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From 1929 to 1930 :

# The Birth of the Indochinese Communist Party

*The end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 was a time of upsurge for the patriotic and social struggle throughout Viet Nam. While the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois political groups and parties (like the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang — the Vietnamese Nationalist Party) disintegrated under the blows of the colonial administration, three communist organizations came into being in Bac Ky (Tonkin), Trung Ky (Annam) and Nam Ky (Cochinchina).*

*These organizations merged to form the Dang Cong San Viet Nam (the Viet Nam Communist Party), later renamed as Dang Cong San Dong Duong (the Indochinese Communist Party), and it fell to this Party to undertake the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution.*

*To commemorate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party, Nhan Dan published a series of articles written by Thép Moi. Large excerpts from these are given below:*

**T**HE beginning of 1929 saw an unprecedented growth in the new revolutionary forces in Viet Nam.

Not only Hanoi, but Saigon, too, was in a ferment. The Saigon-Cho Lon Workers' Association, dominated by the workers of the Ba Son arsenal, whose leader, Ton Duc Thang (1) had joined the Revolutionary Youth, was greatly influenced by the new movement which was expanding not only in State schools, such as Chasseloup Laubat, Petrus Ky, the Teachers Training School, the Girls' School, the Technical School and the Gia Dinh School of Fine Arts, but also in private schools. It was at this time too that the revolution established a base in the secondary school at My Tho.

To get an idea of the strength of the Saigon movement at that time, one may recall that, in 1929, Krauthimer, the Governor of Cochinchina, banned all distribution of playbills to advertise evening entertainments, for fear that this would be used as a cover to spread revolutionary leaflets. And this order was given just when the passion for Cai Luong (reformed opera) was at its height! Leaflets had brought the programme of the movement to every corner of the country. The records of local Party branches, documents of the French Security Bureau and public newspapers of that time (till mid-1930, authorised to publish news from police bulletins), all mention the appearance of revolutionary leaflets in big cities and towns during 1929.

In 1933, in Bac Ky alone, it is said that some 100,000 leaflets were distributed. But each individual leaflet was produced at the cost of untold difficulties and dangers: if captured, the distributor would be subjected to savage tortures and a heavy prison term, while even to keep a leaflet in one's possession was to risk one's life.

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Nguyen Cong Hoa (2) tells in his memoirs how he and two other unemployed young workers celebrated Tet in Haiphong in 1927. A short time before, they had found a job in a small workshop only to be cheated out of their salaries by the owner who fled to Hanoi. Thus, when Tet came they had nothing to eat and nothing with which to buy food. Unable to pay their bill, they did not dare stay in their boarding house. They decided to flee Tet and kill time in pagodas and temples, which would be crowded with pilgrims on Tet eve. Unfortunately, when they came to Ven pagoda, a robbery happened which brought on a police raid. They hurried away, thus arousing the suspicion of the police who made straight for them — and so the bursts of firecrackers which ushered in the Lunar New Year found them running for their lives to get away from the police. So "that night, we, three skilled workers, were forced to sneak into An Duong cemetery and take shelter in a tomb."

In this tomb, a question kept haunting them: why were they so miserable despite their working abilities! Then one day in Spring 1928, "an unprecedented event stirred up public opinion in Haiphong: leaflets of the Viet Nam Thanh Nien Cach Mang Dong Chi Hoi (Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League) (3) appeared everywhere calling on the people to overthrow the capitalists, colonialists and feudalists in order to wrest back factories for the workers and land for the peasants. We didn't know where these leaflets came from, but they kept on appearing and attracted us as a magnet does iron. From then on, we often got together to discuss the situation and kept a sharp eye out for new developments. Something was going to happen; that's what we all expected. And above all, we were anxious to make contact with Secret Societies. Our friends were numerous and we went to different places to try to find members of those societies but without success. We even sold our clothes to get money to send our friend Buu to Hongai for a clue. But Buu took a long time to reply..."

(1) Now President of the DRVN.

