, the puppet army and administration, under the impact of the telling blows dealt them since early this year, continue to weaken and disintegrate. Driven into a corner, the chieftains of this army and administration are involved in bitter internal contradictions and wrangles while the anti-war movement among the officers and men and administrative personnel keeps growing.

The Political Programme of the National Front for Liberation and the Statement of National Salvation of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces in the South are exerting a deep influence upon the puppet army and administration, calling on individuals and units to side with the people and serve the struggle against American aggression. Following the impetuous victories of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, the anti-war movement in the puppet army and administration will spread still more widely while the puppet authorities and mercenary troops of the U.S. satellite countries will irretrievably disintegrate by big chunks.

At present, the Thieu-Ky clique are clamouring for a so-called "general mobilization". This farce is nothing but a scheme for pressganging people on American orders to fill the

gap in their troop strength follwing their recent heavy setback. Indeed, a general mobilization is going on in the South: the mobilization under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation of the broadest strata of the people who are preparing to march forward in the flush of their victories so as to smash the U.S. aggressors and overthrow the puppet administration.

Together with the splendid successes already recorded the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings early this year are inspiring the South Vietnamese armed forces and people with unprecedented enthusiasm. Through their face-to-face struggles with the enemy they have clearly realized his weaknesses as well as their tremendous capacity to defeat him, and have drawn rich experience in many respects for the forthcoming engagements. All this has the effect of broadly and deeply mobilizing the youth, women, various popular strata in rural, urban and hill-forest areas, strengthening their confidence and their determination to sacrifice everything for ever-bigger successes until complete victory is won.

The resounding victories echoing from the great front have filled our people in the North with pride and enthusiasm. As President Ho Chi Minh said in his New Year wishes, "News of victories will bloom everywhere in our country." With boundless joy and admiration, we are daily, hourly following the fight in each city, each locality of the South. All our affection is for our fourteen million fellow-countrymen in the South - the Fatherland's Brass Wall,- in whom we place full confidence. We are awaiting and stand ready to diffuse the news of their victories. Forever the Vietnamese people will bear in mind the

wonderful exploits that the South Vietnamese armed forces and population achieved in the spring of this year. They will never forget the feats of arms of the fighters who assaulted the American Embassy, thus sowing panic even in the White House, broke into the "Independence Palace" of the puppets, struck at the Tan Son Nhat airbase, occupied the Headquarters of the puppet General Staff, ruled the roost in Saigon, controlled Hue for many days on end, and recorded many other exploits over the length and breadth of South Viet Nam thus ushering in a new and glorious phase in our resistance against the American invaders. These victories urge everybody in the North to march forward with enthusiasm so as to be worthy of the South, to push forward production and fighting and, shoulder to shoulder with the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

By nature the U.S. imperialists are aggressive and warlike. In spite of heavy setbacks, they remain very stubborn. The larger their complete defeat looms, the more cruel and perfidious they become. Our people, our Southern fellow-countrymen must persevere in their struggle, keep their vigilance and be ready to cope with any situation. The enemy is seeking every means to counter-attack and extricate himself from his passive position, and is obstinately continuing his aggressive war. On the other hand, Johnson brings more troops into the South and presses U.S. satellite countries to do the same; on the other, he forces the Saigon puppet authorities to step up the draft, and deploy their troops to serve as a shield for the G.I.'s. Shortly after the Tet offensive, the Americans and their valets tried to launch some operations

near Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and at Khe Sanh in an effort to fan out of their major bases and relieve the pressure of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people. It was their hope to generate some kind of optimism,by creating the impression that their situation was gradually returning to normal. But these operations have brought them heavy losses and proved that they cannot wriggle out of their predicament, that they have not enough mobile forces to mount big strategic counter-offensives and are being bogged down in a more defensive position.

Before the enemy had recovered from the staggering blows inflicted on him during the Tet festival, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, beginning May 5, started other offensives and uprisings on all theatres, trouncing him in most cities, provincial capitals, headquarters, air bases, ports, storage areas and logistical bases[1]. Though very cautious, the enemy was caught unawares by the strength and scale of their most diversified forms of attack. While striking the enemy throughout South Viet Nam, the P.L.A.F. mounted fierce actions

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1. According to still incomplete figures, enemy losses in the 100 days of the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people (from January 30 to May 10, 1968) were as follows:

– 253,600 enemy troops put out of action, among them 84,600 of the U.S.A and its satellites;

– 2,750 enemy aircraft downed or destroyed on the ground;

– 360 naval ships and combat launches sunk or set afire.

– The number of enemy units badly mauled or wiped out included:

3 armoured regiments

1 multi-battalion group of paratroops.

14 squadrons of armoured cars.

96 battalions

363 companies (*Ed*)

right in Saigon-Cholon, knocking out many U.S.-puppet battalions in the city, storming many key offices and bases. Together with the revolutionary armed forces, the people in Saigon-Cholon and in many other localities have risen up to round up and wipe out cruel agents, seized control of whole city quarters, set up the people's power and flown Front flags over many places. Once again, in an attempt to counter this general offensive and these uprisings, the U.S. aggressors sent aircraft to bomb and strafe our people in Saigon-Cholon and many other localities. They are inflicting horrible destructions on the very places that they have always pretended to defend. Those extremely savage crimes have deepened the hatred of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, and caused them to rush forward still more vigorously.

Our Southern compatriots are striving to make further strides in the new stage of their people's war. They and their armed forces are determined to rush forward on the impetus of their victories, to attack unremittingly and rise up more vigorously every day to wipe out and disintegrate the bulk of the puppet troops, overthrow the puppet administration at all levels and wrest power for the people; to destroy as many troops and war means of the enemy as possible so that he cannot achieve his military and political designs in the South; on this basis, to smash the will of aggression of the American imperialists, completely liberate the South, defend the North and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. The nearer we come to victory, the more hardships we meet. The fight ahead will be harder than ever. The adversary driven into a corner will resort to every savage

means to devastate the south of our country. The new stage of the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, requires that each Vietnamese stands ready to sacrifice everything to win victory, and displays the utmost courage, intelligence and creative capabilities. Bearing in mind President Ho Chi Minh's words "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", the armed forces and people in the South will certainly overcome all difficulties and hardships, overpower their enemy and win complete victory.

PART II

THE NORTH ALSO FIGHTS VICTORIOUSLY

In the resistance to U.S. aggression of our entire people, socialist North Viet Nam plays an extremely important role. The birth of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as a result of the triumph of the August Revolution was the fruit of the patriotic movements conducted by our entire people against the colonialists during nearly a century, and especially of their arduous struggle for fifteen years under the leadership of the Viet Nam Worker's Party. Throughout the past twenty-three years, the D.R.V.N. has been consolidated and has grown in strength. It is a force which plays a great role in the defence of our national independence, our resistance against foreign aggression and the building of a new life. Over the last fourteen years following the success of the resistance war against the French colonialists, the D.R.V.N. has been advancing on the path of socialist construction and has become a strong socialist country resolved to fulfil her obligation as an outpost of the

socialist camp in Southeast Asia. The D.R.V.N. constitutes the revolutionary base of the whole country and the great rear area of South Viet Nam, linking our people's struggle for national salvation with the mighty forces of the world socialist system and the broad movement of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

It is because they were aware of this extremely important position and role of North Viet Nam that, in face of the bankruptcy of their "special war" in the South, on February 7, 1965, the U.S. imperialists brazenly sent aircraft and warships to attack it after forging the so-called "Tonkin Gulf incident" in August 1964. They thought that within a short time they could overcome the North then subdue the South and force our people in both parts of the country to surrender. But they miscalculated and their scheme failed.

The U.S. aggressors have attacked the North with the hope of extricating themselves from their very critical situation in the South. However, the more they strike at the North, the more they tighten the blood-sealed relations between North and South. As a result, they have incurred heavy losses in the North and suffered heavier defeats in the South. Our Southern compatriots have carried into effect the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to the effect that "If the U.S. aggressors deliver a blow at the North, the armed forces and people in the South will deal them five or even ten blows." By dealing the U.S. and puppets harder blows and driving them into a corner, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people have effectively

defended the North. Inversely, the very steady growth of the North reinforces the South in a tremendous measure. Our entire nation is bound together in a fight against the common enemy to achieve a common goal. In the present resistance war, more than ever in their history, the whole Vietnamese people are of one mind, North and South are united.

In their attack on the North, the U.S. aggressors strike particularly at communication and transport lines, economic establishments and heavily populated areas in an attempt to weaken the D.R.V.N. potential. However, North Viet Nam continues to grow in wartime, its economic and military potentials have been unceasingly reinforced, socialist construction is going on and the people's life is secure. North Viet Nam is in better shape as it fights, capable of defending itself victoriously and fulfilling its tasks as the great rear of South Viet Nam.

In their war of destruction against the North, the U.S. aggressors have so far lost nearly 3,000 aircraft and a great many pilots, including aces of the U.S. Air Force. The myth about the superiority of the U.S. Air Force has been completely exploded. Their losses have become increasingly heavier. Not only have they failed to attain their strategic objectives but all their tactics and techniques have been foiled. The U.S. aggressors have been gradually weakened and are running short of pilots and aircraft. Their stocks of bombs and bullets are not inexhaustible.

By attacking the D.R.V.N., the aggressors have encroached upon an independent and sovereign socialist

country, and committed barbarous crimes that shock the whole world! They are more and more strongly condemned by the whole of mankind, including the American people. They have drawn ever-stronger protests from political circles in many countries. Theyare completely isolated in the international arena and in the United States. The result of three years of U.S. aero-naval war of destruction against the North is that the aggressors have met with failure, very heavy failure.President Johnson's speech on March 31, 1968 about the "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam was, on the one hand, a perfidious calculation and a deceitful manoeuvre, and on the other, an admission of the United States failure in the war of destruction against the North. It proved that the U.S. will to attack North Viet Nam had sustained a major setback. And this was a very great victory of our entire people's resistance to U.S. aggression, a strong moralebooster for our Southern compatriots who are dashing forward on the impetus of their victories towards final victory.

War is the gravest trial for a regime; the socialist North has overcome this trial with glory, our 17 million compatriots here are victoriously fulfilling their heavy tasks in fighting and production under particularly difficult circumstances.

Facing the enemy's aero-naval war of destruction, the socialist North has mobilized its armed forces and people to

1. From February 1965 to the end of 1967, the Americans hurled 650,000 tons of bombs and shells at the north of our country, that is, more than the quantity used in the whole Pacific theatre during World War II. In the same period, the quantity of explosives rained over Viet Nam, both North and South, amounted to 1,840,000 tons, that, is, more than the quantity used in Europe during World War II and almost the equivalent of what had been employed both in Europe and in the Pacific during World War II.

fight him and defend itself while developing its power in every field, accumulating experience and growing up more rapidly than the opponent could escalate the war. The armed forces and people scored a great victory right in their first engagement and registered success after success over the past three years, curbing every escalation step of the adversary. Our various defence forces, from missile to militia units, have been deployed to form a well-co-ordinated system and provide a dense and very mobile network of firepower with many ranges. Together with other people's armed forces, including old folks and women, they stand ready to deal heavy blows at the enemy at any movement and sow panic in his ranks, whatever modern aircraft and war means he may use, whatever experience he may draw, and whatever tactics and technique he may resort to. In close co-ordination with the defence forces, our young air force has, in the conditions of air combat in our air space, developed people's war tactics, displaying a high degree of resourcefulness and courage, winning splendid victories right from their first engagement. Besides, civilian air defence and dispersion of the population, which aim at organizing daily work and combat activities in every walk of life, every locality and every family, have greatly helped reduce our losses. As the war is going on, we must patiently strive to better discharge our responsibilities in this respect.

Since March 31, 1968, in execution of their perfidious "limited bombing" manoeuvre, the U.S. aggressors have concentrated their forces to strike day and night with much more ferocity at a vast and populous area of the D.R.V.N

from Thanh Hoa to Vinh Linh[1]. Our armed forces and people there have been fighting still more staunchly and downed many enemy planes, including F.111A's, the latest type of the U.S. air force. They inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy, determined to smash their new perfidious manoeuvre and completely defeat their war of destruction against the D.R.V.N.

The brilliant victories of the North Vietnamese army and people are victories of people's war of a very new kind against a new kind of war of the U.S. aggressors. Through the fighting, not only have our aircraft defence and air force grown up quickly, but the whole of the D.R.V.N. national defence has been unceasingly steeled and strengthened and its combat readiness and vigilance heightened to cope with any eventuality.

One of the main targets of the enemy is communications and transport. Our resistance in this field throughout North Viet Nam is an epic composed by those engaged in it as well

1. The area from the 20th to the 17th parallels covers four provinces – Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Binh – and the Vinh Linh zone and has four million and a half people. In April last, American aircraft flew over 3,000 sorties against this area, dropping about 15,000 bombs of various types – most of which 250-1500 kg demolition bombs – in extremely fierce raids aimed at blotting out whole regions. Admitted *UPI* on April 21, 1968: on April 19, at least 500 U.S. jets struck at the panhandle-shaped part of North Viet Nam in one of the most violent raids of the war. And *Reuter* concluded on May 1st: The number of the sorties flown by US planes against North Viet Nam in April increased nearly 25 per cent as compared with the period before President Johnson announced his limited bombing.

In the first half of May 1968 US planes struck at 600 populated and economic centres from Thanh Hoa to Vinh Linh, dropping 14,000 demolition bombs and time-bombs from Thanh Hoa to Quang Binh. Fifteen reconnaissance flights took place over Hanoi, Haiphong and fourteen other provinces. Besides, U.S. warships off the coast and US artillery positioned south of the demilitarized zone fired more than 30,000 shells at the villages north of this zone and along the coast in Vinh Linh, and in Quang Binh and Ha Tinh provinces. (*Ed.*)

as by our compatriots living along the highways. Bridge builders and menders, young volunteers, professional and part-time communication workers, time-bomb disposal units, lorry drivers, tug pilots, boatmen, all of them have successfully stood up to the enemy round-the-clock bombing by putting into their work all their strength, talents, and energy.Thanks to their efforts our people have kept open the traffic between the rear and the front, between the different regions of our country, between our country and the fraternal and friendly countries; we have increased the volume of transported goods, expanded the various kinds of communications, strengthened our central and regional means of communications and transport, and substantially augmented our contingent of cadres and workers in this sphere.

Thus in war-time our communications and transport have stayed one step ahead of other branches, meeting the present requirements of fighting, production and everyday life while preparing for the future.

Faced with repeated trials due to natural calamities and war destruction over the past three years, our co-op farmers have kept up the output of paddy and other food crops, boosted the output of subsidiary crops, extended the acreage of many important industrial crops, continuously developed afforestation and animal husbandry. Thus, it is in war-time that intensive cultivation to raise crop yields and labour productivity has become a mass movement involving the application of advanced technical means, which helps materialize on an ever-larger area the slogan "One farmer working one hectare of cultivated land to get five tons of paddy per year." It is in war-time that the material and technical bases of agriculture in general, and of

each co-operative in particular, have been further reinforced. It is also in war-time that the agricultural co-operativization movement has recorded good achievements, won over the overwhelming majority of the toiling peasants, ameliorated and enlarged the co-operatives, thus showing the power and excellence of collective production. In the present drive to improve co-op management combined with the broadening of democracy, co-op members are enthusiastically bringing into full play their right to be the real masters, thereby pushing forward agriculture and creating a new life in the countryside. Therefore, a steady way of working and an encouraging prospect have appeared right in war-time.

The working class has proved to be a revolutionary vanguard and shown its creative abilities in the struggle for keeping up industrial production. Centrally-run industrial enterprises have been unremittingly attacked by the enemy, but owing to the active evacuation, dispersion and defence of existing establishments, to the building of reserve establishments and the patient restoration of damaged ones, we have managed to meet our vital needs for fighting, production and to some extent for daily life. Besides centrally-run industry, over the past three years we have witnessed a turning point of basic significance in the building and development of regional industry. About 1,000 undertaking have been enlarged or built, which have begun turning out means of production and consumer goods. Following this orientation, we are proceeding step by step towards setting up a complete industrial network in each

province, capable of increasing our logistic potential on the spot, linking industry with agriculture, production with distribution, carrying out a new division of labour in each region and bringing into full play the people's right to be masters of the country. This is an initial result of basic and far-reaching significance of a great, very important policy with regard to the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, as well as to the whole of our socialist construction in future.

One of the most typical achievements recorded by our people in the past three years is the strong development of educational, cultural and medical work. In war-time normal activities in this sphere which to everyone seem difficult to maintain, let alone develop, have progressed more rapidly than in peace-time. Living and fighting daily under the enemy's showers of bombs and shells, our people have more than ever before shown eagerness to learn, asking for more books and newspapers, more culture, literature and arts, science and technology. The number of pupils and students has increased unceasingly; our schools have kept in touch with the realities of life, opening new prospects for socialist education in Viet Nam, linking study to action. Our literature and arts have been more and more imbued with the grand realities of the life of our people engaged in combat and production, realities which have provided them with an abundant source of inspiration for creation and interpretation and reinforced them with new, young forces from among the masses. Our medical service has grown rapidly and all-sidedly, efficiently served our struggle against U.S. aggression and made substantial progress in the building of a socialist medicine in our country.

Since 1965, the annual State plans for the development of the national economy and culture have been war-time plans, worked out to accomplish three main tasks:

1. To mobilize our forces in all fields in order to fight and win, to defend the North and liberate the South.

2. To maintain and boost production in keeping with the war situation, so as to meet the people's immediate requirements, and prepare for the future.

3. To satisfy the people's primary necessities in food, clothing, housing, travelling, health protection and study.

Year after year, these tasks have been bacically fulfilled, and the execution of the annual State plans has greatly contributed to the struggle for national salvation. Based on these essential tasks, the 1968 State plan reflects the requirements of the new period, with the slogan: "Everything for victory over the U.S. aggressors!"

It is a plan to win victories, which at the same time allows us to stand ready for any eventuality. All strata of the North Vietnamese people, State services at all levels, all enterprises, all building-yards, all research institutes, all administrative offices and schools are, together with our compatriots on the great front[1], advancing on the impetus of their victories, pushing forward patriotic emulation movements, striving to develop their strong points, overcome their weak points and shortcomings in their work, determined to fulfil the 1968 State plan so as to make the best contribution to the defence and building of the North, the liberation of the South, and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

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1. South Viet Nam (*Ed.*).

Our resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, in the broadest and fiercest struggle in our people's history of revolutionary struggles. This great resistance involves all the forces of our people and gives full scope to their splendid national traditions. It has brought into play all the fruits gained so far in the process of our revolution and has therefore given strong relief to the sources of our strength and the factors of our victories: the forces of the people, the socialist regime and the Party's leadership.

Our resistance to U.S. aggression illustrates these great truths: man is the decisive factor in every undertaking,revolution is the work of the masses. We owe our victories to the leadership of the Party which, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, has very broadly mobilized our people and made them stand up to fight and win in all spheres of activities.

Our entire people have enthusiastically participated in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, for national salvation; each of us, considering this struggle a sacred task towards the Fatherland and the greatest honour for him, brings into full play his patriotism, bravery, intelligence and creativeness, thus evincing noble qualities. Revolutionary heroism has become a mass movement involving millions of people, a wide-spread and permanent social phenomenon materialized in various mass emulation movements: the "Let us resolutely defeat the U.S. aggressors" movement of the people's armed forces, the "Let us produce well and fight well" movement of the workers and peasants, the "Three *ready's*" movement of youth, the "Three responsibilities" movement of the women, and the "Three

determinations" movement of the intellectuals Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the crystallization of the noblest thoughts and feelings of our people in our times. The high tide of revolutionary heroism brings out the new Vietnamese man, the product not only of many years of struggle against U.S imperialism, but of the decades of revolution under the leadership of our Party, combining the virtues of the working class with our people's beautiful traditions which had taken shape all through their millenia-old history. We are proud and elated by the fact that these fine virtues find a splendid expression in our younger generation, who are steadfastly and gloriously carrying on their elder's revolutionary cause.

We are living amidst a deep and wide mass movement which makes history and forges man. This is the most precious of our assets. We are resolved to preserve and enrich it and make it blossom more beautifully with every passing day. We are resolved to mould the noble thoughts and feelings and revolutionary qualities of the Vietnamese now struggling against U.S. aggression into lasting virtues of our people throughout the long process of our revolution.

The victory of our resistance for national salvation is the victory of our people and also of our regime, the socialist regime. It is the socialist regime which has brought to the highest degree the strength of our people, created all the material and ideological conditions to make the mass movement for fighting and production develop vigorously in scope and depth, and put all the fruits of socialism gained in the past ten years and more into the fight to defeat the U.S.

aggressors. We are resolved to go on consolidating and strengthening our socialist regime, and pushing ahead our socialist construction right in war-time

Our socialist construction involves three revolutions which are carried out simultaneously: revolution in the relations of production, scientific and technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. The realities of war and construction work in war-time require that we ponder over these three revolutions more intensively, through our practical work. We must very clearly realize the key position of the scientific and technological revolution which directly creates the material and technical bases of socialism, and impels forward the entire socialist revolution. We must realize the extremely important role of the revolution in the relations of production because it has a broad and deep significance which we may not fully grasp as yet, in order to solve these problems of utmost importance: the regime of ownership, the relationship between man and man, and the policy of distribution and consumption. We must perfectly realize the impact of the ideological and cultural revolution whose aim is to change man. In the last analysis, man, the popular masses decide everything. With the coming into being of Marxism, for the first time in the history of mankind, man decides himself his own destiny in a fully conscious way. That is why we must bring the ideological and cultural revolution to success. We must step by step build the material and technical bases of socialism, and at the same time establish good social relationships, and an ideal society in which man, evincing noble virtues and feelings, lives a life rich in every

respect: productive labour, literature and arts, science and technology. We pay particular attention to gradually raising the people's material life while clearly realizing that the most precious asset of society and of man is not only material prosperity but a beautiful cultural, moral and sentimental life. To study and solve the aforesaid problems is the great and glorious task of Vietnamese social sciences. They embrace very important scientific branches which can and must be vigorously developed.

The fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has given rise to the need and created conditions to sharpen one of the main revolutionary instruments of our people: our people's democratic State fulfilling the historical task of a State of proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of our Party. This is a State all the lines and policies of which are imbued with the revolutionary thought of the working class and proletarian internationalism, a State which unites all strata of the people and all nationalities, applies broad democracy towards the people, and resolutely suppresses counter-revolutionaries so as to ensure victory for the fight against U.S. aggression and success for the building of socialism.

One of the most fundamental functions of the State is economic management. Lenin's teachings, as well as the practice of socialist construction in our country and many fraternal countries, show that economic management is one of the key problems of socialism, a science and an art that we have to grasp. This science and this art require that we know how to apply the laws of socialism, including the law of development of the national economy in a well-balanced way, according to plan, with the participation of millions of labouring people and the

bulk of scientific and technical cadres from the centre to the grass-roots level, that is, the industrial enterprises and the agricultural co-operatives. At the same time, we have to know how to apply correctly the law of value in a socialist economy. Thus, we shall obtain the biggest economic results from our investments, and the highest productivity. We have constantly to bear in mind Lenin's words that socialism will defeat capitalism on account of its higher productivity. All of us, especially those responsible for the management of our national economy from the centre to the grass-roots level, must pay greater attention to this work and to the recapitulation of our experience, while learning from the rich experience of the fraternal socialist countries. In the near future, we have to push forward the division of responsibilities in economic management, first of all, between the centre, on the one hand, and the provinces and cities, on the other, with a view to strictly enforcing the principle of democratic centralism together with the broadening of power and duties assigned to the regions, and the promotion of the abilities of the latter to push ahead their economic construction and development with the active help of the centre. The policy of division of responsibilities in economic management and that of boosting regional economies are both an urgent requirement of the resistance against U.S. aggression and a policy of fundamental and lasting significance which has an important impact on the whole development of the national economy and national construction in future.

Thus, while stepping up our resistance against U.S. aggression to bring it to complete victory, we think over, and prepare for the solution of, the problems of the future, great problems concerning socialism, our line and policies, long-term and short-term plans to develop the national economy, science and technology, to train a contingent of politically conscious and professionally able cadres, and to promote literature and arts, in short, problems we have to tackle in order to build a socialist life in our country.

Under the leadership of our Party, our people are determined to persistently carry on their revolutionary cause, to be the master of their life, of all their undertakings, big and small, in building a new life and a new man in Viet Nam. We will win thanks to our original creations which remain true to the noble ideal and the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, which conform to the conditions of our country and to our people's requirements, and which bring into full play the traditions and style of our people.

PART III

THE WHOLE WORLD SUPPORTS US

The Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has a very important international significance.

This world significance grows at the same pace as the resistance. It also represents a step forward in the world people's understanding of the war in Viet Nam. Today, it has become very broad and profound, and finds expression in a great variety

of forms. Each country, each people, each government, each organization, and even each individual has now seen the necessity to make clear its or his own stand and attitude concerning the Viet Nam war: which side to take, that of the aggressor or that of the victim of aggression, that of justice or that of injustice, that of the most reactionary and sinister forces in our times which can bring incalculable disasters to mankind or that of the Vietnamese people who are fighting for their sacred national rights and at the same time for the interests of all nations and of the whole of mankind? At present, this attitude, generally speaking, has been defined fairly clearly as shown in the declaration of the World Cultural Congress held in Havana in January, 1968: "The struggle of the Vietnamese is the vanguard banner, the focus and the highest peak of the revolutionary struggle conducted by the labouring people and the oppressed nations all over the world against U.S. imperialism."

The "Oppose U.S. aggression and support the Vietnamese people" international movement represents a very big defeat for the U.S. imperialists and a very great victory for the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the world. This is because the world people's understanding, as said above, is the premise of the international movement of opposition to U.S. aggression and of support for the Vietnamese people, a factor which is greatly contributing to the complete victory of our people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. More important still, it will certainly give rise to actions against U.S. imperialism in every part of the world which are sure to expand continually and take on more and more resolute and vigorous forms. This is the revolutionary struggle of our era which includes the revolutionary struggles

waged by various social strata and nations to solve the problems of our times, namely peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. A large-scale struggle in the world stirring hundreds of millions in a great number of countries and enlisting firm support from the socialist camp – the bulwark of the world revolution and world peace – is sure to advance towards victories which will pave the way for new developments in the history of mankind, in conformity with the essence of our times.

As has been said earlier, the international significance of our people's fight against U.S. aggression has gone through a process which parallels the process of the development of the war since 1954, particularly since 1965, the process of the continuous escalation of the U.S. imperialists' "special war" and "limited war", the process of the Vietnamese people's continuous resistance to, and repeated victories over the enemy through fierce fights.

It is the resolute fight of our people that has gradually exposed the nature of U.S. imperialism and uncovered its true colours as an aggressor and warmonger, a kind of new fascism even more dangerous and loathsome than Nazism formerly. It is also this resolute fight that has gradually revealed all the basic weaknesses and aggravated all the inherent contradictions of U.S. imperialism, enabling everyone to see more and more clearly that U.S. imperialism is but a clay-footed colossus. One has thus come to this conclusion: Against U.S. imperialism – the arch enemy of the world's peoples – it is necessary to wage an unflinching, resolute, unyielding, uncompromising struggle in all possible forms, including the highest one – armed struggle. Such a

struggle must of course be a long, hard one. But it will certainly be crowned with glorious victory.

U.S. imperialism, which in essence is U.S. State monopoly capitalism, has grown and thriven quickly through the two World Wars at the cost of the blood, tears and sweat of hundreds of millions of toiling people in many countries, including the American people. It is nurturing the mad ambition to bring the whole world under its sway. For this wild dream to come true, the U.S. imperialists have got ready all kinds of plans, among which one for all-out war and others for "flexible response". With the war of aggression in Viet Nam they want to prove that they are strong enough to crush the war of national liberation in this country, thereby to "deter" all other struggles for liberation in the world. But they have obviously failed. And the gravity of their defeats increases in proportion to the magnitude of their efforts, the ferocity and craftiness of their moves, and the size of their forces (military, economic, financial, etc.) deployed in this war. This failure marks an extremely important turning-point in the slide and decline of U.S. imperialism, of U.S. neo-colonialism.

In Viet Nam with only a little more than 300,000 square kilometres in area and a little more than 30 million people, has kept on the jump the U.S. imperialists who just a few years back were feared by many for their seemingly matchless power and inexhaustible wealth, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, when peoples in many other parts of the world - including Latin America and the United States itself with the Black people now

already up in revolt - stand up and fight against the U.S. imperialists, assaulting them from all sides, using all forms of struggle and all kinds of weapons, then U.S. imperialism and all reactionary forces colluding with it will surely go through endless crises and finally meet with their doom.

In carrying out its policy of intervention and aggression, U.S. imperialism makes no distinction as to national borders or nationalities. Therefore, the fight against U.S. imperialism conducted by the Vietnamese people and the peoples of other countries in the world must essentially embody the broad internationalist solidarity in keeping with the famous call by Marx and Lenin: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" The movement of the peoples in various countries to oppose U.S. imperialism and support Viet Nam has shaped up a very broad front. This is an international event of highly positive significance. The world people's front against U.S. imperialism and in favour of national liberation will certainly progress and follow the inexorable trend of our times.

