Ung Van KHIEM
Member of Central Committee of Lao Dong Party

Better known within the party machine than in public life Ung Van Khiem is a veteran Communist belonging to the intransigent section of the Lao Dong Party.

He is a nationalist turned Communist. Born in 1911, the son of a school-master, at Long Xuyen in what was then called Cochinchina and now South Vietnam, he received his early education in Saigon. In 1929 he went to Hong Kong where he acquired some knowledge of Communist tactics and theory. Afterwards he visited China, attending schools in Canton and Shanghai where he specialised in sociology and political economy.

Within the Communist hierarchy Khiem is above all the expert on South Vietnam which for more than 20 years was his particular field of activity. In 1930 Khiem became a Communist courier and in the following year took charge of the provincial Communist printing press. The same year he was arrested for political agitation and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. His activities after his release from gaol are little known, though he is thought to have been engaged in Communist subversion in South Vietnam. In June, 1945, however, he was reorganising Communist cells in the Transbacon region of Western South Vietnam. After the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) the following September he spent some time in North Vietnam where the new Communist-dominated Viet Minh regime had its capital and political strongholds.

With the rapid deterioration of Franco-DRV relations in 1946, the Viet Minh established an Administrative and Resistance Committee for South Vietnam (CRSV) which claimed to be the sole legal authority in the region. Khiem became Commissioner for Internal Affairs in this seven-man authority, and after the outbreak of the guerilla war from 1946-54 took over the direction of the Viet Minh forces in South Vietnam.

For the remainder of the war he was one of the leaders of Communist insurgency in the South. At the same time he steadily climbed the ladder of party promotion. In 1951, he was appointed a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Executive Committee, and a member of its Central Committee for South Vietnam. In 1953, he was named Chairman of the Lao Dong Party’s South Vietnam Sub-Committee for Finance and Economic Affairs.

In 1954, Khiem became Deputy Foreign Minister as a reward, it is said, for the efforts of the Viet Minh insurgents in South Vietnam. In that capacity he took an increasing part in the shaping of North Vietnam’s foreign relations and was virtually in charge of the Ministry. In February, 1961, he was appointed Foreign Minister in succession to Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. In 1963, he was replaced as Foreign Minister by Xuan Thuy and appointed Minister of the Interior. He was re-elected to this post in 1964.

In 1955 and 1956 he was a member of DRV delegations to Moscow and Peking. In March, 1961, he led a delegation on a tour of Guinea, Maal, Egypt.
and Morocco and met representatives of other African countries to promote DRV prestige in newly independent States of that continent. The tour was regarded as part of the general Communist plan to gain a foothold in Africa using North Vietnam to establish contacts in the French-speaking countries. He returned via Albania.

In May, Khiem led the North Vietnamese delegation to the Geneva Conference on Laos where he distinguished himself by his intransigence and intemperate speeches.

Ideologically, Khiem is believed to be pro-Moscow rather than pro-Peking. He combined his ministerial duties with a number of other appointments. He is a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee; Chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee; member of the Standing Committee of the Fatherland Front (which comprises all political parties, trade unions, and religious organisations under the leadership of the Lao Dong Party) and a Deputy in the National Assembly. In addition, he is a member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association.

His influence however appears to have declined over recent years. He has not appeared in public with any frequency, and no speeches or articles by him are known to have been printed. He was replaced as Minister of the Interior by Duong Quoc Chinh in June, 1971.
A diplomat of long standing, and one of the “old guard” of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI), Kinh is employed as a roving envoy for North Vietnam, and his exact status within the political framework is unknown.

Born in Cholon, South Vietnam, in 1916, Kinh has been actively involved in Communist subversive activities for most of his life, although he is said to have been a French national at first. During the resistance of the Viet Minh—the predecessor of the Lao Dong Party—he was Secretary of the party Committee for Cochin China. He was also appointed President of the Cochin China branch of the Vietnam Youth Federation, which involved responsibility for the indoctrination of the youth of South Vietnam with Communist ideology. It is not known when he came to North Vietnam, nor how he rose in the government. In 1957 he was a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee, and in that year he was appointed North Vietnamese Ambassador to the Soviet Union. During the year he was also accredited to Rumania and Albania, and became the first North Vietnamese Ambassador to Albania.

As Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Kinh spent much of his time travelling between Hanoi and Moscow, and also visiting many other countries, such as the Yemen where he signed a trade agreement in 1961. He attended each congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during his stay in Moscow, and accompanied Ho Chi Minh when the latter visited Moscow in 1960 for the anniversary of the October Revolution. In 1967, he was relieved of his various ambassadorial posts and returned to Hanoi, being replaced in Moscow by Nguyen Tho Chan. Since then he has not been active in public life, but is believed to be a senior diplomatic adviser in Hanoi. In 1969 he attended the 23rd Congress of the Danish Communist Party in Copenhagen, and the Tenth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party.

In October, 1969, he was elected President of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association in succession to Ton Duc Thang, and led a delegation to the Soviet Union in June, 1970.
Nguyen LAM

Minister
Member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee
Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission

Lam was the supreme youth leader of North Vietnam until 1966, when Vu Quang took over as First Secretary of the Labour Youth Union. Since then Lam has seldom been mentioned, but he still appears to be a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee.

Nothing is known about his early life. He is a dedicated party functionary who has spent years in the service of Communism. Whether Lam is a trained administrator with a capacity for understanding the problems and psychology of youth may be open to debate. But his record as a party man publicising Communism at home and abroad at Communist-dominated youth rallies is unquestionable.

In 1950, he became a member of the Preparatory Committee of the [North] Vietnam-Soviet Friendship Society, and later of the North Vietnamese “Peace” Committee, from which he was dropped in 1953. In the same year, however, he became Secretary-General of the Union of Vietnamese Youth for National Salvation and Secretary-General of the Executive Committee of the Vietnamese Youth Federation. Lam was also included in the Propaganda Committee formed in connexion with the Vienna International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth. In 1954, he was invited to attend the Peking council meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), one of the leading international Communist front organisations.

Under him the Labour Youth Union was organised on the conventional pattern of Communist youth movements. At one time it was known as the Young Workers’ League; then its name was changed to Vietnam Youth Association. But whatever the designation its function remains unaltered. The Labour Youth Union serves as the junior branch of the Lao Dong or Workers’ (Communist) Party of North Vietnam.

Indoctrination, military training, cultural regimentation, and the fostering of a sense of mission are but a few of the characteristics of the movement. “Voluntary” labour is another. Thus, the young men and women of the corps are exposed to party pressure to do poorly paid or even unpaid pioneering work and to increase the existing acreage by opening up new farming land.

In 1956, Lam was “elected” Vice-President of the Youth Association, and member of its Current Affairs Committee. In 1957, he led a delegation to the Peking Festival of the China Democratic Youth movement. In 1958 he attended the 13th Komsomol Congress in Moscow, and went there again in 1961 as leader of the Vietnamese delegation to the World Youth Forum. In 1960, he was elected to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee, and became a member of the Planning and Budget Committee of the National Assembly. In 1961, he was elected First Secretary of the youth movement and a member of the Presidium of the Fatherland Front Central Committee.
He was described in June, 1968, as Secretary of the basic party organisation in the Ministry of Light Industry. He delivered a long address to a General Conference of Light Industry in 1967, and appears to have taken on a new rôle in the party when he led the North Vietnamese party delegation to the 12th Congress of the Italian Communist Party in November, 1968. He was appointed Minister, and Vice Chairman of the State Planning Commission in December, 1969.
One of Hanoi's most competent soldier-diplomats, Colonel Lau has been active in diplomatic negotiations for many years, and has gained a reputation as a tough, subtle and inflexible Communist negotiator.

Lau was born in the city of Huế, of wealthy parents, in 1918, and attended a French school there. Little is known of his activities before 1945, when he joined the Viet Minh, Ho Chi Minh's Communist revolutionary front organisation. He is believed to have organised local military opposition to the French in Central Vietnam during the ensuing war. He was first noticed in 1954 as a member of the North Vietnamese delegation to the international conference on Indochina at Geneva, when the war with France was ended. He was already a colonel at that time, and was responsible for conducting negotiations with the French on military matters at the conference. After the agreements were reached, and an International Control Commission (ICC) appointed to supervise the division of Vietnam at the 17th parallel, Lau was appointed to his post as North Vietnamese liaison officer with the ICC. However, since 1956, this job involved little more than delivering a constant stream of protests at alleged violations of the agreements, and Lau became a public functionary, meeting and welcoming arriving delegations in Hanoi, and acting as an official government spokesman.

In 1961, he returned to the conference table at Geneva, this time as Secretary-General of the North Vietnamese delegation for the conference on Laos. He furthered his reputation there as a tough and completely inflexible bargainer, adhering rigidly to the policy of his Communist Party. In May, 1968, his negotiating talents were called on once again, and he accompanied Xuan Thuy to Paris, as deputy-head of the North Vietnamese delegation in the talks with the United States. His main task at Paris has been to work behind the scenes at preparing the speeches of the delegates, and also participating in secret meetings with his American counterpart. It was as a result of these meetings that the talks were expanded in November, 1968. He has been described as a party functionary, with no personal ideological bias, who will follow dogmatically whatever his government's policy at the moment may be. He returned to Hanoi in 1970.
Nguyen Thanh Le
Secretary-General of Vietnam Journalists' Association
Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Nhan Dan

Le is spokesman of the North Vietnamese delegation at the Paris meetings on Vietnam, and has gained the reputation of being one of the most inflexible of the negotiators in Paris.