(2) Now Vice-President of the Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions.

(3) Founded by President Ho Chi Minh in February 1925. The seat of its Central Committee was in Canton (China).

It was not only the revolution which was trying to draw in the masses, the working people themselves were ready for the revolution and actively looking for it. This helps explain the vigorous growth of the movement. When Hoa was finding jobs first in an oil company, then in the cement plant and then the brick factory, the young workers were already on the right tracks, believing that, if they went forward bravely with their own struggle the revolution would come to them. And this is what effectively happened. When such workers joined the movement, they brought along with them a spirit which closely bound the movement with life itself.

"I plunged headlong into the organization's activities, continued Hoa's memoirs, with all the pent-up energy accumulated during long years of misery and oppression. Tireless and fearless, with all the inherent advantages of being workers among workers, my friends and I animated the movement in Ha Ly quarter. It was not that we had exceptional talents, but simply because we were zealous and our force was always very big. My friends were those who had been through fire and water together and remained true to each other. We had worked in every factory and lived in every corner of Haiphong. We had had full trust in each other, even before joining the revolution. Now, in our mutual activities, this trust was continually strengthened."

Confided to the workers, the revolutionary leaflets were in good hands: "The workers were ingenious distributors of leaflet. Someone would stick a bundle of leaflets on the conveyer belt. When the machines were started up the leaflets would be scattered all round the workshop during working hours without incriminating any particular person. Others would put them on the roof of a car so that when the car moved they would be blown onto the streets. Sometimes, they would boldly cut off the electric current and take advantage of the blackout to distribute leaflets throughout the factory."

From the first leaflets that they received, several workers began to familiarize themselves with written words. The leaflets were used as spelling texts for them in study courses conducted by their fellow workers.

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Late in 1928, public opinion in the whole country was aroused by the French recruitment of labourers for the rubber plantations in French Caledonia and the other French-controlled islands. A newspaper of that time wrote: "The recruitment of coolie labour is an immoral but very lucrative enterprise. At the latest price estimates, every recruit brings the entrepreneur a profit of at least 15 piastres. According to official statistics, 40,000 coolies are shipped to the Pacific islands every year. No wonder that Mr. Bazin is carrying on his negotiations with the Government..." (the following passage was deleted by French censorship).

The whole of the Northern countryside, reduced to poverty by colonialist and feudal exploitation and continuous natural calamities, was teeming with recruitment agents. In Thai Binh, some peasants were induced to sign up as workers in the towns. When they learned that they were, in fact, recruited as coolies, they demanded to return home and were beaten to death by the agents. Brought to trial, the agents got away with a mere suspended sentence for "unintentional homicide."

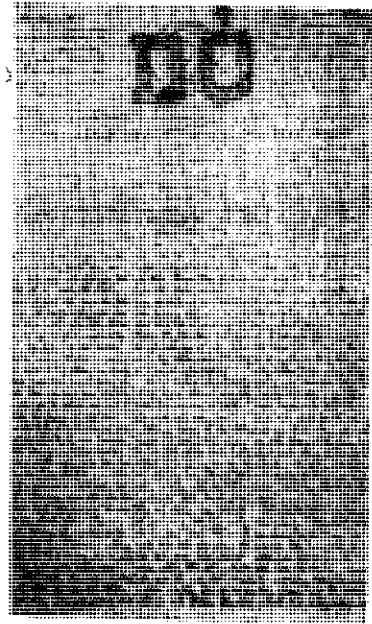
Poll tax was levied on male adults at a rate of 2.5 piastres each. The village chiefs of An Lap and Xa Cat, two villages in Thai Binh province, sold recruiters official demands for peasant forced labour at 10 piastres a head. The French, mandarins, village notables and overseers vied with each other to rob the poor and to trade in yellow-skinned people.

The situation was critical. The Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League issued leaflets as a call to the peasants:

"Compatriots! Compatriots!

We've borne enough misery!  
We've suffered enough poverty!

