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GIAP ON FIRST YEAR OF PAVN: 1946

The Democratic Republic of  
VIETNAM  
*"Independence, Freedom, Happiness"*

**ONE YEAR**  
*of Revolutionary Achievement*

report to the VietNam People at Hanoi

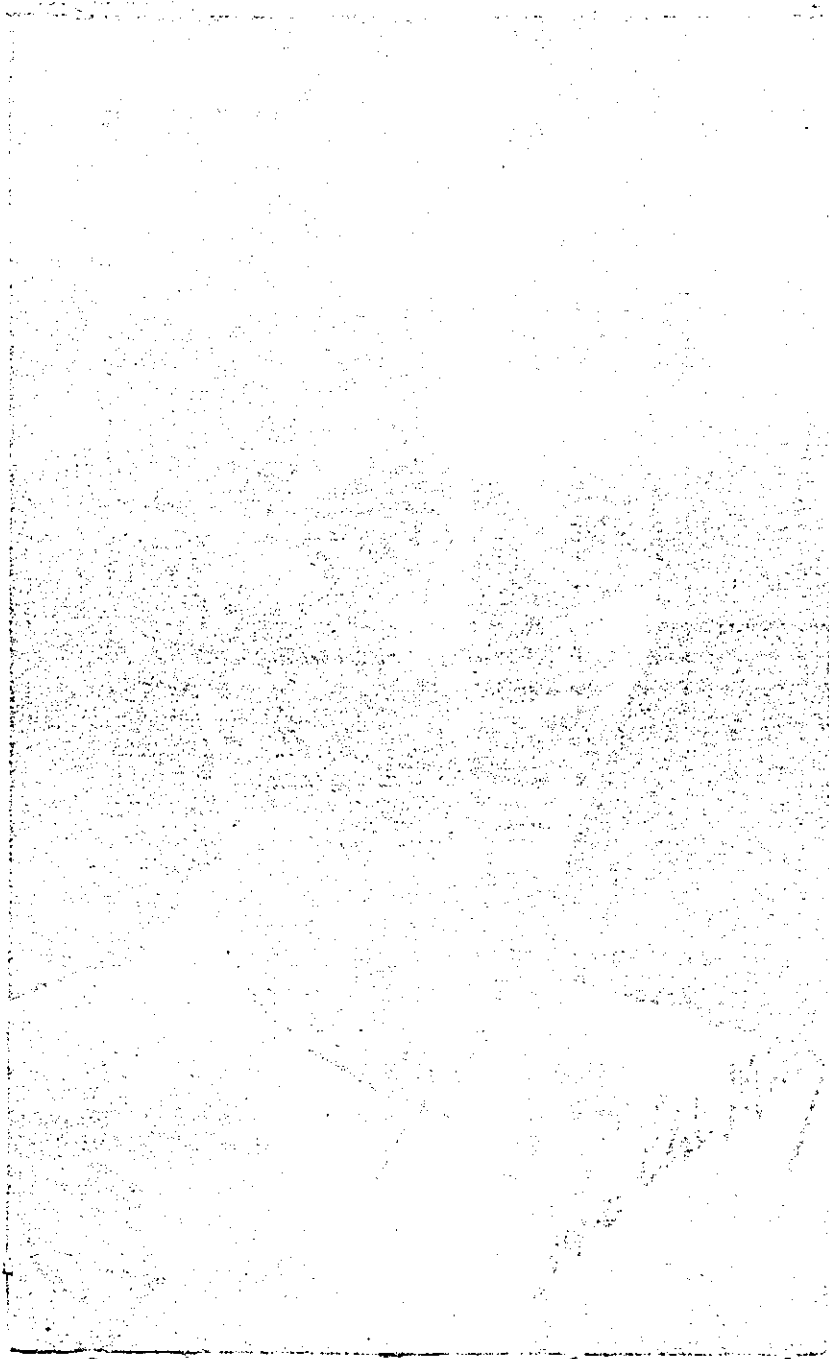
by

**Vo nguyen Giap**

*President of*

*National Defence Council*

VIETNAM



Mr. HO CHI MINH

*President*

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

## Foreword

One year ago, the "VIET MINH" or "DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF VIETNAM" which was organized in 1949 for the struggle against French imperialism and Japanese Fascism, rallied all the people of VietNam around its flag, seized the power out of Japanese hands and proclaimed the independence of the Republic of VietNam.

This republic comprises Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina, formerly states of the French colony Indo-China. They are all three united to one another by close ethnical, cultural, historical and political ties.

The young Republic, as soon as it was born, was faced by the invasion of French forces in the South, while at the same time, it was confronted by a tremendous famine in the North. It was further handicapped by internal intrigues prompted and sponsored by French imperialist interests. Yet, in spite of all, it managed to stand firm thanks to the strength, solidarity and sacrifice shown by its people, as well as to the wise leadership of its President Mr. HO CHI MINH.

Mr. VO NGUYEN GIAP's speech reviews the first year of struggle and reconstruction of the VietNam Republic. Supported by concrete facts and figures, the speech is no mere adorned picture of rhetorical propaganda. It portrays the determined efforts of a people growing ever more and more united in their struggle for national defence and emancipation over a period of more than 80 years; a struggle which now finds expression in the battle cry of the new Republic: "*Independence, Liberty and Happiness*". It pays worthy tribute to the tenacity and courage of this same people who, in Southern VietNam, do not hesitate to apply, in the last resort, the grim "terre brulee" (scorched earth tactics) against the French invaders. While at the same time their brothers in the Northern VietNam, in the midst of a precarious peace, can still go on repairing and rebuilding the national economy even in the absence of foreign materials and technicians.