There is a deep realization among our people that their fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is an integral part of the world people's revolution. Our successes are inseparable from the very great and valuable support and assistance given us by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. Nor can they be dissociated from the heartfelt and increasing sympathy and support shown us by the world working class, the communist and workers' parties and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all peace and democratic forces in the world, including progressive people in the United

States. Our people sincerely thank and will be forever grateful for this noble international support. The movement of the world's people in support of Viet Nam now unfolding everywhere under a great variety of forms, so fine and moving, is a manifestation of their solidarity with, admiration for, and confidence in our people. A far-reaching display of this international support was the setting up by famous social activists and prominent intellectuals in the world of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal[16] to judge the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Viet Nam – crime of aggression, war crime and crime against mankind.

In our resistance to U.S. aggression as well as in our revolution as a whole, now as in the past and the future, we always attach paramount importance to the consolidation and strengthening of the solidarity and friendship between our country and the other socialist countries. To resist U.S. aggression and save our country is our sacred cause and at the same time an unflinching, unyielding struggle to defend the gains of socialism in our country, thus doing our share in the defence of the socialist camp. It is the internationalist duty of our people. On the other hand, by supporting our people – fighters in the forefront of the struggle to defend the socialist camp, peace and national independence – the other socialist countries are discharging their internationalist obligation. We have always highly valued this particularly important support and aid because we have fully realized their usefulness, effectiveness and significance. We are very happy to know that standing side by side with us are more than

one thousand million people in the fraternal socialist countries. Together with us they are fighting victoriously against the U.S. aggressors.

We have attached paramount importance to the defence of the socialist camp, of each of its members, being conscious that the socialist camp is the greatest gain of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and labouring people. We warmly acclaim the brilliant successes recorded by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the building of communism and socialism, which contribute to increasing the might of the socialist camp and the defence of peace. We firmly support the determination of the Chinese people to recover Taiwan, an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. We firmly support the staunch struggle of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to frustrate all moves of the United States and the Pak Jung Hee clique to prepare for a new war, and her demand that the United States withdraw its troops from South Korea and let the Korean people settle themselves their own affairs and reunify their country. We firmly support the just struggle waged by the people and Government of the German Democratic Republic to resist the expansionist design of West German imperialism aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to build a happy life for themselves. We firmly support the cause of socialism in Cuba and the struggle conducted by the heroic Cuban people to foil all acts of provocation, blockade and aggression by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen.

For decades now U.S. imperialism has incessantly been stepping up its policy of intervention and aggression against the Indochinese countries. To counter this we have been constantly consolidating and developing the militant solidarity and the relations of neighbourliness and friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, with a view to defending their respective basic national rights against the common enemy – the U.S. imperialist aggressors – and helping guarantee the security and peace of the peoples in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

We resolutely support the just and certainly victorious struggle waged by the Khmer people under the clearsighted leadership of Samdech Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk to defend the Kingdom of Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, peace, neutrality and territorial integrity within its present borders.

We resolutely support the struggle of the Lao people aimed at ensuring the correct implementation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and warmly hail the Lao people's victories in thwarting the nibbling attacks by the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys and in safeguarding and consolidating the liberated areas.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam resolutely support the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national-liberation movement of the Black people in the United States, the struggle of the Arab countries against aggression by the Israeli reactionaries – a tool of U.S.

imperialism, – the struggle of the newly independent countries to consolidate their national independence and achieve prosperity, the struggle for democratic freedoms of the working class and people in the capitalist countries, and the struggle of the world's people against aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialism.

In this new period of our people's resistance war, we are holding higher than ever before the banner of international solidarity, striving ever harder to win sympathy, support and assistance from the fraternal countries and the whole of progressive mankind in our march toward complete victory and the noble goals of our people, thereby contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

In our resistance to U.S. aggression, our people have been using all forms of struggle – military, political and diplomatic – and all our capabilities to win the biggest possible successes for our cause of national liberation.

On the diplomatic as well as military and political fronts, we have been firmly holding the initiative and acting on the offensive. Relying on the justice of our cause, which is to preserve national independence and genuine peace, on the victories scored in military and political struggle in our country (chiefly in the South), on the great and powerful support from the socialist countries and the world's people, including progressive American people, we have gradually broadened our diplomatic action and step by step foiled the perfidious schemes of the U.S. imperialists, from the "unconditional

negotiation" swindle to the proposal of 15 sites for the preliminary talks. Our efforts have led to the current official conversations between the representative of the D.R.V.N. Government and the representative of the U.S. Government in Paris[1]. These conversations are aimed at ascertaining with the American side the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the whole of the D.R.V.N territory, thus adequately meeting the very legitimate and firm demand of our people and the world's people. Talks will then be held on other problems of common concern to the two sides. In Paris, comrade Minister Xuan Thuy, representative of our Government, firmly upholding our people's principled position, has severely condemned the aggressive policy and odious crimes of the U.S. imperialists against our country. The activity of our Government's representative at the Paris talks has enlisted warm support from broad public opinion in the world.

We have recorded important achievements on the diplomatic front because right at the beginning (April 1965) we have upheld the principled position of the D.R.V.N.

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1. Let us review the following steps in the diplomatic struggle of our people:
– The 4-points of the DRVN Government (April 8, 1965).
– The 5-point declaration of the South Viet Nam NFL (March 22, 1965).
– The January 28, 1967 statement of the DRVN Foreign Minister and his subsequent statements.
– President Ho Chi Minh's message of reply to U.S. President Johnson (February 15, 1967).
– The Political Programme of the South Viet Nam NFL made public on September 1, 1967. (This Political Programme outlines the whole range of NFL policies in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, as well as the basis for a political settlement in South Viet Nam).
– The April 3, 1968 statement of our Government following the March 31, 1968, speech of the U.S. President.
– The May 3, 1968 statement of our Foreign Ministry which has led to the Paris talks

Government on a political solution to the Viet Nam problem. That is the four points which are now well known to world public opinion and are resolutely supported by the people in various countries. It has also been clearly expounded in the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation which has been warmly welcomed by broad public opinion in the world.

By stressing the principled position of our people and Government and that of the N.F.L. we want to bring out the goals of struggle of our people in both North and South Viet Nam, namely the right to independence and sovereignty, the right to live in freedom on the whole territory of our country, without infringement by any foreign country. That right represents the highest principles of human society and international relations and practice, which every nation and people are duty-bound to recognize and respect. That right also epitomizes the principles which are embodied in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and which the U.S. Government's representative at the 1954 Geneva Conference undertook to respect.

Proceeding from the above principled position, we have energetically, wholly and categorically rejected the utterly preposterous allegations which still are being obdurately repeated by the U.S. ruling circles.

First and foremost, we hold it necessary to throw light on a historical fact, an evident, undeniable reality: the U.S. Government, from the other side of the Pacific, has brazenly conducted an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people in blatant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet

Nam , and has been unceasingly stepping up its aggressive war in our country, first in the South then, since August 1964, escalated it to the North in the form of a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country. The U.S. imperialists have brazenly brought war to our country. They are the war provocateur and aggressor who has perpetrated intolerable crimes against our people, crimes which will forever be condemned by mankind. They must be held fully responsible for all their acts of war. For their part, the people in South Viet Nam have from the outset stood up to fight back with the mettle and strength of the victor. When the U.S. aggressor expanded his war to the whole of Viet Nam, the entire Vietnamese people rose up against him with redoubled might and energy. Our people have never done any harm to the United States. What ha. given the American imperialists the right to overtly send troops from the other shore of the Pacific to attack our country? That is why our entire people, 31 million united as one man, are resolved to fight and defeat the enemy, and wherever the enemy is all the Vietnamese have the right to go and fight him. That is the sacred right to self-defence of our people, which has won deep sympathy and firm support from the world's people. It is necessary to underscore this fundamental point: the U.S. Government is the war provocateur and aggressor, thus thoroughly refuting the fantastic charge that "North Viet Nam commits aggression against South Viet Nam", and other cunning claims such as demand for "reciprocity", "mutual de-escalation", "concession from both sides". No! The United

States has provoked war and aggression, it must end its war and its aggression. The United States has escalated the conflict, it must de-escalate it. Decidedly, there is no question of paying any ransom to the pirates! Peace will immediately return if the U.S. Government ends the war of aggression against our country and withdraws U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people love peace but this must be a true peace with genuine independence and freedom. Such is our principled position. Such a position is as firm as the Truong Son[1].

Another utterly absurd contention of the U.S. ruling circles is what they call their "commitment" in South Viet Nam. What "commitment" is it, and to whom? Is it the "commitment" to Ngo Dinh Diem, the traitor who was later assassinated on orders from the U.S. ruling circles themselves? Or is it the "commitment" to other Vietnamese traitors? Is it the "commitment" that "the U.S. borders extend to the 17th parallel"? What value has such a commitment to a handful of traitors scorned and condemned by the whole Vietnamese people and progressive mankind? Can the farces staged by the aggressor and the traitors have any legal value? Everybody has seen through the dark design of the U.S. imperialists which is to perpetuate the partition of our country and turn South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and a military base of the United States. Here lies the origin of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war against our

1. Long mountain range running from North to South Viet Nam. (*Ed.*)

country. Here also lies the brazenness and dangerous character of the U.S. "commitment". That is why our people are resolved to spearhead our struggle at the crazy design of the U.S. imperialists to cling to South Viet Nam to the end. It is to achieve this design that the U.S. imperialists have done their best to foster their henchmen, the Saigon puppet rulers, a clique of traitors who, in the eyes of our people and the people of the world, are but a monster begotten by the U.S. colonialist war in South Viet Nam. The U.S. ruling circles are obdurately sticking to their so-called "commitment" to the Vietnamese traitors so as to evade their commitment at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam, which the people of Viet Nam and the world are demanding them to carry out, the commitment of the U.S. Government to respect the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people.

On all the fronts of struggle against U.S. aggression, we have upheld the above principled position since it reflects the will to fight and the invincible strength of our people. This position shining with justice has enjoyed strong and firm support from the peoples in the socialist countries and in the rest of the world, including progressive American people.

Its substance, as made clear in the four points of the D.R.V.N. Government and the Political Programme of the N.F.L., consists of the following very simple and clear points:

The U.S Government must end its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people; withdraw the troops of the United States and its satellites from South Viet Nam; stop permanently and unconditionally its bombing and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the D.R.V.N.; all affairs in South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves according to the Political Programme of the N.F.L.., without foreign interference; the reunification of Viet Nam must be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones through peaceful means, on a democratic basis and without foreign interference.

That is the goal of the persevering and indomitable struggle conducted by our people for many years now. This great struggle has recorded tremendous victories, and driven the enemy into a blind alley. However, the aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialists have not given up their design, but continue to intensify the war. Therefore, our entire people must persevere in their fight, fearless of sacrifices and hardships, and push it ahead so as to win big victories on all fronts. At the same time our people must ceaselessly increase their forces in all fields so as to be ready to cope with any eventualities and proceed towards complete victory.

With this end in view, we have, along with armed and political struggle, expanded our struggle on the diplomatic front with a principled position and a serious attitude. This position and attitude have been shown at the official conversations in Paris between the representative of the D.R.V.N. Government and the representative of the U.S. Government. That is also the responsible attitude of our people towards the people of all countries who, with their warm support and firm confidence,

are turning their thoughts towards our struggle, one that is full of profound international significance.

Though our people still have to persevere in their hard and complex struggle, we are more certain than ever of victory since we have, right at the beginning, seen the factors of victory, which have now become even more visible.

The most fundamental factor of victory is the correct and clearsighted leadership of our Party, a Marxist-Leninist Party. The Party's leadership is reflected in its line concerning the revolution and international relations and in its overall strategy and tactics. It is inspiring the Vietnamese people to rise up and carry out the revolution, to take their destiny into their own hands, bring into full play the revolutionary heroism of the masses, the ardent patriotism and the finest traditions of the nation, and to push people's war to a new height. It is also inspiring the people in the socialist countries and other countries in the world to unite with our people and endeavour to support them in defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our Party, the masses of our people, and the Vietnamese nation as a whole form a single monolithic bloc, united and one-minded in thoughts and in deeds, in the whole of our revolutionary cause. This is the firmest guarantee for all our victories in the past, at present and in future. The symbol of this splendid solidarity and unity of mind is President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our Party who has, together with the Party, led our people to stage the August Revolution

successfully, the founder of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam – the first worker-peasant State in our history, – who, together with the Party, led our people in our past resistance war to brilliant victory, and who is now, together with the Party, taking the present resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, from success to success till complete victory is won. For over 50 years now, the life and activities of President Ho Chi Minh have been closely bound up with the long and hard revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. They represent the unflagging and indomitable will of our entire people "rather to die than live in slavery" and to prize independence and freedom more than anything else. His life and activities uphold the thoughts and feelings of the revolutionary fighter and the resolve of the victor, namely "to remain loyal to the country and people, to fulfil any task, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy!" Working hard every day of his life, President Ho Chi Minh has taught us the fine qualities of Party and State cadres, namely "Public-mindedness and self-denial", "Industriousness, frugality, honesty and integrity", never to indulge in complacency over success nor lose heart in adversities, always unite with and assist one another, and wholeheartedly serve the people and the Fatherland. President Ho Chi Minh symbolizes the sacred sentiments of our people towards heroic South Viet Nam – the "Brass Wall" of the Fatherland, the "blood of Vietnamese blood", the "flesh of Vietnamese flesh". These sentiments represent the profound belief that our compatriots and fighters who are fighting very gloriously

in South Viet Nam will certainly win brilliant victory. President Ho Chi Minh symbolizes the proletarian internationalism of the Vietnamese people, their warm feelings towards the fraternal socialist countries, the working people and all oppressed nations in the world. He has devoted all his life to the revolutionary cause of our people and the world's people as a whole.

On the 78th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our Party and people, and to wish him good health and a long life, our people and fighters throughout the country pledge themselves to hold even higher the banner of struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, march forward with yet greater ardour, enthusiasm and confidence, determined to carry out his resounding appeal:

"Forward!

Complete victory will be ours!"

Excerpts from the Report to the Third National Assembly, 6th Session, June 1970

The struggle waged by our people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is gaining momentum and creating for us basic advantages of which we must take full advantage in order to defeat the American imperialists, liberate the South, defend the North and progress toward national reunification by peaceful means. In order to get a clear view of the situation and the direction in which it will necessarily evolve, i.e. certain defeat for the enemy and certain victory for us, let us look back on the great turning point of the war which is the general offensive and concerted uprisings in South Viet Nam starting in Spring 1968, a very big victory in all fields, a leap forward with the following results.

– In the South, the enemy had to admit the failure of the two-prong strategic counter-offensive worked out by General Westmoreland, admit his failure in seeking a military victory, and hence to switch to a new strategy, the "clear-and-hold" strategy, a defensive and passive strategy.

– In the North, the U.S. imperialists had to admit the undeniable failure of their war of destruction against the D.R.V.N. and to stop unconditionally that war which had caused them heavy losses in many respects.

– Because of the critical situation brought about by its failures on the Viet Nam battlefield, in the South as well as in the North, the U.S. government had to accept 4-party talks in Paris.

– These repeated victories, especially those on the South Viet Nam battlefield, have led to the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of the Republic of South Viet Nam (RSVN)[17], a political event of tremendous significance for the fight of our people in the South, an event which has had wide repercussions in the world.

– Due to his evident failures in the war of aggression in Viet Nam and the ever wider and stronger opposition from progressive people in the United States, President Johnson had to quit, the Democratic Party was defeated in the presidential elections, and Richard Nixon won the race behind the slogan of "bringing peace to the United States"! This, however, was a big bluff: R. Nixon spoke of peace to cover up his policy of continuing and stepping up the war of aggression in South Viet Nam. That policy has been given deceptive names like "de-Americanization of the war" or "Vietnamization of the war". Essentially, that policy on the one hand reflects the losing, weak and declining posture of the U.S. imperialists in the war, and on the other hand, reflects the extremely obdurate and reactionary nature of the U.S. imperialists who are attempting to save the situation by every means and carry out their Machiavellian manoeuvre.

We must denounce to our people and the world's peoples this perfidious manoeuvre of the enemy who scheme to hold on to the South of our country at all costs, and are nurturing the crazy hope of turning South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the U.S. and perpetuating the partition of our country. South Viet Nam is considered a very important link in U.S. strategy in South-East Asia, politically, militarily as well as economically. The U.S. imperialists hope to avert a failure in their global strategy by sticking to South Viet Nam.

The so-called "Vietnamization of the war" cannot cover-up their dark and stupid designs. Instead, it exposes them even more clearly.

1. As far as withdrawal of troops from South Viet Nam is concerned the U.S. theme of conditional withdrawal and the slow and piecemeal withdrawal effected by Nixon proves that the U.S. wants to occupy South Viet Nam for a long time, and use U.S. troops as a prop to continue its war of aggression.

2. The U.S. is feverishly beefing up the puppet army, bolstering the Thieu-Ky-Khiem puppet administration and lavishing aid on the latter in many fields to serve not only immediate but also long-term aims, in the hope of using that clique as an effective tool for the realization of the above design.

3. Both the U.S. and puppets though suffering repeated setbacks, are doing their best to carry out their "pacification" program by more and more cruel and savage methods.

Since the time of the Diem-Nhu rule, the American imperialists have been well aware that they are very weak because they have not won the hearts and minds of our people. Their aggressive war and the heinous crimes they have perpetrated in the "pacification" raids have only stepped up the resistance of the South Vietnamese people against them.

Thus, "Vietnamization of the war" means prolongation of the war and, in some respects, stepping up the U.S. war of aggression in South Viet Nam.

Moreover, it is closely linked to the U.S. intensification of the" special war" in Laos, and recently, to the expansion of the U.S. war of aggression to Cambodia. The March 18, 1970 coup d'Etat in Cambodia [18] staged against Head of State Norodom Sihanouk to bring the henchmen of the U.S. to power, and then the massive dispatch of U.S. troops to Cambodia along with the brazen and insolent statements of President Nixon further evidenced the U.S. scheme to prolong and expand the war to the whole of Indochina. Obviously, that is an expression of the wicked "Nixon doctrine" which is posing a new threat to the Asian countries. While sending troops brazenly to invade Cambodia, President Nixon also ordered the massive bombing of many places in Quang Binh and Nghe An provinces in the D.R.V.N.

Let the U.S. aggressors beware! Who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind! Storms of anger are descending upon them in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, in many other places in the world, and right in the United States. The governments

of many countries and the world's peoples have energetically protested against President Nixon's extremely insolent challenge. The world people's movement against the U.S. imperialists to support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Indochinese peoples will keep gaining in strength, depth and scope.

The crazy U.S. aggressors think that they can save their critical situation in South Viet Nam by prolonging and expanding the war. But they are only courting new and unsurmountable difficulties and heavier defeats. The U.S. aggression in Viet Nam is the longest war in the history of the United States; it has caused the heaviest material., political and moral losses, and provoked a crisis of unprecendented scale in the United States.

That is why in the U.S. even in political, economic and cultural circles, more and more people have drawn a correct conclusion from the critical situation of the Americans in Viet Nam and have demanded an end to the war and the repatriation of the American GIs.

To the policy of war expansion to the whole of Indochina, the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples have given a proper answer: the Summit Conference of the Indochinese People and its Joint Declaration of historic significance [19].

This is a good opportunity for the three peoples of Indochina to unite, fight and win together. At the same time, that militant solidarity will help the peoples of the three neighbourly and fraternal countries to understand one another better, co-operate with and assist one another in a more and

more effective way both at present and in the future in the building of their new life, each according to its own way.

The enemy will cause to the peoples of the three countries new difficulties, they will seek every means to divide us. But in so doing they will only create more favourable conditions for the peoples of the three Indochinese countries to increase their solidarity and fighting strength, enhance the solidarity and combativeness of the people in each country, intensify the patriotic struggle, the people's war and revolutionary movement of millions everywhere in our country.

Contrary to his desire, the enemy has created for the peoples of the three Indochinese countries favourable conditions to develop steedily and all-sidedly their liberation fight both qualitatively and quantitatively. The brazen acts of aggression of the U.S. in Cambodia also constitute an insolent challenge to the world's peoples. The latter have given and will give the imperialists appropriate answers. The U.S. imperialists themselves have revealed their true features and consequently the world's people are resolutely opposing them and supporting the people of the three Indochinese countries.

In short, we are now witnessing a new and very favourable development of the situation in Viet Nam, Indochina, Asia and the world. We must know how to develop these advantages, overcome difficulties and push ahead the struggle in our country, in Indochina and the world, including the United States. At the same time, we must be on the alert against the new adventurous manoeuvres and acts of the U.S. imperialists, their allies, satellites and henchmen, and stand ready to fight and foil these

manoeuvres and acts. Such a resolute, persistent and thorough struggle will certainly lead the Vietnamese people, the Cambodian people and the Lao people, the peoples of all countries in the world, including the American people, to still greater victories.

Here a question must be answered: Public opinion in the United States and the world at large is severely condemning President Nixon's decision to carry out a massive invasion of Cambodia, considering it a senseless adventure. Why then has Nixon "jumped" into such a dangerous place?

That is because Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization" is meeting with heavy failure in South Viet Nam and is doomed to total failure.

Let us look back on the fight of our people in the South since Nixon took office, that is since early 1969.

Developing the great victories of the Mau Than (1968) Spring, in 1969 the South Vietnamese people's liberation armed forces and people firmly maintained and developed their strategic offensive position, repeatedly dealt the enemy heavy blows, inflicting heavy losses on the American, puppet and satellite troops both in men and war materials.

Soon after Nixon moved into the White House, the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces struck hard blows at U.S. troops on all battlefields. Then, through powerful waves of attacks as well as regular operations in 1969, the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces put out of action large numbers of American troops, heavily decimated many crack units of the U.S. such as the Air Mobile Cavalry Division, the

American Division, the 4th Infantry Division. The recent attacks have inflicted additional losses on the U.S. troops. These were heavy blows that shattered all efforts aimed at reducing American casualties in the hope of soothing the American people's opposition to the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

The South Viet Nam armed forces and people have also aimed hard blows at the puppet army which is becoming the main tool for the "Vietnamization of the war". A great number of puppet troops have been put out of action, and even regiment or division-size units of the puppet army have not escaped the tragic fate of the crack units of the U.S. expeditionary corps. Since early 1970, over a hundred thousand more puppet troops have been put out of action. This is a heavy blow dealt at the attempts of the imperialists to consolidate and enlarge the puppet army in order to "change the colour of the skin of the corpses" and prolong the war of aggression in South Viet Nam.

Along with wiping out American and puppet forces, the people's armed forces in the South have struck hard at their logistic bases and war means, which are considered magic props for their sinking morale. The quantity of war means, aircraft, tanks, artillery pieces, warships and combat launches destroyed and damaged in 1969 surpassed and, in some cases, doubled the figures of 1968.

It is to be noted that these victories were recorded at a time when the enemy had switched from an offensive strategy to a defensive strategy, were feverishly setting up defence perimetres around the cities and towns, military bases and important communication lines, in other words, when they

had solidly "dug in" amidst thick defensive systems with intensive support from their artillery and air forces, including B.52s.

It is precisely when the enemy had changed his strategy and tactics, that the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces developed the strength of people's war, using their heroism, resourcefulness and creativeness to solve a series of strategic and tactical problems and put up a most effective fight. They have applied many flexible tactics, especially by opposing small crack units to the enemy everywhere, thus achieving very high combat efficiency with a very low casualty rate. Quickly adapting themselves to the new tactics of the enemy, the people's liberation armed forces have solved the problem of organization of forces and worked out the right tactics to destroy the enemy.

Fighting in such an intelligent manner, the people's liberation armed forces have become ever stronger and won ever more victories, and together with the entire people have step by step foiled Nixon's "Vietnamization of the war" program.

Along with wiping out the manpower and war means of the enemy, the people and liberation armed forces in the South have endeavoured to smash their program for the "pacification of the rural areas". The enemy consider "pacification" as the main strategic measure for "Vietnamization of the war" to serve both their political and military requirements Therefore they have feverishly carried out "pacification" by extremely cruel measures. Demagogy and deceit having brought them no result, the U.S. aggressors and their puppets have sent aircraft and

artillery to attack fiercely. They sprayed toxic chemicals on a large scale, and sent bulldozers to level vast areas and herd the people into concentration camps.

Our people in the South, roused by these barbarous acts of the enemy, have struggled in many ways and have checked the "pacification" attempts by the enemy in many places In other places they have blotted out the fragile results the enemy had achieved through cruel means. The Western press itself has predicted that only a night of attack by the "Viet Cong" will sweep away all the gains of the "pacification program". That prediction has come true on many vast battlefields due to the persevering struggle of the South Vietnamese people and liberation armed forces.

For more than a year now the enemy has wrestled fiercely with us, without being able to extricate himself from his defensive and losing posture.

The plight of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam is worsening American troops there have seen more and more clearly that their lives are being staked on Nixon's desperate chess game. Cases of insubordination, malingering, refusal of tasks, signing of collective anti-war petitions, readiness to face trial and prison rather than go and fight, have occurred in many units and will surely multiply.

The situation in the puppet army is still worse. Attempts by the puppet administration to rally reactionary forces so as to "widen its political basis" are going bankrupt. Its ranks have split and dissension is rife The puppet army's morale is sinking. Desertions are common occurrences and cases of

insubordination and refusal to undertake military operations have increased even in fairly big units. Puppet soldiers in many places sympathize with the masses. In many places they have joined in the people's struggle or turned their guns against cruel officers who repressed the people. The economy and finances of the puppet regime have declined seriously, inflation has developed and prices sky-rocketed.

Meanwhile, the struggle of the townspeople in the South has surged ahead in more and more vigorous forms. The struggles for improved living conditions and for democracy waged by people of all strata have developed. Worker's strikes have repeatedly broken out, at times drawing tens of thousands of participants. For several months now, 60,000 students have been waging vigorous struggles, finally launching a general school strike to protest against the repression of students by the puppet administration and the latter's collusion with the Cambodian reactionaries to massacre Vietnamese residents.

Since the birth of the Alliance of Vietnamese National, Democratic and Peace Forces, the tendency for peace and neutrality has increased among bourgeois and intellectual circles who oppose the Saigon puppet administration. All these struggles are now merging into a big tumultuous tide.

The Thieu – Ky – Khiem regime has become rotten, powerless and utterly unpopular. It is moving in a vicious circle: the more it relies on the U.S., oppresses and exploits the people, and tightens its dictatorial rule in order to survive, the more vigorously it is opposed. But to survive, it has to rely even more on the U.S. and to be even more dictatorial. That vicious circle will get narrower and narrower and will certainly bring them to collapse.

Contrary to the gloomy picture in the enemy-occupied areas, the situation in the liberated areas has shown the victorious posture and growing strength of the South Vietnamese people. In these areas, revolutionary power at various levels has been set up and has developed gradually into a system encouraging and organizing the people to fight and produce, to defend the liberated areas and supply the front. Though subjected to fierce attacks by the enemy, the liberated areas have been more and more consolidated and have developed all their potential to defeat the aggressors.

Together with the people in the liberated areas, our countrymen in contested and enemy-controlled areas have always turned their thoughts to the National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam, eagerly taken part in and supported the resistance war in every way.

The resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation of our people as well as that of the Cambodian and Lao peoples, has proved that so long as the U.S. imperialists stubbornly escalate the war, they will sustain ever heavier defeats.

Defeated in their "special war" in South Viet Nam, they escalated to the "limited war" and launched a war of destruction against the North. But they were defeated at the very time when they brought that war of destruction to a climax.

They have intensified the "special war" in Laos with a view to nibbling at the free zone and weakening the Lao revolutionary forces, threatening North Viet Nam and bolstering up their scheme of "Vietnamization of the war" in South Viet Nam. But

their designs have been frustrated by the resounding victories of the Lao people in the Plain of Jars – Xieng Khoang area

At present, they are expanding the war to Cambodia with the twofold aim of drawing Cambodia into the U.S. orbit and isolating the revolution in South Viet Nam. But the inevitable outcome will be the defeat on the U.S. imperialists in face of the united struggle of the peoples to the three Indochinese countries.

Carrying into effect President Ho Chi Minh's last wishes, our entire army and people are resolved to persevere in and step up their resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, till complete victory. The South Vietnamese people are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships while fighting and building their forces with a view to smashing the "Vietnamization of the war" plan of the U.S. imperialists.

We firmly believe that the brotherly Khmer people, united in the National United Front of Kampuchea and fighting under the national salvation banner of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, will develop the current high tide of armed struggle and uprising of the masses, and, on the strength of the victories recorded, march forward to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, topple the Lon Nol – Sirik Matak reactionaries and win back sovereignty, independence and neutrality.

We firmly believe that the brotherly Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince

Souphanouvong, will firmly consolidate and vigorously develop the victories won, and defeat the "special war" of the U.S. imperialists in Laos.

