# Bases of Power in the DRV

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BASES OF POWER IN THE DRV

"The Structure of Power in the DRV: Constitution and Party Statute", Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 103, examined the pinnacle of the power pyramid in North Viet-Nam as it was in February 1972. It showed that the Constitution of the Republic and the rules of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party (VWP) legitimize the control of the state by a handful of men. Most important were the nine members of the Politburo of the Party Central Committee, its two then alternate members, and six functionaries of the Party Secretariat who are also Central Committee but not Politburo members -- 17 men in all.

It was noted that most of them also occupy key functional posts in the government, and that in their combined Party and government capacities they control the selection process through which other men are advanced.

This research note attempts to probe deeper into the structure of power in the DRV, and to record the few changes that have taken place in it since North Viet-Nam invaded the South on March 30, 1972. The relationships between the several bases, or clusters, of power will also be explored, as will the real and the formal processes through which decisions are made.

Sometime in mid-1972 the two men who had been alternate Politburo members since 1960, Minister of Public Security Trần Quốc Hoạn and Army Chief of Staff Col. Gen. Văn Tiến Dũng were promoted to full membership in the Politburo. As they were included in the Politburo-Secretariat 17-man count, the computation of positions they held provided in Document No. 103 remains valid.

No formal announcement of these promotions was made. The news became public on September 4, 1972 when, a list of Party leaders who placed the first wreath at Hồ Chí Minh's statue on the third anniversary of his death was published. According to Nhân Dân the group consisted of:
Tôn Đức Thắng, President of the DRV and Chairman of the Presidium of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front (VFF) Central Committee.

Nguyễn Luông Bằng, Vice President.

Le Duan, First Secretary of the VWP Central Committee.

Trương Chinh, Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

Premier Phạm Văn Đồng.


Le Đức Thọ, Member of the Political Bureau of the VWP Central Committee.

Nguyễn Duy Trinh, Vice Premier and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Le Thanh Nghị, Vice Premier.

Hoàng Văn Hoan, Member of the VWP Central Committee Political Bureau, and concurrently Vice Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

Trần Quốc Hoàn, Member of the VWP Central Committee Political Bureau and Minister of Public Security.

Col. Gen. Văn Tiến Dũng, Member of the VWP Central Committee Political Bureau.

Hoàng Quốc Việt, Chairman of the Viet-Nam Federation of Trade Unions.

Tố Hữu, Member of the Secretariat of the VWP Central Committee.
Nguyễn Văn Trần, Member of the Secretariat of the VWP Central Committee and Secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee.

Hoàng Anh, Vice Premier and Member of the Secretariat of the VWP Central Committee.

Nguyễn Công, Member of the Secretariat of the VWP Central Committee and Vice Premier.

Đỗ Mười, Vice Premier.

Nguyễn Xuân Yêm, Secretary of the Viet-Nam Democratic Party.

Nguyễn Xiên, Secretary General of the Viet-Nam Socialist Party.

Trần Đăng Khoa, Vice Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

Lê Thị Xuyên, Vice Chairman of the Vietnamese Women's Association.

Y Wang, Vice Chairman of the Central Nationalities Commission.

Hoàng Minh Giam, Member of the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee and Minister of Culture.

Vũ Quang, First Secretary of the Hồ Chí Minh Working Youth Union Central Committee.

Buddhist Priest Thích Tri Đỗ, Member of the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee.

Hồ Đặc Di, Member of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

The last nine are not participants in the structure of power. They are not VWP Central Committee members and indeed most are not members of the ruling party. Their appearance on this
occasion reflects the DRV's penchant for decorating ceremonies with non-Party personalities drawn from the VFF and the National Assembly.

The President and Vice President of the Republic are listed first for obvious protocol reasons. Thereafter the list reflects actual Party status. The only stellar name missing is that of Phạm Hùng fourth ranking member of the Politburo. Head of the Central Office of South Viet-Nam (COSVN), the command post for the war in the South, (with the exception of the Quảng Trị-Thừa Thiên front), apparently, Hùng did not come to Hanoi for the annual National Day observances. The two newly promoted members of the Politburo are now listed as its junior members.

Next appears Hoàng Quốc Việt, head of the Trade Union Federation and of the People's Supreme Procurate, the DRV's top law enforcement agency, and a leading member of the presidium of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front (VFF) Central Committee. He is followed by members of the Party Secretariat. Tô Hữu is head of the Propaganda and Training Department of the Party. Nguyễn Văn Trần, Party Secretary for Hanoi, has been a member of the National Defense Council, but yielded his place there in 1971. Hoàng Anh is a Vice Premier and Chairman of the State Agricultural Commission as well as a member of the Secretariat.

Vice Premier Nguyễn Công is also a member of both the Party Secretariat and the National Defense Council as well as being Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Đỗ Mười, like Nguyễn Công, is an economic planner and heads the government's Capital Construction Commission, but holds no Party post other than membership on the Central Committee.

These six men are all members of the VWP Central Committee. Should new alternate or full members be named to the Politburo in the near future they will almost certainly be drawn from among these six. Of the three Vice Premiers listed, Hoàng Anh is the senior in age and political experience, having been active in the Việt-Minh in Central Viet-Nam in the early 1950's. He was at one time a Deputy Minister of Defense and then Minister of Finance. On September 19, 1972 Hanoi Domestic Service announced that to his current assignment as
Chairman of the Central Agricultural Commission has been added the chairmanship of a new "Central Leadership Committee on the perfection of farmland irrigation systems."

Nguyễn Cộn, who has given the economic reports at the last several National Assembly sessions, and Do Muoi are somewhat younger men, about whose careers little is known. They perhaps represent a new managerially oriented leadership generation within the state Party.

This list is the most complete indication of the "pecking order" in North Viet-Nam to appear since the meeting of the First Session of the Fourth DRV National Assembly in June 1971. Save for the promotion of Hoan and Dung there have been no formal changes since that time.

Obviously the 17 members of the Politburo and Party Secretariat are not the only people who influence Party and government policy in North Viet-Nam, or have major operational responsibility for its execution. Immediately below the top stratum of Party-based power holders, as Research Note No. 103 suggested, are the President of the Republic and the four members of the National Defense Council (NDC) who are not Politburo members. The four, two military and two civilian leaders, all are members of the Party Central Committee. Lt. Gen. Song Hao is chief of the Army's Political Directorate; Nguyễn Con, as has been noted, is a Vice Premier and Chief of the State Planning Commission; and Trần Hữu Đúc is a member of the Prime Minister's staff with ministerial rank. The other NDC member, Col. Gen. Chu Văn Tánh, is a veteran "resistance fighter" and the best-known ethnic minority personality in the DRV, whose Council membership may be honorary.

On the other hand, one of the 17, Lê Văn Lương, a member of the Party Secretariat, is not known to occupy any other Party or government post, despite his Central Committee membership. His non-appearance on the above list also suggests that he is the least of the member of the Secretariat. Other members of the Secretariat who are not also in leading government positions head Party Departments or Boards. Xuan Thuy, the only other member of the Secretariat missing from the September
list was reported to have been ill at the time. He is chairman of the Party's Foreign Relations Board as well as chief of the DRV delegation to the Paris Peace Talks.

It is the combination of Party and government positions which an individual holds which determines his status in a communist state. But for the top-most pinnacle stratum this statement needs to be qualified, since there status is conditioned by subtler factors. Personality, revolutionary credentials, and, as the regime ages, post-revolutionary contributions to the "building of socialism", inter-personal relations among friends and rivals, and the size, devotion and institutional locus of one's following within the Party and the state, all matter, as well as the combination of jobs one has amassed. A top leader's personal relations with the heads of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic can also affect his status within his own Party.

The remarkable survival record of the VWP chieftains, and their maintaining a unified collective leadership since the death of Ho Chi Minh, is probably due more to the persistence of war in Viet-Nam--largely a result of their own decisions--than to any other single factor. This unity has resulted in an extraordinarily low turn over rate in the occupancy of power positions, and makes it impossible to test against North Vietnamese experience a number of generalizations about in-power communist parties which seem valid elsewhere. To a large degree the DRV-VWP has to be studied as a thing apart.

There have been other communist party first secretaries who like Le Duan have not assumed state office, but a number have, usually as Prime minister. Le Duan's holding no state title for more than a decade may have signified little more than that the First Secretaryship of the VWP is a full time job. But his and Truong Chinh's 1971 decision to themselves replace two members of the National Defense Council, in one of the few changes in position since Ho's death, did have meaning. It meant that the NDC was to include the top men of the Party as well as of the army and the civil government--a move portending a change in policy as well as a symbolic gesture. At the same time Thang's constitutional right to head the NDC was confirmed by his being named its chairman. Giap, who had shared the Council's
Vice Chairmanship with Phạm Văn Đồng, was listed simply as third ranking member, after Lê Duẩn and Trương Chinh. Whether this was intended as a demotion or simply a bit of tidying up cannot be said confidently.

