

# SOUTH VIETNAM

THE JUST STRUGGLE  
OF THE WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE  
FOR:

- NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
- PEACE
- PROSPERITY



WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

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**PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS**

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### INTRODUCTION

For more than eight years the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have kept the territory of Vietnam in a state of artificial division against the will of the 30 million people of that nation who have no greater desire than the reunification of the North and the South of their country.

The U. S. imperialists, with the help of their hirelings in the Ngo Dinh Diem government, are resorting to the most inhuman repressive measures and have been recently waging a war of aggression to keep the 14 million people of South Vietnam in bondage and to tame their resistance and determination to fight to the end for the liberation and peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

The WFTU has always resolutely sided with the people of Vietnam and shown them its sympathy and active solidarity.

The 5th World Trade Union Congress (Moscow, December 1961) called on the workers and trade unions of the world to actively support the people of Vietnam in their just and heroic struggle against the American imperialists and the dictatorial rule of Ngo Dinh Diem.

In February 1962, the WFTU appealed to the workers and trade unions of the world, as well as to the governments of the countries taking part in the Geneva Conference, to demand that a stop be put to the aggression waged by American imperialism.

In July 1962, on the 8th anniversary of the Geneva Agreements, the WFTU called again on the workers and trade unions of the world to remain vigilant in the face of the increasingly serious situation created in South Vietnam by the intervention and armed aggressive policy of the American imperialists. Messages were sent to the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, to the chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam and to President Kennedy, demanding "a stop to that type of undeclared warfare, the immediate dissolution of the operational military command in Saigon and the withdrawal of American forces. The Vietnamese people must be free to solve their own problems themselves, without foreign interference".

Expressing the indignation of the world working class, the Secretariat of the WFTU issued the following appeal to the workers and trade unions of the world on January 14, 1963 denouncing the use of toxic products by American imperialism in its war of aggression in South Vietnam:

"On behalf of its 120 million members and the workers of the whole world, the W. F. T. U. with indignation fully condemns the massive use of toxic products by American imperialism in its criminal armed aggression in South Vietnam. It appeals to all trade union organizations and to all justice and peace loving workers to do everything to put a stop to this crime against mankind and strengthen their solidarity with the just struggle of the South Vietnamese workers and people against the U. S. — Diem clique.

"In an effort to repress the struggle of the South Vietnamese people for national independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and the reunification of the country, the American imperialists have even resorted, on an ever-larger scale, to the use of extremely dangerous toxic products in the South Vietnamese countryside. These products sprayed from American warplanes flown by American military pilots have caused serious damage, particularly in the most populous regions. In a number of districts of the Anxuyen province alone, in September and October 1962, more than one thousand hectares of rice-fields have been destroyed, hundreds of people developed toxic conditions from the sprayed poison, such as swelling of faces and limbs, loss of eyesight, etc., and there was a toll of numerous deaths.

"The use of gas and toxic products has been banned by the Geneva Agreements of February 6, 1922, and June 17, 1925. Their use by the United States which was a signatory to these agreements, constitutes a flagrant violation of these documents of International Law.

"In the face of such barbaric actions, the victorious resistance of the South Vietnamese workers and people, as shown by the military successes they have just scored in the Jongs plains, are daily demonstrations that American imperialism cannot crush the firm and fearless South Vietnamese people in the struggle for their national independence and for their liberties.

"The armed aggression of American imperialism against South Vietnam and its barbaric methods arouse the censure of the workers and trade unions of the whole world.

"Recalling its declaration of July 8, 1962, issued on the 8th anniversary of the Geneva agreements, the WFTU appeals to all workers and trade unions to demonstrate in the ways and means best suited to their specific circumstances their solidarity with their South Vietnamese brothers and their struggle,

— to demand respect by the U. S. Government of the international agreements concerned;

— to demand an end to military aggression in South Vietnam, the suppression of the American military command installed in Saigon and the complete withdrawal of American troops personnel from South Vietnam.

"The South Vietnamese people whom the W. F. T. U. reassures have the solidarity of the international working class must be left free to decide their own fate and to build for themselves a future of peace and happiness."

The 26th session of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, held in Prague from January 29 to 31, 1963, has decided to create an International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity to further strengthen the solidarity action with the workers and people of South Vietnam and develop the international political aid of the working class to them.

With the purpose of helping the people of South Vietnam denounce to the world the aggression waged against them, the WFTU has decided to publish the following text, which gives irrefutable facts on the current economic, social and political conditions of the people of South Vietnam and on the heroic struggle of the working class and all progressive people against the U. S. occupation forces and the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet government.

This text has been prepared by the Workers' Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam, whose application for affiliation to the WFTU was accepted by the 26th session of the Executive Committee.