Nguyen Thanh Le was born in Nam Ha Province of North Vietnam in 1920, and little is known of his early life. In 1933 he was identified as a Secretary of the Vietnam Journalists' Association, when he represented North Vietnam at an Executive Congress in Prague of the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), a Communist front organisation to which the Vietnam Journalists' Association is affiliated. In 1954, Le served as a liaison officer for the North Vietnamese delegation at the Geneva Conference on Indochina, and it was at this conference that his role as a negotiator was established.

In 1955 he resumed his journalistic career, and he was deputy leader of a delegation of writers and journalists who visited China in that year. He returned to Peking in 1957 as Secretary-General of the Vietnam Journalists' Association to attend an IOJ conference. In 1960 he was appointed Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the North Vietnamese Lao Dong (Workers') Party daily newspaper, Nhan Dan, and once again led a journalists' delegation to China. In 1961 he returned to the negotiating table at Geneva for the international conference on Laos, in the official capacity of North Vietnamese spokesman.

Le continued his journalistic activities, and also branched out into further Communist front activities, becoming a member of the Vietnam Peace Committee, which is affiliated to the World Council of Peace. In 1965 he was spokesman for a peace delegation which visited France, and also attended a Tricontinental Solidarity Conference in Havana. In May, 1968, he left Hanoi for Paris as a member of the North Vietnamese delegation to the talks with the United States, in the official capacity of spokesman once again. Since that time, Le has missed only one of the weekly Press conferences held by the North Vietnamese in Paris. His Press conferences are noted for frequent quotations from Vietnamese ancient history and folk tales, as well as for the habitual North Vietnamese inflexibility and subtlety. He made several visits to Italy between 1968-1972.
Ngo Minh Loan

Alternate Member of the Lao Dong Party
Central Committee
Minister of Food and Foodstuffs

Nothing is known of Loan's background, and he was first mentioned in 1959 as a Vice-Minister of Industry. In 1960 he was elected to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee as an alternate member. He was involved in the drawing up of the State Plan, and delivered a major report on the plan for the next five years to the party congress. In 1962, he became Acting Minister of Light Industry, and continued in this capacity until 1964, when he became a Vice-Minister of Transport.

During these years, Loan made a number of journeys abroad, including those as deputy-head of an economic delegation to China in 1960, as leader of a government delegation to the International Trade Fair in Poland in 1962, and with a trade delegation to Japan in 1964.

In 1967 he was relieved of his ministerial functions, and was appointed North Vietnamese Ambassador to China. In Peking he had the difficult task of ensuring Chinese goodwill while his country retained good relations with, and received extensive aid from, the Soviet Union. His rise in status was evident from his visit to Pakistan as a "special envoy" of the North Vietnamese Government in 1968, when he held talks with President Ayub Khan, before continuing to Afghanistan. His public appearances in Peking were limited to rallies marking anniversaries. He was recalled to Hanoi in November, 1969, and appointed Minister of Food and Foodstuffs.
Hoang Van LOI

Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

Active in diplomatic circles for some years, Loi is at present an expert on Latin American affairs in the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry. His influence over the direction of foreign policy, especially with regard to Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, is thought to be considerable.

He was born in 1911, and although little is known of his background, he is said to have taken part in Communist-inspired liberation movements from a very early age. He became a member of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1931, but was exiled by the French for subversive activities from 1932 until 1945. It is not known where he spent his exile, but it is rumoured that he was in China with other Vietnamese Communists. He returned to Vietnam in September, 1945, organised and controlled security services in South Vietnam, and directed operations of the local guerrilla forces. After the Geneva Agreements on Indochina in 1954, Loi returned to North Vietnam, and joined the Foreign Ministry. He began his diplomatic service in 1956, when he was appointed chargé d'affaires in Budapest. He was promoted North Vietnamese Ambassador to Bulgaria in 1958, and he retained that post for two years.

In 1960, when North Vietnam established diplomatic relations with Cuba, Loi was appointed the first North Vietnamese Ambassador there. He arrived in Havana in February, 1961, and remained for two years. In 1963, he was appointed a Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, and returned to Hanoi, where he assumed control of the Latin America section of the Foreign Ministry. Although most of his activities are taken up with relations with Cuba and other Latin American countries, he is believed to act as a general adviser on foreign policy, and in 1968 undertook a fact-finding tour of Africa and the Middle East for two months. Although not in the public eye a great deal, Loi is considered to be an important figure in North Vietnamese foreign affairs.
Le Van LUONG

Member of Lao Dong Party Central Committee and Secretariat

Luong has for long been among the most important party officials, although he temporarily fell from favour after the mistakes of the Agricultural Reform Campaign were acknowledged by the government in 1956.

Luong was first prominent when he collaborated with Hoang Quoc Viet over the formation of Communist cells in Cochin China from 1929 to 1930. He remained active in Communist underground guerrilla movements in the South, until Ho Chi Minh formed a government in 1946 in the North. Luong then went North to join Ho, and in 1950 he became a member of the Lao Dong (Workers) Party Central Committee. He worked under the party Secretary-General, Truong Chinh, on the Agricultural Reform programme, in which it was planned to remove land from all forms of private ownership, and institute a system of collectively owned plots of land, closely following the Chinese pattern. In 1954, Luong became Vice-Minister of the Interior, a party Secretary and a member of the Politburo.

However by 1956 there were serious signs of opposition to the Agricultural Reform, caused by the mass executions of real and alleged landlords in the provinces. The government was obliged to institute a “Rectification of Errors Campaign” to restore order in the countryside, as a result of which Truong Chinh and Le Van Luong lost their positions. Luong was said to be helping to correct his mistakes and even giving lessons to others on the reorganisation of party cells. His fall was not complete and he remained on the Central Committee of the party, and his eclipse was only temporary. In 1959 he represented the party at a congress in the Viet Bac Autonomous Zone, and in 1960 he again became a Secretary of the party. He has since been prominent in political circles in Hanoi, although he has assumed no special positions. In November, 1968, he accompanied Ho Chi Minh on a special visit to the North Vietnamese main coal mining area to investigate the reasons for poor coal output. Luong seems to be employed as a senior morale-booster, concerned especially with forwarding frequent emulation movements.
Nguyen Thi LUU

Deputy Secretary-General of Central Committee of Vietnam Fatherland Front
Secretary of Executive Committee of Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association
Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee

Mme. Luu is a relative newcomer to the North Vietnamese political scene. She is not reported to be a Communist, and is one of those whose function is to make the North Vietnamese Government appear to be a democratic and liberal régime.

Nothing is known of her early life, except that she is a native of South Vietnam. In June, 1959, as Vice-President of the Saigon-Cholon Peace Committee in South Vietnam—one of the forerunners of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam—she participated in a World Council of Peace meeting in Stockholm. In 1961 she was elected Deputy Secretary-General of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. This organisation supposedly comprises all minority groups in North Vietnam, although it is under direct Communist control. Madame Luu was at that time also Secretary-General of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. In 1964 she was elected Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association, and in 1968 she became a Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Committee.

Madame Luu has travelled many times abroad as one of a number of North Vietnamese “front” figures, whose aim is to promote the image of North Vietnam as a democratic and peace-loving nation. In 1964 she led a Vietnam-USSR Friendship delegation to Moscow, and went to the Soviet Union again in 1966 for the Second Congress of the Friendship Association. In Hanoi she is rarely absent from official welcoming parties, or from lists of officials present at rallies and receptions. She participated in the talks held between the North Vietnamese and the delegation from the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam in Hanoi in March, 1969.
Ho Chi Minh, whose death was announced in September, 1969, was an outstanding revolutionary leader with a lifetime of service to nationalist and Communist causes. For more than three decades he was the prime mover of Vietnam's struggle for independence and was accepted as such far beyond the Communist world. But after 1954 he presided over the conversion of North Vietnam into a Communist State, in which he became President, Chairman of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee and President of its Politburo, and Chairman of the National Defence Council.

His background was middle-class but unconventional by any standard. The son of a junior mandarin (a government official), he was born in 1890 in the village of Kim Lien in the Nghe An Province of Annam (now part of North Vietnam). Ho's real name was Nguyen Tat Thanh, but later changed it to Nguyen Ai Quoc—"Nguyen the Patriot". Because his family were strong supporters of the nationalist cause, several members were arrested and detained and his father dismissed. In 1911 Ho became a sailor, and after spending some time in the United States, Germany and Britain, he settled in France towards the end of the First World War.

His period in Western Europe saw the emergence of Ho as a future politician. While supporting himself in such jobs as dishwashing in London and retouching photographs in Paris, he crammed his leisure hours with self-education—history, Marxism, philosophy and languages. Communist "missionary" work was later to supply practical experience.

Ho first achieved prominence in 1919 by addressing memoranda to the Versailles Peace Conference in the name of the Vietnamese people, and his political career began on November 1, 1920, when he attended the French Socialist Party congress in Tours as Indochinese delegate. When the extreme Left of the party split the congress over a motion for affiliation to the (Communist) Third International—and seceded to form the French Communist Party (PCF)—he was among the first to join the new party.

From then onwards he devoted all his time and energies to the PCF. He was active in the Greater Paris Communist Federation; he conducted propaganda among Asians and Africans; he organised the League of Colonial Peoples. In 1922, he founded an anti-imperialist journal, Le Paria, hawking it on the Paris streets. In 1923, he travelled to Moscow as delegate to the congress of the (Communist) Peasants' International. He remained in Moscow for two years studying Communist doctrine and revolutionary tactics at the University of
the Toilers of the East—the foremost institution for the training of future leaders and agitators.

In 1925, Ho appeared in Canton as assistant to Michael Borodin—Moscow's chief agent in Southern China and adviser to the Kuomintang. Ostensibly a translator at the Soviet Consulate in Canton, his real task was to organise a Communist Party from among Annamites abroad. The result was the Annamite Revolutionary Youth League (Vietnam Cach Menh Thanh Nien Hoi). He sent cadres trained by himself to the Whampoa Political-Military Academy and then back to "action stations" in Vietnam. When in 1927 Chiang Kai-shek broke with the Communists Ho was forced to escape from Canton and eventually returned to Moscow.