The U.S. imperialists are doomed to failure. The three peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, with the strength of their militant solidarity, will certainly obtain complete victory.

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The protracted, arduous but certainly victorious struggle of our people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors has shown ever more clearly its epochal character, and has had ever greater and deeper effects on the world situation.

To understand our struggle, we must place it in its historical and international context. It is unfolding in the era of the weakening and collapse of U.S.-led imperialism, the era of unceasing development, offensive and victory of the revolutionary struggles waged by the people of various countries, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It is an objective truth, and an inevitable trend bearing the character of a law governing human history. Our strength, our faith, for an important part stem from this. It is also due to this that in this struggle the militant solidarity between us and the peoples of the world has developed ever more strongly, becoming a factor for the victory of our people and a stimulus for the struggle conducted by the peoples of various countries against imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism.

To fight and defeat the U.S. imperialists through a long, arduous and fierce struggle is a contribution of great and profound significance and effect made by our people to the world's peoples. Year after year, from one sphere to another, from the Viet Nam battlefield to the U.S., and from the U.S. to other places in the world, our people's dauntless struggle has gradually laid bare what may be considered as the inborn contradictions of U.S. imperialism, its fundamental weak points and irretrievable decline.

For this so-called "limited war", the U.S. has mobilized a huge part of its military forces and, at the same time, dragged in a number of its satellites. But what results has it obtained? It has met with a resistance with miraculous strength that has foiled all its frantic efforts.

At present, our people and the majority of the world's peoples have clearly seen that the more the U.S. imperialists fight on, the heavier their defeats and the weaker they become, while the more we fight on the bigger our victories and the stronger we grow. The final result of the struggle is that our people will completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. How can this extraordinary process take place at a time when the U.S. imperialists possess military and economic potentials which some people believe unlimited, while our nation has a total population of only over 30 million people and a total area of over 300,000 square kilometres, with the southern part of our country accounting for only half of those figures? That is because the U.S. imperialists have waged a war of aggression against a valiant people, against a socialist country, in the era of the collapse of imperialism, the era of victory of the world's peoples' revolutionary cause.

Let us compare the previous colonial wars unleashed by Britain and France and some other European countries with the present colonial war conducted by the U.S. imperialists. How many troops, how much money and time did it take the British, French and other land-grabbers to conquer almost the whole world at that time? There is a very big difference in comparison with the present piratical war of the U.S. imperialists! It can be said that the period we refer to was the hey-day of colonialism. As for the present time, it is the era in which the peoples have become masters of their destiny, the era of decline and collapse of imperialism, including U.S. imperialism. Following World War I and particularly World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the international arena with a mad ambition of world domination. But, at about the same time the socialist camp took shape and developed, the national liberation movement forged ahead and the other imperialists were knocked down one after another. All these facts marked the emergence of the new era.

Thus, the fortune of U.S. imperialism which has just risen has quickly tumbled and its days are numbered. The laws governing history are like the laws governing nature, and those who oppose them cannot avoid retribution!

Due to the failure of the U.S. imperialists in their war of aggression against Viet Nam, the U.S. has gradually been driven into an ever more serious crisis. Since Nixon took office, that crisis has rapidly reached an unprecedented peak for many years, and has taken place in all fields – political, economic, financial, social – with repercussions on the whole life of the American people. The ruling circles in the White House and the Pentagon

have penetrated ever farther into the tunnel with no end in sight, sending tens of thousands of American youths to Viet Nam to die uselessly, and causing incalculable losses to the American people. U.S. losses on the Viet Nam battlefield, in the U.S., and elsewhere, have multiplied as time passed.

The inner contradictions among the U.S. ruling circles about their home and foreign affairs, especially the Viet Nam problem, have become acute. The U.S. economic situation is deteriorating. Inflation, more serious than in 1968, has become the gravest and longest since World War II. Budgets are meeting with difficulties, and taxes and public debts have reached the highest figures ever known in U.S. history. Nixon is under strong pressure for reduction of taxes and national defence expenditures and increase of welfare spending.

The danger of stagnation and crisis is threatening the U.S. economy, the value of stocks has dropped very quickly, the trade balance and the balance of payments of the U.S. have become the worst for a quarter century. In U.S. society, crimes have multiplied, poverty has become more serious, and living conditions in the cities pose more and more urgent problems.

The mid-May issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur* quotes a Western correspondent who wrote that "Vietnamese guerillas in rubber sandals have achieved the extraordinary feat of breaking the U.S. economy, the most powerful in the world."

The U.S. no longer holds absolute supremacy in the imperialist camp; instead, it is meeting with ever stronger

rivalry. The tendency to independence and neutrality keeps developing in countries that are allies and satellites of the U.S., weakening or even paralysing Western military and political alliances, and downgrading the U.S. position in the world. Meanwhile, the national liberation movement and the struggle for consolidation of national independence have been forging ahead, dealing hard blows at imperialism and old and new colonialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

In face of such failures and predicaments, the U.S. ruling circles now resort to new allegations and tricks such as the "Nixon doctrine" and the "new strategy for peace" to serve their counter-revolutionary global strategy.

This fact marks a deep change in the balance of forces in the world in favour of the revolution. It explodes the fiction of the U.S. imperialists' unlimited potential and at the same time shows the obduracy and perfidy of the U.S. imperialists who still refuse to renounce their role of international gendarme and their neo-colonialism, and to give up their ambition of world domination.

As known to all, applying Nixon's doctrine of "making Asians fight Asians", "making Indochinese fight Indochinese", along with dragging on their war of aggression in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists have actively intensified their "special war" in Laos, openly invaded Cambodia and brazenly extended the war to the whole of Indochina, committing extremely odious crimes against the Indochinese peoples, seriously menacing peace in South-East Asia and the world.

While sending troops to Cambodia, U.S. President Nixon pleaded for this aggressive action by repeating his stale allegations about "protecting the GIs' lives" and bringing an "early end to the war". These are absurd contentions that make light of public opinion in the U.S. and the world. Johnson once made such claims, and failed. Now Nixon is harping on these allegations in an even more brazen and insolent manner, in an attempt to fool the public about the U.S. aggression in Cambodia and war expansion all over Indochina.

At the Paris Conference, the delegation of the D.R.V.N. Government has fully supported the 10-point overall solution[20] advanced by the South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, of which the two fundamental points are: the U.S. must withdraw totally and unconditionally all U.S. troops and troops of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Viet Nam, and free and democratic general elections in South Viet Nam should be organized by a broad provisional coalition government.

The 10-point overall solution has become a programme of action for the world people's movement in support of Viet Nam, against U.S. aggression, which demands that the U.S. withdraw totally and unconditionally all U.S. troops and troops of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Viet Nam and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own internal affairs. But because the Nixon administration is prolonging and expanding the war of aggression, and, at the same time, downgrading and scheming to sabotage the Paris Conference; this conference, after nearly 70 sessions, is still in an impasse.

The criminal acts of aggression and the obstinate and insolent attitude of the U.S. imperialists have been strongly condemned by the world's peoples, including the American people. The peoples and governments of the socialist countries, peace and justice-loving countries, and international organizations, have in many ways expressed their deep indignation and demanded that the U.S. stop its aggression against the Indochinese countries, and immediately pull all U.S. troops out of Indochina.

Even the principal allies of the U.S. do not agree with the military adventure of the Nixon administration.

The extension of the war in Indochina has brought about strong reaction from members of the U.S. Congress and administration. A widespread protest movement without precedent in the history of the U.S. is sweeping that country from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, involving all strata of the American people – the youth and students of various racial backgrounds, intellectuals, trade-union and political organizations and American citizens residing abroad. Only more than one year after the installation of the Nixon administration, the American people have launched repeated movements shaking the country, demanding rapid withdrawal of all American soldiers and a deadline for this withdrawal; this was shown in the strong opposition of the American people against the barbarous crimes of the U.S. in South Viet Nam typified by the Son My massacre[21], against the acceleration of the "special war" in Laos and at present against the aggression of Cambodia and the air raids against North Viet Nam. These repeated actions show that the

American people have seen the true face of the Nixon administration and have resolutely opposed the Viet Nam war to defend the legitimate interests of the U.S.

In this struggle we are highly elated by the warm support of the socialist countries and of the American and world's people. Ours is a revolutionary era, one of struggle against U.S. imperialism. Our fight against the U.S. for national salvation has brought out the significance of that struggle, its seething character, and its invincible trend. Nothing can be more typical of it than the earth-shaking confrontation between the U.S. policy of aggression and the national liberation struggle waged by our people. Here the enemy has shown all his wicked and cruel feature, his reactionary nature, his dark and ugly designs, while our people have fought with all their heart and soul and mobilized their highest spiritual values. There is no more convincing illustration of this truth of the time: a nation that fights perseveringly according to a correct line will surely defeat an aggressor army, be it the most powerful in history. This war will help the world's people realize how dangerous the U.S. imperialists are to all nations. Relating this experience to their interests, either short or long-term, they will see this danger more clearly and be more eager to fight the U.S. imperialists. The support given by the world's people to Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos has gradually become a struggle in their own countries against U.S. imperialism. In all countries in the world, including the U.S., people in all fields of activity – political, social, legal, religious, cultural, artistic, scientific and technical – have realized more and more clearly that the war waged by the U.S. imperialists in Viet Nam and Indochina directly

threatens what is dear to them and brazenly violates the interests and life of everyone. That is why, actively combining their action the world's people form a broad front of support to Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos to fight the American aggressors. The defeat of the imperialist chieftains in the most barbarous colonial war in history leads to this consequence: the whole of mankind stand up against them and will certainly beat them. This is the international significance and impact of our nation's struggle.

Excerpts from the Report to the 4th National Assembly, 2nd Session, March 27, 1972

The war waged by the Vietnamese people against the U.S has reached a most favourable stage containing factors that will help bring about big victories. This is a long and arduous war against a most barbarous aggressive war by the U.S. aimed at turning South Viet Nam into a neo-colony and military base and perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam.

This undaunted struggle in which we have always held the initiative has foiled the military and political schemes of the enemy who was believed at the outset by many people to be invincible. Reviewing our victories and the enemy's defeats, we can clearly see the strategy of the imperialists.

At first they launched a "special war", mainly relying on the puppet forces, but they were defeated. Then, in an attempt to gain a big military victory, they mobilized huge forces of the U.S. and the forces of many satellite countries and attacked both the South and the North of our country.

This was not a "limited war" but a big war of the U.S which, however, ended in yet heavier defeat. Forced to disengage themselves step by step from a war that was far too costly to them in lives and wealth, but still trying to intensify their aggressive war, they now again rely on their stooges,

seeking to increase to the highest degree the capabilities of the puppet army and administration, stepping up the so-called "Vietnamization" of the war, at the same time expanding the war to Cambodia and Laos.

Nevertheless, they are unable to save the situation At present, the failure of the "Vietnamization" of the war and of the Nixon doctrine have become crystal clear, and it is certain that the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid complete defeat. This is a law of the war.

The aggression being conducted by the U.S. imperialists is an unjust and criminal war which has met not only with stiff resistance from our people but also with increasingly vigorous protests from the world's people and the American people. On the other hand, our people's resistance war is a just one, a war to liberate the South and defend our homeland, a multiform people's war, a sacred fight for every Vietnamese. It is a fight with a deep and far-reaching international significance, a fight of our time, that enjoys the wholehearted approval and support of all progressive mankind. The unfolding of such a war shows developments in opposite directions for us and for the enemy. We win as he loses, we get stronger as he becomes weaker, with as a result a change in the balance of forces that is more and more favourable to us and unfavourable to the enemy. This is an irreversible process, for all his frenzied efforts. The logical outcome will be that in the end the enemy will be defeated and we will win. Whatever ways and means the enemy may resort to, he cannot avoid his doom and cannot escape from punishment by our people! That inevitable outcome will be the complete defeat

of the U.S. imperialists' basic scheme to turn the South of our country into a U.S. neo-colony and military base and to prolong the partition of Viet Nam. The complete triumph of our people will mean the liberation of the South: we will sweep away all the aggressors, shatter the puppet army and administration, firmly defend the socialist North – the inviolable outpost of the socialist camp in South East Asia – and proceed to the peaceful reunification of our beloved homeland.

As we have grasped and applied the general law of the war to our fight, we have grasped and applied this law to every stage of our struggle. We have learnt to know ever better both the enemy and ourselves in order to defeat him in each stage of the war; we have grown in strength to win ever greater victories; and will certainly win complete victory. We shall have proved this truth of our time: the U.S. imperialists are the arch enemy of the world's people; we must fight them and they can be thoroughly beaten.

To review the development of the war in such a way is to assess the present situation with the eyes of a victor.

What characterizes the overall situation at present is that we are winning while the enemy is being defeated; we are growing stronger and the enemy weaker; we have many advantages while the enemy is floundering in a maze of difficulties; our position is improving and the enemy's position is worsening.

Thus we have greater possibilities to hold the initiative, attack the enemy and win ever bigger victories. These are advantages for us which should be realized by all the

Vietnamese people in order to carry into effect President Ho Chi Minh's testament and the will of the nation.

We must be vigilant and be on the lookout for all fresh schemes of the imperialists both in the North and in the South. The greater defeats they suffer, the more barbarous and perfidious they will become. But diamond cut diamond. In our revolutionary war, we are possessed of rich experience, great fighting power and creative talent ; certainly we will fight on until the enemy suffers an irremediable defeat.

This most favourable situation impels forward the revolutionary trend of the South Viet Nam people, develops their resistance force and their resolve to fight the Americans, while it weakens the military and political forces of the enemy. Clearly they are facing a deep crisis which splits their ranks, sharpens their inner contradictions and visibly affects their morale. Obviously they face an irremediable defeat; they know it and in many ways behave like a loser. This is a favourable occasion for our fellow-countrymen and soldiers to strengthen their forces to attack the enemy, and to hammer away at his weak points in order to knock him down.

In the military sphere, the big battles on Highway 9[22] and those following up were a landmark in those developments. Here the most seasoned puppet troops with the massive support of U.S. forces were shattered and sustained heavy losses, and their morale has been sagging. This is a setback of deep strategic significance for the "Vietnamization" plan in the military field. Meanwhile, the liberation armed forces are

growing up steadily in numbers, quality and spirit, in all the three kinds or forces (regulars, regionals, and militia-guerillas – *Ed.)* and on all the battlefronts from the Tri-Thien area to Cape Ca Mau.

In the political field, fierce struggle has been unfolding, deeply reflecting the development of the overall situation, especially our big victories on Highway 9. To resist and smash the "pacification" plan – the basis of "Vietnamization" of the war – means opposing and destroying the coercive system, the political and military system of the enemy in the countryside, carrying out destruction work from inside, in coordination with attacks from outside, thereby disintegrating their repressive machine piecemeal, establishing the people's control, setting up organizations of the National Front for Liberation and of the revolutionary power, building and consolidating firm bases for our resistance war now on the upswing.

In the cities, which are very sensitive to the development of the situation, the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration has shown ever more clearly its traitorous and anti - popular nature as an utterly odious tool of the U.S. aggressive war now going on under the cloak of "Vietnamization" of the war. Here, the movement is deeply rooted among the labouring people, the youth and students, at the same time it is developing widely among the various strata of the people, and in political and religious organizations. Here, right in the enemy's areas, the Vietnamese people have seen still more clearly the unpardonable crimes perpetrated by the U.S.

aggressors and the Nguyen Van Thieu clique with the aim of exterminating and enslaving our nation. Any Vietnamese with a conscience cannot help being deeply shocked by the enemy's crimes against our nation and our country, crimes which "neither Heaven nor Earth will condone". Proceeding from this appraisal, every Vietnamese is now conscious of his obligation to join in the struggle. The new policies of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam toward members of the puppet army and administration have helped the political struggle develop widely and vigorously in the cities of South Viet Nam.

In a word, deep-going revolutionary changes are taking place in the South, which are very favourable to our struggle against the Americans, for national salvation.

In the diplomatic field, we have asserted our people's positive attitude toward the Paris talks on the basis of the 7-point solution[23] set forth by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the 9 points of the Government of the D.R.V.N., with the recent clarification of the two key points known to everyone. We are overjoyed at the resounding approval and support of the world's peoples for the 7-point solution which is considered by world public opinion as the correct basis on which to settle the Viet Nam problem. We strongly condemn the Nixon administration for having unilaterally made public the private talks between the U.S. and the D.R.V.N. and brazenly suspended sine die the public talks at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, blocking the negotiations between the U.S. and the

D.R.V.N in Paris. This is another proof that U.S. President Nixon is going ahead with his policy of "Vietnamization of the war" and continuing the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

We flatly reject the so-called "8-point plan for peace" set forth by the U.S. President, Richard Nixon: this is a trick designed to cover up the U.S. aggressive war against South Viet Nam and other countries in Indochina. The essence of that plan is none other than the scheme to establish U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. But the enemy surely can deceive nobody! So long as the U.S. imperialists carry on their aggressive war in the South of our country and encroach upon the D.R.V.N., the Vietnamese people will keep on fighting and will fight ever harder in order to achieve their fundamental national rights. The U.S. government must stop at once its aggressive war, stop at once all its war acts against both zones of our country in whatever form and from anywhere; the U.S. government must withdraw totally and unconditionally the U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam; dismantle all U.S. military bases, cease its "Vietnamization" of the war, a form of aggressive war, and cease all its support and commitments to the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime, a tool of its aggressive war. Only in this way can the South Vietnamese people enjoy a true right to self-determination and can there be genuine peace. This is the main demand in the 7-point solution, an overall solution, an indivisible whole. These also are the fundamental provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam in accordance with the present situation in South Viet Nam.

Now as in the past, the U.S. aggressors' favourite argument is this: "In negotiation each side must go half-way, the seven points must be conciliated with the eight points," and so on. This is the logic of gangsters. Here clear distinction must be made between justice and injustice, between right and wrong, and no ambiguity can be tolerated. Neither can there be any compromise contrary to the basic rights of our Vietnamese nation, contrary to the ethics generally accepted by all nations in the world.

We must elicit even stronger international support for our just cause in the diplomatic field.

Our 7-point solution is backed by the strength of a great and glorious struggle, a struggle that is bound to triumph.

With their monolithic unity and their position as a victor, our people are resolved to fight the Americans on three fronts – military, political, diplomatic – till total victory, thus acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's testament and showing the iron determination of our people. The South like the rest of Viet Nam belongs to the Vietnamese people. No brutal force, no perfidious manoeuvres can prevent us from advancing towards the ultimate goal of this struggle. We know the American imperialists well, we must be vigilant. But we will never be intimidated. As we have gone through great difficulties and hardships to fight and defeat them, we are resolved to make still greater sacrifices to deal still harder blows at them in order to win even more glorious victories.

Led by the South Viet Nam N.F.L. headed by President Nguyen Huu Tho and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam headed by President Huynh Tan Phat, our people in the South are overcoming all difficulties and hardships, and fighting stubbornly to win total victory. The wonderful feats-of-arms of our soldiers and people in the South - those most heroic and intelligent people who are writing glorious pages in the history of our time – have raised the prestige and influence of the South Viet Nam N.F.L. and P.R.G. in the world. The world's people have recognized N.F.L. and P.R.G. as the genuine representatives of the South Vietnamese people, who under their leadership are going from victory to victory and will certainly beat the American aggressors, thus making a great contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

Today, with infinite pride in the achievements of our countrymen in the South, the "Brass Wall of the Fatherland", with sentiments of fraternal love, the people in the socialist North pledge to fulfil the sacred duty of the great rear base toward the heroic front-line. This is the most important revolutionary task of all people in the D.R.V.N. President Ho Chi Minh said:" Our nation is one, Viet Nam is one; Rives may dry up, mountains may erode, but this truth will remain forever." All our people pledge to do their utmost to make this truth a reality.

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An advantage of paramount significance for the Vietnamese people in their resistance war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is their militant solidarity with the heroic Lao and Cambodian peoples on the Indochinese battlefields. The U.S. imperialists fancy that they can kill two birds with one stone by expanding and intensifying their aggressive war, carrying out the "Nixon doctrine" and U.S. neo-colonialism in all the Indochinese countries. But they have only brought about new favourable factors for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people and for the peoples of the two fraternal countries. In the fierce fight against the common enemy for their vital interests and for their future, our people stand side by side with the Lao and Cambodian peoples. Uniting closely with and supporting and assisting each other, and coordinating well our actions on all battlefields, we shall thereby win ever greater victories. This great militant solidarity has helped the peoples of the three countries deepen their mutual understanding, love and respect and learn more and more from one another, in the spirit of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference of April 1970.

For their part, the Vietnamese people and the D.R.V.N. government pledge themselves to continue to give firm support to the 5-point political solution[24] set forth on March 6, 1970, by the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong. This is the right basis for a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem. The U.S. government must stop its intervention and aggression, its "special war" in Laos, withdraw immediately, totally and unconditionally the

advisers, military personnel and war means of the U.S. and withdraw all Thai troops from Laos. As an immediate step, the U.S. government must stop totally and unconditionally the bombings all over Lao territory by the U.S. and the Saigon and Vientiane puppets and let the parties in Laos settle their internal affairs by themselves in accordance with the 1962 Geneva Agreements and the present situation in Laos.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the D.R.V.N. pledge themselves to continue their firm support to the five-point Proclamation[25] of March 23, 1970 of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk – the lawful, legitimate and permanent representative of the Cambodian State – and their firm support to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as Premier and Mr Khieu Samphon as Vice-Premier. The U.S. government must end its aggression and its policy of "Khmerization" of the war, withdraw immediately, totally and unconditionally the advisers and military personnel of the U.S. and its satellites and the Saigon and Bangkok armed forces from Cambodia, stop the shellings and bombings of Cambodian territory by the air, artillery and naval forces of the U.S. and the Saigon and Bangkok stooges. The U.S. must cease all its aid and support to the traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and Son Ngoc Thanh, stop all acts of war and provocation against Cambodia and let the Cambodian people settle their own affairs without any foreign interference.

The militant solidarity of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, which is daily and hourly developing

its great effect on the battlefields, has also clearly manifested itself in the friendly contacts between the leaders of the three peoples. We will always remember the fine visit to the D.R.V.N. by Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front, the beloved leader of the Lao people, who embodies the bright future of the Lao nation; we will remember the Joint Statement signed by the two sides on this occasion. Recently, we warmly welcomed Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the beloved Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Chairman of National United Front of Kampuchea. A passage in the Joint Statement which ended this fine visit reads: "How great the militant solidarity binding the three Indochinese peoples is! Never shall U.S. imperialism be able to shake that firm solidarity, just as it can never change or turn back the course of the majestic Mekong which will bring them, generation after generation, prosperity and happiness. United and of one mind, the fraternal peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will certainly win total victory."

Relying mainly on their own strength, developing to the utmost the militant solidarity of the three Indochinese peoples, and securing the ever-growing support and approval of the world's people, the Vietnamese people, like the Lao and Cambodian peoples, will certainly carry the day.

Speech at the Meeting Commemorating the 27th Founding Anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, September 1972

Today the Vietnamese people are celebrating the 27th anniversary of the triumph of the great August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at a time when our compatriots and fighters in both zones, North and South, are heroically forging ahead, more steadfast and valiant than ever, in the patriotic fight against U.S. aggression: the socialist North is frustrating and resolved to frustrate completely the U.S. air war of destruction and the U.S. coastal blockade of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, while the South is dashing forward on the impetus of its victory, determined to deal stunning blows at the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy and to continue winning still greater victories until complete victory is gained[26]. Abroad the world's people are unanimously and vigorously condemning the heinous and unpardonable crimes the U.S. aggressors are perpetrating in our country, and are all the more resolved to support the just and certainly victorious fight of our people.

In order judiciously to assess the situation and the task of our nation in the present patriotic resistance war to U.S. aggression, let us summarily review the evolution of the war from the beginning.

This is a war of aggression waged by the U S imperialists against the land and nation of Viet Nam with the aim of converting the southern part of our country into a new - type colony and military base of the U S , perpetuating the partition of our country, and, at the same time, menacing the socialist countries and the national liberation movement around the world. Precisely because we were aware from the beginning of the extremely dangerous designs of the U.S. imperialists, our people have been conducting, for more than a decade now, a protracted, hard, and certainly victorious war of resistance against the most cruel colonial war of our time.

Stress must be laid upon the significance and decisive impact of our people's fight which has been at the origin of the repeated failures of U.S. imperialism, the countless difficulties it has met in various domains: on the battlefield, in the United States, and everywhere in the world, the weakness of the most powerful imperialist country is obvious. This is an extremely great and deep change to the advantage of the world's people's revolutionary cause, as is known to everybody. We look upon these happenings as great victories of our people, of the Indochinese peoples, of the peoples of the socialist countries, of the world's people, including the American people.

We lay stress upon the significance, impact and the pride-worthy results of our people's fight in order to assess the correctness and clearsightedness of our Party's revolutionary line in political, military and external affairs, which embodies a genuinely internationalist spirit, a will of independence and

sovereignty, a spirit of staunchness and determination to fight until complete victory. We have constantly kept the initiative and maintained an offensive position on all fronts, military, political and diplomatic; we have constantly driven the enemy into the defensive and inflicted defeats on him. We have matured in the course of the fighting, we stand ready to forge ahead and overcome all hardships and sacrifices, and we will carry on and step up our fight until independence and freedom are regained for our nation.

It is because they have sustained repeated defeats at the hands of a valiant and tenacious adversary – the Vietnamese people – that the stubborn and warlike U.S. imperialists have not ceased to escalate the war, escalate their crimes and deceptions. But realities have eloquently proved that the more they escalate the war the bigger difficulties and the heavier setbacks they will meet with.

This is the natural result of the unjust war waged by U.S. imperialism, a war running counter to human ethics, to the trend of history and thus doomed to fail. On the other hand, ours is a just war waged for our own independence and freedom, and also for the independence of all nations, for peace and justice, for the noblest values of mankind, and that is why final victory will belong to our people and the world's people. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"! These words of President Ho Chi Minh are the truth, the motto, that inspires the struggle of our people as well as the struggle being waged in our epoch. It links our people's fight with that of the Lao and Cambodian peoples,

with the multiform struggle of the world's revolutionary people, of the world people's front against U.S. imperialism and for the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples. Our people's fight is the embodiment of pure Marxist-Leninist proletarian internationalism, of the cordial solidarity binding thousands of millions of people throughout the world who are energetically and perseveringly struggling to frustrate the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism with its most wicked and perfidious scheme: "Vietnamization" of the war, a test of the "Nixon doctrine" in Viet Nam which it seeks eventually to apply throughout the world.

As everybody may still remember, when the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war came into being, we said that it was born while the U.S. was in a losing position and so bore many insoluble contradictions, which spelled its doom. The evolution of this policy, especially the heavy setbacks it has met with since the beginning of this year, all the more shows that this assessment is wholly correct and well-grounded.

At present, the so-called "Vienamized" war has turned out to be a war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, the most atrocious and most horrible war of our time. That is why, the term "Vietnamization" which continues to be used, is but a big fraud.

The advocates of this policy figure that "Vietnamization" means to strengthen the forces of the Saigon puppet administration in all fields to enable them to replace the U.S. troops in conducting the war, and thus help the U.S.

imperialists achieve their objective of installing neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. From this point of view and this reasoning, the talks in Paris, for the U.S., are merely a manoeuvre serving the "Vietnamization" policy, a smokescreen to cover up the war and to deceive public opinion, chiefly in the United States.

But realities are contrary to the crazy expectations of the advocates of the "Vietnamization" strategy.

Right from the start (1969) and up to now, this strategy is aimed at increasingly intensifying and extending the war to the whole Indochinese peninsula, from the invasion of Cambodia (1970) to the large-scale operation in southern Laos (1971), then once again to the stepping up of the war of destruction against the D.R.V.N. and the blockade of its harbours (1972). This strategy called for very great efforts of the United States in many fields, and unprecedented air and naval forces have been mustered in a small battlefield. The most terrible weapons, techniques and war means have been used. With the so-called "Vietnamization" of the war, the U.S. aggressors have waged a war of extermination in Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries, a war involving genocide, biocide and ecocide. They have far outdone Hitler in war crimes. This has deeply shocked human conscience.

Throughout the past years, however, in South Viet Nam as in Cambodia, Laos and in North Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has been confronted with stiff resistance, a people's war which has steadily grown up and foiled all its military and political plans, from "special war" to "limited war", then "Vietnamization" of the war... As proof of this, the war situation has rapidly changed

in recent months after the extremely great victories won in all fields in South Viet Nam, as well as on other Indochinese battlefields. These are stunning blows at the "Vietnamization" of the war. Reeling and mad with anger, the White House and the Pentagon have massively brought U.S. air and naval forces into the picture, a very dangerous escalation of their aggressive war. But these frantic efforts will not save them from still greater setbacks!

In short, the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism under the signboard of "Vietnamization" has failed in the two following main points:

First, this extremely brutal and cruel war has not brought its authors the expected military results: it could not stamp out the ever-mounting resistance of our people, let alone dampen our fighting spirit, on the contrary, it has only deepened our hatred, increased our nation's strength and will to wage the patriotic resistance war to U.S. aggression, and provided us with rich and valuable experience to fight and win. At the same time, it elicited from the world's people's stronger sympathy, support and assistance to our just and certainly victorious fight. A very significant fact is that right in the United States the great majority of the people are protesting ever more vigorously against this "dirty" war. Thus, this point is being proved right in the United States in an eloquent way.