## I. — AGGRESSIVE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM:

### ENEMY NO. 1

#### OF THE SOUTH-VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

After nine long years of an extremely hard and heroic war of resistance which took a great toll of human life and property, our people won the battle of Dien-Bien-Phu, thus bringing to an end the war of aggression waged against us by the French colonialists with the support of American imperialism. The 1954 Geneva Agreement was signed. Peace was restored to Indochina and recognition granted to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

Normally reunification of our country should have been proclaimed in July 1956 through a referendum freely held throughout the territory, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

Normally our people of the North and of the South would be free to travel across the zones and live a normal life, with both zones re-united into one country.

For more than eight years, however, our country has been left divided, our fellow countrymen are forbidden to travel across the zones and even letters are not allowed across.

This is a very painful and frustrating situation for our people, with its glorious history and close unity through the ages. We are the children of the same motherland, but how different is the life our people lead in the two parts. While there is absolute freedom in the North where our sisters and brothers are enthusiastically building up a new and happy life, our people in the South live under the cruel yoke of American imperialism and its hirelings, the Ngo Dinh Diem's clique, who are responsible for the division of the country, the ruins and death grieving our people and every one of our families.

The aggressive actions of American imperialism against our people go a long way back. Already during our war of resistance, as the position of the French colonialists was deteriorating, American imperialists intensified their intervention in Vietnam, supplying the French with arms, money, military advisers, and even considering at the time of Dien-Bien-Phu the internationalisation of the conflict, the launching of a massive attack with American troops and the use of atomic weapons.

American imperialists tried everything to sabotage the 1954 Geneva Conference and, when an agreement was in sight, they tried to wreck its application.

As the Conference was seeking the basis for an agreement, American imperialists were already feeling out other countries to set up an aggressive military bloc in South-East Asia. Two weeks before the signature of the Agreements, following pressure on the French government, Ngo Dinh Diem who had been living for several years under U. S. shelter, was put at the head of the Bao Dai group's puppet government. And on July 21, 1954, while the Agreement on Indochina was signed in Geneva and General Bedell Smith, on behalf of the American government, solemnly pledged to abide by its clauses and refrain from all infringement thereon, President Eisenhower declared that "the United States as such are not party in the decisions taken by the Conference and are not bound by them".

Soon after the signature of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, American imperialists exerted all their efforts to prolong the division of our country and transform South Vietnam into an American colony of a new type and a military base.

At their instigation, the Ngo Dinh Diem Administration steadily turned down the many proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to open North-South talks and hold a country-wide ballot on re-unification, as stipulated in the Geneva Agreements. The many proposals of the government, departments and ministries of the Democratic Republic to establish North-South economic and cultural exchanges were also turned down. A ruthless ban was equally put on family visits and mail between the two zones, thereby gravely violating the clauses of the Geneva Agreements which stipulate that "the military demarcation line is provisional and should not be regarded at any time as a political or territorial boundary". The statement of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1957 in Washington to the effect that "the U. S. borders are extending to the 17th Parallel in Vietnam" clearly reveals the criminal intents of American imperialists against our country.

Beyond the 17th parallel in South Vietnam where the American imperialists are behaving like masters, an economic policy has been set up in the exclusive interest of American monopolies, making havoc of the national economy and driving the workers to starvation.

On the other hand, American imperialists have mobilised a half-a-million strong mercenary army, built up a network of military air-

ports, naval bases and strategic roads, and brought hundreds of thousands of tons of armament and war material into the country. At their instigation the Ngo Dinh Diem administration has for eight years never ceased waging an unbelievably cruel war of repression against our people. Not only are former resistance fighters made the target of repression — which is in violation of the Geneva Agreements — but also practically all sectors of the population, workers, peasants, poor city dwellers, intellectuals, religious sects and, in short, all people who disagree with the policy of exploitation and oppression of the American invaders and with the criminal actions of the Ngo Dinh Diem family.

In those eight years there has not been a single day of peace in South Vietnam; not a day passed in our martyred country without people being killed and blood being spilled. There is no end to the list of crimes that have been committed: high-handed arrests and detention, summary executions, murders and massacres, such as in Huong-diem, Cho Duoc, Vinh trinh, etc., and the mass poisoning at the Phu Loi concentration camp which caused more than one thousand deaths. And in the last few years there has been the forcible transfer of hundreds of thousands and even millions, into



Arrest of peasants in the wake of "operation sunrise".



"Strategic villages" in South Vietnam, i. e. concentration camps.

concentration camps, disguised as "concessions", "prosperity zones", "agrovilles", "strategic hamlets and villages." The South-Vietnamese army, organised and equipped by American imperialists, trained and commanded by American officers, is continuously carrying out mopping-up operations and repression, bringing into action large numbers of regular and reserve troops, from companies to whole regiments, equipped with tanks, heavy artillery, war ships and planes, and killing at random innocent people. South Vietnam has been turned into a vast prison and extermination camp.

Immeasurable sufferings have been inflicted on our people in the last eight years. According to incomplete statistics, 105,000 people have been killed, 2,500 of whom disemboweled.