The French colonialists occupied our country and reduced us to buffaloes and horses. They exploit and oppress us ruthlessly: forced labour, heavy taxes, murder, imprisonment. Now they are trying to trick us so that they can send us to work as coolies in their rubber plantations in the Pacific islands. They want to use our flesh and blood to fertilize their rubber trees. Don't be taken in by their devilish schemes. Compatriots! Stand together and fight for your right to return to your village!



Front page of Do (Red), an underground newspaper. This issue dated October 30, 1929 expresses the desire of the revolutionary movement for the immediate foundation of a Communist Party.

Down with the colonialist recruitment of labour!"

The leaflets were distributed along Route No. 1 and Route No. 5, and at the landing places for ferry boats sailing to Nam Dinh and Haiphong.

Doan Van Trien, a member of the Vietnamese Nationalist Party (VNQDD) (4), one of those involved in the assassination of Bazin — later, when he was deported to Poulo Condor island he became converted to Communism — recalled that his friends in the VNQDD looked on the Communists' release of leaflets as an infantile game, a manifestation of cowardice and a lack of fighting spirit. It was partly in order to show their own revolutionary methods that the VNQDD decided to take action.

(4) A Party consisting mainly of petty-bourgeois, patriotic and reformist elements. Its revolutionary dynamism practically ended after the Yen Bai uprising (February 1930). Many of its members later joined the Communist Party.

The last days of the Year of the Dragon (1929) was drifting away to be replaced by the Year of the Snake. The Hanoians had just finished making their offerings at the altars of their ancestors. The city was echoing with the banging of firecrackers. All this noise covered the sound of three gunshots. "It was Saturday, February 9. At 19.30 hours, as he was leaving 110 Hue Street, after visiting a girl friend, Miss Germaine Garcel, employee of the *Grands Magasins Réunis* (French-owned general department store), Mr. Bazin, director of the recruitment of coolies, was hit by three shots just as he was on the point of entering his car. Just before he was shot, two young men had been seen handing him a note written in French: "Vampire. You are scattering Vietnamese over all corners of the globe." (Report from a newspaper of that time).

After the assassination of Bazin, the French tried to mislead public opinion by attributing the cause of the incident to competition among recruiters of coolie labour. They used this as a pretext to arrest some of the sons of Bach Thai Buoi (5). Then, they rounded up the members of the VNQDD: 40 soldiers, 39 businessmen, 37 landowners, plantation owners and medical practitioners, 36 teachers, 10 shop assistants, 6 students and 2 teachers of Chinese characters.

Then came the treachery of Sergeant Duong, a member of the VNQDD Central Committee, whose father was a Frenchman. Duong disclosed all that he knew to the French. A sum of five thousand piastres was offered for the capture of Nguyen Thai Hoc, the Party Chief. Between the end of March and the beginning of April, the French Security Bureau made another round-up at the "Viet Nam Hotel", the fund-raising enterprise of the VNQDD.

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While the VNQDD sought funds in hotel-keeping, the Youth League kept a garage and car-hire firm in Hanoi at No. 20, General Bichot Road (today Eastern Gate Street) as a source of financial support and a liaison centre. It was looked after by Do Ngoc Du alias Phiem Chu, who may well be considered our Party's first economics cadre. Still in his twenties, Phiem Chu had great gift for organisation. At his request, a number of first-class mechanics

were sent in by the League to serve as his assistants. Among them was Tran Trong Hoan, a skilled turner at the Nam Dinh Textile Mill. Not only was he highly reputed for his craftsmanship at every factory where he had worked, he was also known as a staunch fighter and a highly-valued cadre. When the French made a raid on the shop, he was arrested. Though savagely tortured, he said nothing about the Party, insisting that he was only a hired employee, thus enabling Phiem Chu to make his escape and obliging the Criminal Court of Kien An province to acquit him on the grounds of insufficient proof. Following his release, Hoan became the Party Secretary for Haiphong, just at a time when the revolutionary movement was facing its gravest difficulties. As for Phiem Chu, he really knew about business. With very limited funds he bought broken-down old cars, had them repaired and put them into use again. His cars went regularly to and fro on the roads between Hanoi and the northern frontiers. Thus, he fulfilled the twofold task of establishing a communication network and raising funds for the League.

