## SPEECH

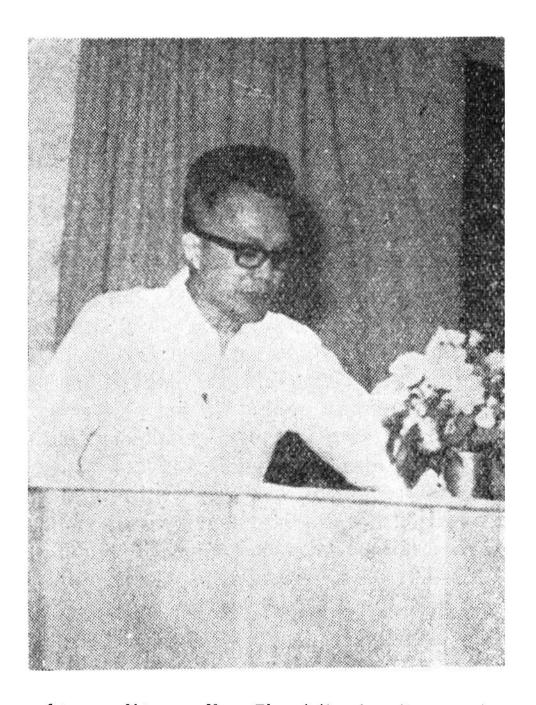
by Lawyer NGUYEN HUU THO,
President of the Presidium of the C.C.
of the South Viet Nam National Front
for Liberation on the occasion of the 5th
founding anniversary of the N.F.L.

LIBERATION EDITIONS SOUTH VIET NAM-1965

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Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho delivering its speech

Dear members of the Front Central Committee,
Dear comrades and friends,
Dear compatriots,

Today, celebrating the 5th founding anniversary of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Front, I extend most cordial and warm greetings to our entire people in South Vietnam, to all officers and men of the Liberation Army and militia and guerilla units. I extend warm greetings to our 17 million kith-and-kin in the North who have recorded great victories in fighting and production, and express our profound gratitude to them for their unreserved support to the revolution for the liberation of the South. I also extend most cordial greetings to the overseas Vietnamese.

Celebrating the 5th founding anniversary of the N.F.L., the entire South Vietnamese people and the National Front for Liberation wish to convey heartfelt and warm greetings to their brothers and friends in all continents. We sincerely thank the socialist countries, the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the progressive people in the United States and other countries, for their sympathy and great international support and assistance accorded to our self-liberation struggle.

The past five years are five years of solidarity, dauntless struggle and glorious victories!

Dear friends, Dear compatriots,

Following the victorious August Revolution in 1945 and the success of the 9-year War of Resistance against the French colonialists and the American interventionists, the people in the South should have enjoyed together with their compatriots throughout the country a life in peace and achieve their basic national rights, namely independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

But the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have scrapped the Geneva Agreements, carried out downright suppression and drowned in blood and fire all the patriotic forces of the South Vietnamese people fighting for independence, democracy and peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Left with no other alternative, the South Vietnamese people had to rise up to struggle for their own right to live, their own freedom and happiness. During the years of hard and fierce political struggle against the enemy, our compatriots with their bare hands opposed the extremely barbarous violence of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and realized more and more deeply that to defeat the enemy and win back independence and freedom, the only way is to wage a revolutionary struggle, using the violence of the people to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the enemy.

That is why, in the last months of 1959 when the policy of repression and terrorism of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys became extremely predatory, when they dragged along their guillotine to kill people en masse in all parts of South Vietnam, our people's hatred mounted to an unprecedented degree. Millions of our compatriots rose up to wage political struggle along with armed struggle, creating a stirring and powerful revolutionary mettle like a tide rising from the Mekong River delta to the mountain areas of the Western Plateaux. The enemy control was broken by big chunks, the puppet administrative machine at village and hamlet levels

crumbled in many localities, and many vast areas were liberated. The regime of the U.S. and its henchmen in South Vietnam entered a period of serious and continual crises.

