VIETNAM DELEGATE
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Chinhae, Korea

The history of Vietnam is a long series of internal struggles and external strivings to gain independence. The most unfortunate occurrence in Indo-China was the birth of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party in 1927. The Indo-Chinese Communist Party, in fact, was composed purely of Vietnam Communists. Thus the Communists' plan of expansion was not limited to Vietnam but to cover all Indo-China. The propaganda of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party was built up around (1) Nationalism and (2) the fight against the classes. Nationalism had inspired the masses who were against French domination. They concentrated their efforts in the south of Indo-China because that was the region where most of the landowners lived. This movement brought such results that three years later, in 1930, there was a great Revolution.

The Communists sent the farmers in mass to declare their independence. Some time later they also made a declaration of exemption from taxes. They staged a mass demonstration in groups of thousands of people at a time.

The rebellion and demonstrations of 1930 were soon subdued. The Communists at that time had no arms. However, they continued their underground activities by means of leaflets, oral propaganda and secret meetings. In 1940 they took advantage of the armistice in Europe (the French surrender to Nazi Germany) to stage a second Revolution. This time it was more difficult to overcome but was finally subdued again. The military posts and the police forces had been attacked and their arms taken away.

In spite of all the efforts exerted by the Communists all the rebellions were repressed. But the Communists carried on their struggles and their activities and were further strengthened by the Japanese influence in 1940. Five years later, in 1945, on the defeat of Japan and before the French returned to power, the Communists seized their opportunity. During this period they formed a secret organization which they called the Vietnam Independence Front. This is now called VIETMINH — an abbreviation of the name of this organization. In the beginning, the Communists had brought into their group other existing parties in Indo-China, such as the Revolutionary Party of Vietnam and the Vietnam National Party. Soon all the non-Communist party members were eliminated and there existed no more than one party under the name of Vietminh. Only the Communists were masters of the organization. At the same time, in order to facilitate recruiting and training of all patriots, they dissolved the Communist Party; but, in reality, the Communist Party was in control and proceeded with its activities.

The territory of their influence covered from the Chinese border in the north to the south of Vietnam. With the farmers in mass at their side, they began to use terrorism. They killed the intellectuals without motive. They got rid of those who owned lands and distributed the lands among the farmers. Also they organized guerillas to attack the military posts.

The Communist movement in Indo-China can be divided into two periods:

1. Period of long range resistance
2. Period of offensive
Actually the period of long range resistance is over and they are in the period of offensive.

In early days, they had come to an arrangement with French authorities which later was cancelled and hostilities broke out again in 1946. Since then the Vietminh have been supplied and supported by smuggling and procuring along the long coast line of Indo-China. After the Communists conquest of the Chinese mainland, they were supported by the Chinese Communists. Aid from Chinese Communists was accelerated as a result of the Korean armistice. The Vietminh are now being supplied by two railroads from the north. Also they receive their supplies by naval transportation via Hainan Island.

Recent events in Dien Bien Phu have proved that the Vietminh troops have been assisted by the Chinese Communists. Telephonic net-work as well as anti-aircraft cannons were provided by the Chinese Communists.

Now I would like to introduce the measures taken by our Government to face the Communists. As a matter of fact, our Government has taken action since 1949, following the declaration of unification of Indo-China.

We can classify them into three measures:

1. **Military:**

An army of 300,000 men has been set up. There are two Military Officer Schools, one for active service and other reserve. This army is destined to replace the French troops when it becomes sufficiently strong to along encounter the Vietminh Forces. This army receives the supplies and materials from two sources, France and America.

Besides the regular army, it is worthwhile to mention the religious forces in the South (the Cao-Dai and Hoa-Hao) which are small but cannot be ignored, as well as the home defence forces which exist in all parts.

The forces of Vietnam and the Vietminh Communists are almost equivalent; but Communist China is providing material aid for the Communists. The French authorities have stated that technicians are being sent from China to aid the Vietminh Communists. Thus the fight is likely to continue for a long period of time.

2. **Social:**

The second measure we are taking is social reform of the country in order to finish the war. Numerous reforms have been undertaken with the intentions of improving the lives of the people and repelling the effects of the Communists' propaganda.

For the first time land reform has been undertaken. We have reduced the rental rates on land and have set up a fund of 50 million piastres to help the farmers to buy their lands. We have also taken measures to favor our laborers. We have promulgated the labor code. We have also proclaimed liberty of unions.

3. **Political:**

France has realized the necessity of giving full independence to Vietnam. This is a great influence on the population to fight against the Communists.
Results of this policy have proved encouraging, because many nationalists who had followed the Vietminh Communists in the belief of serving the country, have since admitted their mistakes and turned to the Vietnamese legal government. On the other hand the Vietminhs have proved themselves to be obedient to Moscow per medium of the Chinese Communists and the favor of the people for Communism has been much diminished. More and more, it is becoming evident that the people will follow the way of the Vietnam.

In other words, we have tried our utmost to defeat the Communists by isolating them from the mass of people. Communism is like a fish and in order to kill the fish we must keep them away from water. The water represents the mass of people.

These are the measures we are taking to oppose the Communists. It would be easy to overcome them if, since the forces are the same in number, the Chinese Communists did not intensify their material aid.

Because of the danger of the continuation of the war the two great powers agreed upon the convocation of the Geneva Conference. We do not see now any success in the Geneva Conference. On the contrary, we can see the intensification of action by the Communists in Indo-China.

The action of the Communists in Indo-China is also directed against the whole of South-east Asia. It has been proved that the Vietnam Communist party was early in 1927 contacted by the Communists in Moscow. Moscow demanded that instead of organizing a Vietnam Communist Party they organize an Indo-Chinese Communist Party.

The above tells why we feel the necessity of using our joint efforts to combat the Communists who plan to expand throughout all the South-east Asian countries. We accepted the call of the Republic of Korea to come here to attend this meeting in the hope that an alliance could ultimately be made to unite our peoples in the fight against Communism. In the face of expansion of the Communist action we must take joint action to meet it. We must unite together.

I must thank you for taking up your time to hear my speech.

**Phillipine Delegate:** Will independence, real independence, including military independence strengthen the will of the Vietnam to fight Communism?

**Vietnam Delegate:** Yes.

**Philippine Delegate:** Has the French Government guaranteed national independence to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia?

**Vietnam Delegate:** I am speaking on behalf of Vietnam only. As far as Vietnam is concerned the French Government has granted total independence and we are going to take back, little by little, what is still left.