Secondly, U.S. imperialism has clearly failed in its efforts to strengthen the Saigon puppet forces as tools for U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. More than ever, the Nguyen

Van Thieu clique have suffered severe defeats and heavy losses and have been rapidly weakened in all fields: military, political and economic, they have all the more clearly shown their true colours as mercenaries and creatures of the U.S. imperialists, to whose aggressive war they have been more and more closely tied. At present, they are in a lamentable predicament. In order to escape from it, they have further fascistized their apparatus for repression and exploitation of all strata of the people in the zone still under their control, thus exacerbating the popular struggle throughout the South. This will certainly lead to their defeat and the people's victory.

In reviewing our patriotic resistance war to U.S. aggression, the greatest epic in our history, we think with boundless pride of our Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters, "the blood of our blood, the flesh of our flesh", such "prodigious men and women" as Le Thi Hong Gam, Le Ma Luong, the fighters on the Quang Tri, Binh Dinh, My Tho fronts and we are all the more confident of our people's final victory: the liberation of the South and the reunification of our motherland!

In the history of our struggle against invasions from Western countries in the mid-nineteenth century the South was the heroic land of our nation. At that time, the time of Nguyen Dinh Chieu, the patriots in Nam Bo already said: "So long as a blade of grass remains on this land, its sons will fight the Western invaders." This valiant tradition was highly promoted in the staunch and persevering struggle of our nation under the leadership of our Party and President Ho Chi

Minh which led to the triumph of the great August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam over the whole territory of Viet Nam from the Viet Nam-China border to cape Ca Mau. However, owing to the aggressive, stubborn and warlike nature of imperialism and colonialism, our people had to carry on their valiant fight for national liberation and national salvation. That was the heroic resistance war to French colonialism crowned with the Dien Bien Phu victory which shook old colonialism to its root. That was followed by the great and glorious resistance to the criminal aggressive war of U.S. imperialism. This is the fight of our epoch, a fight which proves the weakness and irretrievable defeat of U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism, the certain triumph of the national liberation cause of the Vietnamese people and other nations in the world.

Throughout the protracted, arduous and victorious resistance to U.S. aggression, the South has been the main objective of the U.S. aggressive war, the main target of the enemy's attempts at annihilation, the victim of the wicked and sophisticated enslaving schemes carried out by a colossal oppressive apparatus comprising millions of mercenaries, policemen and thugs. It is precisely in this extremely fierce resistance war that people's war has matured rapidly, outgrowing the enemy's repeated escalation steps. This has made it possible to attack him constantly and frustrate all his military and political plans. A very clear illustration of this is the unprecedentedly violent actions in South Viet Nam in the past months. These reflect the progress of our people's

patriotic resistance to U.S. aggression in the South as regards its scale and evolution and the results and experience gained, a progress which has led to rapid and deep changes in the relation of forces between the enemy and us, and opening up new opportunities and new promising prospects. What is particularly important in the situation in the South is the heavy failure of the "Vietnamization" of the war policy which has led to the irretrievable weakness of the puppet army and administration. Confronted with a grave crisis in every field: military, political, economic, they have further intensified their oppression and exploitation of the Southern people and frantically stepped up their aggressive and fascist measures. But the more they are tied to U.S. imperialism' aggressive war as abject tools of the "Vietnamization" of the war strategy, the more they became the targets of the popular masses' hatred and resolute struggle. Their defeat is certain, no intervention of imperialism can save them.

More than ever, our victories and the enemy's failures in the South are being vividly illustrated in the battlefields, in vast and important rural areas. In Tri Thien, following our army's and people's resounding victories in the first months of this year, there is now extremely fierce fighting in Quang Tri and throughout the whole of this battlefield. As is known to everybody, over the past two months the enemy concentrated their attacks on Quang Tri town and its surroundings – a very small sector – including raids by B.52 strategic bombers, sophisticated tactical planes, guns from ground artillery and the Seventh Fleet. In particular, during the "Rolling Thunder"

campaign in the first days of August, the enemy used a very great firepower, unseen in the history of war.

The volume of explosives dumped on Quang Tri town and its surroundings over the past two months is equal to seven atomic bombs of the kind which blasted Hiroshima. However, braving the concentrated, devastating and sustained firepower of the U.S. air force and navy, and of "crack" puppet main-force units, the liberation forces defending Quang Tri still hold the town firmly, repelling the enemy and causing him serious losses, difficulties and failures. On Road 13, from An Loc to Lai Khe, the liberation forces have waged a persevering and intelligent struggle over the past months, setting a trap in which a small force of courageous and clever liberation fighters repeatedly destroyed and wore out the enemy. Our fellow-countrymen throughout Viet Nam as well as the people the world over warmly greet the resounding exploits of the heroic Southern armed forces on the Tri Thien front and other battlefields in the South.

As regards the fight which is developing on a scale and tempo and with results so far unseen in the Mekong delta and the Central Trung Bo plains, in the Central Highlands and a number of other places, one must realize that the victories scored there in many respects bear a deep significance for the political situation in the South. The N.F.L.'s and PRG's military and political struggle waged along a correct line according to the policy of national union and concord is rallying and will rally millions of people in the fight to free themselves and conquer independence and freedom.

This wave of struggle is having a deep impact on the Southern cities and will combine with the seething struggles of the oppressed toiling people, of the youth, students and pupils, of the national-minded religious and political organizations, and is also drawing more and more awakened people from the puppet army and administration,

This basic assessment of the results of the "Vietnamization" of the war, comprehensively expounded above, bears a very important significance: it proves the greatest and heaviest failure of the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism; on the other hand, it proves the all-round and very significant victories of our people and of the Indochinese peoples, it marks a new development of the movement against this criminal war in the United States and everywhere in the world, with ever broader and stronger support to us from the world's people. Clearly enough, the trend of the war is that the enemy is going downhill, into an abyss, while we are forging ahead vigorously with confidence in our final victory. Very great difficulties are piling up before the enemy. On the other hand, our people's path is full of hardships and sacrifices but radiant with exploits. It is urging us to advance and be equal to the situation and our task. Our nation must imbue itself with the great spirit of President Ho Chi Minh. It is clear that time does not work for the enemy; it is supporting and serving us, and certainly it will give our revolutionary cause and that of the world's people victories worthy of their fight full of noble sacrifices.

With ever firmer steps our people will thus advance on their glorious path. We will carry on and step up our fight on

three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, determined to carry into effect the iron will of the nation and the sacred behest of President Ho Chi Minh: to drive out the U.S. aggressors, topple the puppets, proceed to the liberation of the South, defend and build the socialist North, achieve the peaceful reunification of our beloved motherland, and contribute our part to the great revolutionary cause of the world's people.

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"Vietnamization" of the war is an all-round strategy comprising a military aspect and a political one closely related to each other, the military aspect being the means leading to the main objective of the war: to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on the South by keeping the Saigon puppet administration in power and liquidating the Republic of South Viet Nam's Provisional Revolutionary Government.

In order to put a definite end to the "Vietnamization" of the war and restore peace on the basis of the independence and freedom of the South Vietnamese people and of the entire Vietnamese nation, there must be an all-inclusive solution embracing both the military and political aspects as proposed in the seven-point solution of the P.R.G.R.S.V.N. (of which the two key points have been further clarified) which is resolutely and strongly supported by the D.R.V.N. Government and warmly welcomed by international opinion.

A fundamental and stable solution to the Viet Nam issue must affirm the complete withdrawal of the U.S., the cessation of all U.S. involvement in South Viet Nam, an end to its support of the

Saigon puppet administration, and respect of the South Vietnamese people' genuine right to self-determination and of the Vietnamese people's genuine right to independence. There can be no beating about the bush and no ambiguity on this point.

The U.S. government must completely stop the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, completely end the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, completely halt all activities of its air, naval and ground forces against the Vietnamese people in both zones no matter where these activities come from, withdraw the troops, military personnel and advisers of the U.S. and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Viet Nam, completely dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Viet Nam, completely give up all U.S. military commitments to the Saigon puppet administration, and respect the national rights of the Vietnamese people as provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

With regard to the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, it is necessary to give a full and thorough explanation of the significance and effect of the key points in the political solution of the P.R.G: the U.S. must give up its support for the Saigon puppet administration and agree to the establishment of a three-segment coalition government which the U.S. ruling circles have so far obstinately rejected.

As everybody knows, in its aggressive war U.S. imperialism for many years has committed countless heinous crimes, and has caused no end of suffering and mourning to the population, from the towns to the countryside, from the

plains to the mountains, particularly in the south of our country The long-term effects of that material damage cannot yet be fully assessed. At the same time, the effects of the moral, cultural and social damage is still more difficult to assess. This war has brought disorder and corruption to the South Vietnamese society, especially in the areas temporarily occupied by the enemy. The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys want very much to maintain and deepen that confusion and depravation. Under such circumstances, the political solution put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government is precisely aimed at settling the most urgent and serious question in the South in conformity with the aspiration and interests of the majority of the people; to end the war, bring back peace; stop all intervention of U.S. imperialism, restore the people's right to independence and sovereignty; put an end to dictatorial and fascist rule, enforce democratic freedoms and broaden democracy; practise no discrimination as to political belief and past; end internecine conflict and bring about national concord.

Peace, independence, sovereignty, national concord and democracy, such is the only correct way to rapidly heal the war wounds, both material and moral, stabilize life step by step, stabilize the social and political situation, gradually enforce extremely important and practical policies in South Viet Nam: to consolidate peace, complete national independence, achieve and safeguard neutrality, build a prosperous South, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

To solve these complex and difficult problems it is indispensable that a three-segment coalition government comprising all forces and political tendencies in South Viet Nam

be formed. Those three segments are on the same footing with regard to their status, powers and responsibility, and together will shoulder the enormous, imperative and complex tasks which the people of various strata want to be fulfilled under direct popular control. It is clear to everybody that the proposal for the establishment of a three-segment coalition government is logical and sensible, fair and honorable to all parties without discrimination against anyone and without any intent to impose a particular administration on people of other tendencies.

The solution of the P.R.G R S V N. is just and stems from patriotism, love for the people and the will to strive for the most cherished interests of the popular masses and the nation.

As for the so-called "eight-point stand" and the May 8 statement of President Nixon, it is merely aimed at maintaining the lackey administration in Saigon and eliminating the P.R.G. It is intended to continue the "Vietnamization" of the war, to carry on the current war of aggression. That is what came out of the speech delivered by President Nixon at the Republican Convention. But, as the U.S. imperialists have suffered one failure after another, each heavier than the preceding one, in their plot to impose a stooge of the U.S. in Saigon during the last 18 years, now in the present situation in Viet Nam , in the United States and in the world, this anachronistic plot will certainly fail completely.

To oppose the seven-point overall solution, to oppose the political solution in the South, to oppose the three-segment Coalition Government aimed at bringing about peace,national concord and democracy, means to want to carry on the

aggressive war, to carry on the "Vietnamization" of the war, to want to set up a dictatorial and fascist regime in the hope of imposing U.S. neo-colonialism on the South . By so doing, the U.S. and its puppets all the more clearly expose dark criminal schemes against the Vietnamese people, while throwing a very insolent challenge at the world's people. That is why the whole Vietnamese nation including all our Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters, are all the more turning their hatred into strength and resolve, strengthening their solidarity and combining their efforts with those of the Lao and Cambodian peoples, winning ever broader sympathy, support and assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and the world's people, and holding aloft the banner of struggle for independence, freedom and peace. No matter how cruel and perfidious the enemy is, the Vietnamese people's just struggle and that of the other Indochinese peoples will surely end in complete victory.

The Vietnamese people like all people of conscience in the world deeply realize that the above policies making up the seven-point overall solution, entirely spring from the most cherished aspirations and interests of the Southern population. This is a fair solution, which puts the interests of our country and our fellow-countrymen above everything else. At the same time, this is a realistic, equitable and honourable solution. We – like enlightened opinion in the world – warmly hail the patriotism, love for the people, intelligence, clearsightedness and courage of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and Provisional

Revolutionary Government. The Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government represent the future, the radiant morrow in the South, the powerful forces of the popular masses, the patriotic forces, the revolutionary forces. They are the core of the political struggle in South Viet Nam.

Why then is the U.S. administration adamantly opposing this solution and circulating the odious slander that it is but a move to impose a communist government on South Viet Nam? Slander and deceit can certainly not replace reason, but only expose the true colours of the U.S. administration: a stubborn and warlike administration. This attitude of the U.S. only brings out the just stand and great persuasive force of the seven-point overall solution, especially the political solution for South Viet Nam.

We want peace but this must be a genuine and stable peace based on the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people, a peace associated with national concord and democracy conducive to rehabilitation and construction in South Viet Nam in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the various strata of the population while opening up prospects for advancing to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

More than anybody else, we cherish peace because war has for many years now devastated our country and nation. At the same time, we are well aware that a genuine and stable peace can only be obtained through the fight for independence and freedom and can only be the result of victory over the war of aggression of U.S. imperialism. All illusions and all

compromises on this crucial question will be very dangerous as has been proved by so many examples in various places. Such is our firm and consistent attitude.

Throughout 27 years of construction and fighting at present the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the socialist North, can be rightly proud of its glorious achievements in all fields: it has unceasingly grown up and constantly fulfilled its historic role as the firm base area of the revolution in the whole country.

After successfully concluding the war against the French colonialists, our people immediately set out to rehabilitate the economy and build socialism in the North. With the completion of the 1961-1965 plan, the first five -year plan of socialist construction, production level in North Viet Nam increased to more than double that in 1957, the last year of the economic rehabilitation period. The socialist sector of the economy held absolute superiority in all branches of the national economy.

The medical, cultural and educational services developed vigorously, the people's life was further improved and public order and security were firmly maintained. These initial successes of socialist construction not only created new possibilities for steady progress in the following years but also constituted a great source of strength enabling the North Viet Nam people to accomplish their duty to the heroic South, and at the same time to defeat the air and naval war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists against the D.R.V.N. After more than four years of persistent fighting and after

winning a glorious victory over the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, the socialist North not only had not been pushed back to the "stone age" – the dream of the top men in the Pentagon – but on the contrary had matured and grown up in all respects and proved the great vitality of the socialist regime, a regime which our people have won at the cost of their blood and are determined to safeguard at all costs.

In 1968, after the success of great strategic significance of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people during the Mau Than Tet offensive and uprising, the Johnson administration was forced to stop unconditionally the war of destruction against the North of our country. On the impetus of the new victory, the people of North Viet Nam all the more strove to increase their forces, heightened their vigilance and combat-readiness, continued their building of socialism and their assistance to the fight of the people in the South.

In the years 1969-1971, the material and technical basis of socialism in North Viet Nam was restored and further strengthened, economic and cultural activities recorded new successes, economic management was reinforced and made better. The life of the people continued to be improved.

In the Spring and Summer of 1972, in face of the unprecedented successes in all fields of the armed forces and people in the South, the Nixon administration, brazenly betraying the commitment made in October 1968 by the U.S. government, again stepped up the war of destruction against North Viet Nam and started blockading our coast. With a very big aeronaval force including B.52 strategic bombers,

and the most up-to-date weapons and techniques, they have been conducting very savage extermination bombings against populated areas, economic establishments, towns, cities, villages, schools, hospitals, churches, etc. More wicked still, they have intentionally attacked dykes and dams with a view to causing floods in the current rainy season. We warmly hail "Dyke Day", a day of struggle of the world's people against the criminal war of the U.S. imperialists.

The "bombing strategy" used against North Viet Nam with unprecedented atrocity and ferocity has angered the whole of mankind, including progressive people in the United States. A wave of indignant condemnation of these loathsome crimes is rising in all continents.

With support from the world's people growing wider and stronger than ever the Vietnamese people and the government of the D.R.V.N. severely condemn the war of destruction, the genocidal and ecocidal war of the Nixon administration, and denounce the blockade of the sea ports of the D.R.V.N. These are extremely brutal and brazen acts of aggression which defy international law, a gross challenge to public opinion and human conscience. The Vietnamese people and the D.R.V.N. Government firmly demand that the Nixon administration end immediately the above-mentioned criminal acts of war and respect the independence and sovereignty, the borders and security of the D.R.V.N. The Vietnamese people and the Government of the D.R.V.N. declare that they are resolved to defeat that criminal war against the D.R.V.N., and independent and sovereign state, as they formerly defeated the "Rolling Thunder" campaign of the U.S. imperialists.

Indeed, during the past four months, hundreds of piratical air planes of the U.S. have been shot down, many U.S. pilots have been captured and dozens of U.S. warships have been duly punished. North Viet Nam, a valiant fortress, the steady rear base of the heroic great front, remains indomitable, as a victor who, highly vigilant and thoroughly prepared, is resolved to crush any new plot and adventurous military act of the enemy and to wholeheartedly assist his kinsmen in the South.

The unflinching fight in defence of the North and the many emulation drives in production, like the "Plough or hammer in one hand, gun in the other" movement, have combined to form a stirring revolutionary movement, in which everybody is prompted by the resolve to act upon this recommendation of President Ho Chi Minh: "Our armed forces and people throughout the country, millions as one man, upholding revolutionary heroism and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, are determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops and the total collapse of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country."

This firm will of President Ho Chi Minh has steeled our people's determination to fight the enemy while pushing their activities in the economic and other fields.

The transport and communications service, blood-vessels of all economic and social activities and the link between the

front and the rear, has advanced ceaselessly and valiantly, satisfactorily meeting the needs of combat, production, and the people's life.

North Viet Nam has brought in a bumper Spring-Summer rice crop this year. Most praiseworthy are the provinces in the former 4th Zone. Fighting there has been more violent than in any other places, and yet the harvest there has been the best. In the Spring-Summer cultivation season, the traces of the 1971 flood have been wiped out, even in the most heavily affected areas. Canals and ditches have been repaired and further improved and dykes have been strengthened The North Vietnamese people are determined to overcome both enemy destructions and natural calamities.

Industry, geared to war-time conditions, is being stabilized and production is being stepped up gradually. Handicrafts, with active assistance from the State, are gradually coming into regular operation again and have satisfied local needs to a fairly good extent. The circulation and distribution of goods has been timely geared to war-time conditions, thus helping normalize the people's life in combat and production. Timely reorientation has also been made in culture, education, health, science and technology, in order to serve combat and production in an effective manner.

While pushing up production, the people of North Viet Nam are endeavouring to fulfil their other duties to the Fatherland. The Law on Military Duty is warmly welcomed: Hundreds of thousands of young people everywhere are ready to go to the front to fight the aggressors to save the country.

The Ordinance on Labour Duty has enlisted millions of days' work for transport and communications, for the consolidation of dykes, etc. Many localities have completed their duty in food contribution to the State, with the highest quotas to date.

U.S. imperialism is still very stubborn and perfidious. We still have to face many difficulties and hardships, but our people are resolved to carry on and step up our patriotic resistance to U.S. aggression until complete victory. We are determined to overcome all difficulties and to keep on building and strengthening the socialist North in every aspect according to the resolution of the 19th and 20th Plenums of the Party Central Committee, in order to cope with the new situation and the new tasks.

The history of the past 27 years of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is the history of a heroic nation, of a regime whose superior features have been clearly developed, of a very hard and complex revolutionary struggle which is at the same time a very glorious struggle with repeated heartening victories. This struggle takes on ever greater scope and significance and has an ever more positive impact on our country and the international situation in general.

In the course of our protracted and arduous revolutionary struggle, in the fire of the war, in our uninterrupted march forward, we have grown up in every field, and we have gained much valuable experience. Our knowledge and vision have broadened and we can now better understand both the problems we are solving and those we will tackle later on, so as to get ready for all favourable opportunities to build the

socialist North firmly, rapidly and effectively in all aspects: political, economic, national defence, cultural, social, in order to strengthen the North, the revolutionary base of the whole country while step by step improving the people's material, cultural and moral life. The major guideline for our thinking and efforts is, to strengthen the Party's leadership and the State's management, and carry into effect the people's collective mastery.

On the occasion of our National Day the Vietnamese people warmly hail the very great, all sided and steady military, political and diplomatic successes won by the Lao and Cambodian peoples in their resistance wars, which have foiled in the main the "Nixon doctrine" in Laos and Cambodia, and brought about a new, very favourable situation in which the peoples of the two fraternal countries will secure still greater victories.

The Vietnamese people will always remember the devoted and precious support and assistance of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and are sincerely grateful to them. With deep admiration and faith, we are resolved to support them in their certainly victorious struggle. We give full support to the 5-point solution of March 6, 1970 of the Lao Patriotic Front, and fully back the 5-point Declaration of March 23, 1970 of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia. We warmly acclaim broad sections of world public opinion for their strong support for the five-point solution of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong. This solution is the embodiment of the most earnest aspirations of the Lao people. We warmly hail the success of the Cambodian people and the

people of Viet Nam at the Georgetown conference[27] of non-aligned nations. This success has further enhanced the international position and prestige of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. As far as Cambodia is concerned, this success confirms, on the international plane, the position of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk as the representative of the legality, legitimacy and continuity of the Cambodian State. This success also proves that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as Premier and Mr. Khieu Samphon as Vice-Premier, is the only legitimate and authentic government of the Cambodian people.

As long as the Nixon administration obdurately persists in continuing its war of aggression and in the maintenance of its puppets, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, true to the spirit of the Joint Declaration of the Indochinese People's Summit Conference and always standing side by side, will persevere in their fight and step it up to inflict complete defeat on the aggressors and their hirelings, thus making the Indochinese peninsula a region of independence, freedom, peace, friendship and prosperity and opening up new prospects for our nations to build a new life each in its own way.

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On the occasion of the Independence Day of the nation, the anniversary of the founding of the D.R.V.N., the Vietnamese people send their warm greetings to the peoples of the Soviet

Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the capitalist countries, including progressive people in the United States, to the whole of peace-freedom-and justice loving mankind. We avail ourself of this opportunity to express to the socialist countries and the whole world's people our sincere and profound gratitude for their warm sympathy and disinterested support, and their great and efficacious assistance. This is a very valuable encouragement and help to enable the Vietnamese people to constantly persist in and step up their fight, to win yet greater victories, and to advance steadily to complete victory. We wish success to the revolutionary people in the five continents in their valiant struggle for their legitimate interests and for the great cause of the world's people: peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

For their part, the Vietnamese people know very well that their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is an integral part of the common struggle waged by the whole world's people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism led by the obdurate and warlike U.S. imperialists. And so, they will make still bigger efforts to defeat U.S. imperialism to defend their own interests and also to further the world people's cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Today we note with great satisfaction that through our unflinching fight, we have made worthy contributions acknowledged by all. So we are all the more entitled to ask the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the other countries in the world to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and fulfil their internationalist duty to the fight

against aggressive U.S. imperialism, which is raging very fiercely and winning glorious successes in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina

Today, we celebrate National Day at a time when the situation, although still difficult and complex, is basically favourable and heartening. We are fully able to overcome all obstacles and forge ahead vigorously and steadily towards victory in our patriotic resistance to U.S. aggression and our socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in the struggle for the Liberation of the South and the defence of the socialist North, in our advance toward the peaceful reunification of our beloved motherland, in our efforts to contribute our share to the defence of peace and national independence in South East Asia and the world.

The enemy has for him only his bombs and dark schemes. But for our part, we are armed with the great ideas of the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine. We are trained by our Party, President Ho Chi Minh, and the socialist regime. We are as firm as a rock and as strong as steel. We are inspired by noble thoughts and feelings. We dare to fight and make sacrifices for our Fatherland, and also to fulfil our internationalist duty to our brothers and friends everywhere in the world. We have the invincible strength of unity and justice. Final victory belongs to us.

Under the glorious banner of our great President Ho Chi Minh, let our fellow-countrymen and fighters march forward!

The Vietnamese people will certainly win!

The Indochinese people will certainly win!

The U.S. imperialist aggressors will certainly be defeated!

PART FIVE
1973-1975

FINAL VICTORY FORWARD TO THE FUTURE

Report to the Fourth National Assembly's Special Session, February 20, 1973

Our patriotic war of resistance to U.S. aggression - the greatest resistance war in the history of our nation's struggles against foreign aggression – has scored a great victory[28] and at the same time opened up fine prospects for our nation to carry on the struggle, determined to win still more glorious victories and cope with the new situation and the new tasks.

Under the leadership of our Party, the organizer of all the victories of our people, the protracted, arduous, and certainly victorious patriotic war of resistance to U.S. aggression, the struggle on three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, has brought about a great and resounding result: the signing of the "Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam". The Paris Agreement records the glorious victories scored by our people over more than ten years of unremitting struggle, which has defeated the aggressive war waged by U.S. imperialism in the two zones of our country with the most up-to-date war means (short of the atomic bomb) and with the most cruel and perfidious schemes. The courageous and clever fight of our nation will go down in history as an immortal epic, forever stirring people's hearts, and bringing out a shining truth of our epoch: a nation, which has neither a very vast territory nor a very large population, but follows a correct line, is closely united, fights perseveringly with a determination to win, and

enjoys great support and assistance from the socialist countries and progressive people all over the world, such a nation is sure to win final victory. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom."

To mark this great victory, on January 28th the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and on the same day the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam issued appeals assessing the victory and pointing out the new tasks in the new situation.

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam is a document of international political and juridical value. It contains extremely important points – "ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination;" "the United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam"; "The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam". "There will be a total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of troops, military advisers, and military personnel, armaments, munitions, and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries allied to it", and there will be the dismantlement of all their military bases in South Viet Nam.

The agreement recognizes the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people which is considered as a "sacred, inalienable" right to be respected by all countries. It provides that "the South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Viet Nam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision" to set up institutions that suit their aspirations, and that "foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people" The Paris Agreement, in its letter and spirit, is a confirmation of the real situation now prevailing in South Viet Nam, where there exist two administrations, two armies, two zones of control, and three political forces. The two South Vietnamese parties have undertaken to observe the ceasefire and maintain a stable and durable peace, to achieve national reconciliation and concord, and to ensure the democratic liberties of the people. They undertake to "hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments" and will "sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Viet Nam" within 90 days.

The Agreement also provides that "the reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Viet Nam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference." Regarding the military

demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel, the Agreement provides that pending the reunification of Viet Nam, this demarcation line "is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary" and that "North and South Viet Nam shall promptly start negotiations with a view to reestablishing normal relations in various fields."

On the relationship between the D.R.V.N. and the United States, the Agreement says that the obligation of the United States is to "contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the D.R.V.N. and throughout Indochina." At the same time the Agreement explicitly provides that "the ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Viet Nam, and the strict implementation of this Agreement will create conditions for establishing a new, equal, and mutually beneficial relationship between the D.R.V.N. and the United States on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. At the same time this will ensure stable peace in Viet Nam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indochina and South-east Asia."

An international Conference on Viet Nam will be held in Paris on the 26th of this month to acknowledge the Agreement and the protocols that have been concluded [29], to guarantee the cessation of the war, the maintenance of peace in Viet Nam, and the respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, and to contribute to the preservation of peace in this region and the

rest of the world. It will be an International Conference on Viet Nam. It will restrict its function to guaranteeing the respect for and the execution of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam.

Throughout its four-thousand-year-old history, the Vietnamese nation has written countless pages resplendent with heroism, perseverance, indomitability, spirit of independence and sovereignty, love of motherland and fellow-countrymen. As the old saying goes: "Just as a piece of red silk protects a looking-glass, people of the same country will care for one another." However, it is only in our era, the Ho Chi Minh era, when our Party is leading the sacred fight of our nation, that our strength, courage, intelligence, our fine qualities and noble traditions can be developed to the utmost.

Today, in greeting our victory, we all the more realise its deep root: it lies in the leadership of our Party, the great Viet Nam Workers' Party founded, organized and educated by President Ho Chi Minh; it lies in the Party's political, military and diplomatic line, a judicious and clearsighted line, which evinces firmness, perseverance, insight, initiative, creativeness, the will to fight and win, and knowledge of how to fight and win.

Our Party is the organizer of all the victories of our people. It has organized and led our people's war and brought it to victory. It has caused revolutionary heroism to blossom everywhere in our country, in the front-line and in the rear, in the armed forces, in the working class and the collective peasantry, in the new intellectuals, in the scientific and technical workers, in the youth and the women, in the

old people and in the children. The whole country has stood up, the whole nation has stood up - and the whole of progressive mankind has stood by our people's side wholeheartedly supporting our extremely heroic fight, one that shines with justice.

Today in greeting our victory, we warmly hail the exploits of our fellow-countrymen throughout Viet Nam and our people's armed forces in both zones, South and North the best sons of the nation, who are "loyal to the country and pious to the people, and are capable of fulfilling all tasks, overcoming all difficulties and defeating all enemies".