A fight for its independence and liberty by a valiant and determined people must earn substantial support from all democratic nations of the world. Especially so, since these powers in the gravest moment of their war against German Nazism and Japanese Fascism have emphasized the right of self-determination for all peoples.

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\* They have been changed respectively into Baoce or Northern VietNam, Truong or Central VietNam and Nambo or Southern VietNam.


Population figures are respectively 9, 7 and 6 millions of the total 22 millions of Indo-China, VietNam comprises 2.5 million.

The VietNam people after the surrender of the French army on March 9th, 1945 to the Japanese, set up by themselves a determined resistance movement. In Northern VietNam this movement liberated a sixth part of the country from the Japanese yoke and received effective aid from American forces in China. In Southern VietNam it trained the youth to be in readiness to play their part in the event of an Allied landing. Only the early surrender of the Japanese prevented this movement from coming into full play over the whole country through the vast network of organisations controlled by the Viet Minh.

This same democratic and independent national government now claims the right to rally round it all the democratic forces of the world.

Their determined fight against the Japanese must be upheld by the Allies against those who, after their surrender, now come back to VietNam to assert their old domination under the pretence of acting in the name of the Allies. And we must remember as well that the arms and equipment used by the French are to a large part arms and equipment obtained from America for purpose of fighting against Nazism and Japanese Fascism.

LE HI  
*Editor, "Viet Nam News".*



*"Independence Day" at Hanoi Sept. 2nd 1945*  
Acclaiming the New Republic of Viet Nam.

## ONE YEAR of Revolutionary Achievement

Fellow Countrymen,

On the second of September 1945, in the presence of half a million compatriots of the capital, and others listening throughout the country on the radio, the first PROVISIONAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF VIET NAM presented itself to the nation. On that occasion, President HO CHI MINH solemnly proclaimed to the world the right to freedom and independence of the VietNam Republic.

### ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTERS STILL AWAIT LIBERATION

Since then, one year has passed, one year of fighting and reconstruction. Since then, the world has made new strides forward. In Asia, the disarmament of the Japanese has been completed. China has restored her capital at Nankin; Korea has obtained a Provisional Government of her own; the Philippines have won independence; India has set up her first Provisional Government; Indonesia is still fighting valiantly in the same cause. The European nations are engaged in the task of consolidating Democracy. Meanwhile the UNO is meeting and the Peace Conference is going on. These are some striking factors of the postwar period in the general world movement for the establishment of democracy and peace.

In the present state of the world, the problem of liberation of colonies or semi-colonies has become a most important one. The great nations must consider and solve this problem either by mutual agreement with the natives of the colonies or by repression. That is to say the policy of the dominant powers may be either liberal or reactionary; it is impossible to conceive that they should not consider the rising tide of democracy all over the world and the growing struggle for independence on the part of all oppressive nations.

In this complex state of affairs, the Great War has come to an end but so far peace has by no means been restored everywhere. Fascism has been crushed but many nations which from the beginning shared in the fight against Fascist aggression are still far from being liberated. The struggle for demo-

unity and independence is not only political but military as well. In these circumstances the Republic of VietNam is still fighting for independence and simultaneously rebuilding its national economy.

In order that we shall be able more clearly to understand the principles of action which have brought us the successes of last year, I shall set forth to you:

1. the history of our struggle
2. our work of reconstruction, and
3. our most important tasks for the future.

### FOUGHT JAPANESE ALONE FOR SEVERAL YEARS

It is most important and urgent for us after our Declaration of Independence to protect the freedom and democratic rights of our people. We fought the Japanese aggression alone for several years. We have from the start consistently aligned ourselves in the ranks of those nations who have always opposed aggression. Our Provisional Government still maintains the same policy of friendship and cooperation with all the Allies.

In regard to China, when her troops occupied North Viet Nam down to the 16th latitude, our Provisional Government, as much as possible maintained the same friendly relations with them. It contributed to their communications, conveyance, revictualing, and facilitated the disarmament of the Japanese troops. The Chinese troops on their part proved themselves worthy of this assistance and always respected our Government. Indeed President CHIANG had many a time declared himself a sympathiser with the liberation movement of Viet Nam. The Sino-Viet Nam diplomatic ties based from time immemorial on similar geographic, economic, and cultural factors indeed became even faster. Today our Government and people sincerely thank President Chiang, the leader of 450 million of Chinese people, together with General LU HAN and all top-ranking officers and officials of the Chinese occupation forces.

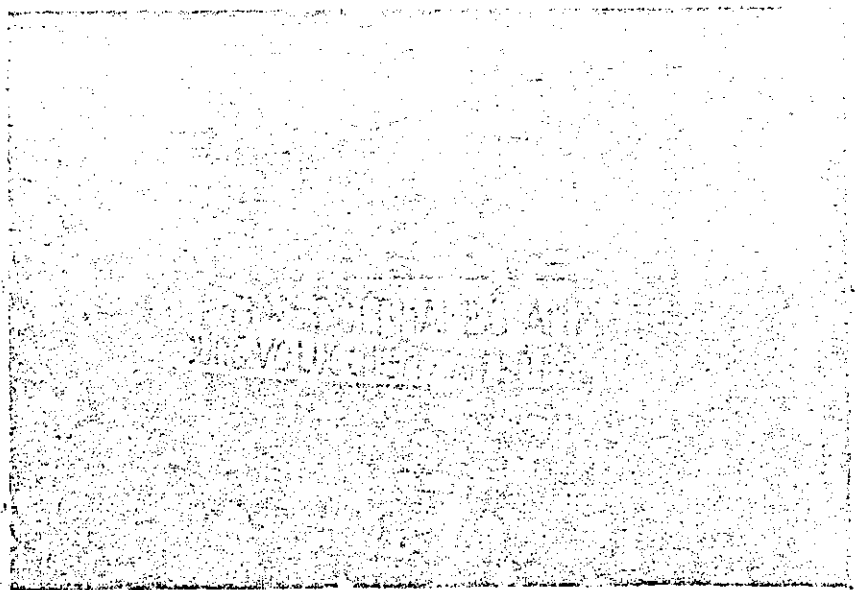
In the Southern part of our country, from the 16th latitude down, the British forces which undertook the task of disarming the Japanese soldiers were, at the very beginning, welcomed by our Government, and afterwards, in spite of all that happened, our Government continued to maintain a most conciliatory attitude. I believe the British authorities recognize this.