No one now remembers how many cars there were at our "base" at No. 20, General Bichot Road. But we may have an idea about the number from the fact that Phiem Chu could manage to carry all the provincial delegates in his own cars to an important All-Tonkin Conference held at Borel plantation in Ba Vi (now in Ha Tay province) in April 1929.

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Events began to move quickly.

At this juncture, though, the National Committee of the Youth League had not agreed on the founding of a Communist Party. This was told us by Tran Van Cung (6) in a report to the Bac Ky Youth League Committee on his return from Hong Kong in January 1929 where he was supposed to be attending a preparatory meeting for a National Congress of the League (the preparatory meeting did not, in fact, take place as planned). This news, however, could not prevent the progressive elements of the League who were in control of the Bac Ky Committee from forming the first communist cell at a meeting at No. 5D Ham Long Street in Hanoi. But they continued to use the Bac Ky Committee as the vehicle through

which to direct the revolutionary movement.

The All-Tonkin Conference of the Youth League at Borel plantation marked a unanimity of views of the most numerous division (or *Ky*) of the three divisions of Viet Nam. On the question of founding the Party, there was keen discussion which lasted throughout the final night of the Conference. Everyone was eager to see the Party founded. Finally, the Conference endorsed the 8-man Ham Long cell's proposal on how to proceed with the matter. Under this proposal, the question would be raised at the National Congress when all the three divisions and the Central Committee would be represented. In the meantime, the Bac Ky Committee decided to push ahead with the "proletarianization" campaign (7), develop the workers' and peasants' associations, intensify communist education and step up the struggle of the masses. At the same time preparations would be made for the founding of the Party; the Ham Long "nucleus" was entrusted with drafting the Party manifesto, political programme, regulations and draft organizational structure.

The Conference decided to dispatch a 4-man delegation including Tran Van Cung and Ngo Gia Tu (8) to the Youth League National Congress, due to be held in May 1929, in Hong Kong.

(5) One of the first Vietnamese bourgeois engaged in shipping and mine exploitation who was made bankrupt by the colonial administration.

(6) Alias Quoc Anh, one of the eight founders of the first communist cell in Viet Nam (end of March 1929).

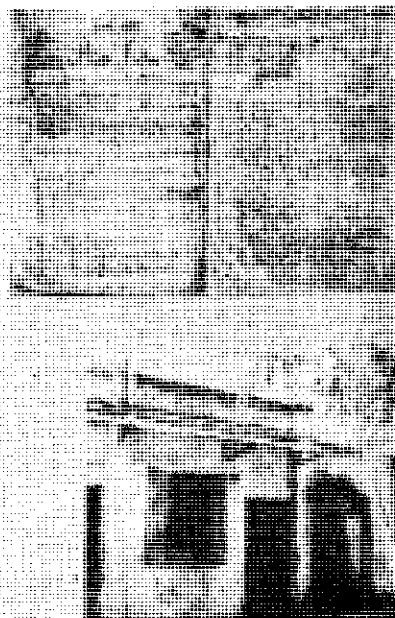
(7) Members of the Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League had, since 1928, to work in factories, mines, plantations, etc., in order to train themselves and to engage in agitation and organizational work among the workers.

(8) Ngo Gia Tu, alias Ngo Si Quyet, an outstanding leader of the Indochinese Communist Party, one of the founders of the first communist cell, Secretary of the Nam Ky Party Committee. He was arrested by the colonial administration at the end of 1930 and was killed at sea in an attempted escape from Poulo Condor in January 1935.