## II. — DEMAGOGY AND BRUTAL REPRESSION, TWO ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN-DIEM TRADE UNION POLICY

As early as 1962, in an attempt to gull the workers and put a damper on the labour movement in the areas under their control, the French colonialists and the puppet government of the Bao-Dai group set up three company unions: the General Confederation of Labour, the General Confederation of Christian Workers and the General Confederation of Labour — Force Ouvrière.



*After a mopping-up operation.*



*During a mopping-up operation, Ngo Dinh Diem's troops are reviewed by General Paul D. Harkins, Chief of the American command in Saigon.*

Once peace was restored in 1954, in view of the development of the labour movement and in an attempt to force upon the people the American brand of independence and freedom, American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique proclaimed the establishment of trade union freedom.

Their policy, actually, is to use company unions in an effort to subordinate the workers and prop up their régime of oppression. By spreading a reformist trade union policy, they are trying to divert the workers by all means from militant struggle.

The official propaganda would have it that trade unions must be "apolitical, independent of the government, political parties, and religious sects; that they must deal solely with the economic interests of the workers." Genuine trade unions are banned and trade unionists devoted to the interests of the working class are thrown in jail on the charge that they are engaging in politics.

A number of trade union leaders sold out to the oppressors of the people. Agents are also infiltrating trade union organisations to

upset their activities, find out sincere trade unionists and point them out to the forces of repression.

Reformist union leaders pretend at times to take account of the aspirations of the workers, indulging in an occasional criticism of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration and its so-called "National Assembly." But what they really do is to pacify the workers and hold out to them prospects of improvement in their lot through the American-Diem action, by spreading the theory of nonpolitical unionism, class collaboration and "people's capitalism".

On the other hand, American-Diem elements are trying to whip up campaigns against the national bourgeoisie, the French capitalists and businessmen of Chinese or Hindu origins, while they themselves are the ones who are carrying out fiercest exploitation and oppression against us.

Since their demagogic and diversionary manoeuvres are being rapidly exposed, the American-Diem elements are forced to resort to oppression, the favourite weapon of anti-national and anti-popular regimes.

At the end of 1954, they turned on the Saigon-Cholon Peace Movement. Over 100 trade unionists were among those arrested and jailed. And on July 3, 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem dropped the mask altogether when he gave orders to fire on workers demonstrating in Saigon, killing and injuring several people.

In October 1957, the Ngo Dinh Diem administration amended the trade union legislation introduced in 1952 by the Bao Dai puppet government, adding new restrictions to trade union rights.

The right to organise into unions of their choice is denied the workers. It takes months, even years for a union to obtain a franchise. A list of the rank and file and the administrative committee members has to be given first. And permission for a trade union meeting has to be requested five days in advance, with the agenda of the meeting being revealed to the authorities.

Trade union activities depend on the whim of officials in the Ngo Dinh Diem administration. On November 30, 1957, without any reason at all, 30 unions lost their franchise. The same happened in 1960 to 36 unions and mutual aid associations in the Saigon-Cholon region. On May 2, 1961, 31 labour organisations the Taxi Drivers' Association, etc., were dissolved.

The right to strike does not exist. The so-called Labour Court was given very strict instructions on that point by the Ministry of Labour of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration. The Diem Labour Code,

article 379, states that "all persons advocating strike or taking part in a strike against a public enterprise are liable to a 6-day to 6-month jail term or a fine of 60 to 24,000 piastres". The "collective agreement" imposed on the workers of more than 500 plantations stipulates that the "workers do not have the right to strike". Strikes are severely repressed. In 1960, regular troops with tanks were brought into action by the Loc-ninh, Xa-cat and Longthanh rubber plantations.

Workers, as well as other sectors of the population, are being denied the freedom of opinion. Trade union newspapers or magazines are not allowed on the market. Several Saigon papers have been seized or closed down having written on trade union activities and struggles. The director and the manager of the newspaper "Cong-nhan" (The Worker) were brought to court on charges "of having sullied the prestige of the authorities" and were given stiff jail terms.

Nor is there personal freedom for the workers. Actions in support of demands and also trade union activities are rapidly branded "subversive communist activities" by the American-Diem rulers and, as such, come under the jurisdiction of emergency tribunals, which pronounce judgements without trial or appeal, and mete out life sentences to forced labour or death sentences (law No. 10 of 1959).

The American-Diem trade union policy, through its demagogic propaganda and manoeuvres, on the one hand, and its extremely brutal repression, on the other, is creating serious difficulties for the South-Vietnam trade union movement. But it cannot block its development. In the face of fierce exploitation and repression waged against them, South-Vietnamese workers have no choice but to fight back.

### III. — CHRONIC MASS UNEMPLOYMENT: SCOURGE OF THE WORKERS

The Ngo Dinh administration is vainly seeking to hide the extent of the terrible scourge of unemployment, an evil inherent in the capitalist system which proves to be incurable for South-Vietnam as it worsens by the day.