### A BLOODY YET GLORIOUS PERIOD

However, on September 23rd last year war burst out in Nam-bac. The incidents in this war, no VietNamee can ever forget. They constitute

\*Occupation by forces of Saigon by the French backed by British bayonets on Sept. 23rd, 1945.  
 \*\*See map of VIETNAM page 10 (Editor's note).

a bloody yet glorious period in our struggle for national independence, but at the same time, as an eminent Frenchman has admitted, they do not in the least redound to the credit or glory of France. I am sure that all French people who have the interests of freedom and peace close at heart will endorse that opinion.



Provincial town protest against British military intervention in Nambo (formerly known as Cechin-China).

In Nambo, we were not so well prepared politically or militarily. Politically since the savage French reprisals back in 1940, the national movement in Nambo had not as yet been completely reconstituted in spite of the efforts of our patriots. And militarily, the larger part of our southern army had just begun to be set up with lack of arms, lack of officers, lack of experience, and lack of troops, barely 2/10ths of those in Baohe and Trungbo.

Strategically, Nambo is a flat region of ricefields, convenient for a mechanized army but not at all adapted for guerilla tactics. Even under such unfavourable conditions, our troops while fighting were still being organized, and our military staffs were still going on with the work of training. At the same time, we went on unifying our army and our political forces in general, eradicating all regional spirit and all other symptoms of disunion.

Thus, under the direct leadership of the Committee of War and the People's Committee of Nambo, with its Regional Committees, the determined resistance of Nambo rendered abortive the military schemes of several

famous French generals who had been victorious on European or African fronts. The heroic resistance of the citizens of Saigon and Nha-Trang as well as of our guerilla troops and "irregulars" in Nambo will, for ever, serve as shining examples of the bravery and spirit of self-sacrifice of the children of Viet Nam.

#### FIGHTING IN JUST CAUSE

The foregoing successes are due to the following facts: we are fighting in a just cause for the defence of our country; our troops have learnt to practise guerilla tactics, to change the pitched battle strategy into mobile operations, and to understand the importance of the "terre brulee" (scorched earth tactics); our struggle has the full spiritual and material support of the whole nation; and last but not least we have the splendid leadership of President HO CHI MINH in whom the whole people have implicit faith and confidence.

So, the struggle for Independence which started in Bao-bo, continues in Nambo. Our future destiny demands that the entire nation sacrifice their all for their ancestral land and fight together till we have forged together such a firm and united national mind that no force will be able to break it.

When Nambo was fighting, the whole nation warmly supported it. The Provisional Government planned for a long drawn-out struggle, training up officers and troops, reorganizing the fighting forces, increasing production of weapons, amassing and keeping in reserve foodstuffs for the army and consolidating "self defence" and "irregular" organizations. The fighting spirit of the people was exalted to its highest pitch. Regional Resistance Committees were established throughout Bao-bo and Trung-bo of Viet Nam.

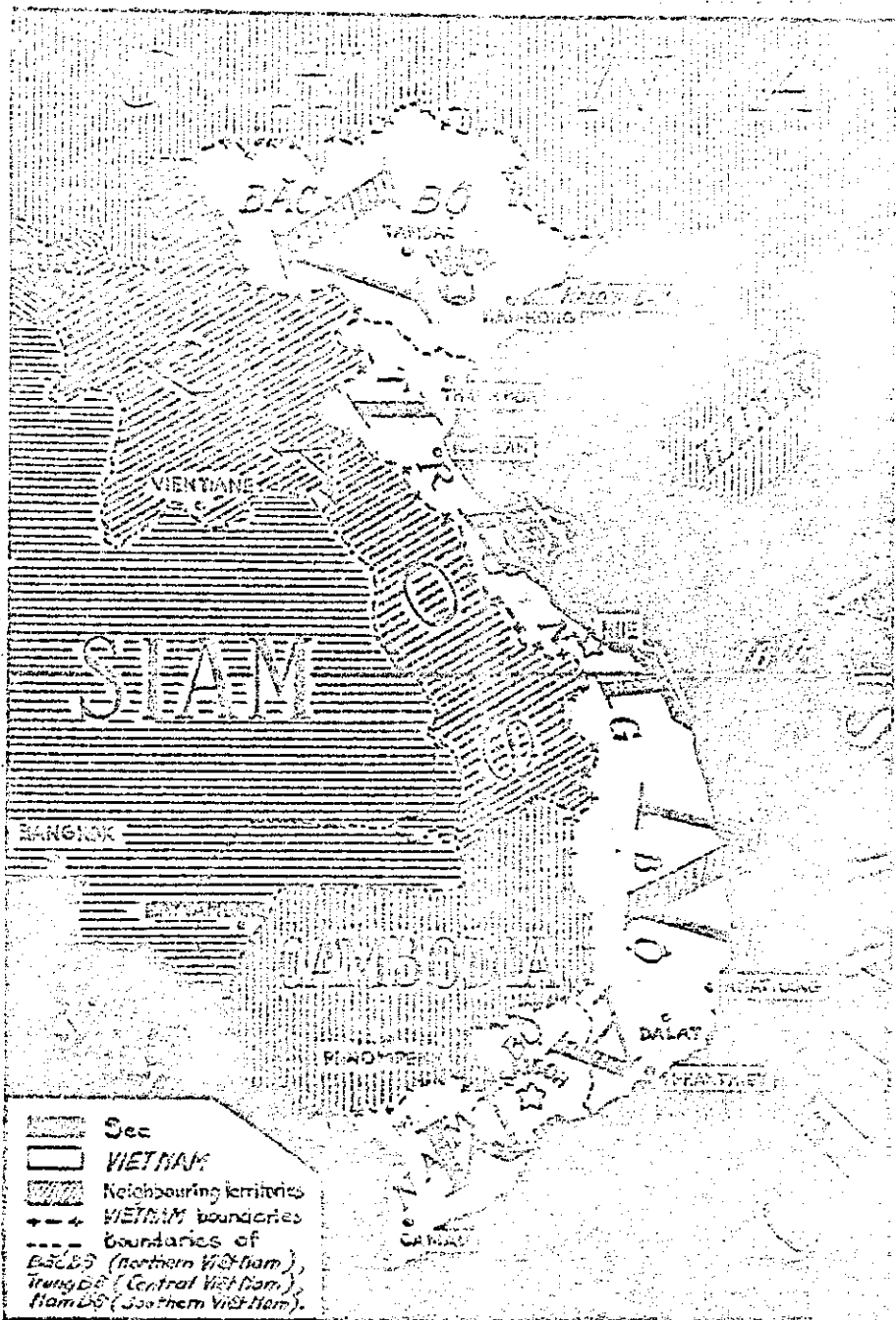
On March 2nd 1946, the National Assembly held its first and extraordinary session, and immediately adjourned in order to allow its representatives to return home to prepare for resistance. The Coalition Government of Resistance was formed. The National Committee of Resistance was set up. The tide of resistance reached its highest point throughout the whole country in view of the threatened spread of the war from Nambo to Bao-bo and Trung-bo.