*Ngo Gia Tu, one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Indochina*

*An issue of Bua Liem (Hammer and Sickle), central organ of the Party*

*No. 5D Ham Long Street, office of the first communist cell in Hanoi*



As the Central Commission for the Study of Party history has remarked, the objective necessity of founding a genuine political party of the working class "was not recognized at that time by all the national leadership of the League." The national leadership was too far distant and was out of touch with the situation within the country. Some delegates from Trung Ky and Nam Ky supported the moves to establish the Party but the majority of delegates from these two divisions had not fully grasped the urgency of the question. The political ideology and degraded conduct of Lam Duc Thu (9) also helped to delay the historical process.

Facing the Bac Ky delegates' resolute demand for the founding of the Party, Lam Duc Thu made maximum use of his authority: "As Chairman of the Congress, I declare a suspension on all discussion on the question of founding a Communist party. Whoever wishes to form such an organization may leave and discuss it somewhere else."

Fully conscious of the historical significance of the founding of the Communist Party, Ngo Gia Tu, after a brief exchange of ideas with Tran Van Cung, rose to his feet and said: "On behalf of more than 900 Bac Ky members out of over 1,500 members of the

whole country, we have put forward our proposal but we have failed to win the Congress approval of it. If we remain here, we don't know what account we shall give to those who have mandated us to form a Communist Party. As we cannot fulfil our mandate, we declare our dissociation from the Congress."

Lam Duc Thu was taken by surprise. He frowned. Comrade Tu looked into his eyes and then turned to address his fellow-delegates: "We used to study communism together in the past. We will meet again in our work so long as we still share a common cause."

So they walked out. This was a courageous action on their part, all the more so as another of the Bac Ky delegates, Duong Hac Dinh (10), frightened by Lam Duc Thu's authority, deceived by his trickery and fearing that once away from Thu he would have no money for the journey home, finally decided to remain with Thu. (In later years, Dinh was to sink even deeper in the mire of betrayal). Comrades Tu, Cung and Nguyen Tuan alias Kim Ton, another member of the Bac Ky delegation, with barely twenty piastres in their pockets, were now to be seen wandering around Hong Kong, Thu's "domain",

where comrade Cung had once been with him for some time; he had disliked his luxurious style of life in his comfortable house on the hill but had never suspected that Thu might turn out to be a traitor. But even then both Cung and Tu had kept their distance from Thu. Now, although they had little money, they had to spend that night in a hotel room. Having locked themselves in, they took care to hang a copper basin onto the knob of the door hoping this would give them some warning in case Thu might send his agents to assassinate them.

In the end Tu was able to borrow some money to cover the journey home from a Vietnamese who was teaching in Pei-hai. The teacher agreed to lend them money on condition that he was to be refunded immediately after

(9) Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League. An opportunist, he did a lot of harm to the Central Committee's activities and later betrayed the League.

(10) Member of the Bac Ky Committee of the Revolutionary Youth League. After being expelled from the League, he was arrested by the French colonialists and later worked for them.

Tu arrived home. On their arrival in Haiphong, Tu asked Mrs. Vinh, a nurse and a sympathizer of the Youth League, for help. She unhesitatingly disposed of her wedding bracelets for the sum Tu wanted.

Back in Hanoi, Tu and Cung made a report on their mission and issued a statement on their dissociation from the Youth Congress. The pioneer communist cell (now less Duong Hac Dinh, expelled, but with two new members, Nguyen Phong Sac (11) and Tran Tu Chinh alias Bang Thong) proceeded with the preparations for the founding of the Party. The drafting of documents under the care of Trinh Dinh Cuu (12) and Nguyen Dac Canh (13) had been to some extent completed.