"Le Journal d'Extrême-Orient", a French language daily of Saigon, implied in its January 2, 1960, issue that full or part unemployment reached the one million and a half mark, — one person out of eight. In Saigon-Cholon alone, known as "the pearl of the Far East", there were 836,640 such unemployed, — 66.6 per cent of the population.



*Mass unemployment brings immeasurable suffering to the workers.*

There are several causes of unemployment.

First, the South Vietnamese market is flooded with unsold U. S. goods under the label of "commercialised" American aid, with the result that the national South-Vietnam industry and handicrafts are being strangled and ruined. For instance in 1958 the dumping of American textiles on the market forced several mills and shops to cut down or even entirely stop operations, depriving more than 80 per cent of textile workers of their jobs. According to the weekly bulletin of the Saigon Board of Trade (No. 168, September 9, 1960), in the first eight months of 1960 alone, 784 factories and handicraft shops went out of business, leaving 5,000 people without work. With American intervention being stepped up in South Vietnam, this trend has recently rapidly developed.

Then, there is the insecurity in the country-side where armed sweeps and repression continued forcing people to move to the cities to avoid being involved in massacres.

Young people of working age, workers' children, students leaving school or forced out for lack of money swell the ranks of this vast army of unemployed.

Chronic mass unemployment is plaguing the South-Vietnamese people.

As usual, increased exploitation goes hand in hand with increased unemployment. The American monopolies, employers, and plantation owners are taking advantage of this labour depreciation to lay off old hands and hire young people, women and even child labour at, of course, lower wages. That is what is called "enterprise rejuvenation".

Full advantage is also taken to impose harder working conditions upon the workers and enforce new restrictions on trade union rights, resulting in fiercer exploitation of the workers.

Chronic unemployment places South-Vietnam's workers in a very difficult situation.

Unemployed are turned into beggars, a fate worse than death. The Saigon newspaper "Ngôn luận" (Opinion) exposed this drama in its issue of October 20, 1959: "type of beggar, humans without infirmity or disease, but forced to hang about public places and wealthy homes to beg food.

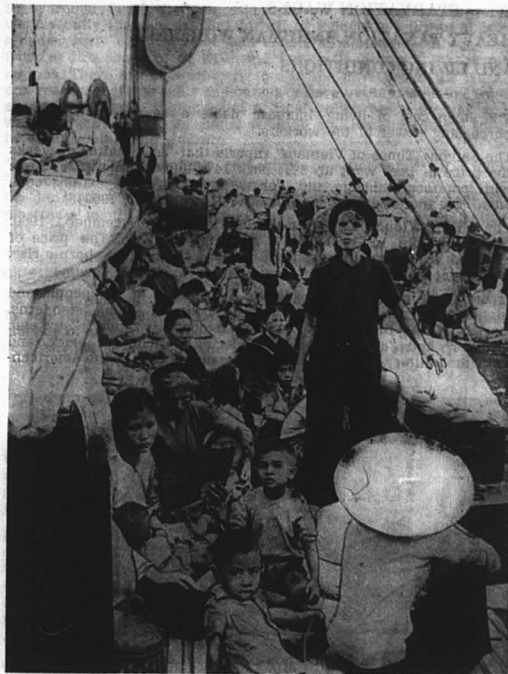
"These are people who cannot find work, who have been long unemployed. First, they had to sell their furniture, then their personal belongings and, finally, when there was nothing left to sell, they were forced to beg.

"There are today a great number of these people who are forced to beg."

Tragedies have aroused our wrath. Unemployed and destitute, many a one has ended an unbearable life by throwing himself in front of a train, a car, or in the river; or hanging or even dousing oneself with petrol and setting fire to one's clothes. Others have annihilated their whole family before taking their own life, so as to spare them a bleak and hopeless life. And how many women were forced into prostitution to feed their children! How many young men had to join the army and serve as cannon fodder on the battlefields of South-Vietnam and Laos!

Suicide out of despair is a wrong solution and is not the one chosen, as a rule, by South-Vietnamese workers who prefer to fight alongside the other sectors of the population to destroy the American-Diem régime and eliminate for ever unemployment, ruin and destruction which are part and parcel of this hated régime. Nevertheless, the number of tragedies is staggering. According to statistics of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration which are naturally well within the truth, out of 931 suicides in 1959, there were 665 related to chronic unemployment.

The right to work is one the fundamental demands pressed for by the South-Vietnam's working class.



*Masses of refugees, especially women and children, fleeing to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to escape misery and oppression.*

#### IV. — STARVATION WAGES, HEAVY TAXATION, INHUMAN WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The steep cost of living increase dealt a severe blow to the purchasing power of the workers.

The Saigon "Times of Vietnam" reports that "in a matter of weeks the price of beef went up 8%; pork 14% and shrimps 28%. Same with potatoes, cabbage, etc. For water, electricity, textiles, coal, wood, the increase is as high as 50% (November 2, 1959)."