In order to meet the pressing requirements of the entire people's self-liberation struggle, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation came into being on December 20, 1960 with the aim of uniting the people of all strata, nationalities, religious communities and political parties and all patriotic personalities in the struggle to drive out the U.S. aggressors from the country and overthrow the puppet administration — their lackeys — wrest back their sacred national rights, achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Vietnam with a view to reunifying the Fatherland.

Since then, the Front has become a focal point to unite all patriotic forces in South Vietnam, the organizer and leader of all successes of our Southern compatriots in their fight against U.S. imperialism for national salvation. Since then, too, the victory of our people has become bigger and bigger with every passing year and the defeat of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, heavier and heavier.

With their spirit of solidarity and indomitable struggle and with a stout determination to overthrow the enemy of our nation, our entire people rose up in armed resistance to defeat the "special war" of the U.S. imperialists.

We began with practically nothing except our bare hands. We have opposed our just cause to the brute force of the aggressors and the traitors, and opposed our heart and brain, wisdom and valiancy to the enemy's iron and steel. Our people have captured weapons from the enemy to arm themselves, powerfully developed the guerilla war everywhere, vigorously pushed forward their political struggle, rapidly built up their forces and inflicted upon the enemy one defeat after another.

During three years of guerilla warfare from 1961 to 1963, our armed forces and people wiped out and disintegrated 250,000 puppet troops, killed or wounded 1,500 U.S. aggressors; shot down or damaged hundreds of planes and captured more than 30,000 weapons from the enemy. The "strategic hamlet" national policy — backbone of the "special war" — could not be carried out as planned, and thousands of such hamlets were destroyed by our people and turned into their fighting villages and hamlets.

Along with the armed struggle, the broad and powerful political movement of our people of various strata has brought to failure many enemy raiding operations, effectively defended our people's lives and property, broken by big chunks the administrative machine of the enemy at village level, liberated many more vast rural areas and caused tens of thousands of soldiers of the South Vietnam puppet army to cross over to the people's side.

The strategy of quickly "pacifying" South Vietnam within 18 months was thus bitterly defeated. The Staley-Taylor plan had in the main gone bankrupt. Such a situation rendered the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and among the henchmen themselves more acute with every passing day. In late 1963, the U.S. imperialists had to stage a coup d'etat to murder the Diem-Nhu brothers. The bankruptcy of the Staley-Taylor plan and the collapse of the Diem-Nhu brothers opened a new stage of crisis of utmost gravity of the U.S.-puppet regime, rendering the puppet administration more rotten, demoralizing further the puppet army and hastening its disintegration.

But with their extremely reactionary and predatory nature, the U.S. imperialists did not

reconcile themselves to defeat. They worked out a new strategic plan — the McNamara plan — aimed at "pacifying" South Vietnam within two years (1964-1965) and continuing their war of aggression in Vietnam.

Compared with the Staley-Taylor plan, the plan of "pacification" with "key points" worked out by McNamara was obviously a step backward, a defensive plan strategically speaking. It was nevertheless a new and bigger effort made by the U.S. imperialists in an attempt to turn the tide and save the puppet administration and army from their predicament, mustering their forces to "pacify" key areas in the regions controlled by the N.F.L. in the 8 provinces of the Mekong River delta and a number of provinces in the central part of Central Vietnam.

Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and author of the "special war" strategy, was appointed "ambassador" in Saigon to take in hands the command of the aggressive war. However, the big efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have failed to save them from their predicament. In 1964, in face of the powerfull attacks of the liberation armed forces and people on all battlefields, the enemy was driven further to its strategic defensive. The

enemy's rear was narrowed down rapidly, thousands of "strategic hamlets" were destroyed, thousands of posts were wiped out or forcibly abandoned. The U.S. and its puppets had to abandon vast areas under their control and set up defensive lines along important communication lines and retrench themselves in district towns and provincial capitals. The puppet army, the main prop of the "special war", was greatly decimated and disintegrated irretrievably both morally and organizationally. Meanwhile, the puppet administration became more and more rotten following a dozen successive coups d'etat.