Our Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters, the heroes of a heroic nation, have fought with peerless courage throughout the war, foiling all the enemy's military and political plans. Today we recall with boundless pride the glorious and resounding exploits of the South, especially in 1972, with changed the situation on the battlefield and opened the way to victory. The South truly deserves to be called the "Brass Wall of the Motherland."

A very important factor of victory is the socialist regime of the North, the position, the strength and the struggle of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the great and strong base of the revolution in the whole country, the firm outpost of the socialist system in South East Asia. In the fire of the protracted war, since its founding the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has unceasingly developed in every aspect and gained increasing prestige in the world.

Our people's victory is inseparable from the unshakable militant solidarity between the three Indochinese countries. True

to the Declaration of the Indochinese People's Summit Conference, the Vietnamese people pledge to strengthen their solidarity with the peoples of the two fraternal neighbouring countries, and unswervingly to support and assist the just struggle of the Lao and Cambodian peoples until complete victory.

Year after year, our people's just and certainly victorious fight has constantly enjoyed a great, precious and effective international support and assistance. Our people's patriotic resistance war to U.S. aggression is part and parcel of the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, hence its historic and epochal character is all the more brought into relief. This historic and epochal character is particularly manifest in the ebullient movement of the peoples supporting the valiant and victorious riposte given by the armed forces and people of Hanoi, Haiphong and many other cities in the North to the U.S. imperialists' strategic B-52 raids [40]. This victory played a very important role in the signing of the "Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam". This highly significant event has been warmly hailed by the world's people and international public opinion as a great victory of the Vietnamese people. The governments of the fraternal socialist countries, those of many countries in the world, the communist and workers' parties, many international organizations, many organizations in various countries, many personalities of renown in political, religious, literary, artistic, scientific and technical circles have conveyed to our people their best feelings, their wholehearted congratulations, and have set great store by our contributions to the safeguarding of

mankind's noblest values. With the exception of the anti fascist struggle during World War Two, our people's just fight has moved mankind's conscience to a degree without precedent. For us, it is a very precious support and encouragement, and each Vietnamese must fully realise its significance and value in order to carry on the struggle both for his own legitimate interests and for the great ideas for our time. Today, the Vietnamese people express their sincere feelings and their deepest gratitude to the Soviet people, the Chinese people, the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries, the working class, the labouring people, and the oppressed peoples of the world, to progressive people in the U.S.A., to our brothers, comrades and friends throughout the five continents.

All of us Vietnamese people greet our victory with the deep consciousness that we are the victors, that glorious results have been brought about by many hardships and sacrifices of our fellow-countrymen and fighters in the whole country and that we can be rightly proud of the correct, clearsighted and firm line of our Party armed with the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine, proud of our heroic nation, and proud of the South, the "Brass Wall of the Motherland". All of us are happy and enthusiastic, because we have all contributed our share to the great victory of the nation, because we have fulfilled the behest of President Ho, who has led our people through all difficulties and from victory to victory until the present great victory: "The U.S. imperialists will certainly have to quit. Our Fatherland will

certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be reunited under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honour of defeating, through heroic struggle, two big imperialisms – the French and the American – and of making a worthy contribution to the world national-liberation movement." Uncle Ho's words, the words of our fatherland, of our native land, will forever stir our people's hearts and urge us enthusiastically to march forward.

Today, we turn our thoughts to the countless fellow-countrymen and fighters who have selflessly fought and valiantly laid down their lives to win victory for the nation, glory for the motherland and success for the people's revolutionary cause. Our nation will forever bear in mind their services. We will all the more enthusiastically and energetically carry on our struggle to gain even greater and more glorious victories.

Our patriotic resistance war to U.S. aggression has scored a great victory, opening up a new turning-point for the Vietnamese revolution. Our people's immediate task in both zones is to strengthen our solidarity, constantly heighten our vigilance and make the utmost efforts to consolidate the victories already achieved, step up socialist building in the North, secure lasting peace, win complete independence and democracy in the South, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

With regard to the Paris Agreement, our policy is strictly to observe and seriously to implement it, and at the same time to demand that the U.S. government and the Saigon

administration do the same. This is a very great struggle, one that is important in many aspects, and whose aim is to preserve and extend the victory already won. It is precisely because the Paris Agreement is a highly significant victory of our people that the other side not only does not want to execute all its provisions but also wilfully sabotages its application. As is known to everybody, with the approval and support of the United States, the Saigon administration has openly and systematically sabotaged the implementation of the most important and urgent provisions of the Agreement, in the first place, those concerning the cease-fire, democratic liberties, the return of captured and detained personnel, the activities of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision... Here, we must underline and denounce the violations of the provisions regarding the ceasefire which aim at ensuring the restoration, maintenance and consolidation of peace, and of the provisions on democratic liberties and national concord. Since the Paris Agreement came into effect, the Saigon administration has many times declared that it does not respect the agreement. On the one hand, it has made fantastic fabrications on so-called "communist activities in violation of the cease-fire" with the purpose of slandering us odiously. On the other hand, it has ordered its armed units to conduct operations, sometimes on a large scale, with the participation of armoured cars, heavy artillery and aircraft with a view to nibbling at the liberated zone under the control of the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. It has

intensified the policy of repression and terrorism against various strata of the population in the area under its control, banned all activities in favour of peace democratic liberties and national concord. We must also underline another very serious thing, that is, the attitude of non-cooperation, the hostile attitude of the Saigon administration toward the delegation of the D.R.V.N. Government and the delegation of the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. to the Four-Party Joint Military Commission . The Saigon administration has also organized acts of hooliganism against our delegations and repeatedly caused to the latter very big difficulties in their life and activities. Now, three weeks after the signing of the Agreement, the consultative conference between the two South Vietnamese parties whose task is to discuss and solve a series of very important problems of the Agreement concerning the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, mainly political problems, has not yet begun its work. For their part, the International Commission of Control and Supervision, chiefly the Polish and Hungarian delegations, have encountered many big difficulties in carrying out their duties: supervising and controlling the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement in conformity with its stipulations. These impudent designs and acts of the Saigon administration have become too evident. Its "thief crying stop thief" behaviour decidedly cannot fool our people and broad sections of world public opinion.

To oppose resolutely all attempts and actions of sabotage against the agreement and to demand that all sides strictly observe and seriously implement the accord involve a very fierce and arduous struggle to put into effect the cease-fire and

execute the agreement in all aspects, military and political, so as to safeguard and consolidate peace and achieve national independence, democratic freedoms, national concord and improvement of the people's livelihood. These are the most vital interests and deepest aspirations of people of all strata in the South, including members of the Saigon army and administration. Therefore, the struggle to demand the observance and implementation of the Paris Agreement is the most important and most pressing struggle of our Southern fellow-countrymen and of our whole people. This is an extensive, arduous and persevering struggle against U.S. neo-colonialist policy in the South and its tool, the Saigon administration, in order step by step to complete our national and democratic revolution. In this struggle, our whole people as well as our fellow-countrymen in the South have fundamental advantages: the victories already gained, brought into relief in the Paris Agreement, point out targets of struggle which conform to the aspirations of the Southern people at large and to the trend of the situation, and enlist the sympathy and support of the world's people and international opinion. Realities in the South are giving further proof that while the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the only genuine representative of the people of all strata in the South, resolutely struggles to consolidate peace, achieve democratic freedoms and national concord, the Saigon administration, a fascist and militarist clique, still clings to its reactionary and dark ambitions. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation

and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which represent the radiant future of the South, enjoy ever broader and stronger support and assistance from the peoples of the socialist countries and the world's people at large. Our whole nation is determined to carry on with renewed ardour our arduous and certainly victorious struggle, in order to complete our national and democratic revolution in the South and proceed to the peaceful reunification of our beloved motherland.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the socialist North, through decades of fighting and construction, has exerted its great influence as the strong rear base of the heroic South, the revolutionary base area of the whole country, the inviolable outpost of the socialist system in South East Asia. This process of fighting and construction is also a process of constant growth of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The great victory recently won will create even more favourable conditions for socialist building in the North, for the building of the socialist economy, the socialist culture and the socialist man, for the strengthening of the North in all aspects: political, economic, cultural, national defence, thereby intensifying still further the influence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The appeal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam calls on us to translate "our revolutionary heroism in fighting into a determination to overcome all difficulties, step up more vigorously than ever the building of socialism, of a new life, and the forming of a new man." Let us arm ourselves

with noble thoughts and feelings, and be equal to the new situation and the new tasks. We must look far ahead, and dare to think of and undertake big projects serving the country and the people. We must especially realize the pressing need of restoring and developing the national economy on a large scale, with quick and firm steps, rapidly bringing small production forward to large-scale socialist production, particularly in agriculture. Everybody must become a staunch fighter in the socialist construction of the North, a competent worker in his branch; he must unceasingly raise both his organizational and managerial abilities. Everybody must work selflessly for his motherland and for socialism; he must work with all his heart and mind, observe discipline and master techniques so as to show economic efficiency and an ever higher labour productivity. Therein lies our value and that is the yardstick of our contribution to the present revolutionary struggle.

An immediate requirement is to quickly stabilize the economic situation and the people's life, restore and develop the economy while striving to consolidate national defence. Within the next few years, it is necessary not only to surpass the pre-war production level but also to enter directly into the building of a new economic structure, in order to lay the groundwork for further development on a large-scale and at a quick tempo in the following years.

The following tasks must receive the utmost consideration:

Communications and transport always take pride of place. Therefore, we must rapidly restore them to normal while preparing to soon develop them to suit the future development of various branches and zones of the national economy.

We must speedily restore and develop the important and urgent industrial branches, while preparing conditions to develop the key industrial branches on a large-scale. Local industry, consumer goods industry and handicrafts which are of special importance and serve the people's livelihood must be developed at the quickest possible tempo in the new situation.

We must vigorously and steadily develop agriculture along the orientation set by the resolutions of the 19th and 20th Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

We must quickly complete our irrigation system, ensure watering or drainage whenever necessary, seek to eliminate both water-logging and drought for all cultivated areas; we must build irrigation works in the zones growing vegetables, industrial crops, subsidiary crops, and the new agricultural zones. We must swiftly free an important part of agricultural labour by stepping up irrigation and mechanization so as to get manpower for the development of industry and the building of new economic zones. Industry must serve the requirements of agriculture, supplying it with technical equipment, and building integrated material bases for each zone of production.

We must strive to stabilise and step by step improve the people's livelihood; rapidly solve the people's housing requirements; first of all in the zones having suffered heavy damage during the war, in concentrated industrial areas, cities and towns; help the rural people repair old houses and

build new ones. We must organize the circulation and distribution of goods, stabilise markets and prices. We must provide jobs to war invalids and demobilized soldiers and care for families of war martyrs, armymen and cadres.

We must pay great attention to labour management and redistribute labour on a large scale to meet the development of communications, industry, forestry and the new economic zones.

On the basis of unified management by the State, we must develop foreign trade and create conditions for the major production branches to get in touch with world markets. It is necessary to expand economic relations between Viet Nam and other countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The above-mentioned are only broad guidelines for a plan based on an accurate general survey and a rational division of economic zones.

We must develop culture, education, public health, literature and arts in keeping with the new situation; accelerate scientific research and the application of science and technique in production work and the people's life.

We must very urgently work out and carry into effect a plan for the formation of skilled workers necessary for economic development. Together with giving existing cadres

rational assignments – scientific and technical cadres in particular, – it is necessary to have a plan to form qualified cadres for the all-round development of our country.

With the great victory of our people, the North enjoys extremely favourable conditions to forge ahead in the building of socialism and the accomplishment of the extremely important and pressing tasks described above. Our country has abundant natural resources, a numerous manpower, and cadres who begin to reach maturity. Our people have great courage, intelligence and creativeness. The fraternal socialist countries will support us and will give us all-out assistance in the rehabilitation and development of our economy and the building of socialism. We have great possibilities for expanding economic cooperation with numerous countries and to secure warm-hearted contributions from the peoples all over the world. Our people must continue to rely mainly on their own forces in order to make good use of precious aid of the fraternal countries and other nations.

The most important thing to ensure the fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks is to strengthen the leadership of our Party, of Party committees from the centre down to the base. It is necessary to consolidate the State apparatus to ensure a satisfactory management of the national economy which is quickly advancing to large-scale production. We must study and gradually carry out an improvement of economic management. Parallel with the promotion of the State's powers and managerial functions, we must broaden socialist democracy and uphold the people's collective mastery. We must devote especial

attention to ideological work so that everybody takes a clear view of the great victory won and the tasks ahead and redouble his efforts in work and study, determined to achieve even more glorious victories for our motherland.

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By developing the victory scored and showing themselves equal to the new situation and the new tasks, our people are resolved to step up our struggle so as to build socialism in the North, complete the national democratic revolution in the South, proceed to the peaceful reunification of our country, and fully carry into effect our great President Ho Chi Minh's Testament. At the same time we will strengthen our solidarity with the Lao and Cambodian peoples. Together with them we will fight and win in our glorious revolutionary cause.

Our people's struggle is a just one. We have a correct line, the strength of our united people, the wholehearted support of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive people throughout the world. Our people will surely gain still greater victories in all fields.

The heroic Vietnamese people will surely win!

Long live a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our cause!

Speech at the Ceremony held on May Day, 1973

Today, May 1st, International Labour Day, our entire nation celebrates the great victory that has just been won in our long, arduous and extremely glorious resistance war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. This great victory is creating favourable conditions and opening fine prospects for our entire people to carry on the struggle to maintain and consolidate peace, build socialism in the North, complete independence and democracy in the South, advance towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, and build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thereby making their most positive contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

On March 29, the last unit of the over-half-a-million-strong U.S. expeditionary corps pulled out of the southern part of our country, thus ending the occupation of our territory by foreign troops. This is a historic landmark, the completion of the epic waged by so many generations of Vietnamese during the past century and more. Especially since the Party came into being and President Ho Chi Minh raised the banner of Independence, this fight has accounted for many brilliant pages in our history: the victory of the August Revolution which led to the founding of the D.R.V.N. on the entire territory of the Vietnamese nation; the Dien Bien Phu victory which marked the decline of French colonialism; and the most outstanding of all, the resounding and

epochal victory of our patriotic resistance war against U.S. aggression, which is a very important defeat inflicted on U.S. neo-colonialism.

Our people are legitimately proud of having through their valiant fight made very important contributions to the national liberation struggle of the world's peoples. The great victory of our nation has encouraged and is encouraging strongly the oppressed peoples to stand up in an earthshaking struggle to defeat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to regain independence, freedom, the right to live, and the right to build their respective countries in accordance with their aspirations and will.

On this glorious day, our people cordially express their warmest feelings and their deepest gratitude to the people of the fraternal socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, the working class, the labouring people, the oppressed nations, progressive American people, to all men of conscience in the world, who wholeheartedly extended to us their sympathy, support and assistance in our extremely hard and glorious fight of the recent past. We send to our brothers and friends around the world our greetings of solidarity and victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Today, over 90 days after the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, facts have shown that the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. have always strictly respected and scrupulously implemented the Paris

Agreement. In contrast, the United States and the Saigon administration have seriously and systematically violated the provisions of the Agreement they have signed: they have violated the cease-fire, sabotaged peace, violated the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people in the South, violated the provisions concerning peace, national independence, democratic freedoms and national concord in South Viet Nam.

In Laos, in spite of the signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord [31], the U.S. imperialists have not stopped supporting and helping the right-wing party to seriously violate the Vientiane Agreement.

In Cambodia, the United States has stepped up the escalation of the war, launched savage attacks against the liberated zone, and plotted to dispatch Saigon and Bangkok mercenaries to invade that country. Today all men of conscience in the world have clearly realized that in spite of heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists have not given up their military involvement in the Indochinese countries. With regard to South Viet Nam, they still nurture the design of turning it into a U.S. new-type colony, thus perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam. They are still using the Saigon administration, a militarist and fascist clique, as an instrument for achieving this dark design. They are extending all-out support and assistance to their lackeys in impudently sabotaging very important provisions of the Paris Agreement, thereby running counter to the most earnest aspirations of the various strata of the South Vietnamese people. More brazen

still, they have slanderously accused us of violating the Agreement, in accordance with their habitual trick of the thief crying "stop thief". But this all too obvious manoeuvre will only serve to reveal even more clearly their obstinate, reactionary and warlike features. If in the past, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have suffered repeated and ever heavier failures, they will now meet with still heavier defeats: Our nation will win, because the forces of our people will win, because they are firmly determined to persist in, and step up the struggle to achieve at all costs their fundamental national rights and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese in the South. In this struggle, we will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia. We will win because the peoples of the socialist countries and the world's peoples continue to extend to our people their precious support and assistance in various forms. At a moment when the development of the situation is so favourable to our people, the U.S. imperialists and the Saigon administration are encountering countless difficulties, and seeing their forces dwindle and their position weaken. It is certain that our people, like the other peoples of Indochina, will win final victory.

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Our people's struggle is still hard and complex, but we are full of confidence and optimism because this struggle is in keeping with the evolution of history and the trend of our time. The sacred Testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh is

inspiring us, and urging us to do our best to preserve and consolidate lasting peace, to successfully build socialism in the North, to complete independence and democracy in the South, and to advance towards the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

On this victory day, we cordially express to our countrymen and fighters in the South, the Brass Wall of our Fatherland, our feelings of affection, pride and boundless confidence. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam N.F.L. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N., the sole legitimate representative of the Vietnamese people in the South, the just, heroic struggle of our countrymen and fighters in the South is bound to end in glorious victory. As President Ho Chi Minh said, "Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one. Rivers may dry up, mountains may erode, but this truth will never change."

In our nation's history, each victory over foreign invaders was always followed by a period of brilliant development. The victory of our resistance war against U.S. aggression has brought about new favourable conditions for us to build our country, to build the socialist North, to strengthen in all fields the D.R.V.N., the solid base area of the revolution in the whole country, an inviolable outpost of the socialist camp in South-East Asia. Carrying out our obligations to the many generations that have fought with self-denial for today's victory, fulfilling our duty to our Fatherland and our nation, and discharging our glorious internationalist duties, we will work with all our revolutionary ardour and capabilities, with the firm resolve to make the fullest contribution to this extremely lofty and

splendid cause, the building of socialism in North Viet Nam, the building of a socialist society and the forming of the socialist man. As an immediate step, it is necessary to rapidly stabilize the situation, to promote a better organized and disciplined way of life, to stabilize and gradually improve the people's livelihood, to rehabilitate and develop the economy, and to develop culture, science and technique. Each of us must deeply realize that our work in production and other fields today is sowing seeds for tomorrow's crops which will reward our present efforts. Just as in the prodigious fight of the recent past, our hands and our brains will achieve everything. Our peoples's great confidence in the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, in the socialist system in the North, and in the bright future of our nation is a motive force which carries us forward and helps us quickly develop the national economy on a large scale. We will always rely mainly on our own forces while striving to get assistance in various fields from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. We are prepared to cooperate in the economic field with all countries desiring to cooperate with us on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.

The building of the socialist North and the strengthening of the D.R.V.N. require that we give great care to the consolidation of our national defence and the strengthening of our armed forces, that we unceasingly heighten our vigilance, stand combat-ready and fight well, with a view to smashing all schemes and acts of encroachment on our socialist Fatherland.

Once again, the Vietnamese people reaffirm that no brutal force, no perfidious scheme, no insolent threat can make us flinch and deviate from the path of struggle which is our path to victory.

Our people are living and struggling in a very great period of the history of our country and of the world. Broad and deep changes are rapidly changing the correlation of forces between imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the revolutionary current of the world's peoples. Everywhere nations are striving to take their destinies into their own hands. Standing in the ranks of the world revolution, which are more powerful than ever, the Vietnamese people are firmly resolved to accomplish their obligations to the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples.

- The Vietnamese people will win!

- The Indochinese peoples will win!

- The world's peoples will win in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

- Long live the spirit of May 1st, International Labour Day!

Speech commemorating the 28th anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day (Sept. 2, 1973)

GREAT VICTORY OF THE ANTI-U.S.STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

Following our people's great victory of the long, arduous and very glorious resistance war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, today Viet Nam is celebrating the 28th anniversary of the successful August Revolution and the founding of the D.R.V.N., the first people's democratic state in South-east Asia.

On September 2, 1945, at Ba Dinh Square, President Ho Chi Minh read out the Declaration of Independence: "Viet Nam has the right to be free and independent and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property, in order to safeguard their freedom and independence."

In order to preserve freedom and independence, safeguard the gains of the August Revolution and defend the D.R.V.N., the Vietnamese people have fought unremittingly and won repeated victories: in 1946 they fought the enemy within and without the country: from late 1946 to the spring of 1954, they fought against the French imperialists and finally defeated them: the Dien Bien Phu victory went down in history as a landmark of the bankruptcy of old colonialism. Next came the

earth-shaking resistance war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, defeating the "flexible response" strategy of the U.S imperialists carried out in the forms of special war, limited war and "Vietnamized" war, and bringing about a victory of historic significance and epochal magnitude.

In his Testament in which every word carries with it a great idea, President Ho Chi Minh wrote:

"No matter what difficulties and hardships lie ahead, our people are sure of total victory. The U.S. imperialists will certainly have to quit. Our Fatherland will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be re-united under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honour of defeating, through heroic struggle, two big imperialisms – the French and the American – and of making a worthy contribution to the world national liberation movement."

Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, our people have fought valiantly to materialize these recommendations made by President Ho Chi Minh and they will materialize them in full. This is the iron will of our Vietnamese nation, the inevitable upsurge of the world trend which no reactionary force can impede. This is the source of immense joy and enthusiasm for every Vietnamese on this historic commemorative day. And this joy and enthusiasm is all the greater because in the course of the grim fighting against rich and powerful imperialist countries which have at one time ruled the roost, we have grown ever stronger at extraordinary speed, illustrating the truth of the legendary story about the Child Genie of Giong..

On the basis of the victory already won, with the élan of the victor, with their own strength and the support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and friends all over the world, the Vietnamese people will move forward in the new stage of their revolution, with a determination to achieve the independence and freedom of the nation and build socialism successfully.

The January 27,1973 Paris Agreement is an indication of the great victory of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. It records the fundamental national rights - "the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam" and "the right to self- determination of the South Vietnamese people". It records the U.S. pledge to respect these inalienable rights and "not to continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam". One month after its signing, the Paris Agreement was solemnly confirmed and supported by the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam. On June 13, the Joint communiqué of the signatories to the Paris Agreement again asserted the obligation of the parties to respect and strictly implement the provisions of the said agreement.

To the Vietnamese people, to the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N., to strictly respect and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement is not only our duty as signatories to that Agreement, but also a major policy because the Paris Agreement is consistent with our very fundamental national interest and the trend of the world today. It is a very firm political and juridical basis for us to carry on our struggle to attain our revolutionary objectives in the new stage: to maintain and consolidate lasting peace, complete the

national democratic revolution in the South, accelerate the socialist construction in the North and achieve the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, thereby contributing to the preservation of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia, and the rest of the world.

However, the experience gained in the last seven months shows that, while respecting and implementing the Paris Agreement, we must carry out a persistent, uncompromising and resolute struggle against all schemes and acts violating the Agreement. So far, as a result of our struggle and of the pressure of world opinion , the United States and the Saigon administration have had to carry out a number of provisions of the Agreement concerning the cessation of the bombing of the D.R.V.N., and the withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam. However the United States and the Saigon administration, still bent on imposing U.S. neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, and stubborn and warlike by nature, have violated and continue violating brazenly, repeatedly and systematically a series of extremely important provisions of the Agreement. That is why, more than ever before, the Vietnamese people, the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N., the sole legitimate representative of our people in the South, have expressed their determination to carry on this just struggle till complete victory and to see the serious and thorough implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

We deem in necessary to point out here the main violations by the United States and the Saigon administration of the provisions of the Paris Agreement which they had undertaken to respect and implement.

1. The United States, by imposing its neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, violates directly or indirectly many very important provisions of the Paris Agreement on the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese nation and the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people in the South.

2. With U.S. backing and connivance, the Saigon administration has very seriously and systematically violated:

– Provisions on the ceasefire and the restoration of peace; since January 28, 1973, the Saigon administration has unceasingly conducted land-grabbing operations into areas controlled by the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N., greatly endangering the situation in the whole of South Viet Nam.

– Provisions on democratic freedoms in South Viet Nam- intensifying the policy of bloody repression and terror against various strata of the people in the areas under its control.

– Provisions on the return of civilian personnel arrested and detained by it, whose number is increasing and who are being imprisoned, tortured and savagely disposed of

– Provisions on the achievement of national reconciliation and concord – refusing the formation of the Council of National Reconciliation and Concord comprising three equal segments so that the two sides can "sign an Agreement on the internal questions of South Viet Nam... in keeping with the South Vietnamese people's aspiration for peace, independence and democracy."

– Provisions on the organization and operation of the International Commission of Supervision and Control, of the two-party joint military commissions – constantly causing difficulties to the normal operation of these organizations.

3. The United States has carried out schemes and acts violating:

– its commitment to "stop all its military activities against the territory of the D.R.V.N. by ground, air and naval forces, wherever they may be based". It continues sending reconnaissance planes over the D.R.V.N.

– its commitment to "contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the D.R.V.N. ". It has delayed the concrete realization of its commitment, that is the United States' responsibility for the tremendous destructions it caused to the D.R.V.N.

4. The United States has violated the provision on the respect of the "Cambodian and the Lao peoples' fundamental national rights, i.e. the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of these countries", and the principle under which "the internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference." The Saigon administration also has carried out schemes and acts violating this provision.

This is our indictment before world opinion against the violations by the United States and the Saigon administration of a series of very important provisions of the Paris Agreement.

Naturally, the United States and the Saigon administration will deny this, and will make slanderous countercharges in the same way as a thief crying "stop thief". But then our people and world opinion will see still more clearly their stubborn and deceptive nature, and will struggle still more persistently against them, and will not let them sabotage the Paris Agreement as

they did the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. This is a revolutionary struggle aimed at completing the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and contributing to the maintenance and consolidation of peace in this region and in the world.

This hard and complex struggle requires us to heighten our vigilance, further strengthen the people's armed forces and defence potential of the D.R V.N., always stand ready to fight and foil all military adventures of the warmongers wherever they may come from. That is a very significant factor in the struggle for ensuring the respect and implementation of the Paris Agreement.

Judging by its origin and nature, this struggle is directed against the neo-colonialism imposed on the South by the U.S. which was already the enemy of the Vietnamese people right during their resistance war against the French colonialists. Through our protracted fight against the U.S. aggressors, both during their war escalation and de-escalation, we have realized more clearly that their perfidious and unchanged scheme is to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, turn the latter into a new-type colony of the U.S. and permanently partition our country. During the whole process of resisting U.S. aggression to save the country, the repeated and ever greater victories of strategic significance of our people and the repeated and ever heavier failures of the U.S. imperialists, are manifestations of the continued bankruptcy of U.S. neo-colonialism in the South of our country. Our people's great victory is demonstrated in the signing of the Paris Agreement which led to the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of the last

unit of the U.S. expeditionary corps and of the troops of the satellites of the U.S. The present situation and balance of forces between us and the enemy in South Viet Nam and Indochina have changed considerably compared with the past. This is an irreversible trend which continues to evolve in favour of our people's revolutionary cause in the new stage. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists have failed and are failing obviously in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and are undergoing very serious crises in all fields due to the natural consequences of the aggressive war in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina. Meanwhile, the fraternal peoples in the socialist countries and the world's people have in very diversified forms warmly evinced their sympathy and support to our people and assisted us in our bound-to-be-victorious struggle for ensuring the observance of the Paris Agreement, completing the national liberation and building socialism in the North.

Everybody knows what has happened in the South after January 27, 1973. We have clearly seen that the Nguyen Van Thieu clique represents the interests of the militarists, bureaucratic and compradore capitalist and the other reactionary forces, symbolizing one of the blood-thirstiest fascist and police regimes in history. They are the vestiges of the defeated aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists. They are scheming to rekindle the war, and for that very reason, are, more than ever before, running completely counter to the most vital interests of all strata of the Vietnamese people in the South, namely peace, democratic freedoms, national concord and a better life, running completely counter to the goal of the Vietnamese people, which is to abolish U.S. neo-colonialism

and achieve the right to self-determination for the Vietnamese people in the South, The more they intensify their illegal operations, repression and persecution, oppression and exploitation, and the more they pile up crimes against the people, the deeper will be the hatred of the various strata of the people including the third force in the South who will maintain an indomitable spirit and will rise up to struggle against them, fearless of hardships and sacrifices. Victory surely will belong to the Vietnamese people in the South.

A factor of decisive effect for victory is the liberated area of the National Front for Liberation and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. Here our countrymen and combatants are always on the look-out and are ready to fight and fight well to shatter all nibbling acts of the Saigon administration and defend the liberated zone while building it in all fields, political, economic, cultural and social, and materializing the Political Program of the Front and the national and democratic policies of the P.R.G. in all spheres of life. Despite countless difficulties and hardships, our countrymen and combatants in the liberated area are endeavouring to rehabilitate and develop the economy, develop culture, and step by step improve the people's life, sowing seeds for a bright future.