In 1928, he went to Thailand and founded another Communist movement. By 1930, Vietnam had three Communist Parties, each hostile to the others. Ho called representatives of all three to Hong Kong in 1930 to resolve the differences between them and merged them into one party, the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI), or Dong Duong Cong San Dang. In the same year the PCI staged riots, culminating in a peasant uprising in various parts of Vietnam which led to its suppression by the French administration. Most of the leadership were arrested; the remainder fled to China. In 1931, Ho was arrested in Hong Kong and convicted for subversion. After six months in prison he was released on health grounds.

During the 1930s, Ho was employed by the Comintern and became intensely active behind the scenes. Operating successively from Canton, Malaya and Macao, he was entrusted with various missions to the Communist Parties of South-East Asia. In 1935 he took part in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern—which inaugurated the policy of "united fronts" with Socialist and "bourgeois" parties, and later became responsible for the political penetration of the South-East Asian region.

The turning-point in Ho's career came with the Second World War, at the end of which he emerged as the undisputed leader of the independence movement in Vietnam. His approach to the political changes was empirical rather than dogmatic. In 1939 he was back once more in Southern China. Ho claimed that he took part in Mao Tse-tung's "long march" and worked at Yenan. From there he went to Moscow, returning to China only in 1940. He convened the Tsin Tsi conference in Kwangtung Province in May, 1941, at which it was decided to organise the League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi, abbreviated to Viet Minh), an amalgam of several Nationalist Parties under Communist domination, with Ho as Secretary-General. Early in 1942 differences with the Chinese authorities led to his arrest and imprisonment. He was released from his Chinese prison in February, 1943, at the request of the Allies because he had undertaken to gather intelligence from Vietnam for them. The name Ho Chi Minh (Ho the shedder of light) was given to him by his Chinese prison guards. It was intended as a joke, but he retained the name.

While other groups of Vietnamese Nationalists were also active in China, the Viet Minh was the only movement to build up an effective "underground"
in Vietnam, complete with guerrilla units and a political framework. The main plank in its programme was “the struggle against French and Japanese Fascism and colonialism”. In 1944, the Viet Minh moved its operational headquarters to Tongking (North Vietnam).

Japan’s surrender on August 15, 1945, left a power vacuum in Indochina as a whole. On August 29, Ho Chi Minh formed his first Provisional Government, combining the posts of President and Foreign Minister. On September 2, it proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). At this time the Viet Minh, although strong in Hanoi, was weak in the Northern countryside, most of which was controlled by Nationalist parties. It did not control the South, where Viet Minh, Trotskyists, and Nationalists were competing for power.

In the ensuing period, the political scene in Vietnam came to be dominated by the strained relationship between the DRV leadership and the French administration. On March 6, 1946, France recognised the DRV as “a free State within the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union”. But further attempts to resolve differences and settle the future status of Vietnam were unsuccessful. In July, 1946, Ho Chi Minh led a delegation to the Fontainebleau Conference, which ran into deadlock after two months of hard bargaining. Thereafter tension steadily increased. Under pressure from its own extremists the Viet Minh openly revolted on December 19, 1946, with an attack on Hanoi. It was the signal for the Indochina War which, in its final stages, threatened to involve China and the United States.

Throughout those years Ho Chi Minh headed what was often described as “the Phantom Republic” in the mountainous jungle of North Vietnam. The Geneva Conference of July, 1954, ended the war in Indochina. It divided Vietnam into a Northern (Communist) and a Southern (Nationalist) half, just north of the 17th Parallel, pending reunification of the country through free elections. In the following October, Ho was elected President of North Vietnam.

Besides the office of President, Ho held a number of key posts. He ceded the Premiership to Pham Van Dong in September, 1955. In 1956 he was named Secretary-General of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee in Truong Chinh’s place; in September, 1960, he assumed the title of Chairman of the Central Committee, with Le Duan as First Secretary; Ho was a member of the Politburo and was Chairman of the National Defence Council since it was set up in July, 1960.


Ho was not one of the more notable oracles on Marxism, but his counsel on the Sino-Soviet struggle was listened to with respect. He sought to act as “honest
broker" between the two Communist giants. His motives were not wholly
political let alone altruistic. For he knew that without economic aid from China
and the USSR, North Vietnam would be "little more than a geographical
expression". Without Ho's careful steering, the unity of the North Vietnamese
leadership and its neutrality between Moscow and Peking would almost certainly
have been lost.

Ho attended a rally for coal miners in November, 1968, and urged them to
overcome shortcomings and step up the rate of coal production. He took part
in the traditional celebrations for Têt (the Lunar New Year) in February, 1969,
and welcomed a delegation from the NFLSV in Hanoi in March. He attended the
May Day rally in Hanoi, and also received the representative of the new "Pro-
visional Revolutionary Government" of South Vietnam in June. In May, he gave
a talk to army cadres in Hanoi on the need to continue fighting in the South.
Many of his works have been republished since the end of 1968, and an emu-
lation drive has been inaugurated to "learn from Uncle Ho's ethics".

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Do MUOI

Deputy Prime Minister
Member of the Lao Dong Party
Central Committee
Chairman of the State Price Committee
Chairman of the State Capital Construction Commission

Do Muoi is one of the least-known members of the North Vietnamese Government and party hierarchy. He has risen steadily since 1951 and now appears to be a well-entrenched member of the régime. He has reportedly been a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee since its inception in 1951. By a decree of August, 1955, he was named Chairman of the newly-formed Haiphong Administrative Committee, but with his appointment as Vice-Minister of Commerce in December, 1956, he was relieved of his responsibilities in Haiphong. When, in April, 1958, the National Assembly divided the Commerce Ministry into the Ministry of Home Trade and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Muoi was given the home trade portfolio.

He was replaced as Minister of Home Trade by Nguyen Thanh Binh in January, 1963, but succeeded Nguyen Thanh Binh as Chairman of the State Price Committee in November, 1967. In December, 1969, he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Economic Board at the Premier’s Office. He relinquished the latter function in April, 1971, to assume the Chairmanship of the State Capital Construction Commission.
As a Deputy Prime Minister, Le Thanh Nghi appears to be outshone by his more spectacular colleagues in the party hierarchy. He has no particular popular appeal. He has made no major contribution to political thought. His importance lies in being a “technocrat”, and one of the chief figures in the industrialisation programme of North Vietnam.

Nghi’s early life is unknown. His connexion with the ruling oligarchy dates from the Indonesian War, during which he made his mark in one of the key sectors of North Vietnam. Around 1951 he became known as Chairman of the Viet Minh Interzone III Resistance and Administrative Committee (the area south and west of Hanoi) and Secretary of the local party committee. Presumably, he also joined the Lao Dong Party Central Committee in the same year.

After the establishment of North Vietnam as an independent State, he held in succession three important posts in the administration. In 1955, he became Minister of Industry; in April, 1957, Director of the Economic and Financial Affairs Bureau, and the following year he enhanced his standing in the party and government machine, being regularly described as a member of the Lao Dong Party Politburo. His name also attracted increasing attention as chairman of the committee set up to streamline the management of State-run enterprises. In 1959, he emerged as a top executive as the industrialisation programme began to get under way, and led a Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) delegation to the International Trade Fair in Czechoslovakia.

In 1960, Nghi was elected Vice-Premier and, relinquishing the post of Minister of Industry, became Chairman of the Industrial Board in the Prime Minister’s Office. In June, 1961, he accompanied Prime Minister Pham Van Dong on a tour of six Communist countries. The tour was described as a “goodwill mission”, but five of the countries visited had granted economic aid for North Vietnam’s development plan in the previous half-year. He became Chairman of the State Construction Commission in January, 1963. He attended the East German National Day celebrations in October, 1964, returning via Peking, and in June, 1964, led a delegation to the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany.

In February, 1967, he was made Minister of Heavy Industry, in succession to Nguyen Van Tran, having previously been confirmed in his various government appointments.
During August-October, 1967, he undertook his third round-trip of Communist countries (omitting Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but including Cuba). He is said to have succeeded in securing substantial aid for North Vietnam's air force, primarily from the USSR. In Peking, he conferred with Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. Early in November, 1967, he was relieved of the Ministry of Heavy Industry without explanation. Nguyen Huu Mai succeeded him.

However he has, if anything, increased his standing in the last few years. He undertook his fourth trip from May to September, 1968, visiting Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, USSR, and China, and negotiating economic agreements with each of them. He returned to the Soviet Union in November, 1968, for a further agreement, which was rumoured to be for North Vietnam's first post-war budget. He has been very prominent in urging greater efforts in industry in North Vietnam, and undertook a tour of northern provinces in January, 1969. He was described as Head of the Emulation Central Committee in January, 1969, and was the chief speaker at a conference in February for promoting emulation movements in the highland areas of North Vietnam.

He undertook an extensive economic tour in October-November, 1969, visiting East Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, North Korea and China. In June, 1971, he led a Lao Dong Party delegation to Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the Soviet Union and China.
Tran Dai NGHIA
Chairman of the National Scientific and Technical Commission

Sometimes known by the alias “Pham Quang Le”, Nghia is a scientist of considerable merit, and has been active in the armaments industry of North Vietnam for many years. Working behind the scenes, he has made his presence felt, and has emphasised his practical usefulness to the North Vietnamese Government.