For our part, 1964 was a year of bigger victories than in any previous year. We wiped out or disintegrated nearly 150,000 enemy troops—including 186 platoon-sized, 65 company-sized and 9 battalion-sized units completely wiped out—and captured 15,000 guns of various kinds. The number of "strategic hamlets" destroyed was double that in 1963. The liberated area was rapidly expanded and the patriotic movement of the urban people of various strata was taken to a higher stage of development.

Meanwhile, the iiberation armed forces made big progress in all respects, ideological, organizational, tactical and technical. The McNamara plan, in its turn, could not stand the test.

These big successes in all fields recorded by our armed forces and people have tipped the balance of forces in South Vietnam in favour of the revolution. Our enemy was further driven into its defensive position while our force vigorously advanced toward a position of continual offensive. This opened fine prospects for our advance to win new and still greater victories.

Frightened at the danger of complete collapse of the South Vietnam puppet army and administration and of the bankruptcy of their aggressive policy in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have since early 1965 taken new and reckless steps in their military adventure by massively despatching U.S. troops and weapons to South Vietnam and carrying out the air war of destruction against North Vietnam. In May this year, the effectives of U.S. combat troops in South Vietnam numbered about 50,000. In September they reached 130,000 and by the end of November, the military strength of the U.S. and its satellite countries in South Vietnam had swelled to 200,000.

In the early days of 1965, when we met to review our work in 1964 and define our tasks and

plans for 1965, we noted that "the new strategic scheme of the U.S. imperialists can neither intimidate us nor change the situation in favour of the U.S. Their act did not catch us unprepared strategically speaking because it was already foreseen by ourselves. It can only drive the U.S. into further passiveness, both political and strategic. It is precisely Johnson and his gang who will be surprised at the serious and incalculable consequences arising from their adventurous policy". At that time, while analysing the all-sided situation and drawing necessary conclusions we already pointed out the possibility for our armed forces and people to win big victories in 1965 and the prospects of the anti-war movement in the United States.

Dear friends, Dear compatriots,

We rejoice to see that the situation in 1965 has developed as we had predicted at the beginning of the year. 1965 is a year of great victories for our people in the political, military and diplomatic fields. 1965 is a year of heavy failures for the enemy with incalculably serious consequences.

The U.S. imperialists hoped that with hundreds of thousands of troops of the U.S. and its satellites, with toxic chemicals and poison gas, napalm bombs, heavy cannons and the tremendous fire power of the Seventh Fleet and with their B52 strategic bombers, they could shake the determination of our people and turn the tide in South Vietnam.

It should be remembered that a few months ago, though having as yet gained no success on the battlefields, the U.S. strategists hurriedly boasted that the U.S. had "regained the initiative", foiled the "Viet Cong (liberation forces — Ed). monsoon offensive plan" and forced the latter to scatter their forces and return to guerilla warfare, that the U.S. and the puppet army would launch "counter attacks the dry season begins"...

However, in the last days of November, McNamara hastily came to Saigon and declared that he was "surprised" at the powerful attacks of the liberation forces and people. It must be pointed out that Johnson and McNamara are now at a loss and frightened to see the U.S. expeditionary troops and the puppet army badly mauled on the South Vietnam battlefield.

In the United States, the flame of self-immolation in protest of the U.S. aggressive war has

approached the Pentagon and the powerful waves of American people's demonstrations against the war are encircling the White House. Meanwhile, the progressive mankind are condemning and spurning the U.S. imperialists.

In 1965, the U.S. policy of massively dispatching American expeditionary troops, feverishly boosting the strength of U.S. air and naval forces in South Vietnam and carrying out the "escalation war" in North Vietnam met with shameful failures. The U.S. imperialists can in no way intimidate our people. Hardly had they set foot on our soil then big units of the U.S. expeditionary army vaunted as the most "crack" and most "modern" units received repeated, accurate, and serious blows from our guerillas and liberation army. The American expeditionary troops have failed to save the puppet army from crumbling and disintegrating more and more seriously while the Saigon puppet administration, after a dozen coups d'état, has become more and more rotten. This administration has revealed itself as the last gang of traitors who are bending their knees to sell out South Vietnam to the U.S. aggressors. This rotten corpse is detested and abhorred by the entire South Vietnamese people and regarded as mere puppets unworthy of being dealt with.