#### FRANCE'S FUTURE HANGING IN BALANCE

This Preliminary Agreement\* equitably adjusted the demands on both sides. It was advantageous to France for though at that time the Sino-French Agreement had been signed permitting the replacement of Chinese occupation forces by the French, yet the political and military future of France in the Far-East would still have been hanging in the balance

\*Signed between France and Viet Nam representatives at Hanoi on March 6th 1946 (Editor's note)

# VIETNAM



Vietnam comprising *Bắc Bộ* (formerly Tonkin), *Trung Bộ* (formerly Annam), and *Nam Bộ* (formerly Cochinchina) is one and indivisible.

if hostilities had extended to Trungbo and Bao. The Preliminary Agreement was advantageous to us too. The French recognition of the Republic of VietNam marked a success for us in the international sphere. In addition, by averting war, we were now enabled to concentrate our energies on the tasks of peaceful reconstruction.

The Preliminary Agreement also recognized the Sino-French settlement already referred to. Our delicate relations with France had moved on from the military to the diplomatic plane, with corresponding adjustments in our policy.

#### FRENCH BEGIN TO SEE TRUTH

Since the Preliminary Agreement was signed, six months have passed away, during which time the VietNam-French accord has borne some results. It paved the way successively for the interview of Haiong Bay, the friendly visit by the delegation of our National Assembly to the French Government and people, the Preliminary Conference of Dalat and the present negotiations at Fontainebleau. As a result of our first delegation sent by our National Assembly to Paris, French opinion began to discern the truth about new VietNam. As an outcome of the Franco-VietNam conference of Dalat where the view-points of both sides were set forth both frankly and sincerely, the way was open for resumption of definite negotiations in France.

#### PUPPET BODIES SET UP

In spite of all these preliminary efforts, even while all the negotiations detailed above were going on, the hostilities, far from ending in Nambo, were extended still further to the Highlands of Trungbo. Such puppet bodies like the "CochinChina Consultative Council" and the "Republic of Free CochinChina" were set up by the French in Nambo to be followed after by the setting up of yet another French puppet body, the so-called Federal Conference of Dalat. Such proceedings, contrary to the spirit of the Preliminary Agreement, should never even have been thought of. Leave alone the provocative French acts which happened simultaneously in Bao, despite the more peaceful atmosphere prevailing there.

All these factors greatly hindered the attempt at rapprochement between France and VietNam and were the cause partly of the interruption of the negotiations in Fontainebleau.

To-day, having an opportunity to review the past French-VietNam relations, we do not hesitate to declare that, while the whole French-VietNam problem could have been settled by diplomacy, to attempt to decide points between the two nations by violence as in Nambo, as elsewhere, is a short-sighted policy counter to the fundamental interests of both nations. Such a policy is doomed to failure.

### HEROIC RESISTANCE

The facts of the last six months have proved this contention. Our national forces and "irregulars" in Nambo far from being annihilated are becoming stronger, more experienced and more cohesive. The inhabitants of Nambo, despite aerial bombing, machine-gunning, shelling, concentration camps and extermination gaois not only refuse to submit to violence but band themselves together side by side with our troops, proclaiming themselves more faithful than ever to our Democratic Government and to their Fatherland. Out of 21 provinces in Nambo, 20 still retain their own People's Committees under the control of the "People's Head Committee" of Nambo. Facts prove that Nambo is always VietNam and can never be otherwise.

In the present state of Franco-VietNam relations, although we may not be too optimistic, we still hope that the responsible French authorities over here will consider the situation with clear-sightedness, in the light of the fundamental interests of both nations, and will be fair enough to respect the Preliminary Agreement. Under such conditions only, can a lasting cooperation between the two nations be realized. We also hope that they will understand our fundamental political stand in Fontainebleau, that it is legitimate and that the French Government will, in agreement with our delegates, resolve all the fundamental differences between the two nations, so that the interrupted negotiations may be resumed. Only thus, can be dispelled the suspicion throughout the country that the French Government is purposely dragging out the Conference at Fontainebleau in order to gain time for a "*fait accompli*".