His background, like his present work, is largely unknown, but he is believed to have been born in South Vietnam around 1915. He is known to have studied engineering in both France and Germany, before returning to Vietnam to take part in the struggle of the Viet Minh. In 1946 he was entrusted by Ho Chi Minh with supervising the construction of a large armaments industry in North Vietnam, which he carried out with great success. In 1950 he was a founder member of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association, and was appointed Deputy Minister for Economic Affairs. In 1952 he was created a “labour hero” for his work in the armaments industry, and in 1953 was elected to the Vietnam Peace Committee. This is affiliated to the World Council of Peace (WCP), a Communist front organisation, and Nghia attended a WCP meeting on special invitation in 1953.

In 1954 he was appointed Vice-Minister of Heavy Industry, a position he retained until 1963. He is believed to have continued his scientific research, and he led a delegation in 1956 to a nuclear congress in Moscow. In 1958 he was a member of the newly-formed National Scientific Research Board, and became Chairman of this in 1965. Previously, in 1964, he had been appointed Chairman of the State Basic Construction Commission, but nothing has been heard of his activities in this capacity. His work in the Scientific and Technical Commission involves the signing of agreements with foreign countries—the latest was with the USSR in February, 1971—and writing frequent scientific articles for the North Vietnamese Press. In April, 1971, he ceased to be Chairman of the State Basic Construction Commission.
Phiet is a widely travelled historian. He has no political influence within North Vietnam, but is useful in furthering the North Vietnamese “peace” image in international circles.

Nothing is known of his early life, and he was first noticed in 1954, when he became a member of the Standing Committee of the North Vietnamese National Assembly. He was by then Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association, a position he still holds. By 1955 he was Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee, and Secretary-General of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association. He relinquished the latter post in 1963. He was also elected to the Central Committee of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association, and led a delegation from it to Moscow in 1955 for the celebration of the October Revolution anniversary.

In 1959, Phiet was appointed Chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, which is affiliated to the Cairo-based Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO). In this capacity he has travelled to many conferences and meetings abroad.

In 1960 he headed a National Assembly sub-committee to study the work of people’s councils, but there was no report of the progress or result of the committee’s work. In the same year he visited China, where he was received by Chou En-lai. Since this time he has played a prominent part in mass rallies in Hanoi, and has regularly attended AAPSO conferences in Guinea (1960), the UAR (1961), Tanganyika (1963) and Ghana (1965). He has also led delegations from the two friendship associations to which he belongs, and in 1968 he led a delegation from the Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace to Belgium, and a similar delegation to Italy. He is a frequent contributor to the Press in North Vietnam on the subject of the tricontinental liberation struggle, and organised a week of solidarity with Latin America in April, 1969.

In 1964, he was elected Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly. He appears to have spent a large part of 1970 in China, though no reason was given for this.
Vu QUANG
First Secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union Central Committee
Vice-President of the Vietnam Youth Federation

One of the youngest members of the hierarchy in North Vietnam, Vu Quang is responsible for implementing the government's policy towards young people, and ensuring that they remain loyal to the Communist regime.

Born in North Vietnam in 1927, Vu Quang joined the Communist revolutionary Viet Minh organisation in Hanoi in 1944. In 1946 he was elected to the Hanoi Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party. Quang helped to organise and control the Labour Youth Corps during the war against the French in Indochina, and in 1954 he was elected to the Hanoi City Committee of the Lao Dong (Workers') Party.

In the same year, Quang was appointed a member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Working Youth Union, renamed the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union in March, 1970. This organisation was created to control and educate the country's youth and ensure the correct indoctrination of young Communists of all ages. In 1954 Quang attended a meeting in Peking of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), a Communist front organisation. In 1957 he became First Secretary of the Union (which has no Chairman) and has retained the position since that time. He has led many youth delegations abroad, and has inaugurated many emulation movements and made indoctrination speeches in North Vietnam. Part of his job involves official welcome meetings for visiting delegations of foreign youth. Although the Working Youth Union is not the only youth organisation in North Vietnam - there is a Vietnam Youth Federation as well, of which Quang is Vice-President - it is the main vehicle for recruiting party members. In an article published in June, 1969, Vu Quang introduced the country's youth to a new Campaign Resolution from the Lao Dong Party Central Committee. The "fundamental ideology" of this resolution, he said, "concerns the total training of a new generation of youth, a generation of Vietnam Communist youth".

Vu Quang led youth delegations to the Soviet Union in May, 1970; Cuba in September, 1971, and Chile in October, 1971. In March, 1972, he was elected to the National Assembly Cultural and Social Committee.
Mme. Que is among the "old guard" Communists in North Vietnam, and has been active behind the scenes, rather than in the forefront of political life. She is known to be a hard-liner, who strictly adheres to current party policy.

She was born in Ninh Binh Province, North Vietnam, in 1921. Nothing is known of her life before she joined Ho Chi Minh's Indochinese Communist Party in 1939. She was soon actively employed in local party committees, and showed a special talent for organising and controlling guerrilla military units. During the war with the French, she controlled an entire network of guerrillas in her province. Recognition of her achievement was swift, and she was appointed to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union in 1954. In the same year she made her first journey out of the country to attend a Korean Women’s Congress in Pyongyang. In 1955 she led a union delegation to a congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation at Geneva.

By 1961 her political career was gathering momentum, and she became a Vice-President of the Vietnam Women's Union. Her importance is underlined by the fact that she was chosen to deliver a major report at the Third National Congress of the union in March, 1961. She continued to travel frequently with union delegations, visiting Budapest (1961), Moscow (1962 and 1963), and Cuba (1968). In 1964 she was elected to the Central Committee of the ruling Lao Dong (Workers') Party, and was also elected as a Deputy to the North Vietnamese National Assembly.

In 1968 her political career appeared to have taken a new turn with her appointment as Deputy Head of the Control Department of the party Central Committee. In this capacity she supervises party committees in the provinces, and ensures their subordination and adherence to the Central Committee. The activities of the department are not publicised, and it is likely that Mme. Que will continue to remain an important force behind the main political stage.
Nguyen Duc QUY

Vice-Minister of Culture
Member of Secretariat of Vietnam Peace Committee
Member of Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee

Formerly a diplomat of some standing, Nguyen Duc Quy is one of North Vietnam's "front" men, and is active in international "peace" and "solidarity" organisations, but appears to have no political influence of any kind.

Quy was born in Hanoi in 1916, and little is known of his background or early life. In 1946 he was reported to be head of the North Vietnamese delegation in Bangkok, but was expelled from there for Communist subversive activities in 1951, and became First Secretary of the North Vietnamese Embassy in Moscow. He remained in that post until 1954, when he returned to Hanoi, and served in the Foreign Ministry and the (North) Vietnam News Agency until 1957, when his diplomatic career came to an end, and he was appointed head of the publications department in the Ministry of Culture.

In October, 1957, Quy represented North Vietnam at a preparatory committee for an Afro-Asian conference in Cairo, and this was the first of his many trips to Afro-Asian and peace conferences abroad. In 1958 he was elected a Deputy to the National Assembly, and led a delegation to a publishers' conference in East Germany. In 1960 he became a Vice-Minister of Culture, and in the next year he joined the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In 1962 he was elected to the Secretariat of the Vietnam Peace Committee, which is affiliated to the Communist front organisation, the World Council of Peace. He was also elected to the Vietnam Committee for Afro-Asian solidarity. He visited Japan with a cultural delegation in the same year, and later travelled to Cuba.

In 1963 he was elected to the Central Committee of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association, and attended the Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPS0) Conference at Moshi, in Tanganyika. Since then, Quy has been active in fostering cultural relations in North Vietnam and with foreign countries. In April, 1969, he signed a cultural co-operation agreement with Bulgaria in Hanoi, and in June, 1970 he attended the signing of a similar agreement with Mongolia in Hanoi. He is believed to be interested in history.
Lieut-Gen. Tan ranks as one of the outstanding commanders in North Vietnam. In addition he is the leading representative of the Tho people, one of the many national minorities whose home is the mountainous region of Upper North Vietnam bordering on China.

He was born in 1908 at Phu Tong, in the Thai Nguyen Province of North Vietnam, but little is known about his early life and professional activities.

He first attracted attention in 1940 as the leader of a Tho guerrilla band, the Tho highlanders being then in a state of semi-rebellion against the French administration. His operational field was the border province of Cao Bang, in Upper North Vietnam, which soon afterwards became the principal recruiting ground for the future armed forces of the Viet Minh.

In the autumn of 1941, Vo Nguyen Giap, architect of the Viet Minh's forces, returned secretly to this region and met Tan and his followers to discuss collaboration. In 1952, Tan went to Kwangsi, then the headquarters of the Viet Minh, and agreed to collaborate with it. His men were organised by Giap together with other guerrilla bands and Vietnamese “émigrés” in China into an effective combat force.

In the next four years Tan established his reputation as a resourceful and ruthless guerrilla commander, often resorting to terrorism to induce the population in occupied areas to support the Viet Minh cause. In October, 1944, his men provided a personal escort for Ho Chi Minh when the latter transferred his headquarters to Thai Nguyen to direct the decisive phase of the Viet Minh's bid for power. Thereafter Tan was, after Vo Nguyen Giap, the most successful military leader of the Viet Minh.

Early in August, 1945, Tan became a member of the Committee for the Liberation of the People of Vietnam, which at the end of the month took the name of Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with Ho Chi Minh as its President. In this, the first Viet Minh administration, he was appointed Minister of Defence, a post he held until March, 1946.

Tan's grasp of “unorthodox” warfare and knowledge of jungle areas were used once more during the Indochina War from 1946-54. Among the Viet Minh leadership he acquired a reputation for political reliability which, coupled with his military abilities and his influence on the Tho, made him a key figure. He became G.O.C. Viet Minh forces in Upper North Vietnam and then Chairman of the Resistance and Administrative Committee for the Viet-Bac, one of the
Viet Minh's "shadow" local government boards which co-ordinated political and military resistance.