Lê Duẩn’s taking the lead in the October 1971 negotiations with the Podgorny-led Soviet delegation to Hanoi was regularized by its being labelled a "Party and Government Delegation." Actually Lê Duẩn’s personal status with the Soviet leadership was the determinant. Hồ Chí Minh had introduced him to the Russian leaders at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences of communist parties. In April 1971, when the elections for the National Assembly were being held, the Party First Secretary was in the Soviet Union. He quite possibly elicited Russian guarantees that additional military aid would be forthcoming for the DRV at that time. The full extent of Soviet support, however, was not agreed upon until October. At that time Lê Duẩn took the opportunity to at least inferentially commit Podgorny to the support of the peace terms of the Cambodian insurgents, as well as those of the Pathet Lao and the Vietnamese communists, which the Soviet Union had previously endorsed. The text of Lê Duẩn’s speech is reproduced here.

Lê Duẩn’s 65th birthday fell on April 7, just a week after the invasion of the South. A message of greetings signed jointly by Podgorny, Party Secretary Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin congratulated him on the work of the VWP to which "you have been actively contributing for many years". [Tass International Service, 6 April 1972]. The East German and Romanian Communist Parties also sent warm, personalized messages. There is no record of a similar message from the Chinese. However Kim Il-sung the North Korean state and party chief sent one.

More important in DRV policy making however, than the NDC is the Central Military Affairs Party Committee (CMAPC). The Party Statute requires that it have non-military as well as military members. The names of the non-military members have not been published. Hanoi media reported on September 4 that the second group to lay a wreath before Hồ Chí Minh’s statue was the CMAPC. Quán Đội Nhân Dân front-paged a photograph of a portion of the group. Clearly recognizable, standing next to Gen. Giáp, was Lê Đức Thọ, Politburo member and advisor.
to the DRV delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. Giáp is secretary of the committee. Văn Tiến Dũng, whose elevation to full membership on the Politburo establishes him as the second ranking soldier in North Viet-Nam, is deputy secretary as is Lt. Gen. Song Hào, head of the army's General Political Directorate. Its Standing Committee includes Maj. Gen. Lê Hiển Mai, Hào's deputy in the Political Directorate, and Maj. Gen. Nguyễn Độn. Hào and Mai are members of the Party Central Committee and Độn is an alternate member. They should be counted among the couple of dozen most important policy makers in the DRV. The other military members of the Central Committee may also serve on the CMAPC. Who its civilian members are besides Lê Đức Thọ is not known. It is legitimate speculation that Lê Duẩn, Phạm Văn Đồng, and quite possibly Trương Chinh and Trần Quốc Hoàn, the Minister of Public Security, are among them. The Armed Public Security forces which are under Hoàn's Ministry are, for Party control, also subordinate to the CMAPC.

Communist documents captured since the 1972 invasion of South Viet-Nam got underway, including reports of indoctrination sessions among North Vietnamese troops, assert that the campaign was ordered by "Resolution 20 of the Party Central Committee and by the Central Military Affairs Party Committee." At least as long as North Viet-Nam is engaged in major military action the CMAPC is second only to the Politburo as a center of decision making in the DRV. A digest of the as yet unpublished text of Resolution 20 is appended. It appeared in the June 1972 issue of Thời Sự Phố Trong, a magazine of the VWP Propaganda and Training Department.

The army's influence on policy making and implementation is not limited to its representation on the Politburo, the Central Committee, and the role of the CMAPC, however. Maj. Gen. Phan Trọng Tuệ, a Central Committee member, is Minister of Communications and Transportation. Another army man, rank unknown, Central Committee member Đình Đức Thiện, the Director of the Logistics Department of the army, is also Minister of Engineering. His Vice Minister, a colonel is one of his deputies in the Logistics Department. Thus the two ministries in the
civil government whose support performance is most essential to the success of military operations are closely tied to the military structure. Maj. Gen. Nguyễn Văn Vĩnh, an alternate member of the Central Committee, heads both Party and government National Reunification Commissions.

Since heavy bombing of North Viet-Nam began in mid-April 1972 other soldiers, not all in the Party hierarchy, but undoubtedly Party members, have become key figures in wartime control of the whole population of their areas. For example, reports suggest that Maj. Gen. Lê Quang Hoa, military commander of the Fourth Military Region, the pandhandle through which troops and supplies move to the Demilitarized Zone, is the key government official in the area. When Hanoi itself was partially evacuated Col. Đoàn Phùng, chief political officer for all troops stationed in the capital area, appeared more prominently than either the Party Secretary or the "Mayor" as evacuation expeditor.

Giap published two treatises in September claiming that the war as it came home to the North was a defensive "People's War", but one which could not be "disassociated" from the Southern people's liberation struggle. The texts are not available, but that of a long article by Maj. Gen. Lê Hiền Mai in the August issue of Tạp Chí Quân Đội Nhân Dân (the army's magazine) "Some Problems of the Local Military Task in the New Situation" is. He proposed, in effect, that regional Party and military officials unite to lead a total mobilization effort, rebuilding the militia, directing its training, supervising its non-military labor assignments and, of course, sending the healthiest recruits to the front line "main force" units.

At least 16 of the 69 Central Committee members and alternates are army men. Lt. Gen. Hoàng Văn Thái, a Central Committee member has been reported by ralliers to be Pham Hưng's ranking military colleague in COSVN and alternate members Lt. Gen. Trần Văn Trà and Maj. Gen. Trần Đỗ are also senior commanders in the allegedly southern People's Liberation Armed Forces. (Their units now contain 50 to 90 percent NVA "fillers" though most of the officers remain southern-born.) The Party Statute declares that Party organizations in regular army units are under the direct control of Central Committee, exercised
through the CMAPC. The latter, as has been noted, is not however an exclusively military body, and its military members, so far as they have been identified, are men who came into military prominence as a result of a prior commitment to the Party. While pre-World War II membership in the Indochinese Communist Party is the common denominator among Politburo members, whose ages average about 64, the common denominator among the somewhat younger members of the military high command would seem to be combat leadership during the 1947 to 1954 "resistance war" against the French.

Also working against a tendency towards "professionalism" in the army, which might otherwise exist and which if developed could conceivably result in the army's becoming a rival to the Party, is the operation of Party chapters and committees at every level within the armed forces, and the authority of the political officers. Giáp wrote in 1959 that up to 90 percent of the officers were Party members, and Lê Đức Thọ said in 1965 that "almost all" were. Furthermore, while the Party Statute sets up a separate chain of communication and guidance from the CPMAC to Party organizations in the "main force" units, Party organizations in the "local forces", upon which the army depends for recruitment as well as for rear echelon work, are integrated with the civilian, geographically based Party organizations in the provinces where their personnel live and work. Frequently local Party civilian secretaries act as political officers of the "local forces" troops in their areas.

If, as Document 103 indicated, the top of the power pyramid is the Politburo supported by the Party Secretariat, the center of second level leadership is the Central Committee. As has been pointed out, all the members of the Secretariat are Central Committee members, as are a number of key army leaders and all the members of the National Defense Council. So are 23 of the 35 ministers and persons of equivalent rank in the civil government, and all but one of the seven vice premiers. Central Committee membership is even more marked among the chairmen of the Party Boards which oversee and prod state departments. Of the 16, three are headed by Politburo members, six by full and six by alternate members of the Central Committee. To put it another way, 32 of the 41 full members of the Central
Committee and 17 of its 28 alternate members have DRV ministerial or corresponding VWP functional responsibilities.

The second level of the state central bureaucratic administration, however, is not so permeated by people of Party prominence. Of the 72 persons of vice ministerial rank whose names are known only 10 appear to be also Party leaders. Le Quoc Tan, a full member of the Central Committee, is a Vice Minister of Public Security. Ha Huy Giap, a veteran Central Committee member (one of the Party leaders in the August 1945 uprising in Saigon), is a Vice Minister of Culture, and four alternate Central Committeemen are vice ministers in the departments of Light Industry, Foreign Trade, Public Health and Education. All five of these ministries are presided over by men who are not Party leaders, and in at least four cases not Party members. Another Vice Minister of Education is a member of the secretariat of the Youth Union. Vu Quang, First Secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, is Vice Minister of Communications and Transport, in which capacity he and the Youth Union have mobilized thousands of young workers and peasants in order to keep open the bomb-damaged communications of North Viet-Nam and the supply lines to the "main force" units in the South.

Very few indications of the renewed war's impact on civil government in North Viet-Nam have been reported. All regulation and support of agricultural production was placed under Vice Premier Hoang Anh's Central Agricultural Commission in 1971, into which two formerly autonomous ministries, those of Agriculture and State Farms, and possibly the Ministry of Water Conservation, have now been incorporated. Blessed by good fifth and tenth months rice crops in 1972, Hoang Anh presided over a conference in September which discussed the more careful planning of the crop seasons and rotation between rice and "secondary" vegetable and forage plantings in 1972-1973. Hoang Anh seemed to be staking his reputation on the development of the new "winter" diversified "secondary" crops to be cultivated between the rice seasons. [Hanoi Domestic Service, 21 September 1972].