The daily "Le Journal d'Extrême-Orient" wrote on December 1, 1960: "On the whole in 1960 prices went up by 23%. The price of commodities especially registered a sharp rise, — too sharp a rise. Rice went up by 56%".

It has to be noted that rice is the staple food of our people and higher price means an equivalent lowering of living standards. Insecurity and the establishment of "prosperity zones", "strategic villages" and "agrovilles" are hindering agricultural work, and with the military operations and repression waged by the American-



Anti-U. S., anti-Diem demonstration in South Vietnam bears the banner: "Against transfer of population to set up 'prosperity zones'".

Diem troops, South Vietnam, especially the Nam Bo region, which was recently the rice granary for all of Indochina with an approximate yearly export of one and a half million tons, suffers now from a dire shortage of rice, and famine is rampant in several regions. There are also other factors to the lowering of the workers' real wages, especially the currency devaluation stemming from a near-permanent inflation and a fiscal policy based on war and war production, with increased taxation and penalties of all sorts befalling mainly the workers.

"Ngôn Luận" (Opinion) reported on December 8, 1960: "A working class family is subject to all sorts of taxations: taxes on the land, the area of the roof, the right to stay in town, 200 piastres a month rent-tax, taxes on sewers, on garbage collection (100 piastres a year, though garbage is never collected.)."

To these direct taxations indirect ones must be added: on commodities, railway and bus fares, cinema admission price, etc.

To give an idea of the amount of taxation imposed on the workers by the American-Diem fiscal policy, here is a table with the total amount of money levied in taxes in recent years (the population of South Vietnam is estimated at 14 million people all told)

1955	6,351.2 million piastres
1957	8,633,1 " "
1959	8,314,5 " "
1961	8,409,9 " "

While prices and taxes keep going up, wages are frozen. The minimum day's pay fixed by the decree No 8 BLD-LDND, July 1, 1956, is 41 piastres for men, 36 for women, and 31.60 for children under 18 — rates which are still in force.

For rubber plantation workers, the wage system is even stiffer and comes under special ruling. They are paid less than the minimum wages, which are already below subsistence requirements. They are given a rice ration on working days only. Under any and all pretexts, fines or pay cuts are imposed and workers may be dismissed without notice and indemnity.

Women and children, for equal work, are paid 80% of men's wages.

On the whole, the South-Vietnam administration's wage policy tends to ensure the highest profits to American monopolies and the Ngo Dinh Diem family.



Open letter of American intellectuals to President Kennedy against U. S. military intervention in South Vietnam.

This policy of increased exploitation greatly aggravates our working conditions.

"Workers put in an average of 11 hours a day. They have no Sunday off nor any day off round the year, for that matter", the paper "Cach mang quoc gia" (National Revolution), the official organ of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration wrote on May 25, 1959. Workers in the rubber plantations put in 13 hours a day.

Work safety and social insurances do not exist in the industrial enterprises and plantations of South Vietnam.

According to statistics issued by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, and still far from the truth, there were 1321 labour accidents in 1955 and 2082 in 1959.

From 1955 to 1959, 8194 work accidents were recorded of which 393 only were investigated. From there to paying out indemnities there is still a margin.

American enterprises do not come under the Ngo Dinh Diem law. They enjoy a special status and may exert pressure at will.

These working and living conditions forced upon our workers are proof of the so much vaunted "humanity" of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration and are at the origin of the struggle movement of the South-Vietnamese workers. This movement is gaining momentum by the day as colonialist exploitation and oppression intensify.

V. — THE WORKERS OF SOUTH-VIETNAM  
IN THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
AMERICAN-DIEM ELEMENTS

Through their policy of confusion and demagogic propaganda and their brutal repression, American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are trying to smother the revolutionary spirit and the patriotic struggle of our people in South Vietnam. But they cannot suppress the fighting traditions of our people, who displayed such courage in the struggle against internal oppressors and outside invaders, in the recent war of resistance as well as throughout the ages.

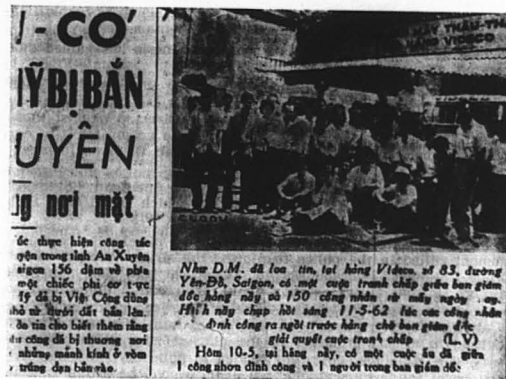
Exploitation and oppression will arouse struggle. This is why, in spite of all the efforts of the American-Diem elements, the revolutionary movement of our people keeps expanding. And the more persistence and cruelty they display, the more united our people become in their determination to get rid of them, and restore our right to a decent life and freedom.