Since the end of that war his abilities have continued to be recognised. In 1958, he was appointed Director of the Minorities Commission of the DRV with the rank of Minister, and in 1959 he was promoted Lieutenant-General. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party; a member of the Presidium of the Fatherland Front; and a member of the Executive Committee of the China-Vietnam Friendship Association. His official position is Chairman (i.e. Governor) of the Viet-Bac Autonomous Region Administrative Committee and Secretary of the Lao Dong Viet-Bac regional party organisation, and Political Commissar of the People's Army in the region. He was appointed a member of the National Defence Council and a Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee in 1960, and in 1961 was elected Chairman of the National Assembly's Committee for Nationalities.

He was re-elected a Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee in 1964. Since 1967 he has been a prolific writer of articles on local military leadership, and in January, 1969, wrote an important article on relations between the North and the South, urging greater efforts on behalf of the "front line" in the South, and entire co-operation between the rear and the front.

In August, 1971, he was Deputy Head of a National Assembly delegation which visited the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.
Lieut.-Gen. Thai has long been one of the senior military chiefs in North Vietnam but is little known abroad. He is reputedly a brilliant strategist and popular with the army.

Born about 1906 in the Thai Binh Province of North Vietnam, he was trained as a teacher but did not make education his permanent career. Instead, he joined the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI), and became a close friend and associate of Vo Nguyen Giap. When the PCI organised an insurrection in 1930 and was declared illegal he fled with Giap and other leaders to Kwangsi, Southern China.

Though little is known of his activities during the Second World War it is believed that he played an important part in building up the military forces of the Viet Minh. After the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in August, 1945, he was faced with the task of helping Giap to establish a new model army from the limited resources at their disposal. In March, 1946, he was promoted to Brigadier-General and made Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.

He continued in that capacity, becoming one of Giap’s closest associates, until just before the end of the Indochina War (1946–54) when he was succeeded as Chief of Staff by Van Tien Dung, becoming deputy instead. But for all his power and influence he remained in the background except for such occasions as in 1950 when he became one of the original founders of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association.

In 1958, Thai was made Director-General of Training in the Ministry of Defence and appointed to the National Scientific Research Board. In 1959 he was named Chairman of the Central Physical Culture and Sports Committee, and promoted Major-General. Subsequently he was promoted to Lieut.-General.

Besides his grasp of military affairs, Thai’s other asset is his knowledge of political doctrine. He is not content to exercise control from his office. He lectures officers and men on the need for raising their level of “political consciousness”; on the relationship between the army and higher output; and on the “further advances to Socialism”. Since 1959 he has risen rapidly and his interest in the political education of the army has been much in evidence.

He is still Vice-Chief of General Staff and in 1961 was concurrently appointed a Vice-Minister of National Defence. In 1960 he was elected to the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party.
He has not appeared in public since 1967, and was identified by a defecting Vietcong officer in April, 1967, as the new commander of the Communists' Fifth Military Region in South Vietnam, replacing Major-General Nguyen Dan.
Ton Duc THANG
President of North Vietnam
President of the Fatherland Front
Chairman, National Defence Council
Member, Lao Dong Party Central Committee
Honorary President of the Vietnam Committee for Young Pioneers and Children

During Ho Chi Minh's lifetime, Thang was second only to the late President as a North Vietnamese elder statesman. For years he has been a figurehead whose prestige still serves to project official policy. Under the Constitution he became Acting President after Ho's death and was elected President by the National Assembly on September 23, 1969. As a non-controversial figure he was the obvious candidate for this post, but in view of his age and the fact that he was not a member of the top policy-making body, the party Politburo, he seemed unlikely to wield real power.

Born at Long Xuyen (South Vietnam) in 1888, he was educated at the Saigon Ecole Industrielle d'Extrême Orient, graduating in 1910. By then he was already noted as a firebrand and organiser of students' strikes. He first took a job as a mechanic in a Saigon factory, where he made his name as a revolutionary agitator. In 1911 he became a teacher, but a year later his political activity forced him to escape to France.

He subsequently earned his living as a seaman and during the First World War served in the French Navy. In 1919, he took part in the Communist-inspired mutiny of the French squadron in Sebastopol and was dismissed from the service. Returning to France, he worked for a time as a mechanic in a Paris car factory.

Thang returned to Vietnam in 1927, and soon afterwards enrolled in Ho Chi Minh's Revolutionary Youth League in which he rose to become a member of the Central Committee. In 1929, he was convicted for his complicity in murder and sedition and spent the next 15 years on the island of Poulo Condore. After the Viet Minh seizure of power in August, 1945, he was released and later became President of the Viet Minh Committee for My Tho, thus securing an important place in the party machine in South Vietnam.

In 1946, he moved to North Vietnam, becoming Vice-President of the "National United Front of Vietnam", better known as Lien Viet. It comprised four Nationalist parties, the Buddhist and Catholic Religious Associations, the trade unions and other organisations, all under Communist control. Until its dissolution in 1955 (and replacement by a similar organisation called the Fatherland Front), the Lien Viet was ostensibly the successor to the Viet Minh front. Its prime aim was to project the image of a genuine popular movement striving for social and political reform.
In 1947, Thang was appointed Minister of the Interior, but following a government reshuffle three months later, relinquished the post to Phan Ke Toai. Instead, he was appointed Inspector-General of Political and Administrative Affairs, a key position during the Indochina War. Throughout the period of hostilities Thang stood out as one of the more extremist members in the party leadership.

From 1949 to 1960, he was Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly. In 1950 came his appointment, since reaffirmed, as Chairman of the [North] Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association. In 1951, he became President of the Lien Viet and, in addition, a member of the Lao Dong Central Committee as well as Honorary Chairman of the [North] Vietnam General Confederation of Labour. In 1955, he was elected President of the Fatherland Front.

In 1960, Thang was named Vice-President of North Vietnam—an appointment variously interpreted as recognition of his services to party and State, or as a move designed to mitigate the effect of any future struggle for leadership of the Lao Dong.

Thang’s long experience as a Communist activist was often utilised for propaganda purposes. In 1955, he went to Moscow to receive the Stalin International Peace Prize (now called Lenin Peace Prize). In 1956, he led a National Assembly delegation on a goodwill visit to the Soviet Union. In 1958, he led a similar delegation on a tour of eight Communist countries. His value in that role is further shown by his continued membership of the Communist-controlled World Council of Peace. In October, 1967, he was awarded the Order of Lenin, the highest decoration of the Soviet Union.

At a meeting of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association in October, 1969, he asked to be relieved of his post as President of the Association “in view of his new functions”. A list published in June, 1971, showed that he had succeeded Ho Chi Minh as Chairman of the National Defence Council.
In a Communist Party machine undistinguished for its female talent in top-ranking positions, Mme. Thap occupies a place of honour. Little is known about her early life. She is believed to be a native of South Vietnam. She is known to represent My Tho (a constituency in South Vietnam) in the National Assembly—the "rubber-stamp" Parliament of North Vietnam whose raison d'être is to re-echo the current party line. Her husband is believed to be Hoang Van Hoan, one of the pillars of the party leadership.

Formerly President of South Vietnam's Women's Union, she was elected President of the North Vietnam Women's Union in 1956, and re-elected in 1961. Primarily her function is to enlist the support of North Vietnam's women for the policies of the Lao Dong Party and to co-operate with similar women's organisations within the framework of the Communist-dominated Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), as well as other Communist "front" organisations such as the World Council of Peace. Her own Women's Union is rated as a "transmission belt" for Communist policy. She herself has invariably evinced her adherence to the party's guidelines on a wide range of matters.

Her status and initiative have grown accordingly. On the formation of the Fatherland Front in 1955, she was elected to its governing body, or Presidium, and about the same time became a Vice-President of that essential adjunct of the North Vietnamese dictatorship, the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association. She was re-elected to these positions in 1960 and 1961 respectively.

Thereafter she became known to those interested in such matters as a propagandist with feeling for the mood of her audience. In 1956 she was the natural choice for leading a delegation from North Vietnam to the world congress of the WIDF. In 1957, she led a similar delegation to China, and in 1958 to Vienna. In the same year, she was a member of a delegation attending the Hiroshima Anti-Atom Bomb Conference, an annual event sponsored by the World Council of Peace and its subsidiaries in Japan. In 1959 she led a Vietnamese delegation to the All-India Women's Conference in New Delhi.

As promoter of the Communist concept of "emancipation", she took an active part in the National Assembly debate in 1959 on the new Marriage and
Family Law. Later in the same year she became known as a member of the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party, being re-elected in 1960. In addition, she is a member (and since 1964 a Vice-Chairman) of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, and of its Planning and Budget Committee.
Le Duc Tho

Member of the Lao Dong Party Politburo and Secretariat
Director of the Party Training School

Tho is the Lao Dong Politburo member responsible for party organisation and its second most important theorist. He is widely considered to be pro-Chinese in outlook and has also been mentioned as a potential contender in any struggle for party leadership.

Born in 1910 in North Vietnam, he became one of the founder-members of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI) in 1930. As a result of his political activity he was jailed for subversion. In 1940, he escaped to China where he later emerged as founder-member of the Communist-led Viet Minh movement. Following its seizure of power in North Vietnam in 1945, he returned to Hanoi concentrating on the consolidation of the new régime.

During the Indochina War, he did important party work in South Vietnam, and in 1949 was named Viet Minh government delegate for that region. Between 1949 and 1952, Tho struggled for leadership in South Vietnam with Le Duan and the Viet Minh there was virtually split in two. Le Duan's recall to the North constituted a victory for Tho; there is probably still some antipathy between the two men.

After Le Duan's departure, Tho succeeded him as Secretary-General of the Viet Minh Executive Committee in South Vietnam which was in charge of all resistance and administrative activities. Moreover, he became a member of the Lao Dong Central Committee. His subsequent rise was fully revealed in February, 1956, when he was one of North Vietnam's representatives to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1955, he became a member of the Politburo—in which he ranks No. 6—and by 1959 was a Director of the Party Training School.