The floods which the DRV had feared would occur in August-September 1972, and which it had prepared, through an elaborate propaganda campaign, to blame on U.S. incidental bombing of
its dikes, have not developed. However the priority claims of
the war on the DRV's transportation system was reducing drastically
the provision of fertilizer and other supplies to the farms, it was
revealed at a conference called in September by the Ministry of
Communications and Transport. The conference concluded that
the rural cooperatives must assist in improving both land and
water transportation routes. (Hanoi Domestic Service, 24 September
1972)

Since March 30, 1972 the most notable development in
governmental leadership has been the emergence of Politburo
member, and Vice Premier, Le Thanh Nghi as the key man in
the war mobilization of the DRV's non-agricultural resources, with
responsibility also for supplying the civilian market. Le Thanh
Nghi has long been the Politburo member, and the senior Vice
Premier, concerned primarily with economic problems. He has
represented the DRV in most of its negotiations with its communist
allies for economic and military assistance. It was Le Thanh Nghi
who signed both the May order "on maintaining security and order
and managing the market in war time" and the July 16 "DRV
Council of Ministers Order on War Time Labor Duty". [See
Hanoi Domestic Service broadcasts of those dates.]

By July 1972 the political leadership had become uneasy
about the performance of government cadres, and local Party
functionaries. Its concern was voiced in an unsigned editorial
in Hoc Tạp, which is reprinted here. The article, besides
threatening to replace provincial cadres who had become infected
with "localism" with men from central agencies, forecast a
"new trend" in economic planning. Agricultural production and
maintaining communications and transportation were to be
emphasized at the expense of the goals of the 1972 State Plan,
which was not mentioned.

The 1972 State Plan had been reaffirmed in the Central
Committee's 20th Plenum resolution "early this year," but four
months of war had demonstrated, at least to some Party leaders,
that it is not possible to simultaneously wage war and "build
socialism". This may have been guardedly recognized at a
Politburo meeting which passed a resolution "Changing the Directions
of and Stepping up all the Tasks in the North in Order to Defeat
the U.S. Aggressors."
The functions of the Ministry of State Security have not been reduced. Just prior to the renewal of the "main force" war, Trần Quốc Hoan in the March issue of Học Tạp, the Party's theoretical journal, threatened increased surveillance over Catholics, the older leaders of ethnic minorities, "former local administrative personnel and spies" and other groups "composed of left over elements of the old society." He urged that the Party and the masses, when necessary, resort to "revolutionary violence" against them. In the May issue of the same magazine, however, he said that there was no serious internal security threat and that his Ministry and the Party could handle the situation. More recently, one of his deputies, Trần Quyết, urged "village security forces under Party direction" to be more active in educating the masses against false rumors, and crack down harder on "robbery, embezzlement and waste" and "violations of food policy." [Quân Đội Nhân Dân, Aug. 20, 1972]

No reason has ever been advanced for the Party's taking so long to elevate Hoan and Dung to full Politburo membership. The seats they have taken have been vacant since 1967 and 1969. The recent move may reflect a feeling that the "security task" and the army both deserve the recognition which the two promotions entail.

The DRV's conduct of foreign affairs remains in the same hands it has been in since Ho's death. Foreign Minister Nguyễn Duy Trinh is a Politburo member and a Vice Premier. He was dropped from the NDC in 1971. It is by no means clear that he outranks Lê Đức Thọ, a more senior member of the Politburo and chief of the Organization Department of the Party, who holds no state position other than that of advisor to the DRV Paris Peace Talks delegation. Xuân Thủy who heads the delegation between Lê Đức Thọ's visits to Paris is Lê Duẩn's and Lê Đức Thọ's foreign affairs staffer in the Party Secretariat. Neither of the three Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs is prominent in the Party. However, Võ Thị Thực Đông the DRV Ambassador to Moscow is a Central Committee member, and Ngô Thụyền, Ambassador to Peking, is an alternate.

As has been noted, political relations with the Soviet Union are handled by Lê Duẩn and the more routine negotiations by Lê Thanh Nghị. Premier Phạm Văn Đồng led the delegation
which visited China in November 1971 after the Podgorny visit to Hanoi, and received Premier Chou-En-lai's assurance that China too would continue to give military and economic assistance to the DRV. Hoàng Văn Hoan, one of the junior members of the Politburo, has been Ambassador to China and has headed numerous DRV foreign delegations. All communist diplomats in Hanoi make a point of seeing Trương Chinh, Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee, as well as the Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In short, in the DRV as in all Communist countries foreign policy is as much Party as government business. Senior Party leaders involve themselves in the conduct of foreign affairs when they can usefully do so, regardless of the nominal prerogatives of those whose state positions oblige them to routinely participate.

The clearest signal to the North Vietnamese people that their leaders intended to commit them to another "main force" attempt to conquer the South was in a speech by Trương Chinh to a December 1971 congress of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front. The Politburo and CMAPC had already started some Viet-Nam People's Army troops on their way to the Demilitarized Zone, and others were moving in Laos and Cambodia to positions along the borders of South Viet-Nam. A Fatherland Front Congress had long been planned for 1972. Trương Chinh, the senior Politburo member who has been the Front's theoretician, addressed the meeting. His speech, which is reprinted here, enunciated clearly that pursuit of the "anti-U.S. salvation struggle" was to be the DRV's primary objective in the coming year. It also restated his concept of the role of the Front in the political life of North Viet-Nam. Since the Party Central Committee did not meet until "early this year" (1972) to approve the Politburo decision, the full text was not published until February 1 and 2.

The National Assembly met from March 20 to 25, 1972. Phạm Văn Đồng and Nguyễn Cơn in their political and economic reports made the first public references to the meeting of the Central Committee's 20th Plenum. Nguyễn Duy Trinh's foreign affairs report emphasized the "sovereignty" of the DRV's foreign policy and the importance that diplomatic maneuvering has in its political-military planning. Giáp's defense report, which was not broadcast or printed, may have hinted at the invasion which got underway a week later. The Assembly has not been called
into session since, but its Standing Committee, which under the Constitution has all essential residual powers (see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 95 "The DRV Elects Its Fourth National Assembly) has met several times. On September 7, according to a Hanoi Domestic Service broadcast, it heard a report from the government on a forests protection measure it was about to promulgate, and a week later it issued a communique calling on all relevant agencies of the government to pay more attention to the "care of teenagers and children." It implied that the partial evacuation of Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities made this an urgent problem but did not refer to the fact that many North Vietnamese children will grow up fatherless as a result of battle losses.

None of the Standing Committee meetings, so far as can be ascertained from the communiques, directly concerned themselves with the core problems of the war. In any event the National Assembly is a powerless appendage to the state-Party machine. The question arises, nonetheless, whether or not it is a useful transmission belt between the government and the people. Trường Chinh heads it, with Politburo member Hoàng Văn Hoan, who seems to have no other routine state duties, as his principal deputy. Lê Duẩn, Phạm Văn Đồng and Giáp are members of the Assembly, as are 28 of the 35 ministers and occupants of equivalent government posts. A photograph of the presidium of the March 20-25 session shows Lê Duẩn looking extremely bored as President Tôn Đức Thắng made his opening address.

Of 26 provincial and municipal Party secretaries 10, including Hanoi Party Secretary Nguyễn Văn Trân, are National Assembly delegates, as are 14 of the 24 identified Provincial Administrative Committee chairmen, including those of the two autonomous zones. But the Assembly itself sits so infrequently that it hardly provides a meeting place where those Party and state officials most familiar with what goes on in the country can exchange views. With but three exceptions, these local government and Party leaders are not members of the Standing Committee.

According to Nhân Dân, the Party's national daily, of April 29, 1971 the 420 delegates include "91 workers, 90 collective farmers, 125 women, 82 deputies in the 21 to 30 age group,
87 socialist intellectuals working in various branches--science, technology, economy, education, law, medicine, culture, art, and so forth, 27 army men or women, 72 minority nationals, eight religious leaders (Buddhists, Catholics, Protestants, Cao Dais) and 5 patriotic personalities." Into which of these categories the Party provincial secretaries and administrative committee chairman fit was not specified. Many of the delegates are "labor heroes" or heads of "production cells" and rural cooperative managers. But several heads of faculties of colleges and technical schools were elected too. The Party, and the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front, which organizes the National Assembly elections, while making a point of including members of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia, and even the former business classes, in the Assembly, have tried to use it as a means of creating a new set of worker-peasant local "notables."

In fact the National Assembly, and the Standing Committee, are more projections of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front (VFF) than of the VWP. Trương Chinh, however, is the key figure in both. Of the 17 members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the VFF (whose Chairman is the President of the DRV) 12 are Assembly members, including the leaders of the tiny Democratic Party (organized by the VWP as a political home for members of the "national bourgeoisie") and the Socialist Party (for intellectuals of bourgeois origin). Leaders of religious groups represented in the VFF also grace the Assembly, as do a handful of surviving non-party pre-revolutionary "notables." Affiliated too are the mass organizations--the Hồ Chí Minh Working Youth Union, the Viet-Nam Trade Union Federation and the Women's Union.

Vu Quang, First Secretary of the Youth Union, rather surprisingly, is not a Party Central Committee member or alternate. But he is a member of the National Assembly Standing Committee, as is Mrs. Nguyễn Thị Thập, President of the Women's Union. She is a Party Central Committee member, Originally a southern "regroupee", Mrs. Thập was styled delegate from Mỹ Tho in the first three assemblies, but when the southern seats were abolished in 1971 a Hanoi constituency was found for her. Hoàng Quốc Việt, a Central Committee member who appeared in the September 3 list, is not a member of the
Standing Committee, but he is of the Presidium of VFF. Indeed he deputizes for Truong Chinh as the VWP's principal spokesman within the Front.