In December 1929, the U.S. imperialists bombed Kham Thien Street (Hanoi), thousands of our fellow-countrymen were killed or wounded, and thousands of houses were destroyed on the odd-numbered side of the street. The only house with an even number which was destroyed was the No. 312. It was here that twenty delegates of the newly founded communist organizations in Bac Ky decided to found the Communist Party of Indochina (14) on June 17, 1929. The Conference was held for several days during which the delegates adopted the Manifesto which set forth the fundamentals of Communism, analysed the situation in the country and criticized the other groups' viewpoints while refuting the allegations of enemy propaganda. Here the strategy and tactics of the Vietnamese revolution were drafted. Lacking the time to go more deeply into every problem, the conference only adopted some slogans which summarized the Party's political programme. The Conference also worked out the Party regulations based on the model regulations of the Third Communist International. After the founding of the Party, the leaders were sent to various parts of the country to set up new party branches. They decided to meet again on the following Tet to develop the party's line and make it more concrete.

"The birth of the Communist Party of Indochina gave a great impetus to the Communist movement in Indochina." (*Forty-five years' activities of the Viet Nam Workers' Party*, edited by the Central Commission for the Study of Party History).

While the Communist Party of Indochina was being founded,

public opinion in the country was anxiously following the course of some trials which were being held. The French rulers forced the newspapers to make daily reports on the cases. In addition to this long-term policy to terrorize the people, the Governor General Pasquier was intensifying his repressive measures. In early July, 1929 when the Nguyen An Ninh (15) case was brought to court in Nam Ky, the VNQDD was standing trial in Bac Ky. At the trial, Mr. Ninh appeared wearing a white jacket and holding a table cloth in his hand; he was barefooted. During the trial, a young man named Pham Van Kiem whipped out a pistol and fired at the face of the French judge.

At the trial of the VNQDD in Hanoi, from July 3rd to 7th, 1929, the presiding judge was Bride. In this trial we were to see clearly all the devils' tricks of this judge. He had studied carefully all the files and documents relating to the case. When he needed any material, he sent a man over at once to the Archives Department of the Governor General's Office to fetch it. Ann with the original text in hand, he questioned the defendants and argued with them in order to prove the intellectual superiority of France. He cleverly confronted the VNQDD 1928 regulations with those of 1929, in an attempt to divide the ranks of those standing trial, and show up the inconsistent and vague character of their party's line (16).

The hardest blow dealt at the VNQDD was the disclosure of the case of the "Viet Nam Hotel". Bride made public a letter written by Nguyen Van Lung, alias Giau Lung (Teacher Lung), who had been manager of the hotel in succession to Nguyen Van Kinh (Kinh had been suspected of betraying the party and murdered by Ky Con (Little Ky) at the Botanical Garden). In his letter, sent to the VNQDD Hanoi Committee, Lung complained that the party was in danger of going bankrupt due to the fact that many members brought their friends and relatives to the hotel to dine and refused to pay. Some of them had brought prostitutes to the hotel and occupied rooms to smoke opium. Corruption and waste was rampant and the whole party organization was in disorder. Secret agents had managed to worm their way into its inner councils. The party's budget suffered a deficit of 2,000 piasters. The prosecutor remarked in conclusion: "In this new type highwaymen's tavern,

extravagance, drinking, prostitution and revolution went hand in hand."

The good elements in the VNQDD who were still at large decided to restore the party's reputation. Nguyen Thai Hoc was given a twenty-year prison sentence in absentia.

As Nguyen Thai Hoc was outlawed, the party elected To Chan, comrade To Hieu's (17) elder brother, as the head of the party. He determined to achieve the supreme objective of the VNQDD at that time — the assassination of Governor General Pasquier. As the attempt failed he was sentenced to life imprisonment. But this prison sentence later brought To Chan to the side of Ngo Gia Tu, and this is the image of To Chan we shall always remember — that of the staunch Communist who stood firm by the side of Ngo Gia Tu.

(to be continued)

THEP MOI

(11) Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indochina (The Bac Ky communist organization) and later member of the Indochinese Communist Party. He led the Soviet movement in Nghe Tinh in 1930-1931. He was arrested and killed in May 1931 by the colonial administration.

(12) One of the founders of the first communist cell.

(13) One of the founders of the first communist cell, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indochina, he was in charge of the Tong Cong Hoi Do (the Federation of Red Trade Unions).