In September, 1960, he delivered the report on the amendment of the party Statutes to the Third Congress of the Lao Dong Party and was elected to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. In 1961, he led a delegation to the USSR to study party organisation and related matters, after attending the Mongolian party congress. In 1964, he paid another visit to the USSR; in 1965 led a delegation to France at the invitation of the French Communist Party, and in 1966 attended the congresses of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak Communist Parties.

Tho's interests have been mainly devoted to the "infrastructure" of the party, and its impact on both sides of the 17th Parallel. Inevitably this has also made him an ideological watchdog in all but name. In 1965, he warned against the
perils of "revisionism" and the influence of "counter-revolutionaries". In 1966, he criticised shortcomings in the party, its organisational structure, and its relations with the people. In an article published in the party organ, *Nhan Dan*, of February 3-4, 1967, he attacked those who feared sacrifices and hardships, and condemned "pessimism, pacifism, subjectivism, and individualism".

In 1967, he was reported to be "Chairman for the Supervision of the South", which suggests his connexion with the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSNV)—the clandestine military and political headquarters in western South Vietnam through which Hanoi controls all activities carried out by the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV) and its military arm, the People's Liberation Armed Forces, or Vietcong.

In May, 1968, he was appointed special adviser to the North Vietnamese delegation at the Paris peace talks. Since then he has travelled frequently between Paris and Hanoi to report on the progress of the talks. He led the North Vietnamese delegation to the 19th Congress of the French Communist Party in January, 1970, to the Lenin centenary celebrations in April, 1970, and to East Germany for the Eighth SED Congress in June, 1971.
Pham Huy THONG

Deputy-Chairman Vietnam Peace Committee
Member of World Council of Peace
President of Vietnam Youth Federation

Professor Thong is a well-known poet and “peace” promoter. Born in 1916 at Hung Yen (North Vietnam), the son of a manufacturer, he studied law in Hanoi and was active as a journalist. In 1938 he travelled to France where after studying in Toulouse he became a Professor of History at the Institut des Recherches Scientifiques.

Thong returned to Vietnam during the Second World War. In 1946, he was back in Paris where until 1949 he acted as the unofficial representative of the Viet Minh. In the same year he began to demonstrate his interest in Communist front organisations, attending a World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) conference in Milan and later heading a delegation to the Budapest congress of the Communist-dominated International Union of Students (IUS).

He was not long in finding his niche in this milieu, where his non-party standing made him a welcome recruit. In 1950 he became a member of the (North) Vietnamese Peace Committee. In 1953 he was expelled from France and returned to Saigon where, as Secretary-General, he directed the Saigon-Cholon Movement for Protection of Peace, on behalf of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). He became a figure of fun in South Vietnam during 1953 and 1954, when the government offered him a safe-conduct to the Viet Minh so that he could practice what he preached in the discomfort of the jungle. His refusal made him an object of ridicule for his lack of courage. In 1954, Ngo Dinh Diem arrested him and transferred him to Haiphong to await the entry of DRV forces. His stay was marked by a stream of complaints about the hardship of his living conditions—luxurious by comparison with those of the other refugees. He was in two minds about returning to South Vietnam, but decided to remain in the North, where he was appointed Director of the Hanoi Teachers’ College. In 1958 he was re-elected to the World Council of Peace (WCP). He still holds both of these posts. In the same year he attended the Afro-Asian Writers’ Conference in Tashkent.

In 1960, Thong was included in the DRV delegation to the WCP Bureau meeting in Stockholm. He was further identified as Deputy Chairman of the Vietnam Peace Committee.

In 1961 he was elected a Deputy to the National Assembly and also President of the new Central Committee of the Vietnam Youth Federation. His French wife broadcasts for Hanoi Radio.

Thong exerts no political influence and is regarded by DRV leaders as a burden to be carried in an effort to enlist the support of other non-Communists.

In 1962, Thong was a member of the DRV Peace Committee delegation to the Moscow Peace Conference and later led the North Vietnamese Youth
delegation to the World Youth Festival at Helsinki. In 1966, he was named Vice-President and Secretary-General of the newly established (North) Vietnam Historiological Association. In addition, he is a member of the National Assembly Cultural and Social Commission and of its Reunification Commission.
Pham Ngoc THUAN

Chairman of the Commission for
Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries

Thuan is a lawyer and a prominent figure of the Catholic community—the second largest religious element in North Vietnam. The son of an agricultural engineer, he graduated in law and later made his mark as Vice-President of the Catholic Association for National Salvation in South Vietnam, a Nationalist group supporting the independence movement.

During the Indochina War he achieved rapid promotion and enhanced his reputation both as representative of an important minority and as an organiser. In 1949, he became Vice-President of the Resistance and Administrative Committee of South Vietnam—one of the top posts in the Viet Minh resistance. In 1951, he was selected as delegate to the abortive Sheffield “peace” congress arranged by the World Council of Peace.

After the establishment of North Vietnam as an independent State in 1954 he acted for a time as counsellor on foreign affairs and as a leading spokesman of the Catholic community. But his religious views, which did not always concur with those of the Communist dictatorship, put a strain on his relations with the Lao Dong Party leadership. His appointment as Ambassador to East Germany was considered a temporary solution to an embarrassing problem. As Ambassador abroad his ambition, great ability and forceful personality were of use to the régime, while his devout Catholicism was less apparently so. In July, 1961, Thuan attended Iraq’s third National Day celebrations at the head of a delegation. In 1962, he was relieved of his post as Ambassador. He was rumoured to have distributed anti-Soviet pamphlets in East Germany.

In 1963, he was appointed Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. This organisation not only fosters cultural contacts with other Communist countries but also presents North Vietnam’s image to non-Communist countries. In view of the régime’s efforts to gain influence in French-speaking States in Africa and elsewhere, the Commission’s importance as a propaganda organ must increase.

In 1964 he led a delegation to the Soviet Union and China to sign cultural co-operation agreements. In 1965, he led a “friendship” delegation on a tour of African countries, which included the UAR, Tanzania, Mauretania, Ghana, Congo-Brazzaville, Senegal, Mali, Guinea and the Central African Republic. Diplomatic relations were established with Mauretania, Ghana and Senegal. In December, 1969, he attended the signing of an education agreement with an East German delegation in Hanoi, and in June, 1970, he signed cultural co-operation agreements with Poland and Mongolia in Hanoi.
Until he became Foreign Minister in 1963 (a post which he relinquished for health reasons in April, 1965) Xuan Thuy was chiefly known as North Vietnam’s foremost representative in international Communist front organisations. Essentially his record is that of a “militant” and widely-travelled propagandist projecting the party line at home and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) abroad.

He has many of the qualities needed for this dual task. Born in 1912 in the Hadong Province of North Vietnam, he was educated in Hanoi where he became involved in Nationalist and later left-wing politics. In 1926, he joined Ho Chi Minh’s Revolutionary Youth League in which his capacity for hard work and propaganda became noticed. In the 1920s he was twice arrested for political agitation. In 1939 he was imprisoned at Son La in North Vietnam where he edited a prisoners’ organisation organ, Suoi Reo, devoted to Communist front propaganda.

Not long before the Viet Minh seizure of power in August, 1945, he was released and became chief editor and director of Cau Quoc (National Salvation), the official newspaper of the Viet Minh League (and later of the Fatherland Front), in which capacity he has since continued. In 1945 he was also appointed a member of the Central Committee of the Viet Minh League and devoted himself to building up the party image during what was in many ways a crucial transition period. In 1946 he was elected to the DRV National Assembly, and in 1955 to its Standing Committee.

In 1951, Xuan Thuy was made a member of the Standing Committee of the “Lien Viet”, the front embracing all political parties, trade unions and religious organisations, with the Communists in control. In 1955, he was named a member of the Central Committee of the front’s successor, the Fatherland Front, of which he became Secretary-General in 1956. He was replaced as Secretary-General by Tran Xuan Bach in 1963.

Since 1950 Xuan Thuy has been connected with causes and organisations which international Communism has sought to exploit for its own ends. He has been very active in the world “peace” movement. As a member since 1950, and Secretary-General since 1953, of the Vietnam Peace Committee, and as a member of the World Peace Council, he regularly attended “peace” congresses in Europe, most frequently in Vienna or Stockholm, and in Asia.

In 1950, Xuan Thuy was named Chairman of the newly-founded Vietnamese
Journalists' Association. He represented the DRV at the First World Meeting of Journalists in Helsinki in 1956. In 1959 he was awarded the International Journalistic Prize by the International Organisation of Journalists.

He was a founder-member of both the Vietnam-USSR and Vietnam-China Friendship Associations in 1950, and was Chairman of the latter from 1960 to 1963.

On the wider plane he has taken a keen interest in the many Communist-inspired movements and rallies for Asian and African consumption. In 1956, he became Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. He headed the DRV delegation to Cairo in 1957 to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, and again in 1959 to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council meeting.

In 1960-63, he was a Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee and in 1962-63 was also its Secretary-General. He relinquished both posts on becoming Foreign Minister in May, 1963.

Xuan Thuy is a member of the Central Committee of the Lao Dong Party, Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Peace Committee and of the Vietnamese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and was Chairman of the DRV Committee for Algerian Independence. He is believed to be still President of the Vietnamese Journalists' Association. In May, 1961, he was appointed deputy leader of the DRV delegation to the Geneva Conference on Laos. In October, 1961, he accompanied Ho Chi Minh and Le Duan to the 22nd CPSU Congress in Moscow. In July, 1962, he returned to Moscow as deputy leader of the DRV delegation to the Peace Conference.