The prominence of leaders of "mass organizations", however, reveals little about the importance of the organizations within the structure of power in the DRV. Only one of the trade union federation's vice presidents, Tran Danh Tuyen, is even an alternate member of the Party Central Committee. When the July 16 labor mobilization order was issued by Minister of Labor Nguyen Huy Khiu, an alternate member of the Central Committee, the trade unions were not mentioned as attending the briefing session at which it was discussed with national and local government officers.

Two women in addition to Mrs. Thap are members of the National Assembly Standing Committee, and 125 of the Assembly's 420 delegates are women. Mrs. Ha Thi Que, a Vice President of the Women's Union is a Party Central Committee member, and Mrs. Dinh Thi Can, a Vice Minister of Public Health, is an alternate member. This seems to be the extent of female presence in the DRV power structure, despite the fact that the DRV's population has a heavily weighted female majority. The Women's Union, like the trade unions, has not proved an effective avenue to power in North Viet-Nam. (It should be noted, nonetheless, that from 35 to 40 percent of the seats on village and district councils are held by women but only 10 percent at province, city and zone level.)

The predominant access route is, of course, the Party itself. But one of the anomalies of the VWP is the under-representation of its provincial organizations on the Central Committee. Gen. Chu Van Tan, Party Secretary for the Viet-Bac Autonomous Region is a Central Committeeman. But as the best known ethnic minority personality in the DRV he is a member of innumerable national bodies and probably spends but a fraction of his time in the mountainous Viet-Bac. His opposite number in the Tay Bac Autonomous Region, Hoang Van Kieu is an alternate member and may have been raised to full membership in 1969. Nguyen Van Tran, the head of the Hanoi Party is a national Secretariat and Central Committee member, but Tran Kien the Haiphong Party Secretary appears to hold no
national Party position. Of 24 Province Party secretaries, with one exception, none are Central Committee members, and only one, Lê Hoàng of Bắc Thái Province is an alternate member. The exception is Võ Thúc Đông a Central Committee member and Party Secretary for Nghệ An Province. But he is also DRV Ambassador in Moscow, and his deputy who is also, most untypically, Chairman of the Nghệ An Provincial Administrative Committee, is Vương Văn Giáp whose name is not to be found on any national Party roster. One province Party secretary, Phan Điền of Nam Hà, is a Vice Minister of Light Industry.

With the overwhelming majority of Central Committee members (36 out of 41) and alternates (23 out of 28) known to occupy full time positions in the national government, army and Party structures, and with the National Assembly impotent, there appears to be no effective, continuous representation of local needs and feelings within the overlapping Party-state hierarchy. In any event, communist parties once in power preempt rather than represent or aggregate the aspirations of classes which they mobilized politically in the course of seizing power. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the poor performance of many local Party leaders cited in the June Học Tạp editorial and in numerous preceding issues of that journal may stem at least in part from the tertiary leaderships’ exclusion from the decision making process.

Part of the problem stems from the fact that at least 27 of the 41 full members of the Central Committee were members of it even prior to the 1960 Congress. Of the 14 who presumably came onto the Committee then, five are army leaders who redressed its under-representation on the Committee. The nine other new members included Nguyên Con and one of his deputies on the State Planning Commission, Nguyễn Lâm, the head of the State Price Commission, Lê Quang Ba who is chairman of the Party’s Minority Affairs Committee, Bùi Quang Tao now Minister of Construction, Dương Quốc Chính, who was named to replace an ageing southern revolutionary leader, Ưng Văn Khiêm, as Minister of Interior in 1971 (the job which entails managing such social welfare activity as the national government conducts), and Lê Quốc Thân, Võ Thúc Đông, and Mrs. Quê mentioned above.
With the heavy involvement of alternate as well as full Central Committee members in civil government and military duties, there is no room at the top in the VWP for local representation now or when the presumably younger alternate members replace the veteran full members of the Central Committee.

Pre-1939 membership in the Indochinese Communist Party has been cited as the common denominator of Politburo membership, and 1947-54 combat leadership as the common experience of the slightly younger military-political command of the army. From the little biographic data that is available, it appears that the pre-1960 hold overs on the Central Committee span both of those generations. The non-military Central Committee members and alternates chosen in 1960, many of whom are now junior ministers, may be of a younger generation, men who after youthful participation in the "Resistance War" helped "build socialism" in North Viet-Nam after the 1955-1957 land reform debacle.

The management of the Party in the provinces and the "Party building task", meanwhile, rests with the provincial secretaries and district and local secretaries who have little voice in the Party's national councils. On the eve of the offensive they were told that they must subordinate the distribution of locally produced publications to the dissemination of the two national dailies, Nhân Dân and Quán Đội Nhân Dân.

"For a party that holds power the greatest dangers to avoid are not only wrong policies, but also bureaucratism, commandism and despotism--errors that result from isolating the Party from the masses and weakening proletarian dictatorship," said Lê Duẩn in his 1970 essay "Under the Glorious Party Banner for Independence, Freedom and Socialism" (Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 77). The extent to which these weaknesses characterize the relations between provincial and local functionaries and the approximately one million rank-and-file of Party members, and the people, is outside the scope of this research note. It is clear, however, that there is no mechanism for the free articulation of interests, ideas or grievances from the grass roots Party chapters to the Politburo.
There are four clusters of power and influence in the VWP and hence in the DRV, welded together by the Politburo and Secretariat: the Party organization itself, capped by the Central Committee, the army firmly controlled by but well represented in the Party, the civil government dominated by members of the Central Committee, and the congeries of "mass organizations", middle class "notables" and Party-created new leaders in the National Assembly and the Fatherland Front. The latter is more representative than the other three, but, while of considerable symbolic importance, it is the least potent of the four.

If a change of policy and perspective in the DRV is to come in the next few years it will result from one or more of these possible developments:

1. Demonstrated military failure, coupled with the destruction of the logistical infrastructure;

2. A weakening of confidence or unity in the Politburo;

3. An appreciation by the younger technicians in the ministries, and alternate members of the Central Committee, of the impossibility of a "small backward country's" building socialism while conducting a costly war,

4. The funnelling upwards, somehow, of mass dissent or discontent by members of the National Assembly and provincial and local Party leaders.
"YOUR CURRENT VISIT WILL HAVE FAR REACHING REPERCUSSIONS"

Le Duan's Speech of October 5, 1971 welcoming to Hanoi the Soviet Party and Government Delegation headed by N.I. Podgorny

[Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1510 GMT, 5 October 1971]

Follows the speech delivered by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, at the grand meeting organized here yesterday evening in honour of the visiting Soviet Party and Government Delegation:

Esteemed Comrade Nikolai Podgorny,

Dear Comrades in the Soviet Party and Government Delegation,

Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the National Assembly and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, I warmly welcome the Soviet Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Nikolai Podgorny, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, now on a friendship visit to our country.

In greeting the distinguished Soviet guests we are greeting the messengers of the first socialist land, the land of Lenin, the leader of genius and the great teacher of the world revolution.

In greeting you, we are greeting the messengers who have brought us the close friendship and unbreakable solidarity of the 245 million heroic Soviet people, our dear brothers who have always given a firm support and devoted assistance to the Vietnamese people in their cause of national liberation and socialist construction.

At this grand meeting, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, and the National Assembly and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, I sincerely extend our ardent friendship and unshakable militant solidarity with the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.
Dear Comrades and Friends,

In the more than half century of staunch struggle under the clearsighted leadership of the Party of Lenin, the Soviet people, rich in revolutionary zeal and creative energy, have written extremely glorious pages of their history.

The triumph of the October Revolution led to the founding of the first socialist state and ushered in a new era in mankind's history, that of the emancipation of the laboring people and the oppressed nations, of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The resounding victories of the heroic Soviet army and people in World War Two have saved mankind from the disaster of fascism and created conditions for the revolution to triumph in a series of countries in Europe and Asia and made socialism expand beyond the boundaries of a country to become a world system, marking a fundamental turning point in the world balance of force and taking the world revolution, with its three great main streams, to the position of all round offensive on imperialism.

The pioneer in the advance to socialism, the Soviet people have also blazed the way for the advance to communism and inaugurated the era of the conquest of the cosmos for the happiness of man. In the Soviet Union material and technical foundation for communism is being laid on a growing scale and at an increasing tempo. This finds a concentrated expression in the various documents of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet people's great achievements in establishing new social relations, in building a new material and technical groundwork and in fostering the new man have increased manifold the Soviet Union's might in economy, military and other fields. The might of the Soviet Union and the strength of the other socialist countries are the firm guarantee of the revolutionary cause of the other nations; it has foiled the schemes of provocation and aggression of U.S.-led imperialism, in defense of peace and security in the world.