### REBUILDING OF NATION CARRIED ON

In the midst of this military and diplomatic struggle for independence, our Government and people never ceased to do their utmost in all other directions for the rebuilding of the nation. The task of the reconstruction inspired by the motto "*All for Independence*" was steadily pursued even under fighting conditions.

### DEMOCRACY EXTENDED

During the last year, we steadily realized and strengthened democratic republican government in our country. The "*Committee for the People's Liberation*" gave place to the more democratic "*Provisional People's*

\*A provisional Agreement has been reached on Sept. 14, 1946 between President HOCHIMINH and Mr. Marius Moutet, French Minister of Colonies. The negotiations are scheduled to be resumed only on January 1947. - See also foot note, page 21. (Editor's note)

*Government*" which in time was replaced by the still more democratic "*Provisional Union Government*" to take shape finally as the "*Coalition Government for Resistance*" which includes representatives of every class and every party and thus achieved complete national solidarity.

#### JANUARY 6th

#### AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE

One week after *Independence Day*, the Government decree of September 8th fixed the day of General Elections to the National Assembly as January 6th 1946. The elections were carried out under very hard circumstances and marked an important milestone in the history of the liberation of our people. For the first time, in our national history, on January 6th, our people enjoyed full civic rights of a free democratic nation. Women and soldiers were also allowed to vote. Within a very short time, our people had taken a big democratic step forward. In deference to the wishes of the people, the Government convoked the National Assembly two months after Election Day, and it was successfully held in spite of the difficult communications and other trying conditions arising from war-time.

#### UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

#### AND SECRET BALLOT

The Regional Democratic Administrations were regulated by Government decree No 63. As a result of which, within the short space of a year almost every Executive Committee and Popular Council, from the villages right up to the provinces in Bacbo and Trungbo, were duly elected on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. The executive machinery of the entire Administration was thus unified and coordinated. And by another decree, good results were obtained in the sphere of rural reconstruction by linking together villages neighbouring each other into cooperative units, thus reducing the number of villages to one-fourth their original number in level lands and to one-half in the mountains.

#### JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MODERNIZED

The Democratic Government has established internal peace and security. It has quickly reorganized the police forces. Acts of piracy and gambling seem to have disappeared with the collapse of the old French regime.

And while progress has been made in the general administration, the Department of Justice has been reformed along the 3 following lines :

1. its character has been modernized ;
2. the principle of the separation of the judiciary and the executive has been applied ;
3. public participation has been widened.

### OVER 10 MILLION JOIN DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS

The people now enjoy full democratic rights and freedom, excepting certain curtailments necessary in war-time.

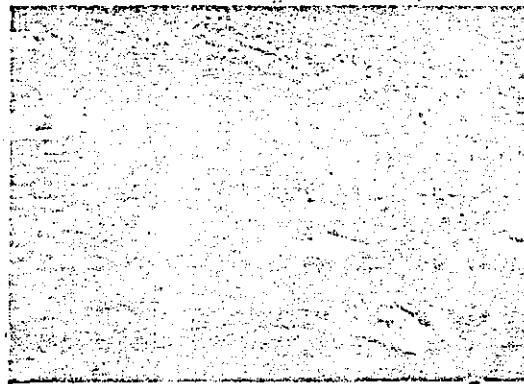
The Government order on March 29th, 1946 assures freedom of the individual for every citizen. One of the fruits of the new democratic system is a rapid development of journalism. In Bacbo and Trungbo the number of newspapers has increased to 120, compared to their former maximum number of 20 even under the French Front Populaire Administration. This increase has facilitated public organization. Actually, more than 10 million of the population are now affiliated into some democratic organization or other. The Government order dated September 10th, 1945 recognizes the sacredness of temples, pagodas and churches.

### NEW CONSTITUTION ACT AWAITED

In building up our Democracy, we are now awaiting the New Constitution Bill which the Commission appointed for the purpose has nearly completed. This Bill will be discussed and promulgated as the New Constitution Act at the next meeting of the National Assembly.

### FROM "GUERRILLA" TO "REGULAR ARMY"

In the military field, we have passed from the stage of employing guerilla troops at the beginning to that of establishing a regular and unified army. The training of staff and other officers is being carried on diligently. Similar progress has been made in regard to production of armaments. It was no easy task to feed, equip and supply an army much more numerous than the French one. The problem has been largely solved by the wholehearted support of the nation, and the splendid spirit of sacrifice and endurance evinced by our troops.



"Guerillas" back at Hanoi from the liberated zones  
(Women too play their part)

### TRIUMPH OVER STARVATION

On the economic side, after the first days of the Revolution, the situation was quite alarming. Industry and trade had come to a complete standstill. Even handicrafts had to close down. Agriculture had slumped.

The area under rice cultivation had been greatly narrowed down. Mainly through Japanese economic pressure aided by French instigation, millions of hectares of former paddy-fields had been cultivated with hemp and castor oil plants. The level of water, during the flood in August 1945 in Bacbo rose to the unprecedented height of 12.60m: 700,000 hectares of paddy-fields were thus submerged and 300,000 tons of rice destroyed; inundation in Thanh-hoa and Nghe-an\* too damaged 100,000 tons of rice. The shortage in these areas could not be relieved by exporting rice from Nambo because of disruption of transport and communications due to the war. The situation was extremely serious: from the middle of next February to the end of May, it was anticipated that there would be a total lack of food. In addition, besides the quantity of food necessary for the population, we had to feed about 50,000 Japanese and 200,000 Chinese soldiers and our own troops as well.\*

However, beyond all expectations, the food shortage crisis was successfully tided over by the nation who responded to a man to the call of the Government. The slogan "INCREASE PRODUCTION" was taken up everywhere, and not only the civil population but the army as well bent all their energies to the task of increased food production. The area of paddy-fields increased by 1.5 times; the potato-fields by 3 times, their output by 5 times, the maize-fields by 5 times, their output by 4 times. The Revolution had triumphed over starvation, and in truth that triumph was one of the greatest achievements of our new Democracy.