Over the last eight years, South-Vietnam workers have kept up a persistent struggle for wage increases and better working and living conditions; the interdiction of fines, corporal punishment and dismissals; an independent economy to solve unemployment and ensure the development of the country; respect of democratic and trade union rights; the opening of North-South talks with a view to the country's reunification.

According to still incomplete statistics 2419 strikes took place from 1955 to the end of 1960.

On August 1, 1954, tens of thousands of workers in Saigon, Da-nang, Hué (Vietnam's centre) as well as rubber plantation workers in Nam Bộ walked down the streets, hailing the Geneva Agreements and demanding the disbandment of armies and the release and repatriation of war prisoners and detained civilians.

And on August 1, 1954, the 5,000 An Lôi (Nam Bộ) plantation workers went on strike for a 20% wage increase, hailing at the same time the Geneva Agreements. On September 11, 45,000 workers of various Nam Bộ plantations walked out also for better living conditions and free country-wide elections. In October 1955, 3,000 workers of the Saigon Arsenal staged a walk-out in protest



VIDECO's workers in Saigon picketing against exploitation and dismissals.

against dismissals. On March 26, 9,000 Water and Electricity workers went on strike in protest against employers' repression, and on January 1, 1957, 5,000 Saigon dockworkers walked out for wage increases.

May Day demonstrations were organised in Saigon-Cholon in 1957 and 1958, with more than 500,000 participating each year. Demands bore on the rights and privileges not only of the working class but of other sectors of the population as well and included the distribution of land to peasants, wage increases for civil servants and members of the armed forces, etc. These actions have raised the prestige of the working class in the eyes of the other sectors of the population in South-Vietnam. They contributed to the creation of a broad national front against American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

In the following years, the fighting movement of the South-Vietnam workers gained in depth, with the creation in 1961 of the Workers'

Association for liberation of South-Vietnam, a member-organisation of the National Liberation Front of South-Vietnam.

The struggle of the South-Vietnam working class has gained momentum ever since.

Active solidarity is developing not only among workers of the same plant or branch, but throughout the working class and the territory as well. The spearhead of the struggle is directed against those responsible for our misery and sufferings, the enemy No. 1 of our people: American imperialism, with Ngo Dinh Diem as its agent in South Vietnam.

Such was the strike action taken by the American "Stanvac" petroleum workers in September 1961 and which lasted more than two months.

When the 200 workers of the Nha bè plant walked out, the management called in the police to repress the strike. Workers of the other "Stanvac" warehouses in Saigon, at the Tân Sơn Nhut airport, at the "Pilot" station took immediate action and also walked out. Then, the workers of other American petroleum firms, "Caltex", "Shell", "Svoc", etc., followed suit. "Caltex" workers refused to unload a tanker in the place of the "Stanvac" workers on strike.

Actions of solidarity with the petroleum worker's struggle developed. Delegates of 100 factory branch unions of Saigon met to devise effective support. Workers of the Da-nang electric plant in Central Vietnam and plantation workers of Eastern Nam Bộ launched such actions. Peasants of neighbouring Saigon provinces collected food and money for the strikers.

This strike made it difficult for the American-Diem elements, especially in the refuelling of motorised units, civil and military aircrafts. A tanker had to be re-routed for lack of unloading personnel. Aircrafts had also to be re-routed and military air activity had to be cut down.

Not only did this strike and ensuing solidarity actions have an economic impact, forcing American monopolies and the Ngo Dinh Diem administration to improve the living and working conditions of the workers, but they also had a strong political content. They lent effective support to the peasants' struggle against military operations and repression, to the struggle of young people against compulsory army service, of the armed forces against the criminal orders they are given, of craftsmen, national industrialists and tradesmen for an independent economic policy. They stimulated

the general struggle of our workers and people of South-Vietnam against the militarisation of the economy, war preparations, plundering and oppression, and the struggle for the liberation of South-Vietnam, the re-unification of the country, democracy and peace.

Although of a relatively limited scope as compared to the struggles of other sectors of the population, of the peasants especially, industrial struggles are of decisive significance. The working class being indeed the nerve centre of the economy, it can have a paralysing action and its struggles often act as an example to others and a call to arms.

The workers' struggles in South-Vietnam have always gained the enthusiastic support of the other sectors of the population, in the cities and country alike.

As for the peasants, our natural allies, they constitute by their number and position the shock-forces in the struggle waged by our people for the suppression of the bloody American-Diem régime. Through their consistent struggle, they have put in check the main objectives at least of the reactionary agricultural policy and the programme of relocation of part of the rural population into strategic areas called "concessions" and "prosperity zones", and the regrouping of the rest of the population in "strategic towns".



Manifestation of South Vietnamese women under the banner of the National Liberation Front.

In the cities, the workers' struggle has the enthusiastic support of the various sectors of the population, especially craftsmen and small tradesmen who are driven to impoverishment by the American-Diem economic policy.

The National bourgeoisie, driven to bankruptcy by the American-Diem economic policy, takes also part in the struggle. South-Vietnam industrialists and tradesmen are especially responsive to the call for import reduction and national economic development.