Today, on the occasion of the glorious National Day of the nation, we cordially extend to our compatriots and combatants in the South Viet Nam liberated zone and to all patriots in the South our feelings of kinship, blood-sealed affection and immense respect and admiration. We have always been by the side of our brothers and sisters in the South and we will be so forever in the days ahead; we pledge ourselves to be worthy of

the South and to do all we can to meet all of their requirements and fulfil all the tasks of the North towards the heroic South, the "Brass Wall of the Fatherland" The enemy of the nation has not yet renounced his dark schemes, but obviously he now finds himself in a declining and losing position, whereas our Vietnamese nation has always emerged as the victor. South Viet Nam belongs to the Vietnamese people! Viet Nam, our Fatherland, will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be re-united under the same roof!

On the occasion of our National Day, we cordially send our warm congratulations to the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples and wish that the Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong and on the basis of the great victory recorded with the signing of the Vientiane Agreement, will march forward to greater victories, and achieve a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos. We wish that the Cambodian people rallying in the National United Front of Kampuchea headed by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and around the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as Deputy Prime Minister, will vigorously develop the extremely important victories already recorded on the battlefield and continue stepping up their staunch struggle to win yet greater victories and achieve an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia throughout the national territory.

TREMENDOUS VITALITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

We take immense pride in the socialist North which, through crucial tests of strength, has won brilliant victory over the two wars of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists, and which has stood side by side with our Southern compatriots and combatants, making a worthy contribution to the nation's great victory, and at the same time has seen constant growth in politics, economy, culture and national defence. Today, in the new stage of the revolutionary cause, the people in the North of our country are determined to go all out, push forward socialist construction, and encrease in all fields the strength of the D.R.V.N. - the solid revolutionary base of the entire country.

Since the restoration of peace, the North Vietnamese people, responding to the appeal of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and the Government of the D.R.V.N. and fully conscious of the tremendous tasks awaiting them, have been translating their revolutionary heroism in combat into determination to overcome all difficulties and accelerate, at a higher tempo than ever before, the socialist construction and the building of a new life and the new man. We are striving to create big and fundamental changes in economic rehabilitation and development .

Within only a short period, the communication network has been restored: the entire railway system has been reopened to traffic, all the bridges big and small on the main highways and railways have been repaired and are effectively serving economic activities, national defence and the people's life.

The power stations which had been destroyed have been quickly restored and put back into operation step by step: both power capacity and output have reached the pre-war level.

Many heavily damaged industrial enterprises have been partly repaired and have resumed operation.

Hundreds of thousands of hectares of ricefields ploughed up by bombs and shells have been put back to cultivation; most of the hydraulic systems have resumed operation; the first Winter-Spring rice crop in peace was among the best ever harvested, and animal husbandry has developed at a tempo quicker than in previous years. It is heartening to note that agriculture has acquired new experience of a creative character as far as guidance, methods, organization of production, yields and output are concerned, as in the provinces of Nghe An, Thai Binh and Yen Bai, the districts of Nam Ninh, Thanh Tri and An Thuy, and other localities.

Cultural, educational and public health activities have rapidly returned to normal and are further developing.

The initial results obtained in the restoration and stabilization of life clearly show the powerful vitality of the socialist system and the vast potentials of our people.

However, we should not be satisfied with these achievements. We still have to make persistent and more efficient efforts to overcome the great difficulties left over by the war: many cities and towns, vast rural areas, many cultural establishments, schools and hospitals were destroyed by U.S. bombs and shells; North Viet Nam's economy, originally poor

and backward under the French colonialist regime, after making some headway during the first 5-year plan (1961-1965) had become the target for enemy destruction.

The new situation requires urgent solutions in all fields. We must fully and deeply realize the urgent task of rehabilitating and developing the national economy on a large scale and at a high tempo, steadily leading our small production toward big-scale socialist production in all the branches of our national economy, first of all in agriculture.

In order to build the socialist North on a large-scale and at a high speed, we must thoroughly grasp that thought which has a basic and deep meaning for the application of the Party's line on economic development, for the execution of the resolutions of the Party C.C. and for the fulfilment of the State Plan in various branches of activity and localities down to grass-roots units, i.e. enterprises and co-operatives.

Before departing from this world, President Ho Chi Minh, the venerated and beloved leader of the nation, gave us this earnest recommendation:

Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be,

The Americans defeated, we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful.

These last words of his reflect the heroism of the Vietnamese nation in the building of a new, socialist life. We are resolved to carry through his recommendations which express the age-old dream of our Vietnamese nation.

WORK ZEALOUSLY FOR SOCIALISM, FOR OUR SOUTHERN KINSFOLK

The immediate task is to rapidly heal the wounds of war and quickly stabilize the people's life and rehabilitate and develop production. Particular attention shall be paid to branches directly serving the people's life and the other activities of the national economy. From 1973 to 1975, we shall strive to accomplish rehabilitation in the main and take one step forward in development. At the same time, we must think over study and make preparations for the building of the material and technical foundation of socialism according to a long-term plan (1976-1980) in the following period.

At present and in the years to come, we shall pay attention to the following:

North Viet Nam's agriculture must be developed all-sidedly in the direction of intensive culture and increased yield and at the same time, along the line of large-scale production; it must enlarge the scale of production gradually and steadily. This is the pressing need of socialist agriculture and the national economy in the North. Still greater efforts and better organization are required to develop animal husbandry and turn it into a main, major branch of production in the spirit of the Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Party Central Committee. It is necessary to implement the policy of perfecting the hydraulic system at all costs, to accelerate the tempo of agricultural mechanization, and step up the improvement of the soil and animal and plant strains in order to achieve intensive farming in the whole acreage under cultivation. Meanwhile, we will clear more virgin land, and build

new economic areas in the midlands and the uplands so as to enable North Viet Nam's agriculture to develop vigorously. Through the building of new economic areas, we will proceed to a re-division of labour and of productive forces. We will lay great emphasis on the streamlining and strengthening of the management of agricultural co-operatives and State farms.

Given its paramount importance, communications and transport should always be regarded as the central task. We must restore, transform and develop its bases and forces so as to be able to provide timely services in the new situation; we must transform and expand the railway lines, make the best use of waterways, mechanize inland navigation, develop sea shipping, and transform and make the best use of the overland routes leading to new economic areas. Parallel to the development of trunk roads and centrally-run transport facilities, attention should be paid to the extension of auxiliary routes and local transport while making the best use of rudimentary means of transport where motorized transport is still limited. We must strengthen the management of communications and transport, realize unified command, step up co-operation among the branches concerned in order to use the various means of transport efficiently, ensure a rapid flow of goods and low freight charges while guaranteeing safety for passengers and goods alike.

We must rapidly restore, improve and develop the existing industrial enterprises, stabilize production at these enterprises according to their order of importance by supplying the necessary capital, materials and man-power and making the best

use of the materials and equipment now still scattered; we must rapidly build the enterprises for which equipment is available and be prepared to build a number of important industrial establishments of the national economy; we will accelerate the production of consumer goods, develop the food industry and encourage and foster small industrial and handicraft co-operatives. We will do our best so that by the end of the 1973-1975 plan, the North will be in a position to turn out the bulk of its own consumer goods while rapidly increasing the volume of commodities for export. We will step up the production of electric power and coal and the production of fertilizers and farm implements, expand the machine repair network and develop the production of machines by organizing a division of labour and cooperation between various branches and enterprises by means of specialization of production, push up the timber industry and the production of building materials at central and regional levels.

In the coming years, capital construction must serve the restoration and development of agriculture, communications and transport, and industry as mentioned above; meanwhile it must meet the urgent needs of the people in housing, education, health care and other welfare work, etc.

It is necessary to intensify the building industry in all fields so that it can move into a new phase of development, swell the ranks of skilled workers, technicians and managerial cadres, increase mechanical and semi-mechanical equipment and raise the number of surveyors, designers and scientific and technical researchers in the building service. The building materials and prefabricated building industry must soon become a major

branch. We must strengthen and improve the management of the building business to speed up the tempo of execution and complete the work on schedule, ensure the quality of construction, save building space, capital, materials and manpower and lower the costs of construction. Right now, it is necessary to make preparation for the development of capital construction in the years to come.

Parallel with the economic rehabilitation and development and on the basis of the achievements already recorded, we will vigorously develop culture, education, public health, art and literature which are the very important branches of activity of the cultural and ideological revolution, and are to play a beneficial role in the cultural life of the people.

We will step up those scientific and technical researches which have close connection with the development of the national economy. We must see to it that the people's needs in food, housing, education and health care be satisfied, especially the needs of the people in war-torn regions, of the workers, public servants and people in the urban areas and industrial centres. We will give active assistance to the families of war invalids, soldiers dying in action, soldiers fighting at the front and war victims.

Peace has been restored but not yet consolidated. To preserve peace, we must strengthen the armed forces of the people in the North of our country, increase vigilance, stand ready to resist all acts of encroachment upon the. D.R.V.N. That is why economic construction and cultural development should be closely linked to national defence. Apart from their main task of maintaining high combat preparedness in

defence of the socialist fatherland, the armed forces must take part in economic rehabilitation and development according to their ability, thus contributing to national building.

In order to build the socialist North on a large scale and at a high speed, now more than ever before we must carry out in a creative manner the triple revolution: revolution in the relations of production, technical revolution, and cultural and ideological revolution, with the technical revolution being the key stone. We must apply this triple revolution in the economic and cultural fields, in the execution of the Party policy and the State Plan, and in the building of a new life and a new man, in such a way that these 3 revolutions stimulate one another and take the North rapidly and vigorously to socialism. For the successful realization of this triple revolution, it is necessary to bring into full play the leading role of the State and the right to collective mastery of the masses, to promote the inexhaustible strength and creative talents of the working people - the creators of all material and cultural wealth - and to further the spirit of self-reliance, industriousness and thrift in national construction.

Under the leadership of the Party, the State - an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat - must be deeply conscious of its responsibility in the management of the whole of social life. Drastic measures must be taken to overcome loopholes in the management of various branches of the economy, in keeping with the requirements arising from a switch-over from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The system of economic management in war time along an administrative supply pattern must be shifted promptly to that of cost-

accounting. Responsibility and authority must be clearly defined for each branch of activity, each echelon, each individual. Public order and security must be strictly maintained. The State apparatus must be strengthened, perfected and streamlined as soon as possible so that it can discharge its functions properly and efficiently.

In short, socialist legality and State discipline should be upheld, in the first place in the management of labour.

The building of socialism in the North calls for a step-up of the patriotic emulation movement. For the sake of the Fatherland and socialism, for our kinsfolk in the South, everyone of us has the obligation to work with a sense of organization and discipline and with intelligence and creativeness so as to achieve high labour productivity and real economic efficiency. Everyone of us must deeply realize that to-morrow's gains depend on how we are working today and to-morrow's harvest depends on what seeds we are sowing today. Let us infuse revolutionary heroism in combat into the cause of socialist construction. The whole country is a great construction site under strict organization and management. Each person is a fighter resolved to win on the labour front and, on this front, we are bound to win just as we have won in the shooting war.

Acting upon the noble wish of President Ho Chi Minh, a delegation of the Viet Nam Worker's Party and the Government of the D.R.V.N. recently visited a number of socialist countries to express our sincere and profound gratitude for the heartfelt, great and precious support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries to the anti-U.S. resistance for national

salvation of our people and the building of socialism in North Viet Nam. Wherever our delegation went, it was welcomed by the Parties, Governments and peoples of the host countries as close brothers back home after winning a great victory on the frontline. They highly appreciated the courageous fight and great victory of our people, and expressed their determination to continue supporting and assisting our revolutionary cause in the new stage. We shall send our delegation to visit other socialist countries and friendly countries.

By sending our delegation to visit and thank the peoples of friendly countries, our Party, Government and people once again set great store by the support and assistance of the world's people. This is an extremely great movement spreading over all continents, the richest and most sustained movement in the history of revolutionary struggle of all nations.

The support and assistance of the people in the socialist countries and the rest of the world is a fact of great significance in the present world. The fight of our people has taken place in an epoch the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism and at a time when the three revolutionary currents are rising: the might of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement in various forms in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class and toiling people in the capitalist countries. Peace, independence, democracy, and socialism - the objectives of the fight of our people - are closely linked to the objectives of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people. The fight and victories of our people have made

and will continue making important contributions to the cause of national liberation, socialism, and defence of peace of the world's people. These have bound and will forever bind the revolutionary struggle of our people to that of the world's people.

The just and victorious fight of our people, the correct international line of our Party and the revolutionary trend of our time have brought about the actual formation of a broad front of the world's people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors in support of the Vietnamese people. The big gains obtained in the movement of international solidarity with a support for Viet Nam has inspired the persevering efforts aimed at restoring and consolidating unity among the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in keeping with both reason and sentiment.

Today, we warmly welcome the fine success of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China aimed at enhancing unity, boosting the socialist construction and socialist transformation, and increasing the forces of the People's Republic of China in all fields, thus positively contributing to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples, and to the struggle against imperialism and in defence of peace.

The struggle of our people is an integral part of the common struggle of the world's people for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. Our people warmly welcome the great achievements of the fraternal socialist countries, warmly welcome the resounding victories of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and warmly welcome the growth and the

fighting stamina of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries. Our people sincerely wish our friends on the five continents new victories in their great struggle.

In the near future, the Summit Conference of non-aligned countries will meet in Algiers, capital of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic. We wish that on the basis of strengthening solidarity among the non-aligned countries, in the struggle of paramount importance of our time against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism led by U.S. imperialism, for the safeguarding of fundamental national rights, for the development of the national economy and culture, the building of national prosperity, the multiplication of the huge force of the peoples of non-aligned countries, who make up the majority of mankind, the conference will actively contribute to the cause of peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

EVER GREATER CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

Our people are facing a new situation and a new task brought on by the victory of great and profound significance of the anti-U.S. resistance war for national salvation. This new situation and new task naturally give rise to difficulties and complications which we must fully realize. Nevertheless, the advantages are essential and are very fundamental in many respects. They come from the Party's independent, sovereign, correct and creative line which reflects the basic interests of the revolutionary cause of our people in each stage; the socialist system in the North which has brought into play its effects and excellence in all spheres of combat and economic construction; the strength of the bloc of

national union, the strength of our people's revolutionary struggle, the strength of a nation with rich traditions of independence and self-reliance; all that has been called into play and organized by our Party to achieve victory. Our advantages also come from the whole-hearted and invaluable support and assistance of the Soviet union, China and the other brotherly socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the Third World Countries and the people all over the world. The building of socialism in the North still enjoys other fundamental advantages. One is the vast work force available in the North but still far from being fully employed; men create everything; our labour and our minds will design and build, step by step the socialist edifice in our country; therefore, what should be done to bring into play the creative labour of all working people in the North is a major and pressing problem that must be solved. We must pay attention to training many more skilled workers and making good use of them and the contingent of our well-trained, well-experienced and talented cadres. Attention must also be paid to the rational distribution and better use of the contingent of technical and professional cadres, with emphasis on the young generation full of revolutionary ardour and mettle; the various branches and echelons have the responsibility to fully execute the Resolution of the Party's Political Bureau on the problem of cadres, regarding this as an important part of their work. Another advantage, a very fundamental one, is the rich natural resources of the North with three different regions: delta, midlands and highlands, each having its own strong points

which should be turned to good account so as to develop the national economy on the basis of the rational distribution of the productive and labour forces in keeping with the branches of activity and occupations prevalent in each region. Here, difficulties will not tie our hands. On the contrary they will develop our resourcefulness.

The new situation and new tasks demand from our Vietnamese nation, from every Vietnamese, even more maturity in ideology and sentiment, in revolutionary resolve to struggle, in standard of knowledge and capacity to work, especially in the fields of organization and management of the national economy. Greater zeal is needed in productive labour and our people's revolutionary heroism and fine virtues are to be further enhanced. In the centuries-old history of our nation, each great victory over foreign aggression always ushered in a period in which the nation's quintessence was developed vigorously and multifariously.

More than ever before, the entire Vietnamese people, the people in the North and each of us must strive to bring ourselves up to the level of the requirements of the great revolutionary cause in this new stage, and be resolved to achieve tremendous tasks: preserving lasting peace, promoting the building of socialism in the North, completing independence and democracy in the South, realizing the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland and building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thus making ever bigger contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

Speech commemorating the 29th anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day (Sept. 2, 1974)

Today, in celebration of the 29th anniversary of the great August Revolution and the founding of the D.R.V.N., on behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the D.R.V.N. Government, I cordially extend the warmest compliments to fellow-countrymen and fighting men in the entire country and wish that our people will step up their staunch revolutionary struggle and move towards new, still greater victories in the new stage, namely, to preserve and consolidate durable peace, successfully build socialism in the North, complete independence and democracy in the South, move towards the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, and contribute positively to safeguarding peace in this area and in the rest of the world.

On this occasion, we cordially convey to overseas Vietnamese the warm feelings of their beautiful homeland full of vitality, of their glorious Fatherland which is the pride of every Vietnamese.

WE HAVE ENDED THE GREATEST WAR OF RESISTANCE IN OUR HISTORY AND HAVE GROWN STRONGER IN EVERY FIELD

Over the past nineteen months since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, in response to the appeal of the Party and Government, the Northern people, by bringing into full play their revolutionary heroism and their capacity for industrious,

intelligent and creative labour, have embarked on the work of healing the wounds of war, rehabilitating and developing the economy, developing culture, carrying on the building of the material and technical foundation of socialism and consolidating the socialist relations of production, and have obtained important successes.

By late 1973, many branches reached approximately the production levels of 1965 – the last year of the first Five-Year Plan – and in 1974, production has continued to increase. Thus, it is probable that by late 1974 the total social production in North Viet Nam will reach or even surpass the prewar levels.

In the field of communications and transport, we have quickly restored ports, wharves and roads. Workers and armymen have co-operated with one another in removing mines, reopening ports, wharves and river mouths; the entrances to various ports have been dredged enabling big vessels to manoeuvre easily; the quantity of goods handled; at our ports is now half as big again as in the pre-war period; though not yet quite good due to the aftermath of the war, railways, roads and waterways have been operating smoothly in all respects and have been repaired or expanded.

On the industrial front, almost all factories and workshops are either fully or partly recommissioned; a number of important workshops are being rehabilitated or expanded; many power plants, built during or after the war, have been put into operation; the output of many engineering products has increased 1.5 or 2 times compared with the pre-war figures, especially motors, cutting machines, barges, canoes, fishing trawlers and

boats, and so on; though still below the pre-war production level, the coal industry has quickly increased its output The production of consumer goods, fertilizers, chemicals and building materials and others industrial products is in a process of development. handicrafts, a valuable source of consumer goods, is being restored and developed beyond the pre-war levels. Geological survey work is under way; our very rich national resources are being explored with a view to the fu ture development of the national economy.

On the front of agricultural production, our collective peasants have made great efforts in rehabilitating and improving the irrigation systems, filling bomb craters on tens of thousands of hectares of lands; they restored and built new material and technical bases, persistently endeavoured to do away with the aftermath of flood, typhoon, drought, cold and frost Such efforts have resulted in high output unknown before in a number of localities.

The winter crop has been expanded and bids fair to become the main crop Though meeting with difficulties after the flood and typhoons of 1973 (chiefly shortage of feed at the beginning of the year), the herd of pigs has increased steadily. Stations for the selection of rice seed, and strains of pig, ox, poultry, have been built or expanded.

On the construction front, in the past 19 months though the volume of completed building projects is below the present heavy requirements, it has surpassed that of the first three years of the first Five-Year plan (1961-1965). After the war, the State has paid great attention to meeting the requirements of rapid industrial rehabilitation, expanding existing enterprises or

building new ones with a view to the immediate development of the economy, while preparing for the year ahead. Compared with 1965, investment reserved for the main branches of the national economy has markedly increased, eightfold for building generally and for housing, fivefold. Hospitals and schools have been rapidly rehabilitated and tens of thousands of classrooms have been built. The local people have contributed dozens of millions of workdays to restore and expand production establishments and public utility enterprises.

With respect to circulation and distribution, despite great postwar difficulties and the rapid demographic growth in North Vietnam, we have made great efforts to meet the basic requirements of the people and quickly stabilized and gradually improved the people's life particularly in the countryside. Organization of distribution of commodities has been improved, prices of consumer goods in organized public markets remain stable, the price of a number of agricultural products has been adjusted in order to stimulate production, and export activity has mad progress. Imports of materials and equipment is underway to meet domestic demands.

The everyday realities of economic rehabilitation and development bring out the importance of managerial work. The deeper we go into the field of management, the more clearly we realize the urgent need of science and technology and the necessity to make better use of the existing contingent of technical cadres and strengthen in all aspects the contingent of managing cadres. We must pay greater attention to improving the training of skilled workers in various branches of the national

economy. Leading bodies of different branches of activity down to grassroots units must give particular attention to these pressing problems, especially the management of labour and the life of those directly engaged in creating wealth. We must make better use of the precious and many-sided assistance given us by brotherly and friendly countries.

Alongside the efforts and achievements in the economic field, new developments have been recorded in education, culture, literature and art, public health, mother and child welfare, physical culture and sports, etc... In various localities, the number of hospital beds, health establishments, hygiene and disease prevention teams has been restored and is making headway. The policies towards demobilized and transferred armymen, war invalids and the families of war martyrs and armymen have been complemented and improved. Particular attention has been given to the restoration of the health of the wounded armymen and their ability to work. General and higher education has continued to develop: this year the school population of all grades of general education has increased to 6.5 million. Thus in North Vietnam now, one out of every three people is going to school. In the past school-year, teachers and pupils have made great efforts and progress and obtained heartening results.

Along with the encouraging achievements mentioned above, we are carrying out a resolute fight against dishonest and illegal practices, against the misappropriation of the property of the State and the co-operatives which affects economic management

and public order and harms the people's interests. We will carry on this struggle more vigorously in order to wipe out those intolerable evils. This is an indispensable measure for promoting the management of all social activities by our State - the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party – with the active participation of the people. In this respect, we can see all the more clearly the important significance and benefits of socialist legislation.

In the light of the Resolution of the 22nd Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the working class, the collective peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia and the different nationalities of North Vietnam are going all out to fulfil their tasks in the new stage of our nation's glorious revolution. Since the Trade Union and Women's congresses and the national conference of the Working Youth, the emulation movement for productive labour and for the building of socialism with diligence and thrift has seen new development. On the occasion of May Day this year, in thousands of enterprises, collective contracts were signed between the managements and the trade unions; more than 1,000 enterprises pledged to set the norms of their production programs higher than the State Plan targets; 20,000 production teams and brigades signed up to strive to become socialist labour teams and brigades. The Quang Ninh coal miners have overfulfilled their first half-year program and have volunteered to extract hundreds of thousands more tons of coal. In agriculture, many co-operatives have been credited

with new achievements in the Spring harvest of this year: 19 co-ops have obtained a per hectare yield of over 6 tones 171 others over 5 tons, and 7 districts have obtained an all-districts average yield of 4 tons per hectare. Let us imagine what great results will be achieved if most of the agricultural co-ops. in North Viet Nam can do likewise in the time ahead!

Our heroic people's army and other armed forces have been pushing ahead the "Determined-to-win" emulation drive. They remain constantly vigilant and stand ready at all times to fight, at the same time they are making a worthy contribution to the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, combining economic construction with national defence.

North Vietnam is facing heavy and urgent tasks. For the situation to continue to evolve vigorously and in order to fulfil the 1974 State Plan targets and actively prepare favourable conditions for the 1975 State Plan, we must, urgently and effectively, carry out the following important measures :

– Pay greater attention to directing the implementation of the State Plan : all branches from the Central down to local echelons, through control and encouragement, will closely follow the state of the execution of the plan, promptly detect problems to be solved and speedily find solutions to them.

– Strengthen management, especially management of food distribution, labour and materials, to check the negative aspects while bringing into full play the positive aspects in

economic activities and social life. Streamline the managing apparatus in such a way as to make it more efficacious, simpler and less cumbersome, liable to ensure effective leadership.

– Firmly tackle the most important links : push ahead agricultural production, first and foremost, strive to obtain a bumper winter crop, make good preparations to win new successes in the winter-spring crop; build new economic areas in the midlands and highlands; concentrate efforts on completing building projects, especially the most important ones and prepare to put them into use at once; endeavour to fulfil, qualitatively and quantitatively, the plan targets set for industrial production, communications and transport, circulation, distribution and capital construction; strive to make new progress in gradually improving the people's living conditions.

– Promote the revolutionary movement among the masses with a view to realizing socialist construction and transformation in the North.

To effectively carry out those tasks is to make the best possible preparations for welcoming these events of great importance for our Party and State in 1975 : the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party, the 30th birthday of the D.R.V.N. and the 85th birth anniversary of our venerated and beloved Uncle Ho.

Today, we in the North are facing a situation and numerous tasks fraught with difficulties and complications, but the advantages are fundamental and great. Everyone of us must be well aware that we have just brought the greatest war of

resistance in the history of our country to a victorious end and we are growing stronger in all fields. Of course, such a war has left devastations and aftermaths that must be overcome. At present, we should without delay pool all our efforts to rehabilitate and develop our economy, develop culture, stabilize and gradually improve our people's life. As the U.S. and the Saigon administration are seriously violating the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and carrying on the "Vietnamization" of the war in South Vietnam, we must constantly heighten our vigilance, strengthen our national defence potential, and stand ready to smash all the enemy's adventurist acts against the D.R.V.N. All these tasks must be done satisfactorily in order to make socialist North Vietnam a strong support for the sacred struggle for independence and democracy in South Vietnam and for the advance toward the reunification of the country by peaceful means. At the same time, we must fulfil our internationalist obligations toward the people of the two fraternal neighbouring countries.

A country of our size, with an originally backward economy, has not only confronted head-on but even defeated the richest and most powerful imperialist country of our times and immediately afterwards has tackled many important and urgent things and simultaneously carried out many difficult and complicated tasks : this is something everyone of us must realize fully and deeply. The major documents of the Party have helped everybody to conceive in a concrete and realistic manner the situation and our tasks in the present stage of our revolutionary struggle. To get such an understanding means to

gain more maturity, courage, intelligence, enthusiasm and confidence and greater determination to do what could not yet be done in the past. A divorce from the great ideas and sentiments of the revolution unavoidably leads to stagnation, retrogression and even degeneration.

Particularly encouraging is the fact that in industry, agriculture, communications and transport, capital construction, etc., the working masses and technical cadres of many establishments, under the leadership of collectives of tempered Party members, have successfully solved many complicated problems, in extremely difficult circumstances by mainly relying on their own resources, enhancing the spirit of collective mastery and mobilizing the revolutionary ardour, courage, intelligence and creativeness of everybody. These are experiences that need to be brought into play, it is necessary to multiply isolated cases so as to make them commonplace and to move from a low to a high level in order to overcome the aftermaths of war and step up economic rehabilitation and development and cultural development. This calls for great endeavours on the part of various branches of activity at the highest echelon and the leading bodies of various localities to fully discharge their functions so as to support, guide and assist grassroots units in their steady advance towards new achievements in all fields. Here we should get a deeper insight into the matter, and realize the necessity to overcome the difficulties arising from our originally backward economy, a legacy of the past, not only in the sphere of material supply such as shortages of equipment and raw materials, but also in our outlook, our thinking and our habits, and in the field of organization and management. Let us

recall many of Lenin's words about the resolute and persistent struggle to be waged against the habits of small-scale production so as to move towards building a large-scale production, a modern industrial production. These also are our pressing and essential demands. In brief, the difficulties in all fields now facing us, in the final analysis, are difficulties stemming from the path taken by a country, originally backward and ravaged by war for years, to move directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. On this very new path, we have to solve many complicated problems and surmount many difficulties so as to move step by step from small-scale to large-scale production, realize socialist industrialization along the Party line, in an independent, sovereign and self-reliant spirit and by making the most of the vast labour force and great creativeness of our people. We must work hard and courageously in order to provide requisites for vigorous and steady steps of development in the time ahead in implementation of the teachings of our venerated and beloved Uncle Ho : to build "our country ten times more beautiful", to build a new society, a new life, a new man.

By the way we deem it necessary to stress one thing : our country is an economically underdeveloped one but our regime is an advanced one, the socialist regime, the excellence of which has been brought into full play in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation in the past and now must be promoted to the fullest extent in the building of the socialist North.

The excellence and matchless strength of this regime lie in that it embodies the people's mastery. This regime is the outcome of the revolutionary struggle waged by our people since the founding of the Party and leading to the triumph of the August Revolution and the birth of the D.R.V.N. ; it has held its ground and grown up through the flames of a nearly three-decade-long war. Nowadays in the revolutionary tide for socialist construction and transformation in the North it must display still more remarkably its excellence and strength by advancing to the highest degree the people's right to mastery under different forms in the settlement of problems encountered in the political, economic, cultural and social life at grassroots level and other echelons and in different branches of activity. Only the socialist regime is really a regime of the people, by the people and for the people. Each of our comrades must fully grasp this in his thinking and his action in the execution of the Party line and policy as well as in the managing work of the State.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETION OF INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE SOUTH IS A NECESSARY HISTORICAL PROCESS WHICH NO BRUTAL FORCE CAN IMPEDE

Nineteen months have elapsed since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. The Vietnamese people as well as progressive public opinion in the world have clearly realized that the U.S. imperialists and the Nguyen Van Thieu clique are the saboteurs of peace and of the Paris Agreement and are frantically opposed to the earnest aspirations of our Southern compatriots, namely, peace, independence, democracy, the people's welfare and national concord.