At the same time, production and trade cooperatives were set up in many places, especially in the towns of Trungbo. The Bank of Commerce and Industry was established to help industries and crafts.

#### INDO-CHINA BANK REPUDIATES ITS "NOTES"

Our financial state was still more critical. When our Democratic Government was set up, the former Treasury of IndoChina was found short of 185 million piastres and the National Debts had increased to 564 million piastres. In the Central Treasury there was only a total of 1,230,000 piastres in currency including 586,000 piastres of unusable notes. The annual period for collecting the taxes had already passed. Customs duties formerly totalling 3/4ths of the annual revenue of the whole of IndoChina had been considerably decreased due mainly to trade stoppage. Under the new regime the poll-tax was abolished, and as a consequence we lost as much as 3/4ths of the former direct general revenues. A further decrease in revenue by 60 million piastres was entailed by the total prohibition of opium and spirits. The total paper currency circulation had increased from 25 million last year

\*both are provinces of Trungbo (Editor's note)

to 2,500 million by 1945. The value of the IndoChina piastre had internally dropped from 500 to 10 in terms of the standard "copper sepaquet." The situation was further worsened by the introduction into the country of Chinese currency notes as by the unjustifiable non-acknowledgement by the Bank of IndoChina of the 500 piastre notes issued formerly by itself. This repudiation was clearly engineered with a view to undermining our financial economy.

#### FINANCIAL CRISIS OVERCOME

Such were the financial difficulties which our Government had to face and overcome as a vital part of our fight for Independence. The financial crisis was tided over by recourse to the following measures :

1. Reduction of Government expenses by appealing to the spirit of personal sacrifice on the part of all Government functionaries and troops ;
2. Distribution of taxation on a more equitable basis ;
3. Institution of the system of "Exceptional Voluntary Contribution to National Defence" as well as of publicly organized subscriptions ;
4. The issue of new currency notes.

By these different measures both the ordinary Government expenses as well as those necessitated by national defence had been met.

#### COMMUNICATIONS RESTORED

In the matter of General Communications and Public Works, within the last year, the railways have been made to function again. Fifteen main railway bridges among the 17 which had been bombed or submerged, and 24 sections along the two thousand kilometers "National Road" have been repaired. A further 60 bridges and 450 kilometers of road have been repaired, 2,554 kilometers of telegraphic lines have been set up again. But our greatest work was the closing up of 150 breaches in our dams over a total spread of 700 kms. This achievement alone necessitated the transport of about 2 million cubic meters of sand, the consumption of more than 1,500,000 working days and an expenditure of more than 12.5 million piastres.

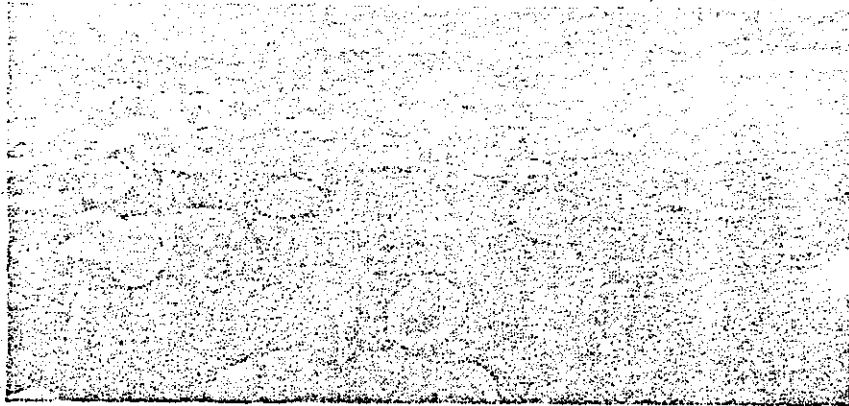
#### "BANK OF BLOOD"

In the field of Government Medical Assistance, despite the lack of medicines, the injection of anticholeric vaccine to 400,000 people in Bacbo and the successful struggle against plague in Trungbo and against malaria in Bacbo are worthy achievements. At Hanoi inside the Yersin Hospital the "NGAN-HANG MAU" (Bank of Blood) has been founded where the public donate blood for wounded soldiers.

The Veterinary Service has produced more than 10,000 litres of anti-cattlepest vaccine, compared to its production of 1,000 in 1944.

**80,000 HONORARY TEACHERS**

In the field of education, the VietNam language is replacing the French as the fundamental one, and the University is being reorganized, but the greatest work is no doubt the institution of public classes for the common people by the BDFV organization (Binh Dan Hoc Va or Popular Educational Service). Within one year the BDFV has organized 80,000 such classes where VietNam writing is taught free of charge by 80,000 honorary teachers of both sexes to 2.5 million people among whom females predominate.



Drive against illiteracy  
(a free open air class in full progress in a busy market)

**OPIUM AND LIQUOR BANNED**

Socially in spite of the tremendous hardships and troubles arising from the economic situation, workers' rights have been safeguarded, protection of females and children assured, and assistance to the poor in general largely extended. But most significant is the prohibition of opium and spirituous liquors. From now on, our race is preserved from the calamitous effects of these two poisons.