Various sectors of the population have special reasons, as it were, to wage a resolute struggle against the hated American-Diem régime. In the interim period following the application of the Geneva Agreements, our countrymen from the North, Catholics for the most, were either convinced by deceptive propaganda or coerced into coming to the South. They are demanding the right to work, they oppose tax increases, denounce this new type of slavery through forced relocation into "concessions" and "prosperity zones". There are also the Hoa-Hao, Cao Dai, and other religious sects which Ngo Dinh Diem tried to suppress in 1955-1956.

Therefore, the whole South-Vietnam people is fighting alongside the working class against the American invaders and their lackeys. And this struggle is developing. Today, the revolutionary forces hold the initiative. The American-Diem régime is shaking to its very foundations and exerts domination only over limited areas in the country.

"It is clear that the Diem régime in Saigon, in spite of U. S. support, cannot hold out much longer against growing discontent among the South-Vietnamese people", the "Dépêche du Cambodge" wrote on May 2, 1961.

## VI. — NEW TRIALS AHEAD FOR OUR WORKERS AND PEOPLE IN SOUTH-VIETNAM

American imperialists are feverishly stepping up their armed intervention in South Vietnam. They are doing it openly, in outright violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indochina and with complete disregard of world opinion.

On February 8, 1962, American imperialists established an American military command in Saigon to head the South-Vietnamese army, the American and satellites' troops stationed in the country. This command, which has the American Pacific troops at its



Mass meeting in Hanoi against repression of intellectuals by authorities in South Vietnam.



*On the platform: the delegation of the National Union of Malt Workers and the intellectuals of Hanol.*

disposal, is headed by General Paul D. Harkins, second in command of these forces, and General Weede, Commander of the U.S. Marine Corps in the Pacific, as Chief of Staff.

American troops are pouring into South Vietnam at an accelerated rate and they actually number 8,500 men. These troops are directly involved in the war against our people.

Barbaric measures reminiscent of the Middle Ages are being carried out. Harvests are destroyed, regions terrorised, people massacred, with a white zone established along the borders of South-Vietnam and neighbouring Laos and Cambodia and the concentration of South-Vietnamese people into 18 to 17,000 "strategic villages".

American imperialists are waging a real war against our people and have turned our country into an experiment field for their "special warfare" and their main base of aggression in South-East Asia.

Recently, to prevent the imminent fall of their agents in Laos, American imperialists landed more than 5,000 troops in Thailand which they massed along the border. Meanwhile, the 7th American Fleet was patrolling off the coasts of South Vietnam, deployed well within the Gulf of Thailand.

The fact that American troops in Thailand are under the command of General Paul D. Harkins, Chief of the Operational Command in Saigon, and that part of these troops were later transferred to South-Vietnam shows the link between the situation in South-Vietnam and the situation created in Laos and Thailand.

American imperialists are trying by all means to drag their allies and satellites of the South-East Asia aggressive military bloc into the war they are waging against our people.

Along with American troops, officers and soldiers from Britain, the Philippines, Australian and Tchan Kai Chek troops, etc., are concentrating today in South-Vietnam under the common disguise of "anti-communist fighters", technicians, "health and training specialists", etc.

At the instigation of American imperialists, the government of the Malay Federation has exported hundreds of tons of arms and anti-guerilla war material to South-Vietnam and the Australian government has sent in a large quantity of barbed wire, telephone equipment, electric generators, etc., for the installation of "strategic villages".

This is a very serious threat, not only to our people, but also to the security of other South-East Asian countries and world peace. Unfortunately, not satisfied with closing their eyes to all these flagrant violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the Indian and Canadian delegates within the International Commission of Supervision and Control of the application of the truce agreement in Vietnam, against the rightful protest of the delegate of Poland, adopted a report to the Co-Commission of the Geneva Conference of 1954, to the effect that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had engaged in "aggressive and subversive actions" in South Vietnam.

This is an unworthy and dangerous action. It is an encouragement to American imperialists to intensify their armed intervention in South Vietnam, seriously threatening peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

Still more unfortunate is the fact that the British government, one of the two Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, joined in these accusations, thereby covering up the criminal activities of American imperialists.

Still other trials are in store for our workers and people of South-Vietnam, where the situation is growing more tense every day.

**VII.]— WITH OUR TRADITIONAL  
FIGHTING SPIRIT AND THE WHOLEHEARTED  
SUPPORT OF THE WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD  
AND THE PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES,  
VICTORY SHALL BE OURS**

We shall win, as history has proved that no weapon can subdue a people determined to win back its independence and freedom.

We shall win because ours is a long and powerful tradition of indomitable struggle.

We shall win, since our people has been mobilised and is united round the National Liberation Front of South-Vietnam. We have the support of our brothers and sisters of North-Vietnam and the whole world.