In disregard of its commitment in the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, the U.S. administration still persists in its "Vietnamization of the war" policy in a bid to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Vietnam and partition our country permanently. The U.S. continues its military involvement in South Vietnam and its interference in her internal affairs, and keeps introducing weapons and war equipment en masses into South Vietnam. In implementation of U.S. policy, the warlike and fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique continues to hold hundreds of thousands of patriots under detention, feverishly intensifies the war, steps up land usurpation and pacification operations, increases extermination bombing and shelling attacks against areas in the liberated zone, suppresses democratic liberties, and intensifies terror, repression and exploitation, thus landing people of all strata in areas under their control into dire straits.

In the face of the plots and acts of sabotage against the Paris Agreement by the U.S. and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, our people have persevered in their just struggle for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. Essentially this struggle is a revolutionary struggle for the completion of independence and democracy in south Vietnam and the advance towards the peaceful reunification of the country. It has been taking place in a grim and fierce manner on all the three fronts – political, military and diplomatic – and has won important victories in all aspects, thereby landing the Saigon administration into a perpetual crisis without an escape road and tipping the balance of forces more and more in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people in the South.

We greatly rejoice over the victories won in quick succession by our combatants and compatriots in the South who have smashed the land-grabbing and "pacification" operations conducted by the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, in defence of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, the liberated zone and the people's interests. The liberated zone, a revolutionary gain of our people in the South, is inviolable. The building of an ever-growing liberated zone is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam.

We are filled with enthusiasm before the strong development of the struggle waged by millions of people in the rural areas still under the control of the Saigon administration, to repel and foil "pacification" operations, counter the extremely barbarous repressive and terror measures and the policy of ruthless exploitation, and step by step move towards winning their right to mastery in varied forms.

We closely follow the hard and courageous struggle waged by various sections of the people in the urban areas of South Vietnam against the fascist dictatorial regime of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique and for peace, democratic liberties, a better life and national concord. This struggle is rallying all patriotic forces irrespective of political and religious tendencies, including many members of the Saigon administration and army. We are glad to note that the third political force is playing a positive part in this struggle and proving itself to be a political entity with a role recognised by the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. The persistent struggle of the people in South Vietnam's urban areas is leading to the shaping-up of a broad front of united action against the

U.S.-Thieu clique, engaged in a resolute struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement in the interest of various sections of South Vietnam population and for the sake of their earnest aspirations.

Upholding the banner of peace and independence, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N. have led the struggle of the South Vietnamese people from one victory to another. Since the signing of the Paris Agreement, many more countries have established political and diplomatic relations with the P.R.G.R.S.V.N., the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. The six-point proposal made on March 22, 1974, by the P.R.G.R.S.V.N. manifests the will for peace and national concord of the South Vietnamese people. It is a correct way for the settlement of the internal affairs of South Vietnam in conformity with the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. This proposal has won wide and strong support at home and abroad.

By their acts of sabotage of the Paris Agreement, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are attempting to cancel the revolutionary gains of the South Vietnamese people, but the revolutionary struggle for the completion of independence and democracy in South Vietnam is an inevitable process of history. No cruel force can prevent it.

On the strength of their ardent patriotism and their tradition of undaunted struggle and imbued with the shining truth that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", our Southern compatriots, forged and tempered through years of

persistent fighting, will certainly frustrate all the brutal measures and perfidious schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, steadily march forward, win still greater victories until total triumph is achieved.

The recent downfall of Nixon reflected the all round weakening of U.S. imperialism, the serious crisis of U.S. society. Its deep-seated cause is the U.S. defeat in the war of aggression in Vietnam and in the other Indochinese countries, in the past and at present. This fall is a heavy blow dealt at the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and at the "Nixon doctrine". It is also a heavy blow at the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, an odious offspring and tool of the U.S. imperialists.

However, the recent statements of Gerald Ford showed that the new U.S. President has the intention of continuing Nixon's policy in Vietnam, that is, continued military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, as well as Laos and Cambodia. For a long time past, this policy has failed, it is still failing at present; certainly, it will fail completely.

Once again, we reaffirm the stand of the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the Vietnamese people to strictly respect and seriously implement the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. We reiterate the will of the Vietnamese people to step up their struggle against the acts of war and sabotage of the Paris Agreement by the U.S. and the Saigon administration, for the legitimate national rights of the Vietnamese people and for peace in this region and the rest of the world.

Today, on the occasion of the glorious National Day of the nation, we cordially convey to our combatants and compatriots in the heroic South our most heartfelt sentiments and our boundless trust and admiration. As our venerated and beloved Uncle Ho stated, "our fellow-countrymen in the South are really the heroic sons and daughters of the heroic Vietnamese nation. The South well deserves the name of Brass Wall of the Fatherland. With immense pride, everyone of us pledges to do his utmost so as to be worthy of our kinsfolk in the South and to contribute his part to the revolutionary cause in South Vietnam. Surely, the southern part of our country will be liberated, our Fatherland reunified and our people in the South and in the North will come under the same roof again.

On this occasion, we warmly welcome the foundation of the Provisional Government of National Union of Laos, headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, and the National Political Council of Coalition, headed by Prince Souphanouvong. This is a very great victory of the patriotic forces and the entire Lao people, and, at the same time, an important step in the Lao people's struggle for liberation under the glorious banner of the Lao Patriotic Front, a step marked by the signing of the Vietnamese Agreement. We firmly support the just struggle of the Lao people of various strata aimed at achieving the Political Program of the National Political Council of coalition of Laos to build a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

We warmly welcome the very great successes of the people and the National People's Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia in all domains, which demonstrate their position of strength and

continuous offensive and the surely victorious perspectives of the Cambodian people. We resolutely support the vigorous struggle of the Cambodian people, united in the National United Front of Kampuchea headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and in the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Samdech Penn Nouth as Premier and Mr. Khieu Samphan as Vice-Premier, who are advancing towards glorious victories in the resistance war against the U.S. and its henchmen, in order to build an independent, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia within her integral territory.

As in the past, the Vietnamese people are determined to do all they can to strengthen the militant solidarity and friendship among the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, so that it will last forever.

The just struggle and great victory of our people are an important contribution to the revolutionary cause of all peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, on the occasion of the National Day of the D.R.V.N., we wish to convey our warm sentiments and our heartfelt and profound gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, to the international communist and workers' movement, to the world's people, to the people cherishing peace and justice and to our brothers and friends throughout the world.

The more the Vietnamese people are attached to their revolutionary cause, the glorious cause of our great President Ho Chi Minh the more they value the immense support and

assistance of the brother socialist countries, as well as the solidarity and the wide and unflagging support of the world's people. The world movement against U.S. aggression in support of the Vietnamese people is a fact of paramount importance.

As in the past, the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people is proceeding in very favourable conditions in the world. The three revolutionary currents grow stronger and stronger and maintain their strategic offensive posture. Relying on their superiority, the socialist countries have recorded great achievements in all fields. The movement for national liberation and independence taking place in various forms in Asia, Africa and Latin America has won resounding victories. The struggle of the working class and toiling people in capitalist countries, which links economic with political demands, is gaining new successes. The imperialist countries headed by the U.S. are facing an all-round, protracted and insoluble crisis which has become more and more severe. The U.S.A., the strongest imperialist country, is faced with towering difficulties. The fall of Nixon has pointed to the decline of U.S. imperialism and the growth of progressive forces in the United States itself, it has stimulated the movement against U.S. domination in the world including U.S. satellite countries.

In Southeast Asia, following the victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists of national salvation, the situation develops satisfactorily. The tendency for peace, independence and neutrality is stronger and stronger. The pro-U.S. administrations serving the "Nixon doctrine" are facing

many difficulties at home and abroad. The Thai military regime has fallen, but the present administration in Bangkok still maintains U.S. troops and military bases on its soil. That is why it has met with stronger protest on the part of the Thai people. The Vietnamese people wholeheartedly support the struggle of peoples in Southeast Asia for peace, independence, neutrality, the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the abolition of U.S. military bases in this area.

In the Middle East, the Israeli aggressors, aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, continue encroaching upon the territory and sovereignty of Arab countries. The Vietnamese people fully support the Arab peoples in their persistent struggle to recuperate their lost territories, and fully support the Palestinian people led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only genuine representative of the Palestinian people, in the struggle for their legitimate national rights.

The Vietnamese people deeply sympathize with and strongly support the highly significant struggle of the bloc of non-aligned countries for their sacred national rights and control of their natural resources, against imperialist aggression and monopoly in the form of old and neo-colonialism, and against racism.

The peoples of the Third World, who make up the greater part of the world's population, have been victims of colonialism and imperialism. With their persistent, valiant and indomitable struggle, they have resolved to restore all their fundamental national rights and participate on an equal

footing in the settlement of any problem concerning their interests. That is an inevitable and irreversible trend of our time.

As part and parcel of the world revolutionary movement, the just struggle and great victory of our people are an important contribution to the revolutionary cause of the people of various countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. On the other hand, the growth of various revolutionary trends in the world has created new and great advantages for the current revolutionary struggle of our people.

The D.R.V.N. has so far established diplomatic relations with nearly 70 countries. We are increasing economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries, and expanding economic and trade relations with national and other countries. The world people's front, which previously supported the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, is now devoting its efforts to supporting our just struggle in the new stage, condemning the bloody repression and terrorism of the Saigon administration and the U.S. military involvement in South Viet Nam, demanding the scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, and supporting the six-point proposal of the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. and the just and surely victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people in the new stage.

Looking into the past 29 years, the Vietnamese people are very proud of their unrelenting, staunch and grim revolutionary struggle which has led to successive and ever greater successes culminating in the victory over the U.S. imperialist, a victory of

historic significance and epochal stature which marks a step in the serious decline of the U.S. imperialists and opens up new prospects for the revolutionary struggle of the world's people. At present, the revolutionary cause of our people is in a very steadfast posture, like the majestic and grandiose Truong Son range which links the North to the South and binds our people to the people of the two fraternal neighbouring countries. In order to move forward and accomplish the new tasks, heavy but glorious, we must strive harder still to bring into play these great and many-sided advantages: the Vietnamese people are courageous, industrious and intelligent; our land is rich and beautiful with vast natural resources; the social regime in the North of our country is capable of turning everyone of us into a fighter or a worker for a great cause; the international support given by the socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind to our people is tremendous and invaluable. On top of these positive factors which are to be developed to the fullest extant is the correct and clear-sighted leadership of our Party which is armed with invincible Marxism-Leninism and which identifies itself with the popular masses. Let everyone of us strengthen unity, be unanimous in our will and action, raise the sense of responsibility, organization and discipline, endeavour to make constant progress through criticism and self-criticism, be always associated with grassroots units and the masses and take part most actively in the great revolutionary struggle of the nation. Let everyone of us

march steadily forward, be resolved to overcome all difficulties and obstacles, win at all costs new and still greater victories in the struggle for the safeguarding and consolidation of lasting peace, the successful building of socialism in the North, the completion of independence and democracy in the South, and the advance towards the peaceful reunification of our beloved Fatherland, so as to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam and contribute our part to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

Speech Delivered on National Day, September 2,1975

Today, the people throughout our country are jubilantly celebrating the 30th anniversary of the victory of the great August Revolution and of the founding of the D.R.V.N. Our joy and enthusiasm are all the greater since we are celebrating these historic events following the glorious victory of Spring 1975 which climaxed in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign. We have completely defeated the war of aggression of U.S. imperialism, brought to a victorious conclusion the national democratic revolution in the South, firmly defended the cause of socialism in the North, paved the way for our people, now masters of the whole territory of our homeland, to march forward and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, a socialist Viet Nam, and now continue to make an active contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

Today, on the occasion of the great festive day of the nation, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Worker's Party and the Government of the D.R.V.N., I extend my warmest and most cordial congratulations to our compatriots and combatants throughout the country and to overseas Vietnamese. We convey to the families of fallen heroes and heroines and to all war invalids our most profound sentiments and best wishes.

Today, on the occasion of the great festive day of our nation, our Party, Government and people warmly greet the Party and Government delegations of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, the delegations of Laos and Cambodia, the delegations and representatives of other countries, the delegations of a number of other fraternal Parties, and the delegations of various international democratic organizations.

We express sincere thanks to you, comrades and friends for your kindness in being present here today to join us in celebrating the glorious National Day of our people' bringing with you inestimable sympathy and support for our Vietnamese people.

Today, the entire Vietnamese nation is living the most glorious and exciting moments in its history. In this solemn hour, with profound emotion and boundless gratitude, we turn our thoughts to our great President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our Party and State, the teacher and guide of our people in our persistent revolutionary struggle, who has led us from one victory to another until the complete and glorious victory of today. In this solemn hour, every one of us pledges to do his and her best to continue the great cause of President Ho Chi Minh, carry out in the best possible manner the last recommendations in his Testament, work self-sacrificingly for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and contribute to the victory of the world revolution

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The greatness of the August Revolution lies in the fact that for the first time in world history, in a colonial and semi-feudal country, in the favourable conditions created by the brilliant victory of the Soviet Army in World War Two, the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of their Party, staged an armed uprising, overthrew the rule of the French colonialists and the Japanese militarists, won back power for the people and founded the D.R.V.N., the first people's democratic State in Southeast Asia.

The August Revolution opened a new era in the 4,000-year long history of the Vietnamese nation, an era in which the entire country became independent and free and was advancing to socialism. This was also the objective for which our Party had been struggling ever since its foundation fifteen years earlier, an objective which conform to the deep aspirations of our people and also to the law governing the development of the world.

On September 2, 1945, in the Declaration of Independence, President Ho Chi Minh proclaimed:

"Viet Nam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence, and in fact has become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their freedom and independence."

However, the imperialist powers headed by U.S. imperialism, the richest and strongest imperialist power at that time, which was nurturing a mad dream of world hegemony, took fright at the success of the Vietnamese revolution and its impact on the

world revolution. They gave every possible support and assistance to the French imperialists in launching a war of reconquest in an attempt to reimpose their colonial yoke on Viet Nam. However, the historic Dien Bien Phu victory put a definitive end to the French colonial regime, which had lasted almost a century in our country, and dealt a mortal blow at old-style colonialism on a world scale. Not reconciled to defeat, U.S. imperialism rushed into the South of our country, and waged the longest, most atrocious colonialist war of aggression on the largest scale ever seen in our times. Throughout twenty years of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have persevered in an extremely arduous but also extremely glorious struggle and finally won complete victory over the U.S. aggressors, putting a definitive end to U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, contributing to hastening the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism in various forms throughout the world, and upsetting the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. The past thirty years of fighting against imperialist aggression, chiefly U.S. aggression, have demonstrated this eloquent truth of our times: the revolutionary cause of the people – the national-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are closely connected both within a country and on a world scale – is a just and surely victorious cause. It draws its strength from the fact that it is made up of forces deeply rooted in history, and has the capability of surmounting all obstacles standing in its way. U.S. imperialism wanted to use Viet Nam to test its mad design: to check the development of the national

democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution. The Vietnamese people proudly took up this challenge and, as has been rightly pointed out by many persons in the world, Viet Nam became the forontline and our people became the shock army in the fight against U.S. aggression. Thus, the victory of the Vietnamese people is also a very significant victory for the world revolution, for all friends of peace, justice and freedom.

Today, as we review the victories of historic and epochal significance of our Vietnamese people in the past 30 years, we are all the prouder of our Party, the organizer of all victories of our people, and of the correct, clear-sighted, independent, sovereign, intelligent and creative leadership of our Party.

This leadership has been reflected first of all in our Party's revolutionary line, in its political, military and international line.

This line stems from the laws governing the evolution of history in our era, in which Lenin's appeal: "Proletarians and oppressed peoples all over the world, unite!" embodies the revolutionary struggle of the time.

The Party's revolutionary line has brought into play the national tradition of resistance to foreign aggression, achieved the unity of the entire people, mobilized the strength of the armed forces throughout the country, developed the effect of the people's power, of the D.R.V.N., of the P.R.G.R.S.V.N., and carried out a people's war, a revolutionary war, in very diversified forms. This was a sacred war for national salvation carried out under the slogan: "Nothing in more precious than independence and freedom". The more brutal the enemy became

and the more crimes they perpetrated, the deeper the hatred of every Vietnamese and the higher their determination to fight, and consequently the revolutionary war of our people became an "immense net covering both sky and earth" from which the enemy found it impossible to escape. This land is our native land, our fatherland. Caught in this encirclement with no escape route, the foreign aggressors and their henchmen were sure to meet with defeat.

The resistance against the French, and especially that against the Americans, were immortal epics of the Vietnamese people and of the combatants of the People's Army in both zones who "are loyal to the country and the people, and will fulfil any task, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy". It is the epic of all Vietnamese citizens, men and women, old and young, in all parts of the country, who fought the enemy with legendary courage and intelligence. It can be said that the people, the Vietnamese people, have defeated U.S. technology and defeated blind brute force, because they are men and women armed with lofty ideas and sentiments, and deep confidence in their just and surely victorious fight.

While evoking these exploits of our combatants and people throughout the country in the past two wars of resistance, we turn our thoughts, with great emotion and pride, to the people and combatants in the South, the "Brass Wall" of the Fatherland. These outstanding sons and daughters of the country, heroes of a heroic nation, have made a worthy contribution to the glorious victory of the nation.

Our Party's revolutionary line has succeeded in enlisting the sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, the Third World countries and the whole of progressive mankind including progressive people in the United States. The just fight of our people against the criminal war of aggression of U.S. imperialism has had a broad and deep impact on human conscience, giving rise to a world-wide movement of popular support for Vietnam's anti U.S. resistance. This was one of the largest and most enduring international movements ever seen.

Imbued with the principles of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and noble proletarian internationalism, our Party and our people are deeply conscious that the revolutionary cause of our people is part and parcel of the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world. We have done our best to win the greatest possible sympathy, support and assistance from our comrades and friends in all continents. Today, we take great pride in having used in the most effective manner the very great and precious support and assistance of the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries and the world's peoples as a whole. We also take great pride in having contributed a worthy share to the growth of the fraternal socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement.

Today we celebrate with great joy the fraternal friendship and close militant solidarity which have bound our people to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. This friendship and solidarity has made a very important contribution to the victory of each people. Enhancing this fine tradition, we pledge to do our best to

strengthen the fraternal friendship and co-operation among the peoples of our three countries in consolidating our national independence and building our respective countries into prosperous and happy ones.

The Party's leadership has also been reflected in an overall strategy applied in a very flexible and intelligent manner, which caued us to constantly hold the initiative and an offensive posture on all military, political and diplomatic fronts, and constantly drive the enemy into a position of passivity and failure. It was from a position of passivity and failure that the enemy escalated the war and when inevitably they had to de-escalate they found themselves in a still worse position of passivity and failure. That was how we defeated U.S. imperialism step by step : at the end of 1964 we defeated its special war; in the Tet of Mau Than (1968) we defeated its limited war; in 1972 we defeated its "Vietnamization" of the war and with the Paris Agreement, we completely drove more than half a million U.S. aggressor troops from the South of our country. Thus, from the day U.S. imperialism began its war of aggression against our country up to the signing of the Paris Agreement it was a process of fighting to drive the Yankees away. The period that followed was a process of fighting to topple the puppets. In effect, the New Year Message[1] of Uncle Ho was an illustration of a very clever and clearsighted strategy and military art!

1. Lunar New Year: Spring 1968 (translator).

Our Party's military line and strategy, both in the former anti-French resistance and in the recent anti-U.S. resistance, consisted in waging a protracted war aimed at whittling away and wiping out the enemy forces step by step, while fostering and developing our forces, at the same time creating opportunities to fight and defeat the enemy in battles of a decisive character. This is the dialectics of the strategy of protracted war : the anti-French war of resistance began with pointed bamboo sticks, went on to win resounding victories and ended with the famous Dien Bien Phu victory. In the 20-year-long war of resistance against U.S. imperialism, this dialectics led to victories of very important strategic, significance, and finally resulted in the victory of Spring 1975. In this battle, within only 55 days, our army, through lightning attacks and with overwhelmingly superior forces, defeated more than one million enemy troops with abundant modern equipment, liberated Saigon and the whole of our beloved South, winning full, total and thorough victory, paving the way for the further development of the great revolutionary cause of our people.

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Today, celebrating the 30th anniversary of the D.R.V.N., let us review the exploits in fighting and the achievements in the building of the new system whose superiority has been developed in the flames of war and amidst the innumerable difficulties of national reconstruction following the August Revolution.

The superiority of the new system finds its full expression in the fact that it is the people's democratic regime advancing to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. The invincible strength of the new regime actually lies in the fact that for the first time in our national history, we have a regime of the people, by the people and for the people. It has the capability of mobilizing to the highest level the strength and ardour of the entire nation. Thanks to this, it successfully tided over the worst trials of 1946 and at the end of the same year held high the banner of resistance against the French colonialists in the spirit of a victor.

The nine years of resistance against the French marked an all-sided development of the D.R.V.N. Under the Party's leadership, democratic reforms, especially the land reform, were undertaken, realizing the age-old dream of the peasant masses, bringing about deep changes in the countryside, exerting a positive effect on the whole of the political, economic and social life, and making an important contribution to the war of resistance.

Following the Dien Bien Phu victory and two years after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, the whole of Viet Nam should have become a unified country, completely independent and free, and steadily advancing to socialism. But the imperialist powers, headed by U.S. imperialism, blatantly violated the Geneva Agreements, creating conditions for the United States to oust France and intervene in South Viet Nam and launch a new war of

aggression, thus compelling our people to take up arms again to carry out a twenty - year - long war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors.

It was precisely in this glorious fight that the D.R.V.N., the socialist North, has developed to the highest level the superiority and all the capacities of the new system, and proved worthy of being the firm base of the revolution throughout the country: the national- democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North.

The " Ho Chi Minh Trail" running along the majestic Truong Son (Long Range) and linking North and South was a marvellous exploit in the history of war, a proud demonstration of the strength of the combative solidarity of our people throughout the country. The harder the enemy tried to block it and destroy it, the more quickly and steadily it developed and grew with the level of the war, and in the Spring of 1975 made an important contribution to our glorious victory in liberating Saigon and completely liberating our beloved South Viet Nam.

In the strategy of U.S. imperialism, to attack North Viet Nam has always been a very important objective. In fact, the United States mobilized major air and naval forces to attack North Vietnam, destroy economic installations, towns and countryside, destroy the environment in an attempt to "bomb the North back to the Stone Age" However, the strength of our people throughout the country and our extremely effective air defence system caused U.S. imperialism to take heavier and heavier losses as it escalated the air war until its losses became so high

as to be intolerable and it had to de-escalate after the Mau Than Tet in 1968. However, stubborn by nature, in 1972 and especially in late December of that year, deploying huge air forces including B.52. strategic bombers, the United States launched a frantic air blitz against Hanoi and other cities and towns of North Vietnam with the intention of nullifying many provisions already agreed upon by the two sides in their negotiations. But this time it incurred a still heavier military and political defeat. World opinion greeted the glorious victory of our people with high elation since it led to the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

North Vietnam has fought and built at the same time, fighting well to defend its building work and building rapidly to increase its combat forces. That is the process of the all-round growth of the D.R.V.N., which is worthy of being the revolutionary base of the entire country and an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

Immediately after the Dien Bien Phu victory, in completely liberated North Vietnam, in the light of the Party's line on the advance to socialism while bypassing the stage of capitalist development, we moved rapidly to the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce. The land reform and agricultural co-operativization had the effect of boosting agricultural production, doubling rice productivity and output compared with the years before the revolution. At the same time, we stepped up the production of consumer goods, and strove to develop a number of essential branches of heavy industry such as electricity, coal, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals and building materials. We paid particular

attention to maintaining and strengthening the communications and transport network with a view to serving the front, the economy and the people's life. Along with initial steps in the building of the material and technological base of socialism, we attached great importance to the development of science and technology, and exerted great efforts in training a contingent of qualified workers, scientific and technical workers and economic management cadres who are politically staunch and professionally proficient.

We have also done our best to develop socialist culture, education, public health, literature, the arts, physical culture and sports, the protection of mothers and children; we have recorded encouraging achievements, especially in general and higher education.

These profound changes in economic, cultural and social life have made North Vietnam radically different from what it was in the past. The feudal landlord class has been abolished, the bourgeois class has been reformed, the regime of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and socialist relations of production have been established in two forms: State-run economy and collective economy. The working people, comprising the working class, the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia have become collective masters of their destiny. Political security and social order have been maintained. North Vietnamese society has become a single united bloc of the working people including people belonging to various nationalities and religions and striving together for national independence and socialism.

The material and cultural life of the people has been stabilized and to some extent improved in spite of the war. This is a thing rarely seen in history, and of which we can be very proud. North Vietnam's countryside, which in the past was the scene of chronic famines and rampant disease, has now changed completely. At present, life in the countryside in many respects hardly differs from life in the towns and the upward trend is continuing. All working people in North Vietnam have been provided with jobs. All children of school-age are attending classes, the great majority of them will be going on to junior high schools. Social diseases have long been eliminated. The health of the people in North Vietnam has been markedly improved compared with the past.

As pointed out above, on September 2, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh declared the foundation of the D.R.V.N. on the whole territory of Viet Nam. In the anti-French war of resistance, the Government of the D.R.V.N. was the revolutionary administration managing the affairs of the whole country. But following the Geneva Agreements in 1954, in the light of the then prevailing situation and on the basis of the line of the Party, while the completely liberated North directly advanced to socialism, the South carried on the people's national-democratic revolution. In the 20 years of anti-U.S. war of resistance, in the large liberated areas covering two-thirds of the territory of the South, from the wide mountainous areas to coastal regions stretching over hundreds of kilometres, the national- democratic administration made great endeavours to mobilize the manpower, financial and material resources of the people, persisted in and

stepped up the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation, and at the same time, did its utmost to build the liberated zone and make it ever more powerful politically, economically and culturally, and to stabilize the life of the people. Although subjected to fierce and brutal raids such as had never been seen anywhere else, the liberated zone and its revolutionary administration grew constantly, exerting an ever greater influence on the disputed and enemy-controlled areas. The correct, reasonable and sensible policies of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the P.R.G.R.S.V.N. on behalf of the country and the people became an ever greater source of encouragement not only for people of all walks of life but also for many a man in the puppet army and administration. This influence became much stronger following the Paris Agreement.

In the international arena, the influence and prestige of the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. developed very rapidly, and this was an eloquent expression of the just character and certain victory of the sacred struggle of our nation.

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The great victory of the anti-U.S. war of resistance has led to the expected result: the reunification of the Vietnamese fatherland. This time, the reunification of our fatherland, on the basis of the independence and freedom of the whole country engaged in socialist construction, is the firmest reunification with the noblest revolutionary content and the loftiest ideas and sentiments ever known. Today, the 45 million Vietnamese strive

together to build a prosperous country, a happy life, thus making Vietnam forever the beautiful homeland of the Vietnamese people.

At present, under the leadership of the Party and through close co-operation between the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the P.R.G. R.S.V.N., we proceed from the situation and tasks of the revolution in the entire country in the new stage to solve all problems concerning the two zones. In particular, on the economic front, we must strive to give full scope to our new capabilities in order to step up the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, carry out socialist transformation and construction, speed up socialist industrialization and the process of advancing from small to large-scale production, and step by step improve the living standard of our people throughout the country.