In the space of one year, during wartime, under all kinds of unprecedented difficulties, in spite of the heavy handicaps left us by the old regime, we have attained satisfactory results, especially in our struggle against starvation, inundation, and illiteracy. These remarkable achievements, through the democratic system, testify to the inexhaustible resources of moral and material strength latent in our people.

**CHARACTER OF NEW GOVERNMENT**

Fellow countrymen of the whole nation,

The fact that we have been able to accomplish so much in the first year of fighting and reconstruction is due to the policy of unification steady-

ly pursued by the Provisional Government which thus earned the zealous support of the entire nation.

#### NOT MERELY VIETNAMESE ONE

At the beginning, some people suspected that the Provisional Government was merely a Viet-Minh one, that it was a Government conducted by merely a single political party and that as such its policy was unsuited to the general interests.

But that suspicion has been completely dispelled by the introduction of reforms to widen the democratic structure of the Government to embrace all parties. The Government makes every effort to utilize all talent, whether it be that of the modern "intelligentsia," hitherto largely unemployed under the former French regime, or that exemplified by officials of the former Royal Court. It has decreed the protection of private ownership and encouraged every private enterprise. Political parties are allowed to carry on their activities according to the law. Through that policy, the Government succeeded in uniting all classes of the population and all political parties.

#### CHARGE OF "GODESS COMMUNISM" REFUTED

At first, some people suspected that the Provisional Government had communistic tendencies and that therefore it did not recognize God or any religion. The Government dispelled that suspicion not only by its decree recognizing the sacredness of temples, pagodas and churches, but also by granting full religious liberty, taking into consideration alike the interests of Catholic, Buddhist, Cao-daist and Evangelist, thus ensuring national solidarity irrespective of religious belief.

#### MINORITIES HELPED

Some people with evil designs propagated the idea that the Government was a pro-Viet-Nam people one, that is, one which ignored the interests of minority communities living inside Viet-Nam or even promoted their oppression. The establishment of various Minority Community Offices has put an end to that unfounded propaganda. The Government is carrying out a policy of assistance to all minority communities in every sphere including the economic, political, cultural and educational. Especially in regard to backward minority communities, it is helping them by encouraging those of ability among them so as to raise the general standard of such communities on a level with the rest of the nation, and thereby, ensuring national solidarity among all racial communities inside Viet-Nam.

#### NEITHER IMPERIALIST NOR ANTI-FOREIGN

There are people who have hurled the laughable accusation against the Government, that it is an imperialistic one entertaining the ambitious aim

utmost sacrifices.

of establishing colonial supremacy over the Lao or Khmer people, or even that it is an anti-foreign one, having no consideration for the interests and lives of foreigners living here. Such foolish accusations have been amply controverted by the facts themselves. Our Government has always promoted friendly relations with the Lao and Khmer peoples and always assisted them in all matters. As regards foreigners, far from harbouring any anti-foreign sentiments, we have paid due consideration to the safety of their property and lives. Especially as regards French people, we saved them during the Japanese occupation, for instance at Tam Dao; besides protecting them in Bacbo and Trungbo at the very moment when we were at war with them in Nambo. By our adherence to such a policy, we secured union with the Khmer and Lao peoples inside Indo-China and won the sympathy and goodwill of other democratic nations and even of French people.

## TASKS FOR THE FUTURE

### UNITY AND SELF-SACRIFICE

#### PERMEATES ENTIRE NATION

By prosecuting steadfastly a policy of securing unity and solidarity throughout the whole nation, the Government has won full popular support. Within the year under review, unlimited sacrifices have been made in the interests of the country by every class of the population.

Our troops which embrace people of all ranks of society including intellectuals, labourers, agriculturists and youth, both men and women, have sacrificed themselves on the battle front as well as on the home front. Under the most difficult conditions, they have endured all privation and kept high their fighting spirit, showing themselves ever ready to die if necessary for the protection of their national territories. Their families have also made great sacrifices urging their members to enlist themselves in the forces of national liberation and put the interest of the nation above all else.

Members of the Central Government as well as those of the Regional Executive Committees have served without salaries. Government employees and teachers have also worked for minimum salary.

In the public courses of the BINH DAN HOC VU (Popular Educational Service) thousands of teachers of both sexes taught free of charge. Intellectuals and specialists devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the Resistance Movement and towards the building up of the nation. In the factories, labourers volunteered to increase the number of their working hours. Especially in the armament factories, labourers have made the utmost sacrifices.

Drive against illiteracy

(a course for prisoners in Hanoi gao!)

In the paddyfields, agriculturists and even children have devoted all their efforts to increase production of foodstuffs for the troops. Above all the rest, in the war area of Nambo, our countrymen have sacrificed their lives and their properties, thus showing that they prefer death to slavery.

Our countrymen abroad, in Laos, Thailand, France and China, have sent their best wishes to the Fatherland in its present struggle in which they too are as far as possible participating. And our men at home have contributed not merely in labour but also in money to the tune of about 80 million piastres.

It is the spirit of unity and self-sacrifice that is the real secret of our success in the year that has just passed by. Therein too lies the secret of the clear-sighted policy of President Ho. What has been accomplished so far is due to our spirit of unity and self-sacrifice. What we have failed to accomplish so far is due to the fact that our spirit of unity and self-sacrifice can still further be strengthened.

**SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY  
MUST BE RECOGNIZED**

We shall still meet with many difficulties and obstacles in our struggle for freedom. We are aware of the present situation and our shortcomings. We are conscious of the urgent duties of both Government and people.

For the realization of complete independence, our chief task is to preserve the sovereignty and integrity of our territory and perfect the union between Bao, Trungbo and Nambo. Exactly as President HO CHI MINH proclaimed: "We are ready to safeguard all economic interests of the French here but only on condition that France fully recognizes the independence of"

VietNam". Let us not forget that in order to preserve our sovereignty, we must bend all our energies to the task, and first and foremost, we must rely on ourselves.