The Vietnamese people are overjoyed at these brilliant achievements of the brother Soviet people and regard these as a great encouragement to them in their own revolutionary cause. We sincerely wish the Soviet people yet greater successes in the implementation of the ninth 5-year plan to advance the Soviet Union vigorously on the road of building communism and enhance the standing and promote the great role of the Soviet Union in our time.
Dear Comrades and Friends,

The peoples of Viet-Nam and the Soviet Union have long been closely bound together by profound proletarian internationalist feelings. The Russian October Revolution has wakened the Vietnamese patriots and brought to the working class and the people of Viet-Nam Marxism-Leninism - the marvelous truth of the era of revolution and which President Ho Chi Minh regarded as the compass and the sun showing the way to socialism and communism. Even in the days when the people of Viet-Nam were still plunged in the dark night of slavery, Comrade Ho Chi Minh crossed oceans to come to the Soviet land in search of a way to save his people and his country. All his life he put all his strength and energy to tending the friendship between the peoples of Viet-Nam and the Soviet Union to make it flourish with every passing day. The working class and the entire people of Viet-Nam take great pride in the noble action of Ton Duc Thang, the young sailor who more than 50 years ago bravely hoisted the glorious flag of the October Revolution on a French battleship in the Black Sea to protest the armed intervention of 14 imperialist countries which were trying to strangle the nascent Soviet power. In colonialist prisons Vietnamese revolutionary fighters, braving the worst tortures, always turned their thoughts toward the land of the October Revolution. Many of them met the guillotine shouting "Long live independent Viet-Nam!", "Long live the Soviet Union!". These are splendid expressions of the iron-clad belief in the certain victory of communism, and sincere admiration of the Viet-Nam communists and the entire people of Viet-Nam for the October Revolution, for the Soviet State, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the heroic Soviet people.

The Vietnamese people will forever engrave in their hearts the great, valuable and effective support tendered them by the Party, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union in their war of resistance against French colonialism in the past and in their present resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and socialist construction.

At the forum of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary-General of the CPSU Central Committee, voiced the cordial and warm feelings felt for the Vietnamese people by the communists and the people of the Soviet Union. The Congress made an appeal affirming the resolute support
of the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union for the struggle conducted by the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, demanding the U.S. aggressors to quit Indochina, and firmly declaring support and assistance to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in the building of socialism and the strengthening of her national defense.

On the immense land of the Soviet Union each day has seen innumerable multiform activities and heart-moving actions of the Soviet brothers to support and assist the Vietnamese people in their resistance to the U.S. aggressors and save the country and to build socialism. A movement of production for Viet-Nam is in full swing in a series of Soviet factories. Soviet specialists, in great numbers, have actively helped Viet-Nam in economic rehabilitation and development. Soviet professors and scientists are devotedly assisting Viet-Nam in training scientific and technical workers. The heartfelt sympathies expressed by the Soviet Party and State leaders and the special shipments of relief coming from the Soviet land recently have brought to our compatriots in flood-stricken areas the profound feelings and the fraternal love of the Soviet Party and people.

The multiform support and assistance of the Soviet Union have been greatly encouraging our compatriots and combatants in the whole country to rush up in a high spirit to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Today, in this atmosphere overbrimming with fraternal friendship and militant solidarity I wish to express, on behalf of the Vietnamese people and the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, and the National Assembly and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, our sincere, profound gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet and Government and the fraternal Soviet people. As heretofore, the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the DRV Government will do their best to foster the great friendship and militant solidarity between the Parties and peoples of the two countries to make it evergreen and everlasting.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

For many years now the U.S. imperialists have been conducting in Viet-Nam an utterly savage war of destruction, committing untold heinous crimes against the people throughout our country.
In conducting the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, a war which the U.S. ruling circles themselves have recognized as "the longest, fiercest and most difficult" in the U.S. history, U.S. imperialism has tried to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees by force of arms, to perpetuate the partition of Viet-Nam, turn South Viet-Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the U.S., and make Viet-Nam the proving ground for the new strategies, tactics and weapons of the U.S.

The war of aggression in Viet-Nam, the most violent war since World War II, is a war conducted by the international gendarme against two of the biggest revolutionary mainstreams of our time in the world and in Southeast Asia -- the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution -- to suppress the national independence movement and intimidate the socialist camp.

Under the leadership of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation, the Vietnamese people with their tradition of indomitable struggle against foreign invasion, have risen up to wage an armed resistance against the U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the greatest war of resistance in their history. By dint of numerous sacrifices and hardships, the Vietnamese people have recorded extremely glorious victories. They have defeated the "special war" and the war of destruction against North Viet-Nam, and are defeating the local war of the U.S. in South Viet-Nam. They have compelled the U.S. to cease the bombing of North Viet-Nam, to enter negotiations at the Paris Conference, and to bring home part of its expeditionary forces.

Since Nixon came to power, however, the U.S. aggressors have proved even more obdurate and crafty. They have sought every way and means to extricate themselves from the quagmire of defeat, and vainly tried to secure a position of strength, of victory, in the war. On the one hand they frantically put into practice the "Nixon Doctrine" and the policy of "Vietnamizing" the war which, in essence, are aimed at prolonging the war and the U.S. occupation of South Viet-Nam and intensifying the war and extending it to Laos and Cambodia. On the other hand, they put out so-called "peace initiatives" just to hoodwink the public at home and in the world.

In the flush of victory and with the initiative firmly in their hands, the armed forces and people of South Viet-Nam are fighting with great staunchness and valor. They have broken one after the
other many counterattacks by the U.S.-puppets, repelling step by step the "Rural Pacification" program, causing heavy losses to the U.S. forces, further weakening the puppet army and inflicting on it more and more humiliating defeats. The townspeople of all walks of life, meanwhile, have launched a seething political struggle against the U.S.-Thieu clique, for welfare, democracy, the U.S. withdrawal, an end to the war, and the restoration of peace, driving the U.S. into dire straits and aggravating more and more the crisis of the Saigon puppet administration.

Now that U.S. imperialism has expanded the war to the whole of Indochina, turning this peninsula into a single battlefield, the Vietnamese people, standing side by side with the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia and holding aloft the banner of militant solidarity of the Indochinese People’s Summit Conference, are fighting with great determination to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Indochina. The fight of the three peoples has won great, all-round, strategic victories. It has inflicted an important failure on the plan to "Vietnamize" the war and the "Nixon Doctrine", and has created a new situation very favorable for the revolutionary cause of the three peoples in Indochina.

In the last days of September, the U.S. mobilized a great number of aircraft to attack many areas of big populations in North Viet-Nam, perpetrating new crimes against the Vietnamese people. This is an extremely serious act of war which blatantly violates the U.S. commitment to cease completely all bombardments on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and an impudent challenge to the peace-and justice-loving nations in the world. The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam sternly warn U.S. imperialism that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is an independent state, that the DRV territory is inviolable, that the armed forces and people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will mete out due punishment to the U.S. aggressors for any encroachment they may make against the sovereignty and security of their country.

Despite their heavy setbacks, the U.S. imperialists remain very obdurate. They seek to turn the tables, to break the resistance of the Vietnamese people. This, however, is a stupid calculation! The defeat of the U.S. is already quite evident. The U.S. imperialists are losing not only in Viet-Nam but also in Laos, Cambodia, in the
United States and in the international arena. They have landed in an unprecedentedly serious crisis which marks the weakening and troubles of the United States in all fields following many years of war and aggression. The "Nixon Doctrine" and the plan to "Vietnamize" the war, undertaken in the conditions of failure and passiveness, can never save the U.S. imperialists from complete fiasco. In our time a nation which is determined to shape its own destiny, united in fighting along a correct line for a just cause, and has the sympathy and support of the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces and the progressive people in the world, can defeat any aggressor, be it U.S. imperialism, the imperialist ringleader, the enemy number one of mankind.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Vietnamese people ardently cherish peace, but that must be peace in genuine independence and freedom. In order to settle the Viet-Nam war, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has advanced the Seven-Point Proposal which has the complete support of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This proposal is the correct stand, the goodwill of the Vietnamese people. It is also the most appropriate way for the U.S. to get out of the war that is causing chaos in the United States. The U.S. Government must give a positive response to this logical, reasonable proposal.

The U.S. must stop the aggression in Viet-Nam, effect a speedy, complete and unconditional withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of all U.S. troops and troops of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, scrupulously respect the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, stop backing the Nguyen Van Thieu ruling clique of war maniacs, and leave the South Vietnamese people alone to settle themselves their internal affairs free from any foreign interference.

Regarding the Indochinese countries, the U.S. must put an end to its intervention and aggression and pull out of this region all U.S. and satellite troops so that the people of each Indochinese country may settle themselves their internal affairs without foreign interference.

The Lao problem must be solved on the basis of the Five-Point Political Solution and the proposals made on April 27, 1971 and on June 22, 1971 by the Lao Patriotic Front.
The Cambodian question must be solved according to the March 23, 1970 declaration of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Political Program of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

Up to now, the U.S. Administration, however, has stuck to its colonialist, aggressive stand. This is the cause of the stagnation, the lack of progress, at the Paris Conference. The U.S. must bear full responsibility for this state of things.

Acting on the sacred testament of President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people are resolutely persisting in and stepping up their struggle militarily, politically and diplomatically to carry through to complete victory their war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, in order to liberate the South, defend and build up the socialist North, and achieve the peaceful reunification of their country, thus contributing to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world.

The armed forces and people of South Viet-Nam are doing their best to give full play to their position of initiative. Combining attacks with uprisings they resolve to inflict many losses in live force and materials on the enemy, to foil completely his "pacification" policy, to make the urban movement further develop, and fight on till the U.S. imperialists have to accept defeat, till the overthrow of the warmongering clique of Nguyen Van Thieu. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have just staged the most impudent election farce to keep in power Nguyen Van Thieu, the traitor, the most obedient servant of the U.S. Yet, let Nixon and his like be reminded that even though the U.S. had staged a similar farce to make Ngo Dinh Diem win with "over 90 percent of the votes", Diem could not hide his face of a traitor, and finally took the punishment he deserved.