In the eight years that our sufferings and our struggle have lasted, international democratic organisations have raised their voice to condemn the criminal activities of the American-Diem elements in South-Vietnam and to express their active sympathy with our workers and people. Among these organisations are the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Committee of Solidarity of the Asian and African countries, etc.

We have especially valued the statements issued at the 5th World Trade Union Congress, attended by our Brother, Huynh van Tam. We have been deeply moved by the expressions of sympathy bestowed upon him by the Congress participants from all parts of the world.

We are grateful to the W.F.T.U. for the resolution adopted on June 2, 1962, by the 25th Session of the Executive Committee to declare July 20, 1962, an International Day of Action and Solidarity with the struggle of our workers and people for the liberation of South-Vietnam and the reunification of our country. We are also grateful for the declaration of March 14, 1962, of the Central Council of

Soviet Trade Unions and for the stand taken by the trade unions of China, Korea, the German Democratic Republic, France, Indonesia, Burma, Mali, Cuba, etc., in regard to our rightful struggle. We are firmly convinced that, with our traditional heroic fighting spirit and the wholehearted support of the workers and peoples of the world, we shall win victory and achieve the following objectives of the National Liberation Front of South-Vietnam.

— An end to armed intervention of American imperialists in South-Vietnam; the dissolution of the American Operational Command established in Saigon, withdrawal of all armed forces and American military personnel, as well as those of others U.S. satellite countries; removal of all weapons, armaments and war material illegally introduced in South-Vietnam.

— A halt to the hostilities between belligerent parties and restoration of peace and security on the whole of the South-Vietnamese territory; an end to punitive operations, repression campaigns and massacres carried out by the South-Vietnamese administration; repeal of the state of emergency law; a stop to forced regrouping operations of the population; dissolution of already set up "zones" and "strategic villages".

— Constitution of a national union government including the different sectors of the population and parties, political and religious groups, without racial discrimination. The task of this government would be to maintain peace and order, organise free and general elections to constitute a democratic National Assembly and implement various emergency measures to guarantee democratic freedoms to all parties, political groups and religious sects; release all political prisoners; close down all concentration camps and similar establishments; halt compulsory military service and military training of youth, women civil servants, school children and students; implement an economic policy guaranteeing free trade, economic independence, suppression of monopolies and improvement of the living conditions of the various sectors of the population.

— Promotion of a peace and neutrality-oriented policy; friendly relations with all countries, starting with neighbouring countries; non-participation in military blocs and interdiction to all countries to set up military bases on South-Vietnamese soil; acceptance of foreign aid, from whatever country it may come, as long as there are no political strings attached; early negotiation of an international treaty binding all powers to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of South-Vietnam; creation

with Laos and Cambodia of a neutral zone preserving each country's sovereignty.

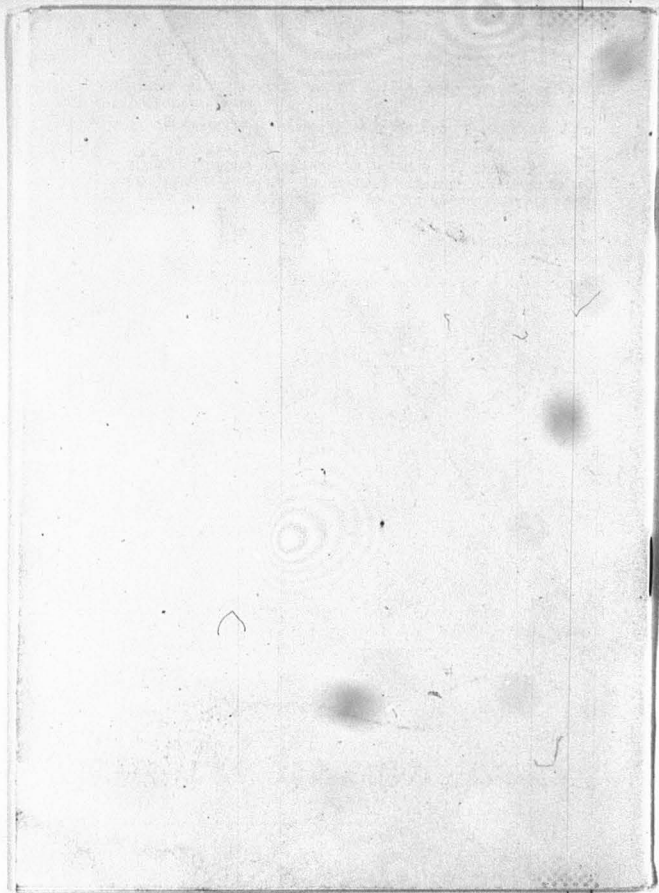
These objectives are in harmony with the deep aspirations of our people.

The rightful struggle waged by our workers and people of South-Vietnam against American imperialists and their hirelings to win back their national independence and for peace will ultimately be victorious!

South Vietnam, July 1962

Workers' Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a signature or a note, located on the right side of the page. The text is written in dark ink and is somewhat faint and blurry.