In the South we must strive to do away with the very heavy legacy of dozens of years of aggressive war and U.S. neo-colonialism in all spheres – political, economic, cultural, social and ideological. We must rapidly stabilize social order, strengthen political security, set up and consolidate the revolutionary power everywhere. We will also strive, through many effective measures, to care for the life of the working people, and provide jobs for the millions of unemployed left by the old regime and by the war. These tasks benefit from the effective participation of the working people and other patriotic sections of the population. In the economic field, we are encouraging the normal operation of all enterprises and

factories of all sizes in order to contribute to economic rehabilitation and development. We call on the working class and other sections of the working people in the towns and countryside to bring into play their role as masters of society under the new regime by working harder than before, working with higher productivity, higher technique and discipline. We also call on the national bourgeoisie, who were formerly held down by foreign competition, to put all their talents and ardour into the service of the great cause of the nation now that the country has become independent and free. Our people in the South are facing difficult and complicated revolutionary tasks which require much courage, intelligence and creativeness. Today we joyfully express to our beloved South Vietnamese compatriots and our confidence and elation at the outstanding achievements they have recorded over the past four months and the prospects of still greater achievements in the days ahead. The South, with its fertile land, is favoured by nature in many other ways. It may carry out large-scale agricultural production in areas with long traditions of rice growing, valuable industrial crops and fruit trees, or stock-breeding and fishing. It is certain that the South of our country will soon become a prosperous centre for agricultural production and fishing to supply the people and provide for exports. In addition, the South has many industrial branches, especially light and food industries which, though mostly of small scale, are capable of producing many items necessary to the people's life and also export items. Communications and transport, and especially

the building industry in South Vietnam, have substantial forces and capabilities that should be utilized in the most rational manner. With the people's support, the new administration will rapidly stabilize the political and economic situation and normalize the people's life; on the basis of a plan for the entire country, the South will make new and very inspiring steps forward. Saigon, Ho Chi Minh city, will have a very important role in many respects and will broaden its foreign relations with countries in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

At present, at a time when the entire country has regained independence and freedom and is advancing to socialism, socialist North Vietnam has all the greater obligation to give even fuller play to its achievements and experiences and make the most effective contribution to the rehabilitation and development of the economy in the South. The North must endeavour to develop its co-operativized agriculture, increase the output and productivity of food crops and other plants, develop stock-breeding into a main branch of production, and steadily take agriculture and forestry, from the productive to the processing branches, to large-scale socialist production. The North should attach greater importance to the production of consumer goods, especially those which it has the capacity to produce in great quantities, with high output and low production costs. In particular, North Vietnam should display courage and intelligence in expanding rapidly the existing heavy industries which are very necessary to itself and to the entire country. Today in North Vietnam there has taken shape

a managerial system of the national economy from the centre down to the grassroots, combining management in each branch with management in each locality. The contingent of workers and scientific and technical cadres who have been tempered in fighting and production should make intensive efforts to shoulder the new tasks which are much greater and more complicated than before. Practice has shown that the Party's line on the building of the material and technical basis of socialism is correct and clearsighted. But the organization for the application of this line still falls short of requirements. At present, we are facing very favourable conditions: peace has taken the place of war, our homeland and our cause are now one country and one cause, our position and strength have become many times more powerful in all fields. The new situation and new tasks together with the very bright prospects require that all branches, all levels, all responsible comrades and all the working people make enormous efforts to heighten rapidly their standards and capacities, their organizational and managerial capacities, in order to increase to the highest possible level their effectiveness in the grassroots organizations: factories and cooperatives, which produce material wealth with ever increasing labour productivity.

In this spirit, we must see to the full achievement of the 1975 State Plan and prepare for the implementation of the 1976 State Plan and the forthcoming five-year plan with still greater progress.

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The victory of the revolutionary cause of our people is also a victory of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the peak of human wisdom, which has lighted our revolutionary path full of glorious victories. Our Party and people pledge to study Marxist-Leninist theory and apply it creatively in the new stage of the revolution in order to win still bigger successes for our socialist cause.

Today, celebrating the historic victory of our nation, the Vietnamese people express their sincere and profound gratitude for the sympathy and the great and precious support and assistance extended to us by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the peoples of our two fraternal neighbours, Laos and Cambodia, the international communist and workers' movement, and the peoples of all other countries in the world including progressive people in the United States. We cordially convey to our comrades and friends in all continents our warmest congratulations.

For us Vietnamese, a glorious page in our history has been turned and a new period has begun: the period of peaceful construction. This new work requires that we strengthen our great friendship and co-operation in all fields with the other socialist countries which are bound to us by the common ideal of building socialism and communism. We will strive to strengthen our great friendship and our relations in all fields with our two fraternal neighbouring countries, relations which have become still closer in the new situation. It is our wish to expand our friendly relations in many respects with other countries in Southeast Asia. Now that peace has been restored, we are

provided with favourable conditions to expand our good relations with the bloc of non-aligned countries, the countries of the Third World, for a noble objective – consolidating national independence and building their respective countries into prosperous ones. We are establishing normal relations and expanding economic, cultural, scientific and technical relations with all other countries on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. In this spirit, the D.R.V.N. is ready to establish normal relations with the United States on the basis of the Paris Agreement. It is certain that the majority of the American people and many political circles in the United States will support this positive trend.

Our century has witnessed earth-shaking events that have profoundly modified the face of our planet. This revolutionary process is continuing, possibly at a still quicker pace. It will after the balance of forces in a way more and more favourable for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, while imperialism and other reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism are declining and sustaining more and more defeats caused by mounting difficulties and never-ending crises, and are being continually attacked from all sides. The Vietnamese people are firmly convinced that the revolutionary cause of the peoples in the Arab countries, the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world will be crowned with glorious victory.

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Today, the Vietnamese people as a whole are overwhelmed with joy at the complete and great victories recently won by our nation, victories for peace, independence, democracy and socialism. A new era has opened in our country's history, the era of a regime in which the people are masters of their own destiny and can build with their own hands a happy and civilized life, while our Party, as Uncle Ho said, "remains the leader and truly faithful servant of the people".

The entire people of Vietnam, fired with enthusiasm, are striving to turn their revolutionary heroism in combat into courage in peaceful construction with a view to exploiting the immense riches of the country, mobilizing the very abundant labour forces of the people and step by step building the material and technical basis of socialism, building a modern industry, a modern agriculture, an advanced culture and science, and on this basis, to improve continuously the life of the people. Our people are deeply conscious that to build socialism, it is necessary to have socialist men who love their fatherland, their people, labour and science, who cherish the independence and freedom of their own country and of other countries, who treasure the moral values of thier own people and those of the whole of progressive mankind.

Under the banner of the fatherland and socialism, the banner of patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism, let our people steadily march forward to carry out in the best possible way the last behest of our beloved President Ho Chi Minh:

"Let our entire Party and the people, closely joining their efforts, build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution."

– Long live the D.R.V.N.!

– Long live a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam!

– Long live the Vietnam Workers' Party, the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution!

– Our great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our cause!

NOTES

1 – Great revolutionary changes were wrought in South Viet Nam at the beginning of 1960 by the "concerted uprisings" which spread from Ben Tre to other provinces.

In the middle of January 1960, this movement broke out simultaneously in the three districts of Minh Tan, Mo Cay and Thanh Phu, smashing the coercive apparatus of the quislings and liberating many villages. It was in this movement that the first platoon of the liberation armed forces of Ben Tre was set up and together with the people carried out political actions and waged people's war to defend their right to be the masters and develop the successes gained.

The concerted uprisings which spread throughout South Viet Nam shook to its roots the enemy's rural administration and thwarted Eisenhower's neo-colonialist policy carried out through the agency of the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem. With this movement, the revolution in the South shifted to a new strategy, the strategy of uninterrupted offensive.

2 – The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was set up on December 20, 1960 with the manifesto: "Unite all the strata of the population, social classes, nationalities, political parties, organizations, religions, and patriotic personalities regardless of political leaning, in order to overthrow the rule of the US imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique, and to achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, pending the peaceful reunification of the country." The N.F.L. calls on the South Viet Nam people to carry out a united action in accordance with a 10-point program:

1) To overthrow the U.S. imperialists' disguised colonial regime and the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial administration, and to establish a national democratic coalition government.

2) To set up a broad democratic and progressive regime.

3) To build up a sovereign economy and improve the living standard of the people.

4) To reduce land rent in order to eventually solve the land problem so that the peasants have land to till.

5) To build up a national and democratic culture and education.

6) To build up an army capable of defending the country and the people.

7) To promote equality between the nationalities and between men and women, to protect the legitimate rights of foreigners and overseas Vietnamese.

8) To re-establish normal relations between both zones pending peaceful reunification of the country.

9) To oppose the aggressive war and defend world peace.

3 – The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem Joint Communiqué, signed on May 13, 1961 in Saigon, openly declared that the U.S. would step up aggression against South Viet Nam; the U.S. would increase aid for Ngo Dinh Diem to strengthen his regular forces; it would organize, equip and train the security and *dan ve* forces for Diem, send in more military advisers to train the puppet army with a view to stemming the revolutionary movement in the South; send in more high-ranking experts to make a survey of natural resources in the South for military purposes... This communiqué also called on other countries to help Ngo Dinh Diem to repress the South Viet Nam population.

4 – The Staley-Taylor Plan, elaborated after the Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communiqué was signed, provided for the "pacification" of the South in 18 months together with establishing bases for spying and commando activities in the North; then economic restoration and strengthening of the puppet armed forces in the South simultaneously with intensifying sabotage work in the North; and finally economic development in the South and offensive against the North.

In the first stage, the enemy took a series of measures including increase of army strength, improvement of equipment, and the "strategic hamlet" policy aimed at penning up the major part of the South Viet Nam population to bring them under control. But this plan was thwarted by our heroic people as soon as it began.

5 – The Ap Bac victory: On January 2, 1963, 2,000 enemy troops together with a company of 105-mm.guns, a company of M. 113 amphibious personnel carriers, 13 war vessels and 21 war planes and helicopters launched a big attack on Ap Bac in Tan Phu village, Cai Lay district, My Tho province. The raid was repelled by our forces (numbering only one-tenth of the enemy forces) who put out of action 450 troops including 12 American officers, shot down 6 airplanes, destroyed 11 others, set afire 3 M.113 amphibious cars, damaged one war vessel and captured a number of firearms.This victory paved the way for a seething emulation movement among the patriotic armed forces in the South.

6 – The policy of "swopping horses in midstream" war resorted to by the American imperialists whenever they were in dire straits. Between November 1963 and mid-1965, they staged many coups d'état in Saigon:

– November 1, 1963 Duong Van Minh overthrew Ngo Dinh Diem;

– January 30, 1964: Nguyen Khanh toppled Minh, Don, Kim, Dinh, Xuan;

– August 16,1964: Khanh shoved Minh aside (Minh was then head of state), and set up a military dictatorship;

– August 25-27, 1964: Khanh was replaced by a "civilian government" composed of Khanh, Minh, and Khiem.

– September 3, 1964: Khanh formed a new government;

– September 13, 1964: Khanh was toppled by Tran Thien Khiem.

– December 20, 1964: Khanh overthrew the "Higher Council" and arrested Minh and his clique;

– January 27, 1965: Khanh toppled Suu and Huong;

– February 19, 1965: Tran Thien Khiem, Pham Ngoc Thao, Lam Van Phat, Huynh Van Ton and some other officers failed in their attempt to overthrow Nguyen Khanh.

– February 20, 1965: Nguyen Chanh Thi and Nguyen Cao Ky overthrew Nguyen Khanh;

– April 3, 1965: Phan Huy Quat dismissed the militarymen from the puppet government.

– June 11, 1965: the military toppled Phan Huy Quat.

7 – The Johnson-Mc Namara plan was worked out at the beginning of 1964 when the "special war" of the U.S. met with repeated failures. This plan provided for an increase of manpower (350,000 regular troops, 200,000 *dan ve* and reactionary combat youths), of American advisers and GIs (25,000); and of aircraft (700) and other weapons. With regard to "pacification" operations, they were to be carried out by concentrated forces in guerrilla-controlled areas, chiefly in the eight provinces in the Mekong delta and some regions in South Central Viet Nam. This "pacification" was to be completed in South Viet Nam within two years (1964-1965). But the Johnson-Mc Namara plan was foiled. The number of "pacified" provinces fell from 13, to 8, 7 then 4, and finally not even the area surrounding Saigon-Gia Dinh was considered "pacified".

8 – Five-point declaration made by the South Viet Nam N.F L. on March 22, 1965:

1) The U.S. imperialists who sabotage the Geneva Agreements and wage a murderous aggressive war are the arch enemy of the Vietnamese people;

2) The heroic South Vietnamese people fight them to liberate the South and achieve independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality pending the eventual reunification of the country.

3) The heroic South Vietnamese people and liberation armed forces are resolved to fulfil their sacred duty which is to drive out the US imperialists, liberate the South and defend the North.

4) The South Vietnamese people are most grateful to the peace and justice-loving people in the world for their staunch support and proclaim their readiness to accept assistance of all kinds, including weapons and other war materials, from their friends throughout the world.

5) United and with arms in hands, the entire people are determined to defeat the Americans and the traitors to the country.

9 – Nguyen Viet Xuan: A political officer in an anti-aircraft company who died a hero's death, he distinguished himself in a battle against American planes in west Quang Binh in late 1964. His motto: "Aim straight at the enemy!" greatly impelled forward the "Shoot down ever more American aircraft!" emulation movement throughout the North.

10 – The Indochinese Peoples' Conference, convened in Phnom Penh from March 1 to 9, 1965, aimed at enhancing solidarity between the three Indochinese peoples against U.S. aggression, for the safeguarding of national independence and peace. The conference was attended by thirty-eight mass organizations of the D.R.V.N, South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

11 – Van Tuong victory: On August 18 and 19, 1965, a sweep was carried out by 8,000 U.S. marines, hundreds of jet bombers and helicopters and war vessels of the 7th Fleet, on Van Tuong, a small hamlet of Binh Hai village in Binh Son district, Quang Ngai province about 6 km long by 3 km wide. With forces only one-tenth of the strength of the enemy, the P.L.A.F. put up a stiff resistance and wiped out 919 enemy troops (including 4 companies of US Marines), destroyed 22 armoured cars and 13 planes. The Van Tuong victory was the curtain raiser of a series of heroic battles fought by our armed units against the US expeditionary forces in South Viet Nam.

12 – Offensive and uprisings in the spring of Mau Than (1968): On January 30 and 31, 1968, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people launched powerful concerted attacks against 64 cities, towns and townlets in the South, the most powerful offensive ever made by our people in their wars of resistance to US and previous foreign aggressions. In 45 days, from January 30 to March 15, 1968, we inflicted 150,000 casualties on the enemy, including 45,000 GIs and satellite troops; wiped out or badly mauled 3 puppet regiments, a multi-battalion combat group of paratroops, over 60 battalions and 200 companies, shot down or destroyed nearly 2,200 aircraft, wrecked 3,500 military vehicles, over 1,750 armoured carriers, destroyed over 300 ordnance pieces, sank or damaged 233 war vessels and combat launches, flattened 823 posts and blockhouses, blew up 350 bridges, destroyed 300 storehouses, and liberated 1.6 million inhabitants in 100 communes and over 600 hamlets.

This resounding victory marked the beginning of a new period most favourable to our resistance against U.S. aggression.

13 – The Junction City operation was launched by U.S. troops from February 22 to March 25, 1967, to 'search and destroy' the liberation troops in northern Tay Ninh. This operation was launched by the Americans, with the participation of 45,000 GIs (6 brigades of Infantry Divisions 1, 25 and 4; Infantry Brigade 196, Airborne brigade 178, a regiment and 4 battalions of engineers, a multi-battalion combat group of puppet marines, 4 regiments of armoured cars and 11 artillery battalions, with 800 tanks and armoured cars, 200 heavy guns and hundreds of war and transport planes, (including B.52s) and thousands of lorries... This was the biggest operation launched by the Americans in the 1966-1967 dry season. In it, they suffered their most serious setbacks so far. The Tay Ninh armed forces annihilated 8,300 men, mostly GIs, destroyed 692 military vehicles, downed 119 aircraft, wrecked 64 artillery pieces. This big victory was a decisive blow dealt at the second dry-season (1966-1967) counter-offensive of the American imperialists.

14 – The Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, approved by the N.F.L. extraordinary congress held in August 1967, includes the following points:

1) The arch enemy of the South Viet Nam people is the American aggressors and the quislings, traitors to the country; our immediate task is to unite the entire people in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists, topple the puppet regime, set up a broad national and democratic coalition government and build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Viet Nam, pending peaceful reunification of the country.

2) Developing the previous 10 points, this program set forth 14 points (or 14 major policies) embracing the political, economic, cultural fields...

– To set up a broad progressive democratic regime;

– To build an independent economy and improve the people's living conditions.

– To carry out a land policy under the slogan: land to the tillers.

– To build a national democratic culture and education, develop science and technology, develop the health service.

– To safeguard the interests and look after the living conditions of workers and employees.

– To build a powerful armed force to liberate the South and defend the Fatherland.

– To show gratitude to the war martyrs, take care of invalid soldiers, to commend those armymen and civilians who have distinguished themselves in the war against the imperialists.

– To organize social relief.

– To ensure equality between men and women: to protect mothers and children.

– To strengthen unity between the various nationalities; and carry out a policy of equality and mutual assistance.

– To respect freedom of belief, practise solidarity and equality between various religions.

– To welcome all members of the puppet army and administration returning to the just cause; to show leniency and give humane treatment to the soldiers who have surrendered or been taken prisoner.

– To protect the interests of overseas Vietnamese.

– To protect the legitimate interests of foreign residents in South Viet Nam.

3) This program points out: reunification of the country is a sacred aspiration of all our people. Viet Nam should be reunified step by step through peaceful means.

4) It also sets forth the N.F.L. foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

15 – The Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, set up in April 1968 with Mr Trinh Dinh Thao, lawyer, as president and Messrs Lam Van Tet, engineer, and Bonze superior Thich Don Hau as vice-presidents sets forth the following program: to end the war, restore peace, wrest back national independence and sovereignty; to build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam; to eventually reunify the country on the basis of holding consultative conferences on an equal footing between North and South. The setting up of this Alliance marked a new development of a broad movement for national independence and peace in South Viet Nam.

16 – The Bertrand Russell tribunal was set up on the initiative of Bertrand Russell, the famous British mathematician, philosopher and sociologist to judge the war crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam. It held its first session in Stockholm from May 2 to 10, 1967, and was attended by world famous lawyers, historians, philosophers, writers, politicians, professors, from Cuba, France, the U.S.A., Great Britain, Sweden, Austria, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Turkey... The tribunal unanimously condemned the US as guilty of committing aggression against the Vietnamese people.

17 – The South Vietnamese People's Congress convened in accordance with the resolution taken at the consultative conference between the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, opened in a locality in South Viet Nam's liberated areas on June 6, 1969. After three days of work, the congress unanimously approved a fundamental resolution establishing the republican regime in the South and forming the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with Mr Huynh Tan Phat, architect, as president, Dr Phung Van Cung, Prof. Nguyen Van Kiet, and Mr. Nguyen Doa as vice-presidents; it appointed an Advisory Council to the P.R.G., headed by Mr Nguyen Huu Tho, lawyer, with Mr Trinh Dinh Thao as Vice-president. The P.R.G. met for the first time on June 10, 1969, to discuss measures to be taken for the carrying out of the resolution and to approve the 12-point program of action of the P.R.G.

18 – The coup d'état staged in Cambodia by pro U.S.-elements on Mach 18, 1970, to overthrow Norodom Sihanouk, head of state. Instigated by the U.S. it was aimed at liquidating the policy of neutrality and peace pursued by Cambodia, suppressing her independence, dragging her into the U.S. orbit and turning her into a new-type colony and military base of the U.S. in order to expand the war in Indochina.

19 – The Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference was held on April 24 and 25, 1970, in a locality in the border area of Viet Nam, Laos, and China. The delegations were headed respectively by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk (Cambodia), Prince Souphanouvong (Laos), Nguyen Huu Tho (South Viet Nam), and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong (D.R.V.N.).

The communiqué released by the conference expressed the determination of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos to further strengthen their solidarity in the struggle against the American aggressors and their lackeys till total victory.

20 – The 10-point solution set forth by the South Viet Nam N.F.L. at the 16th session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam on June 8, 1969:

1) Respect of the fundamental national rights of the South Vietnamese people: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity:

2) The Americans must withdraw their armed forces, military personnel, armaments and war materials and those of satellite countries from South Viet Nam with no condition attached;

3) The defence of the country is the inviolable right of the South Vietnamese people The problem of armed forces in South Viet Nam will be settled between the Vietnamese parties concerned

4) The South Vietnamese people will settle their own affairs by themselves without outside interference;

5) From the restoration of peace to the general elections, neither party can impose its own political regime on the South Vietnamese people.

6) South Viet Nam will pursue a policy of peace and neutrality.

7) The reunification of Viet Nam will be carried out step by step by peaceful means on the basis of consultation between the two zones, without outside interference.

8) Pending the reunification of the country, the North and the South undertake not to take part in any military alliance with other countries, not to allow other countries to set up military bases and station troops and military personnel in their territories, not to accept any protection from other countries.

9) The sequels of the war are to be overcome.

10) Both parties will agree on an international agreement on the withdrawal of armed forces, military personnel, armaments and war materials of the U.S. and countries of the U.S. camp from the South.

21 – The Son My crime : On March 16, 1968, the Americans perpetrated a heinous crime by massacring over 500 civilians, mostly women, old people and children, in Son My village, Quang Ngai province. This is only one of the countless war crimes committed by the American aggressors in South Viet Nam.

22 – The Highway 9-Khe Sanh-Southern Laos victory (from January 30 to March 31, 1971) is an important landmark in the history of the coordinated effort of the three peoples of Indochina in their common resistance to U.S. aggression. In this combined action, the Vietnamese people and Lao people:

A – Killed, wounded or captured 23,400 enemy troops (4,254 Americans), or more than half the number fielded by the enemy in the operation code-named Lam Son 719:

a) 16,400 (200 Americans) on the Southern Laos front,

b) 7,000 (4,054 Americans) on the Khe Sanh front,

B – Wiped out or badly mauled 9 brigades and regiments of infantry, armour, marines, rangers, and 13 artillery battalions of the puppet army.

C – Shot down, destroyed on the ground or captured 730 aircraft (mostly helicopters), or one-third of the aircraft involved in the operation:

a) 496 aircraft on the Southern Laos front,

b) 234 on the Khe Sanh front.

D – Destroyed or captured 1,449 military vehicles (including 554 tanks and armoured cars), and 216 heavy guns.

a) 586 military vehicles (318 tanks and armoured carriers) and 144 artillery pieces on the Southern Laos front.

b) 863 military vehicles (236 tanks and armoured cars) and 72 guns on the Khe Sanh front.

E – Sank or set fire to 42 war vessels and military barges (on the Khe Sanh front).

F – Destroyed or blew up 41 logistic depots, set afire millions of litres of petrol, and thousands of tons of weapons and war materials (on the Khe Sanh front).

23 – The P.R.G 7-point solution advanced at the 119th session of the Paris conference on July 1, 1971:

1) Time limit for total withdrawal of U.S. troops: the U.S. Government must end its war of aggression in Viet Nam, withdraw its troops, military personnel, weapons and war materials as well as those of satellite countries, and dismantle its military bases in the South without any conditions attached, it must set a definite time for this withdrawal. Troop withdrawal and return of POWs will be performed and completed simultaneously.

2) Political power in South Viet Nam: the U.S. must respect the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and cease to support the Nguyen Van Thieu warlike clique so that the political, social and religious forces in the South can set up in Saigon an administration standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, which together with the P.R.G. would form a tripartite national coalition government and solve other problems.

3) The problem of the Vietnamese armed forces in the South will be solved by the two Vietnamese sides in the spirit of equality and mutual respect, without interference from outside.

4) The peaceful reunification of Viet Nam will be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of consultations between the two zones without coercion or annexation by either side and without interference from outside.

5) The policy of peace and neutrality will be carried out in South Viet Nam.

6) The U.S. Government is held entirely responsible for the damage and destructions caused by the U.S. in both parts of Viet Nam .

7) The two sides will agree on the forms of international respect and guarantee with regard to the agreements to be signed.

24 - 5-point solution set forth by the Lao Patriotic Front on March 6, 1970:

1) Other countries must respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos, as stipulated in the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos;

2) The Kingdom of Laos pursues a policy of peace and neutrality.

3) The throne is respected, free and democratic general elections will be held to elect a National Assembly and form a national democratic coalition government.

4) From the restoration of peace to the general elections, the parties concerned will organize a political consultative conference in which their representatives will solve all problems and discuss the formation of a provisional national coalition government.

5) The reunification of Laos will be achieved through consultations between the Lao parties on the principle of equality and national concord.

25 – 5-point declaration made by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on March 23, 1970:

1) The Lon Nol Government and both houses of parliament must be dissolved as they have betrayed the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia;

2) The Cambodian people are requested not to recognize and respect the Lon Nol Government and all its legislation;

3) A provisional national union government and a consultative conference will be organized, composed of meritorious representatives of the Cambodian people;

4) A national liberation army will be set up;

5) All patriotic and progressive Khmer people will close their ranks to establish a National Union Front of Cambodia with the task of liberating the country from the dictatorial regime of the pro-U.S. clique of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Cheng Heng; fighting the American aggressors; and building Cambodia at a quick pace after victory.

26 – The long and powerful strategic offensive begun by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people on March 30, 1972, dealt a stunning blow at the U.S. policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, and inflicted irremediable losses on the U.S. aggressors. By the end of 1972, the South Vietnamese people had:

– put out of action nearly half a million enemy troops (8 divisions, 35 regiments and brigades, 327 battalions of infantry and technical units), wiped out 750 companies and 1,850 platoons of *bao an* and *dan ve*, and destroyed a great part of "civilian defence" forces;

– destroyed and captured big quantities of war materials: 11,000 military vehicles (2,850 tanks and armoured cars), 1,500 heavy guns, 45,000 weapons of various kinds and hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and shells and fuel; downed or wrecked 2,500 aircraft; sunk 400 war vessels and combat launches; destroyed 650 depots of petrol, arms and ammunition;

– smashed the most powerful defence lines of the enemy, liberated large areas and 5 million inhabitants.

27 – The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries held from August 8 to 12, 1972 at Georgetown (capital of Guiana) approved

many resolutions regarding the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the imperialists' wars of aggression, and for peace and national independence. The conference recognized the delegations of the P.R.G. of R.S.V.N. and the National Union Government of Cambodia as full-fledged members.

28 – Great victories of the resistance war against U.S. aggression (in terms of destruction of the enemy's forces and war means):

South Viet Nam:

– The concerted uprisings in early 1960 foiled Ngo Dinh Diem's policy of "strategic hamlets" carried out from 1954 to 1960 according to Eisenhower's strategy;

– Defeating Kennedy's "special war", from 1961 to early 1965, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people put out of action over 300,000 enemy troops (3,257 Americans); downed or destroyed 1,433 aircraft, wrecked 1,710 military vehicles (273 tanks and armoured cars) sank or set afire 522 enemy vessels and combat launches.

– From early 1965 to the end of 1968, they foiled Johnson's "limited war", put out of action 1.43 million enemy troops (nearly 540,000 GIs and satellite troops), downed or destroyed 12,600 aircraft, wrecked or captured nearly 27,200 military vehicles (over 12,600 tanks and armoured cars), over 1,100 heavy guns and heavy mortars, set afire 1,400 vessels and combat launches.

– Between early 1969 and January 27, 1973, our armed forces and people delivered staggering blows at Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy, compelling the U.S. to sign the agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam. They put out of action over 1.8 million enemy troops (over 365,000 GIs and satellite soldiers), downed or destroyed on the ground over 16,600 aircraft, wrecked or captured 52,000 military vehicles (over 20,000 tanks and armoured cars) nearly 6,500 artillery pieces and heavy mortars, over 70,000 small arms, set fire to 2,500 logistic depots, sank and set afire nearly 3,500 war vessels and combat launches.

North Viet Nam:

Between August 5, 1964 and January 17, 1973, we foiled two wars of destruction by Johnson and Nixon.

– Downed 4,181 aircraft (68 B.52s and 13 F.111s) of 46 modern types belonging to 16 categories built by 17 firms, set afire and sank 271 war vessels and commando boats.

– Wiped out thousands of American fliers, captured 472 others (including 4 colonels, 38 lieutenant-colonels, 108 majors, 177 captains and 126 lieutenants...).

Deprived the enemy of all trumpcards of both his strategic and tactical air forces, and dealt a hard blow at the prestige of the U.S. air force and navy.

29 – International conference on Viet Nam: held from February 27 to March 3, 1973 in Paris with the participation of the delegations of China, France, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the four member countries of the International Commission of Supervision and Control, the U.N. General Secretary and the four parties having signed the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. This conference was convened in accordance with Article 9 of the Paris Agreement with a view to "taking note of the agreement signed, guaranteeing the ending of hostilities, maintaining peace in Viet Nam and contributing to peace and guaranteeing peace in Indochina". On March 2, 1973, the parties to the conference officially signed the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, an important document guaranteeing peace in Viet Nam and in the world.

30 – The strategic attack by B. 52s at the end of 1972 was the most serious step in U.S. war escalation in Viet Nam. It involved all the B 52 strategic bombers available in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and hundreds of tactical aircraft. Day and night they attacked heavily populated areas in Hanoi, Haiphong and other localities in the North. In twelve historic days our people:

- downed 81 American planes (including 34 B.52s, and 5 F.Ills);
- killed and captured hundreds of American pilots, with ranks up to lieutenant-colonel;
- set afire 8 war vessels.

This resounding victory helped to compel the Americans to sign the Paris Agreement and admit their defeat in their aggressive war in Viet Nam.

31 – The agreement restoring peace and establishing national concord in Laos, signed on February 21, 1973, in Vientiane, recognized the fundamental national rights of the Lao people: independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and right of the Lao people to self-determination

The signing of this agreement was a great victory of the Lao people and a great event in the history of Laos and marked a turning point of paramount importance in the process of development of the Lao revolution.

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