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!" The Vietnamese people will never bow to any violence, any perfidious move of the U.S. imperialists. The more obdurate, the more bellicose U.S. imperialism is, the heavier defeats it will sustain. Its complete defeat is inescapable.

After several years of war, the North Vietnamese people, taking in stride fierce enemy attacks and savage destruction by the U.S. aggressors and carrying on fighting and production at the same time, have made very great achievements, completely defeating the war
of destruction, firmly maintaining production, providing aid to the front line, improving the people's life, and continuing the socialist revolution.

Now, the North Vietnamese people working with self-devotion are enthusiastically carrying out their great tasks—to strive to develop production, to build the economy, culture, education and public health and increase economic and defense potentials while discharging their duty of the great rear to the blood-sealed South and wholeheartedly supporting the struggle of the Lao and Cambodian peoples against U.S. aggression, for national salvation and always remaining vigilant, ready to break all adventurous acts of the U.S. aggressors.

The socialist regime in the North has been further tempered in the trials of hardships, enemy destruction and natural calamities. It has shown more and more clearly its great vitality and superiority; the Vietnamese people have shown more and more clearly their peerless revolutionary capacity in fighting and production.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation is taking place in a very favorable international situation. The world revolutionary movement is developing with might and main and is winning greater and greater victories. The socialist system, growing incessantly in strength, is continuing its historic role as the decisive factor of the development of the human society. The national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have made new strides forward are inflicting heavy blows at colonialism and neo-colonialism. The struggle of the working class and the laboring people in the capitalist countries are developing broadly and deeply as never seen before, spearheading at the reactionary rule of the state monopoly capital.

As an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the world people, the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation is defeating U.S. imperialism at a major link in its reactionary global strategy, thus contributing to the defense of the socialist camp and of world peace, and helping accelerate the common struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.
The victory of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation is inseparable from the great assistance and vigorous support from their brothers and friends in all the five continents. On this occasion, the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam sincerely thank the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, the national liberation movement, and all the forces of peace and progress in the world, including the progressive people of the United States. The Vietnamese people will do their best to fulfill their sacred duty to their nation and their internationalist obligation so as to be worthy of the support and trust of the peoples of other countries.

The Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people will exert all their energy to consolidate and strengthen their militant solidarity and their relations of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, China, and the other socialist countries so as to help restore and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and the world.

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the struggle of the Chinese people for the recovery of Taiwan, an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, for the restoration of all legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations, and for breaking the scheme to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan."

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the struggle of the Korean people against the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese militarists and the South Korean puppets, for the peaceful unification of their fatherland.

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the German Democratic Republic in her struggle to make West Germany respect her sovereignty, territorial integrity, for the establishment of relations of equality between all countries and the GDR in keeping with international law.
The Vietnamese people resolutely support the Cuban people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists' encroachments on the security and sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba.

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the Asian, African, Latin American countries now struggling against U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for independence, freedom and a new life of their own choice.

The Vietnamese people resolutely support the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and the revival of Japanese militarism, and for the building of an independent, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan; resolutely support the struggle of the Palestinian people and the peoples of the other Arab countries against U.S. imperialism and the Israeli aggressors, for the defense of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Arab countries, and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; resolutely support the struggle of the Chilean people against U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries, for the defense of the "Popular Union Coalition" administration headed by President Allende, and for safeguarding their independence and sovereignty, and building a prosperous country.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The current visit of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation is a very important event, marking a new, very splendid development of the relations between the parties and peoples of our two countries. Through your visit the Vietnamese people will see ever more clearly the warm feelings, the whole-hearted support and assistance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government and people to the revolutionary cause of the people of Viet-Nam. We firmly believe that your current visit will have far reaching repercussions, strongly encouraging our compatriots and combatants across the country to advance to new, yet greater victories, and will further embellish the fraternal love between the peoples of our two countries.

Long live the great friendship and militant solidarity between the parties and peoples of Viet-Nam and the Soviet Union!
Long live the great Soviet Union!

The Vietnamese people will surely triumph!

The Indochinese peoples will surely triumph!

U.S. imperialism will certainly fail!
TRUONG CHINH ADDRESSES
THIRD CONGRESS OF VIET-NAM FATHERLAND FRONT
17 DECEMBER 1971

[...]

On 17 December 1971 at the Third Congress of the VFF
Comrade Truong Chinh, member of the VWP Central Committee
Political Bureau, representing our Party, delivered an important
talk presenting the Party's principled stand on the following
problems: The national united front in our country, the front for
solidarity among the Indochinese peoples and the front of world's
peoples against imperialism -- led by U.S. imperialism -- for
peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Besides its introduction and conclusion Comrade Truong
Chinh's talk is divided into three main parts: 1) Motivation and
unification of all anti-U.S. forces in the country and the world
in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors; 2) The role and character
of the National United Front in the present revolutionary stage;
and 3) The VFF's immediate tasks and problems.

Comrade Truong Chinh also exposed the U.S. imperialists'
counter-revolutionary global strategy reflected in the Nixon Doctrine
and implemented in our country, in Indochina, in Southeast Asia
and in the world. He expounded our Party's viewpoint on many
current hot international problems.

In this program we will broadcast the introduction and first
part of Comrade Truong Chinh's talk, dealing with the motivation
and unification of all anti-U.S. forces in the country and in the
world in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors:

Dear members of the Presidium, gentlemen and friends:
The Third Congress of the VFF is taking place at a time when the
Indochina battlefields are resounding with victories and our people
all over the country are enthused over the great achievements
in socialist construction in the North. Our delegates listened to
and discussed the important political report of the VFF Central Committee. They also received the message of congratulations from the VWP Central Committee to the Congress. They all know that the VFF is facing a very serious but glorious mission: To further strengthen the all-people solidarity bloc and to motivate all people’s forces to intensively step up the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance until complete victory in order to liberate the South, protect and build the socialist North, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution.

The VFF is building this congress 41 years after President Ho established the vanguard Party of the Vietnamese Revolution, that is, the Indochina Communist Party, and the Viet-Nam Anti-Imperialist National United Front, that is, the Anti-Imperialist Alliance -- and 30 years after he formed the Viet-Minh Front. President Ho devoted his lifetime to struggling for independence and national unification. But he passed away before he saw the southern part of our country completely liberated and the Fatherland reunified. To show our deep love and profound gratitude for President Ho, we pledge to struggle to implement his sacred testament and to continue his great undertaking.

On the occasion of the VFF’s Third Congress I wish to expound some views on the Front’s problems and tasks in the present stage of our country’s revolution.

Part 1 -- Motivation and Unification of all Anti-U.S. Forces in the Country and in the World in Order to Defeat the U.S. Aggressors.

Dear comrades and friends, our people are conducting a resistance struggle against the Americans throughout the country and are building socialism in the North in order to contribute to protecting the socialist camp, to encourage the revolutionary movement of the world’s people and to safeguard peace. Our people's resistance struggle aims at achieving not only national objectives but also international objectives. The U.S. war of aggression in Viet-Nam is an act aimed at implementing the global strategy of the U.S. imperialists, the enemy number one of mankind. The Vietnamese Revolution is an integral part of the world revolution.
After World War II the U.S. imperialists implemented an extremely reactionary, cruel and crafty global strategy aimed at undermining the socialist system, at repressing the communist and international workers' movements, the national liberation movement and the democratic movement, at sabotaging peace, at carrying out U.S. neocolonialism, at preparing for a new world war and at ruling the world.

Concerning the socialist countries, the U.S. imperialists have sought by all means to encircle and divide them and wage limited wars against them, such as against the DRV, to conduct insurrection and counterrevolutionary activities, as they did against Hungary, and to use psychological warfare and espionage to (?) effect progressive changes in peace) in an attempt to restore capitalism.

Concerning the nationalist countries, the U.S. imperialists have implemented the policy of providing them with economic, cultural and military aid, of infiltrating them in all fields and of gradually turning them into their neocolonies or helping their reactionary lackeys conduct insurrections and stage coups d'etat and aiding the pro-U.S. cliques in taking over and in implementing policies of subordination to the Americans.

Concerning their neocolonies and subordinate countries, the U.S. imperialists have most barbarously repressed all the people's national and democratic movements. Concerning the neocolonies and subordinate countries of other imperialists, the U.S. imperialists have sought by means of political infiltration and economic aid to gradually turn them into their neocolonies.

Concerning the capitalist countries, the U.S. imperialists have invested their capital in order to exploit the laboring people and have competed with these countries, carried out restrictive measures against them, oppressed them or provided them with economic, scientific, technical aid and forced them into their orbit.

The U.S. imperialists are the most bellicose imperialists. Therefore we must study their global strategy, especially in the military domain. After World War II the U.S. imperialists set up aggressive alliances such as NATO, SEATO, CENTO and so forth.
They established thousands of military bases in foreign countries, set up countless defense lines in an effort to encircle the socialist bloc and check the development of the national independence movement, stepped up the arms race, fabricated modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, determined three war categories -- special war, limited war and total war -- waged special and limited wars and prepared for the total nuclear war. In order to prepare for and wage the new world war the U.S. imperialists restored West German revanchist militarism and Japanese militarism in order to use them as their shock forces and aided the reactionary Israeli administration in waging the war in accordance with their plan in the Middle East.