As President of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association, he was at the reception for the Chinese delegation led by Peng Chen in 1962. In October, 1962, he welcomed a delegation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam to Hanoi. He attended the Fifth Stockholm Conference on Vietnam in March, 1970.

In May, 1968, he was appointed Minister Without Portfolio and head of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks. In May, 1970, he returned to Hanoi from Paris in response to the absence of the chief US delegate. He gave a report on the Paris talks to the National Assembly Standing Committee, and returned to Paris in August, 1970, when the US delegation was led for the first time by Ambassador David Bruce. He again returned to Hanoi in May, 1972, when he reported on the talks to the Fatherland Front Central Committee.
Phan Ke Toai is one of the few non-Communists to hold a top position in the North Vietnamese hierarchy. Yet for all his apparent importance as one of the six Deputy Prime Ministers, his role is essentially that of a political figurehead.

His public career epitomises the sweeping changes in Vietnam arising from the Second World War. Born about the turn of the century in the Sontay Province of North Vietnam, he was educated in Hanoi, and afterwards entered the Civil Service of Tongking (now North Vietnam). Toai's rapid rise in the Vietnamese Civil Service is said to be due not to his own ability but to his willingness to do the bidding of the French administration. This was the golden road to promotion in Vietnam.

During the Japanese occupation of Vietnam, Toai courted Japanese favour as assiduously as he had previously courted French. He was appointed Imperial Delegate to Tongking in 1945 at the instigation of the Japanese because they felt sure that he would be a willing instrument for their policies.

It was during his first experience of office that Phan Ke Toai sensed the changes in the overall balance of power in Vietnam and in Asia. Realising the precarious position of the Japanese and the growing power of the Viet Minh he adopted a "co-operative" attitude towards the latter, tolerating its activities in Tongking and keeping in touch with it through intermediaries. His administrative reforms during 1945 were carried out on Japanese orders and their sole object was the wrecking of the former French machinery of administration. In August, 1945, he handed over the administration to the Viet Minh's nominees and for a time disappeared from public life.

Surprisingly he re-emerged in July, 1947, as Minister of the Interior in the "jungle" government of Ho Chi Minh. In reality, his elevation to this post was largely nominal, effective power remaining vested in his Communist subordinates. Since he had collaborated fully with the Viet Minh and had handed over his former functions to them they were obliged to offer him a high post to encourage other non-Communists to collaborate in the same way. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior had virtually no responsibilities, which is why it was given to Toai. In 1949, he was appointed to the Supreme Defence Council. His tenure of office, coupled with the fact that he was a non-Communist, lent further weight to the Viet Minh's contention that it was fighting the Indochina War backed by all shades of Vietnamese opinion. Political virtue was rewarded when he was
appointed Deputy Prime Minister, a post he has held ever since together with (until 1963) that of Minister of the Interior. In 1958 he accompanied Ho Chi Minh on his State visit to India and Burma.

A man of the most bourgeois background possible, and furthermore a collaborator with the French and Japanese, Toai has proved a heavy liability to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). However, the more he was scorned by the non-Communist Vietnamese, the more the DRV felt constrained to brazen it out and appoint him to new offices of nominal importance.

Toai is said by Vietnamese who know him to be a man of feeble personality and no character. He possesses neither power nor influence.
Toan is the cultural specialist of the North Vietnamese régime. His influence carries greater weight than that of his ministerial superior. He established his reputation with his campaign against illiteracy and for mass-education on Communist lines. As a party man he ranks among the founder-members of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI).

He is an intellectual with the gifts of a politician and organiser. Born in 1903 at Thua Luu (Central Vietnam), he studied history in Hanoi, taking part in student politics and strikes. In 1926, he went to Saigon, becoming a teacher and contributor to two Nationalist periodicals. In the same year he was convicted for subversion and on his release from prison in 1928 was expelled from South Vietnam.

Toan went to Paris and thence to Moscow, where for the next four years he studied at the Stalin Institute under the nom de guerre of Minime, and married a Russian. Later he made contact with the PCI and became a close associate of Ho Chi Minh. After returning to France, he is believed to have left again for China, and eventually to have gone back to North Vietnam. In 1936 he was reputedly one of the leading propagandists of the “Democratic Front”, the legal façade for the PCI which at the time operated largely under cover.

It is certain that in 1946 Toan reappeared in Hanoi as an important figure in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) as well as in the South-East Asian movement. In that year he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Education in Ho Chi Minh’s second government, a post he kept for nearly a decade. He won recognition for his methods, instilled with Marxism, in reducing illiteracy in the region under Viet Minh control.

Toan has led several educational and cultural missions abroad. Although his daughter’s marriage to a rich landowner in Phu-Tho in 1952 incurred much criticism and led to charges that he was bourgeois, these evidently did not affect his career; for in 1953 Toan led a delegation to the World Congress of Teachers in Berlin and a similar conference in Vienna. In 1957 he revisited the USSR and in 1959 went to India and Warsaw. The following year he attended the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow. Toan was elected a member of the newly-formed National Scientific Research Board in 1958 and in 1960 one of the four Vice-Presidents of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship Association and an alternate member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee.
In 1961, Toan was appointed Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and accompanied the Foreign Minister, Ung Van Khiem, and others to a number of African countries in March and April, 1961. In 1963 he relinquished the post to Pham Ngoc Thuan, and in the same year was appointed Deputy Minister of Education.

In spite of his early membership of the party, his education in the USSR, and his close links with Ho Chi Minh, he is still no more than an alternate member of the party Central Committee. This is probably significant and suggests that although he is a reliable party man, he will never rise to a position of real power.

In March, 1962, Toan went to Warsaw for a conference of members of academies of sciences of Socialist countries. This was followed by a visit to Moscow in April where he signed agreements for cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and North Vietnam. In May he went on a similar mission to Peking.

He appears little in public, but was appointed Chairman of the State Commission for Social Science in October, 1968, President of the Vietnam Commission for the Protection of Children in March, 1970, and Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American People in May, 1970.
Tran Van TRA

Deputy Chief of Staff of the Vietnam People's Army (VPA)
Deputy Commander of the
People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF)
Alternate Member of the Lao Dong Party
Central Committee

One of North Vietnam's highest-ranking field commanders in South Vietnam, Lieutenant-General Tra is also a key figure in the party. He came into prominence as a member of the military triumvirate in which his colleagues were Generals Nguyen Chi Thanh and Tran Do.

Also known under his *nom de guerre* of Tran Nam Trung, Tra was born in 1918 in the Quang Ngai Province of South Vietnam. He later joined the Communist-led Viet Minh movement with which he saw action during the first Vietnam war (1946–54). In 1955, he appears to have settled in North Vietnam, rising steadily in the party and army leadership. In 1959, he became a Deputy Chief of Staff of the VPA; in 1960, an alternate member of the Lao Dong Central Committee; and in 1961, a Major-General in the VPA. In the following year, he was promoted to Lieutenant-General, a rank he combined with the post of Director of the Institute of Military Administration. He had now reached a peak of his career, having also been appointed President of the Central Military Court.

With the acceleration of the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam, Tra appears to have been recalled to active service. The extent of his contribution was evident when South Vietnamese and US forces captured a number of North Vietnamese photographs, newsreels, and miscellaneous documents during operations in the Tay Ninh Province of South Vietnam in March, 1967. From these he was identified as military deputy to General Nguyen Chi Thanh, Hanoi's strategist and senior political commissar in South Vietnam (who has since died), together with General Tran Do, his political opposite number.

Tra works in close co-operation with the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN)—through which Hanoi controls the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV) and its military arm, the PLAF, or Vietcong. Tra presumably has special responsibility for the 80,000 North Vietnamese regulars fighting alongside the Vietcong. COSVN's authority is ensured by the fact that even in Vietcong regular units one-third of the officers at battalion level and above are Northerners—not indigenous South Vietnamese.

Since he assumed field command in South Vietnam, Tra's contribution suggests the competent organiser and tactician. In the PLAF, he served as one...
of its five Deputy Commanders with the rank of Major-General. He has also been mentioned as Chairman of the NFLSV Military Affairs Committee, the key agency in this “front”, whose decisions—dictated from Hanoi—cover the full range of military and political activity in South Vietnam.

Reports in February, 1968, suggested that Tra had been killed in action, but these have not been substantiated, and messages under his nom de guerre are still broadcast. (It has been suggested however that the pseudonym belongs to the post rather than an individual, and the present holder may be Tran Luong Thai). In August, 1968, Tran Nam Trung was said to be Chief of the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the NFLSV, and also Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the NFLSV Central Committee. Liberation Radio described him in late 1968 as a representative of the People’s Revolutionary Party, the branch of the Lao Dong Party within the NFLSV which in fact controls it. With the formation of the “Provisional Revolutionary government” in South Vietnam in June, 1969, Tran Nam Trung was made Minister of Defence.
Nguyen Van TRAN

Member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee
and Secretariat

Tran is a key figure in North Vietnam’s industrialisation drive and a long-standing party militant. Born in 1916, in South Vietnam, he studied in France and after returning home found his way into the Indochina Communist Party (PCI). In 1941 he was jailed for five years for subversion.

In August, 1945, he was released and during the short-lived Viet Minh rule in Saigon, where a Provisional Executive Committee was established, he became head of the security services. Some time afterwards he made his way to North Vietnam and during the Indochina War rose to become Chairman of the Viet Minh Resistance and Administrative Committee for Interzone III, i.e., in the Red River Delta area.

In 1951, he became a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee, and in the same year Inspector-General of Political and Administrative Affairs of the Viet Minh Government, a post of considerable political responsibility. He is believed to have studied in Moscow during the next two years.

In 1954, he was appointed successively Under-Secretary of State for Public Works, and then Minister of Communications and Postmaster-General. In the same year and again in 1955 he led trade and reconstruction missions to Peking with a view to obtaining badly needed aid for reconstruction. In 1956 he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Board.