(14) Communist organization founded on June 17, 1929 largely by members of the first communist cell in Hanoi. Its forerunner was the Viet Nam Revolutionary Youth League. It operated mainly in Bac Ky and in the northern provinces of Trung Ky.

(15) A patriot who enjoyed a great prestige among the progressive intelligentsia of the time.

(16) In its 1928 constitution, the VNQDD advocated the "social democratic" revolution. In 1929 it adopted the slogans of the French revolution: liberty, equality and fraternity.

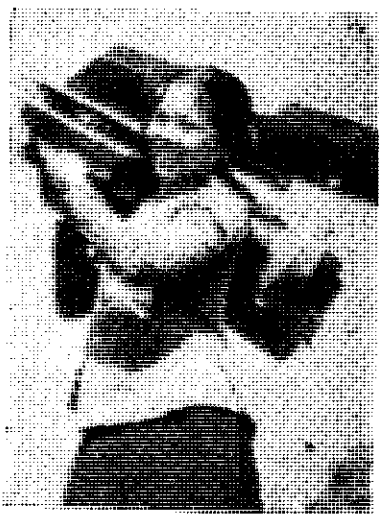
(17) Member of the Bac Ky Committee of the Communist Party of Indochina. Arrested by the colonial administration he was deported to Poulo Condor and then to Son La prison and died in March 1944.

# People's Militiawoman and Party Member

*Vu thi Thanh Nham, 28, is deputy-chief of the people's militia of Nghia Thang commune, Nam Ha province.*

*In the resistance war against US aggression, she distinguished herself in many exploits chiefly in the destruction of magnetic bombs by rudimentary means.*

*She was made heroine of the people's armed forces on September 3, 1973.*



## Militiawoman

Everything was new for her in the people's militia. Certainly, it was more difficult than learning how to till the land and the men would make fun of her whenever she was awkward at carrying out one of the regulation movements. However the company leader and other militia-women — the old hands — did everything they could to help her. Little by little she revealed herself as someone of intelligence and efficiency. At the end of the course, she passed the exam with flying colours and was appointed a platoon leader.

The young men were leaving for the front in greater and greater number. The rural administration decided to set up a section of militiawomen and chose her to command it. First of all she had to find some new recruits. It was not an easy job. However she was confident of success — the young village women were brave and hard-working; they were putting up a good show in their houses in the absence of their husbands. And then "if men can handle a gun, why not women?" She knocked at every door.

"Sorry, I've a baby and my husband is away. I'm busy all the time", replied Khai, a Catholic.

"We'll help you do the house-work", Nham insisted. "You

only have to attend drills and meetings regularly, you'll be exempted from patrol duty and night watch. At the front, your husband will be only too pleased to learn that you are also taking part in the common fight."

However the others were not so easily persuaded. Nham realized that she must practise what she preached by finding a balance between her activities in the militia, production and housework. Her family was short-handed. Her father, a fisherman, sometimes kept at sea for months on end. She had to do everything alone — working at the cooperative, caring for her old mother and looking after the house. Every evening was taken up by militia activities so she could only work in the day time. She willingly accepted the most difficult jobs, working in the hardest winter days or late into the night, so as to be able to get a number of work-points equal to those of an average worker. When she was on night duty she would work at sunset or before the sun rose to grow azolla for the cooperative or look after her pigs and poultry. At noon, she did miscellaneous works at home and attended to her kitchen garden. Whenever she had a few moments free she would lend a hand to large families or those whose father was at the front.

SHE went to see Chinh off. She would have liked to go in place of her younger brother or at least to join up on the same day as he. She, whose stormy temper was well known around that region at the mouth of the River Ninh, now appeared to be feeling anxious.

Soon Johnson unleashed his aero-naval war against North Viet Nam. Living on the seacoast, she and her fellow villagers quickly realized the cruel and odious character of the enemy. Each time she saw squadrons of planes flying over her village to bombard Hanoi or Nam Dinh, she felt a lump in her throat. She made up her mind to join the people's militia.