Concerning their global strategy, in the past 25 years the U.S. imperialists adjusted it four times, as follows:

A--Between 1945 and 1950 the U.S. imperialists implemented Truman's strategy of relying on their nuclear superiority to threaten the world peoples and to check and repel the communist movement in an attempt to mainly defend Western Europe -- the age-old fortress of capitalism. But the Americans failed to check the revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe, North Korea, Viet-Nam and China.

B--The period between 1950 and 1960 was a cold war period. The U.S. imperialists implemented Eisenhower's strategy of carrying out massive retaliation. In this period the Americans still had nuclear superiority. Therefore they implemented a "brink of war" foreign policy in an attempt to threaten the socialist bloc and other countries, to start the arms race and to develop their military and economic forces in the world.

Also during this period the Americans gave military aid to the French colonialists to wage aggression against Viet-Nam, together with a number of pro-U.S. countries staged the Korean War and perpetrated military adventurous acts against the Arab countries in the Middle East. At the same time the Americans implemented the so-called strategy of liberating the "imprisoned" countries in Eastern Europe, thereby promoting a counterrevolutionary riot in Hungary in 1956.
C—From 1961 to 1968 the U.S. imperialists implemented Kennedy's strategy for peace. Militarily they carried out the flexible response strategy which was subsequently completed to become Johnson's war escalation strategy.

During this period the Soviet Union achieved nuclear parity with the United States. Therefore the United States sought a detente with the Soviet Union, took the fullest advantage of the contradictions in terms of line within the socialist camp and the international communist and workers movement, especially the contradictions between the Soviet Union and China, waged the special war and limited war in Viet-Nam and enticed Israel to provoke a war of aggression against a number of Arab countries, especially the UAR in 1967.

But most disadvantageous to the Americans during this period was their defeat in the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, a defeat that weakened U.S. imperialism, lowered U.S. prestige and turned the U.S. imperialists' global strategy upside down.

D—Since 1969 the U.S. imperialists have implemented the Nixon Doctrine. This doctrine is none other than the U.S. imperialists' global strategy under the Nixon Administration. It was born in a situation wherein the balance of power between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world has changed in favor of the revolution. Although there is disagreement among the socialist countries, the socialist system has been continually strengthened and consolidated and has heightened its effect in deciding the development of society. The colonial system of imperialism continues to advance along the path of disintegration as a result of the strong critical blows by the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The working class' struggle movement and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries continue to develop.

The U.S. imperialists — the archimperialists — are militarily weaker and more politically isolated than ever before. The U.S. imperialists and other imperialist countries are beset by an economic and monetary crisis. The general capitalist crisis becomes even more serious. The contradictions between other imperialist countries and the U.S. imperialists and among the imperialist countries themselves are increasingly acute.
Under these unfavorable conditions Nixon cannot help but readjust the U.S. global strategy. Politically he has put forth the so-called new strategy for peace. Militarily he has implemented the practical-blockade-and-threat strategy. Nixon's objective is to reduce U.S. international commitments in order to lessen the military and economic burden for the Americans and therefore stabilize the situation within the country, to [words indistinct] strengthen the forces to regain the position of strength, to continue the plot to dominate the world to maintain U.S. interests on all continents and to continue to be able to play the role of an international gendarme in the face of the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples.

The main contents of Nixon's strategy are:

1. To stabilize and increase the U.S. economic and military strength in order to maintain to a definite degree the U.S. superiority over the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and to use that strength to threaten or bribe a number of countries or to provoke war in one place or another.

2. To settle the differences and contradictions between the United States and its allies in order to share the responsibilities with these countries and use the latter as an assault force for the Americans in each area; and to build and use satellite countries as lackeys to oppose and undermine the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples or to use the blood of others to make war for the Americans.

3. On this basis, to be ready to negotiate with a number of countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, with a view to blocking and threatening the two greatest socialist countries; to take the fullest advantage of the contradictions between these two countries; to create contradictions among the socialist countries in general with a view to achieving conditions advantageous to the Americans, to seek a detente among the big powers in the world and to continue to bully small countries.

The Nixon Doctrine applied in Asia has become Nixon's new doctrine on Asia. Relying on the Asian and Pacific Organization -- ASPAC -- and using Japan as a center, this new doctrine is aimed at repressing the national and democratic movement in Asia and at preventing socialism from expanding to other countries in this area.
Applying his new Asia Doctrine in Viet-Nam and Indochina, Nixon has devised the policy of Vietnamization and Indochinization of the war. The essence of this doctrine and policy is to use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, Indochinese to fight Indochinese and Asians to fight Asians with U.S. bombs, bullets and dollars under the U.S. militarists' direction.

Vietnamization obviously is a crafty scheme aimed at prolonging and expanding the war and not at ending it. The Vietnamization of the war, the de-Americanization of the war, does not mean that all U.S. troops will withdraw from South Viet-Nam but that the Americans will leave some of them to permanently occupy a number of military bases, to use them as bridgeheads to aid the Saigon puppet troops to continue to carry out their criminal scheme to sweep and shoot and kill our compatriots and to turn the southern part of our country into a U.S. neocolony and military base. The U.S. imperialists are using the Viet-Nam battlefield, the Indochina battlefield, as a place for testing the Nixon Doctrine, U.S. military strategies and tactics and modern U.S. weapons aimed at preparing for a new world war.

Basing ourselves on this analysis, what do we see?

1--The U.S. imperialists are the greatest international exploiters, the most bellicose imperialists, the international gendarme, the enemy number one and the common enemy of our people and mankind. The spearhead of the world revolution must be directed at the U.S. imperialists and not at anyone else.

2--The U.S. imperialists' adjustments of their global strategy, through various phases, continue to aim at ruling the world by force, while proving that the U.S. imperialists are increasingly passive and weak and that the socialist system and the world peoples' revolutionary movement are increasingly stronger and are driving the Americans from an offensive posture into a defensive posture. As a result, the U.S. imperialists' global strategy is studded with increasingly acute contradictions between requirements and capabilities. The U.S. imperialists are not strong as one believes. One should not assess their forces too highly.
3--The Nixon Doctrine—which was born in a situation in which the USSR and China have had nuclear weapons whereas the U.S. imperialists have long lost their monopoly of this type of weapon, a situation in which the Americans have been defeated painfully in Viet-Nam, their posture and strength have been weakened and they have suffered a serious economic and monetary crisis and have been isolated and have lost their prestige in the political field—is studded therefore with factors of defeat and with highly deceitful characteristics. To use all means to oppose this doctrine is an important duty of the working class and people all over the world.

4--The U.S. imperialists' nature is unchanged. They remain very bellicose, stubborn and crafty. In their passive and weakened posture they are seeking a detour in an attempt to sabotage the socialist bloc, the world revolution and peace and to rule the world by force. Therefore the peoples on our side and the world peoples must constantly heighten their unity, be ready to achieve coordination of action and use all means to smash all the U.S. imperialists' wicked schemes and adventurous plans.

5--Our country and the entire Indochina Peninsula have become the site of concentration of the basic contradictions of today's society. These contradictions are:

A--The contradictions between the socialist bloc and the capitalist camp.

B--The contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.

C--The contradictions between the oppressed peoples and imperialism and neocolonialism.

D--The contradictions between imperialists and imperialists and among the monopolist capitalist factions in imperialist countries--Resolution of the VWP Central Committee Ninth Plenum, 1963.

The anti-U.S. resistance of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples is not only a confrontation of forces between our people and the Indochinese peoples and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys but also reflects the struggle between the socialist countries
and the bellicose imperialist clique, between the national liberation forces and the aggressive imperialist forces and between the peace-loving forces and the warlike forces, headed by the U.S. imperialists.

6—The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples is not only aimed at protecting their basic national rights, but is also of great international significance, which is to positively contribute toward dooming the U.S. imperialists' counterrevolutionary global strategy and Nixon's extremely wicked doctrine, to make contributions in blood and bones to the defense of the socialist system, to encourage the national liberation movements of the Asian, African, Latin American and Oceanic peoples and to safeguard peace and democracy in the world.

Dear comrades and friends, facing the cruel and wicked enemy—the U.S. imperialist aggressors—what must our Vietnamese people do? We must struggle in all forms—struggle militarily, politically and diplomatically—in order to oust the aggressors from our country.

Concerning the military struggle, our people and our people's armed forces must annihilate as much of the U.S. -puppets' potential as possible, especially their mobile strategic forces, while smashing their rural pacification plan, dooming their policies of scraping up human and material resources in order to Vietnamize the war, destroying, decimating or disintegrating the enemy's territorial forces, expanding the liberated areas and firmly maintaining and developing our people's resistance bases.

The Northern armed forces and people must always sharpen their vigilance, properly organize the people's air defense task, be ready to fight and to fight well and be resolved to smash all U.S. military adventures and violations of the DRV's sovereignty and security.

Concerning the political struggle, the Southern compatriots should mobilize and muster all forces that are eager for peace, independence and neutrality, especially those in the cities, coordinate the various forms of struggle and achieve unity of action in demanding
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a prompt withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Viet-Nam and the overthrow of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, fighting the rigged elections and the depraved culture and demanding a better life and democracy, the reestablishment of peace and so forth. The development of the political struggle in the cities will shake the enemy's posture seriously right in their dens and will satisfactorily coordinate with the military struggle of all our people.