In 1957, he was appointed Chairman of the Standing Committee for Technical and Scientific Co-operation with Fraternal Countries. In 1958, he became Chairman of the State Planning Board but at the end of the year reverted to Vice-Chairman. In addition, he was made a member of the National Scientific Research Board. In 1958, Tran was once again a major economic spokesman, and visited Moscow, Prague and Bucharest. In 1960, he was appointed Minister of Heavy Industry and a member of the National Defence Council and was re-elected to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee. (An official list published in June, 1971, showed that he had lost his Defence Council post.) In 1966, he was described as Secretary of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee. In February, 1967, he was replaced as Minister of Heavy Industry by Le Thanh Nghị. He was described in April, 1968, as the First Secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee. He led a delegation to the Polish Party Congress in November, 1968, and spoke there. In October, 1971, he led a delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Albanian Workers’ Party; the group subsequently visited Hungary and the Soviet Union.

NVT-1-NORTH VIETNAM-6-73
Until his appointment as Foreign Minister in April, 1965, Trinh was the top planner of North Vietnam and the central figure behind its industrialisation drive.

Trinh was born in 1910 of a peasant family in Nghe An Province. He took part in student subversive activities in 1926-27 and associated himself with a revolutionary organisation in 1928, for which he was jailed for 18 months. On his release in 1930 he immediately joined Ho Chi Minh's Indo-Chinese Communist Party (PCI) and was Nghi Loc County Secretary in Nghe An Province. In 1932 he was again arrested, sentenced to hard labour, and imprisoned in Kontum and Poulo Condore Island. On his release in March, 1945, he reverted to his militant activities, organising uprisings in Central Vietnam, and was elected to the Communist Party's Central Vietnam Bureau. He remained in Central Vietnam until 1954, playing a leading part in the movement against the French and holding various party and administrative posts. He was appointed Chairman of the Resistance Executive Committee for Interzone V in 1948 and was elected to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee at the party's inaugural congress in 1951.

In 1954, Trinh was given a Vice-Ministerial appointment in the President's office, and in 1955 was included in the government delegation led by Ho Chi Minh to the USSR and China to obtain urgent economic assistance.

During the next two years he was a leading spokesman on land reform, playing a prominent rôle in the "Mistakes Correction Campaign" initiated in October, 1956. In 1957 he was transferred to the Prime Minister's Office as Director of the Bureau of Internal Affairs, and the following year was made a Minister at the Prime Minister's Office, appointed Chairman of the State Planning Commission and a member of the party's Politburo.

In May, 1958, he returned to Moscow at the head of a party delegation to a session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) is not a member of this Soviet-directed economic headquarters, but Trinh has long been an advocate of closer economic cooperation with the Communist countries. In the autumn of 1960 he headed a DRV trade and economic delegation on a six-month tour of seven Communist countries, during which he secured aid agreements totalling 295 million new roubles ($327 million) for North Vietnam's Five-Year Plan which began in 1961.
In 1960, Trinh was re-elected to his party posts and to the chairmanship of the State Planning Commission. He tends towards an extreme left-wing interpretation of Communism. His speech at the Albanian Party Congress in February, 1961, where he represented the DRV, was favourably disposed towards the Chinese. His co-operation with Truong Chinh has become closer over the years.

In 1962, Trinh went to Moscow and was present at the signing there on September 15 of a new agreement for Soviet aid to the DRV. In 1963, he was appointed Chairman of the National Scientific Research Commission.

In April, 1965, Trinh became Foreign Minister and gave up the chairmanships of the State Planning Commission and the National Scientific Research Commission. He retained the rank of Deputy Prime Minister which he had held since 1960. Also in April, he accompanied a party and government delegation, led by Le Duan, to Moscow and Peking. The delegation also met representatives of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV) in Peking.

He went to the 23rd CPSU Congress in Moscow in 1966, and returned there in November, 1967, for the 50th Anniversary of the Russian (October) Revolution. He led a government delegation to North Korea in September, 1968. He led the North Vietnamese side in talks with a delegation from the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam in Hanoi in March, 1969.

An official list published in June, 1971, showed that he had ceased to be a member of the National Defence Council, on which he had served since 1960.

In July, 1971, Trinh led a party and government delegation to Mongolia for the 50th National Day, and thence to Peking. In December, 1971, he led another delegation to China and then to Poland for the PZPR's Sixth Congress.

NDT-2-NORTH VIETNAM-6-73
Phan Trong TUE

Minister of Communications and Transport
Member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee

Tue is overlord of North Vietnam's system of communications and transport. Some of his statements suggest that he inclines towards the pro-China element in the party leadership.

Little is known about his background. He took part in the Indochina War, and in 1955 emerged as a Brigadier-General and head of the North Vietnamese Army's delegation to the Joint Armistice Commission. Subsequently he seems to have been mainly concerned with North Vietnamese policy vis-à-vis the International Control Commission—the truce supervisory body (India, Canada and Poland) set up by the Geneva Conference of 1954 which ended the war in Indochina. After his return to North Vietnam, he was named in 1957 as deputy to Brigadier-General Tran Tu Binh, party political commissar at the Infantry Training School, in what was then the newly-formed Army Inspection Department.

In 1960, his services to the party were recognised in his appointment as Minister of Posts and Communications. In the same year, he also became a member of the Lao Dong Party Central Committee. In 1962, he was made Minister of Communications and Transport, in which post he still serves.

In October, 1967, he published an article in the Lao Dong Party organ, Nhan Dan, on North Vietnamese-Chinese "solidarity". In this he praised the "700 million Chinese people [who] have not flinched from any sacrifices or hardships" in what he described as "their positive contribution to the great successes" of North Vietnam. The article claimed that China had helped North Vietnam to improve her technology and research institutions and sent "many outstanding scientific and technical cadres and workers" to help with communications and transport.

PTT-1- NORTH VIETNAM-6-73
Hoang TUNG

Alternate Member of Lao Dong Party Central Committee
President of Vietnam-Cuba Friendship Association
President of Vietnam Journalists' Association
Editor-in-Chief of Nhan Dan
Deputy Head of the Central Propaganda and Training Board of the Central Committee
Member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front

Tung is a well-known journalist in North Vietnam, and is responsible for the continual dissemination of government propaganda through the party newspaper and other channels.

Nothing is known of his background, but his rise to positions of importance in recent years has been swift and impressive. He was first noticed in 1955 when he was mentioned as one of the editors of the North Vietnamese Lao Dong Party's daily newspaper, Nhan Dan. In 1957 he became Vice-President of the Vietnam Journalists' Association, which is affiliated to the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), a Communist front organisation. In 1962 he was elected President of the Vietnam Journalists' Association, and also an Executive Committee member of IOJ.

In 1960 his services to the party cause were recognised, and he was elected to the Central Committee as an alternate member, and in 1963 was entrusted with the overall editorship of Nhan Dan. When the Vietnam-Cuba Friendship Association was formed in 1965, Tung was appointed President, and has retained the position.

His work in carrying the party line and policies through the medium of Nhan Dan has clearly met with the approval of the North Vietnamese Government, and in 1969 his services as a propagandist were called on in the post of Deputy Head of the Central Propaganda and Training Board of the Central Committee. Little is known about this function, but it is presumed to involve the direction of much of the propaganda that is carried to the North Vietnamese population in the Press and over Hanoi Radio.

Tran Cong TUONG
Vice-President of the People's Supreme Court
Member of the IADL Council

Tuong belongs to the "old guard" of the Indochinese Communist Party (PCI) and is in many ways a product of the party apparatus. In addition he is a founder-member of the Democratic Party (Dan Chu), one of the parties tolerated by the régime.

He first came to notice as Deputy Minister of Justice in Ho Chi Minh's government of January, 1946. But it was the "heroic period" of the Indochina War that enabled him to prove himself. In 1951, he introduced "reforms" into the legal system of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), then operating in the mountainous jungle of North Vietnam. In 1954, he was a member of the DRV delegation to the Geneva Conference which ended the war in Indochina.

After the partition of Vietnam and the consolidation of the DRV, he divided his interests between legal and party affairs. In 1955, his political reliability received further recognition by his election to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee. In 1957, he was elected a Deputy to the National Assembly. In 1959, he became known as Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court, the Ministry of Justice having been abolished.

Subsequently he appeared to have lost favour. In 1960, he was not re-elected to the Lao Dong Party Central Committee, nor was he re-elected to office by the Democratic Party Congress held in the same year. Nevertheless, he served as legal adviser to the DRV delegation at the Geneva Conference on Laos in 1961.

His legal career has been conventional and uneventful. For some time he was Secretary-General of the [North] Vietnam Lawyers' Association. Then he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Association. Moreover, he is a member of the Council of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), one of the main Communist "front" organisations. In 1957, he attended the Communist-sponsored Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference in Damascus; in 1961 he attended the IADL Secretariat meeting in East Berlin, having been elected a Secretary to the IADL Bureau in October, 1960. In recent years his name has also frequently appeared as Permanent Member of the Action Committee of the Fatherland Front, the all-embracing North Vietnamese "front" of which the Democratic Party is a constituent.

In 1965, Tuong attended the Communist-sponsored Tri-continental Conference in Havana which adopted resolutions calling for intensified political and armed struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Tuong led a North Vietnamese delegation to an IADL conference in Grenoble in July, 1968. He was appointed an adviser to Minister Xuan Thuy at the Paris peace talks, and has travelled to other European countries in that capacity. In December, 1969, he led a North Vietnamese delegation to a Presidium conference of the World Peace Council (WPC) in Khartoum, and a delegation of the Vietnam Peace Committee to Canada in January, 1970.