Every one of our people wishes the Conference of Fontainebleau "will speedily reach a definite agreement. But the only agreement we will approve of is one that recognizes the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, one which is prepared to abide by all the conditions necessary for the attainment of our national independence.

While the situation is far from clear, still we hope sincerely to maintain here an atmosphere suitable for the carrying on of negotiations. But we are not answerable for incidents which we do not provoke. We sincerely wish to see dissipated the present atmosphere of suspicion to be replaced by an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill. Only in such an atmosphere of mutual confidence can the French-VietNam incidents be satisfactorily settled, irrespective of the part of VietNam in which they may occur, for *Viet Nam is one and indivisible*.

#### ELIMINATE BUREAUCRACY

Our second duty is to strengthen and consolidate our democracy. Throughout Bao, Trung and Nambo, the administrative machinery must be fully democratized, unified, simplified and made more expeditious so as to eliminate bureaucracy. A clear distinction as regards powers and functions must be drawn between the general administration and the specialist departments as also between the executive and the judiciary, without sacrificing coordination and cooperation. It is important to stress the proper discharge by officials of their public duties. Appointments must be made according to ability. Discipline must be stern but at the same time just, especially in meting out punishment or reward. Every one must discharge his duty with new spirit, uprightness and integrity, doing his utmost for the nation. Control and supervision must be systematic.

And since we are consolidating the foundations of a democratic regime,

\*At the time of Mr. Giap's speech, this conference was being held to settle finally all points between the two countries. However, these negotiations, entered upon as a result of the Preliminary Agreement of March 6th 1946 signed at Hanoi, were also broken off prematurely, owing to the increasing determination on the part of the French in Viet Nam to pursue a policy of "FAIT ACCOMPLI", to set up puppet bodies, to further hostilities, and to violate ever more and more Viet Nam's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It was decided by both delegations to resume negotiations with a view to a final settlement next January. Meantime, only a Provisional Agreement, aimed at providing a "modus vivendi", was signed at Paris on Sept. 14th 1946 between President Ho Chi Minh and the French Minister for Overseas Affairs (Edison's name).

we must always give ear to public opinion. At the same time, the education of the people in regard to their duties and rights as citizens is a task that must be pushed forward unremittingly.

#### ECONOMIC FRONT

Our third duty is to bend all our energies to promote our national economy. Farmers and workers must compete with one another to increase production; handicraftsmen must extend and improve their activities; industrialists must invest more capital for business enterprises; economic organizations and chambers of commerce must intensify their efforts. The Committee for National Planning must do its utmost for the building up of the nation and the general welfare of the people. We must realize that on the economic front as well as on other fronts, heroic efforts are necessary if we are to lead our nation to a splendid future. The Government is always ready to help and encourage private enterprises.

#### TRAIN UP ABLE MEN

Our 4th duty is the selection and training up of able men. Whatever the situation may be, we shall always need able men to assume responsibility. In the army, in laboratories, in the domain of trade and finance, we are in need of sufficient numbers of leaders, capable, high-spirited, broad-minded, energetic, possessing initiative, confidence and zeal and, above all, truthful and devoted to the interests of the nation. So it is the duty of the Government to employ to the best purpose as many as possible our able men, and it is the duty too of every citizen to endeavour to train himself to shoulder responsibility. When that problem is solved, many a complicated problem will be to a large extent simplified. The Government has always helped citizens to develop their abilities and to find suitable employment.

#### BE MORE AND MORE UNITED

Our 5th duty is to be more and more united so as to achieve all the foregoing objectives. We must attain solidarity among classes, religions, and political parties, with the unity of Bao'bo, Nambo and Trungbo; in short, unity of the whole nation. Every one of us must shoulder our individual share in this huge task. We must combat all separatist ideas and actions that militate against national unity, and at every moment, in every sphere of activity, we must endeavour to strengthen our solidarity. In order to lay the strong and lasting foundation of our national unity, the Government will use all its power to protect every just right and interest of the citizen; it will see that the burden of national sacrifice is shared equitably by all and ensure to the best

of its power an improved livelihood for every class of the population. Unity is strength! Only unity can guarantee victory!

Last year, on this day of independence, we swore together: "We are resolved to devote all our spirit, all our strength, our lives and our wealth to procure steadfastly our national freedom."

Today on the occasion of the first anniversary of Independence Day, let us remember our duties and do our utmost to accomplish them and thereby redeem our oath of last year.

We are celebrating this anniversary while so many of our soldiers and fellow-citizens have already sacrificed their lives to preserve our independence. While our troops and our people in Nambo are still struggling in defence of the nation, remember your duties and make every endeavour to fulfill them. Thereby you shall show yourselves grateful and worthy of all these splendid sacrifices. Thereby you will best support our struggle in Nambo.

We are celebrating Independence Day while our President Mr. HO CHI MINH is abroad.\* We all trust his clear-sighted leadership and support him wholeheartedly to a man. By remembering our duties and by endeavouring to accomplish them, we shall show ourselves his best supporters, and by so doing, prove worthy of complete independence.

We are confident for the future because of the results already attained during the last year. We are confident because we do not fear difficulties and obstacles. We shall grow ever more and more united and never cease struggling.

*Fellow-countrymen!*

*Long live the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam!*

*Long live the Independence of Viet Nam!*

*Countrymen of the whole nation, unite yourselves!*

*Long live our President HO CHI MINH!*

*Long live our Acting President HUYNH!*

\*At Paris where Mr. Ho Chi Minh signed the Provisional Agreement of September 14th, which Agreement provides a modus vivendi (C) final negotiations scheduled for January 1950 are completed.