Concerning the diplomatic struggle, our people warmly support the PRGRSV Seven-Point Initiative submitted to the Four-Power Conference in Paris on 1 July 1971. The military and political struggle of the masses in the country must create a sound basis for diplomatic struggle. The diplomatic struggle must clearly reflect the just cause of our people's struggle, disclose in time all the enemy's wicked schemes and actions, denounce the enemy's deceitful and demagogic arguments, clearly point out our winning posture and the enemy's losing posture and contribute to attracting the sympathy and support of the world people for our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

If we want to achieve ever-greater victories on all these three battlefronts, leading to complete victory, it is absolutely necessary to mobilize and muster our forces. We advocate three united fronts to encircle the U.S. imperialist aggressors and defeat them:

1--In Viet-Nam. As our country is being directly attacked by the U.S. aggressors, the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance must be the task of all the Vietnamese people. To perseveringly step up the resistance to complete victory we advocate that all our people closely unite in the people's united front to fight the aggressors, and to step up their struggle on the three battlefronts--military, political and diplomatic--aimed at liberating the South, defending and building the socialist North, proceeding toward peace and national reunification, building a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam and making a noteworthy contribution to the world people's revolution.
Through the Vietnamization policy the U.S. imperialists are using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese and turning South Viet-Nam into a U.S. neocolony and military base. All the Vietnamese people must closely unite, a million as one, perseveringly step up the resistance and smash the cruel machinations of the United States.

At present our country is temporarily divided into two zones with different political and social regimes. The North is under the socialist regime. The South is divided into two parts, one under the U.S. neocolonialist regime and another, the liberated area, under the people's democratic regime. The people in both zones must fulfill their anti-U.S. national salvation resistance duty.

Apart from this common task, each zone must fulfill its own revolutionary strategic task in conformity with its own situation. The North carries out the socialist revolution and socialist reforms and builds socialism. The South carries out the people's democratic national revolution to wipe out the U.S. imperialist aggressors and overthrow their henchmen, the capitalist compradors and pro-U.S. feudal landowners, to regain national independence and achieve people's democracy.

Therefore each zone has its own front. The North has the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front with its own program. The South has the NFLSV with its own program and the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces--VANDPF--which has a program aimed at attracting and uniting compatriots of all walks of life in cities. These three programs are different, yet they have one common point: To unite all the people in the resistance against the U.S. aggressors and to regain independence and national reunification.

2--In Indochina. Under the Kennedy and Johnson Administration the U.S. imperialists carried out an aggressive war not only against Viet-Nam but also against Laos. Under the Nixon Administration the U.S. imperialists expanded the war to Cambodia. The three Indochinese countries are thus a single battlefront. The Nixon Administration is carrying out the "Indochinization" aimed at using Indochinese to fight Indochinese and transforming the peninsula into a U.S. neocolony and military base.
The flames of people's war are rising high throughout Indochina. The three brotherly peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia are closely uniting in the struggle to expel the U.S. aggressors from Indochina and topple the puppet administrations in their countries and to regain and defend their sacred national rights.

The Joint Communiqué of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference on 24 April 1970 points out: The Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference appeals to the three peoples in these historic moments to strengthen solidarity and fight valiantly and persistently, to overcome every sacrifice and hardship and to be determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, defend their sacred national rights and the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, in order to turn Indochina into an independent and peaceful area in accordance with the three peoples' aspirations and the interest of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

In order to defeat the U.S. aggressors the three Indochinese peoples help and respect each other. In the fight against the Americans and their henchmen as well as after their total success, each of the Indochinese peoples will build their fatherland in accordance with the lines they will choose.

In order to consolidate and extend the Indochinese peoples' united front against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the people in each country must attach importance to consolidating and extending their own front. The DRV people consolidate and extend the VFF, the South Vietnamese people consolidate and extend the NFLSV and the VANDPF, the Lao people consolidate and extend the Lao Patriotic Front and the Khmer people consolidate and extend the NUFP because these organizations are members of the Indochinese Peoples' United Front Against the U.S. Imperialists' Aggression.

3--In the world. It is necessary to unite all anti-U.S. aggression forces on a world scale. We are happy to see that in recent years a Front of World Peoples to Support the Vietnamese and other Indochinese Peoples against U.S. Aggression has been created. This is a front for united action, with concrete and limited goals. What are the struggle objectives of this front?
They are the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their reactionary puppet cliques. The struggle aims of this front are to defeat the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war and defend national independence and world peace. Forces that struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress have participated in this front more and more numerously.

If the three streams of the world revolution—the great force of the socialist countries, the movement of national liberation in Asian, African and Latin American countries and the struggle movement of the working class and working people in capitalist countries—flow into a great river that is their front, they can sweep away the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their puppet cliques.

On the basis of relying on core forces and closely adhering to the struggle aims—to defend national independence and peace—the World Peoples' Front Against The U.S. Imperialist Aggressors unites any force that it can unite and contends for any force that can be contended for, seriously dividing the imperialist ranks, isolating the U.S. imperialists and their puppet cliques and directing the spearhead of struggle toward the most ferocious enemy, the U.S. imperialists.

The problem of supporting the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples' anti-U.S. resistance has become a key problem of the world peoples' struggle against U.S. aggression. The world peoples are focusing on this problem to unify actions against U.S. imperialism in varied forms from low to high level, from the local to the global scale from circles, sectors, countries and zones, such as the Asian, African and Latin American zones, to the entire world.

The Indochinese Peoples' United Front Against U.S. Aggression and the World Peoples' Front Supporting The Vietnamese People Against U.S. Imperialism are important forces that aid our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. On this occasion we would like to express the sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people and the VFF for the sympathy, support and great assistance of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, of the Lao and Khmer peoples and of the world peoples, including U.S. progressives, for our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.
In sum, the anti-U.S. united national front in Viet-Nam, the Indochinese peoples' anti-U.S. united front and the world peoples' anti-U.S. imperialist front for national independence and peace are the three fronts that are encircling and defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors. With these three fronts the U.S. aggressors, encircled by countless steel nets, will be certainly unable to avoid total defeat.

PART II

The success of the Vietnamese Revolution over the past 40 years depended on many factors. The first factor was the leadership of a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party. The other factors were the worker-peasant alliance, the United National Front Against Imperialism, the people's armed forces, international solidarity and so forth.

The United National Front has never been absent from the history of the Vietnamese Revolution since 1930. The glorious success of the August Revolution—a revolution that gave birth to the DRV and opened an era of national independence, freedom and happiness—was closely linked with the Viet-Minh Front. The performance of the Viet-Minh continued the revolutionary undertaking that had been prepared in advance by the Anti-Imperialism Alliance—1930-36—and the Indochinese Democratic Front—1936-39. Indeed the August Revolution could not have ended in victory if the two general rehearsals—the Nghe Tinh Soviet High Tide—1930-31—and the Democratic Campaign—1936-39—had not occurred in which the Anti-Imperialism Alliance and the Indochinese Democratic Front played an important role.

Continuing the revolutionary undertaking of the Viet-Minh Front, the Lien Viet Front contributed toward leading the anti-French resistance to a great victory. Continuing the undertaking of the Lien Viet Front, the VFF came into existence in September 1955 and assumed the sacred mission of uniting the northern compatriots of all walks of life in supporting the democratic people's administration to successfully carry out the socialist revolution in the North and, together with the NFLSV, to advance the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance toward complete victory. Born and matured in the revolutionary storm, the NFLSV is motivating and guiding the southern people of all walks of life in
participating in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and in building the revolutionary administrations in the liberated areas in South Viet-Nam. It is clear that the United National Front Against Imperialism played a very important role in the history of our revolution. This is one of the factors that decided the success of the revolution and is an indispensable political weapon for our people to develop their combined strength in the struggle to defeat the enemy for independence, freedom and a better life.

We all know that our nation is a small country with a small population. Through many thousand years of glorious history our people have always had to fight foreign invaders for our survival and development. Therefore at an early stage in our history the Vietnamese people achieved a good sense of unity. Many times, faced with the danger of losing the country, our people knew how to reconcile their internal contradictions to the necessary extent in order to concentrate efforts on checking and driving the invaders out of the country. In the process of protracted struggle unity has become a very valuable and steadfast tradition of our people.

When the imperialists invaded our country they trampled on our nation and oppressed our entire people. However, our people who, through more than 4,000 years of building and preserving the country, knew the significance of independence and freedom and the woe of losing their country and clearly realized the saying that unity will lead to life and disunity to death, remained united, a million people as one man, in the struggle for independence and freedom, determined not to lose the country and become slaves—Ho Chi Minh's call for nationwide resistance, 20 December 1946.

Not only did the old-fashioned, rotten feudal regime oppress and exploit our peasants in a very hideous manner but it also seriously impeded the development of our nation. It became not only the common enemy of our peasants but of all our people. Invading our country, the French imperialists closely colluded, first with a number of the feudal landlords and then with all of them, in an attempt to use them as a prop for their oppressive machinery. Our people had to bear the yoke of the imperialists and the feudal class.