# THE ANNUAL

# CROSSROADS

# SHORT ESSAY COMPETITION

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*The Battle for the Hearts and Minds of the Vietnamese People: The Effects of the Vietnam Wars on Vietnam*

## ABSTRACT

Through a study of the effects of the Vietnam Wars on Vietnam, it becomes apparent that post-war political, social, cultural and economic instability, struggle and transformation, was directly related to the battle for the 'hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese people. The relationship between the two Vietnam Wars will be considered, particularly the frustration of unification aims by the unexpected outcome of the first war and the importance of maintaining the enchantment of the population in the post-war environment.

## BIOGRAPHY

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THE BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE: THE EFFECTS OF THE VIETNAM WARS ON VIETNAM

'Waging a war is simple, but running a country is very difficult.'[i] Whilst overly simple in itself, this sentiment encapsulates the struggle and transformation which characterised post-war Vietnam. Moreover, it implies the centrality of a battle for the 'hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese people, revealing ideological tensions at its basis. The loss of life, land and infrastructure following the first war, coupled with the Geneva settlement's division of Vietnam in 1954 and the subsequent mass exodus of people from the North to the South, not only frustrated the unification aims of the Viet Minh but also complicated the process of post-war reconstruction. So, in the outcome and effects of the first war lay the foundations of the second. However, this succeeding conflict was to cause far more extensive and repercussive devastation that its predecessor, creating post-war political, social, cultural and economic instability, struggle and transformation.

The First Vietnam War emerged from the complex situation at the end of World War II; the French reoccupied Vietnam and the Viet Minh sought to continue a struggle for independence from colonialism, in which Ho Chi Minh had been instrumental. As a result of the war, the French were defeated (at Dien Bien Phu) and withdrew from Vietnam. Just as the history leading up to the commencement of the First Vietnam War, and the nature of this nine year battle cannot be easily summarised, so too are its outcomes and effects complex, interrelated and perpetuating.[ii]

Whilst the Vietnamese had won the battle against the French they had certainly not won the war when it came to 'the political landscape of the hearts and minds of the population.'[iii] Compounding the implications of this failure to unify the Vietnamese population through ideology was the 1954 Geneva Conference, a meeting designed to resolve the future of Vietnam. It was decided that the French were to withdraw and that the country was to be divided at the 17th parallel, demarcating communist governed North and Saigon-based South; the partitioning of the country was designed to be temporary and elections were to be conducted in 1956. However, the United States – dissatisfied with this notion of a temporary division, because of their increasing fear of communism ('the Domino Effect') – wished to turn the 17th parallel into a legitimate border.[iv] Northern Vietnam too was angered by the division, though for differing reasons. In fighting the colonial power of the French the Viet Minh had hoped to gain independence for all of Vietnam; in effect, however, a rival state had now been created, distinguished by the American backing of South Vietnam. Thus, Geneva was a paradoxical peace settlement; in leaving so much unanswered and unfinished it effectively 'left the door opened to further wars.'[v] In the dissatisfaction of the United States and the frustrated aims of what was now Northern Vietnam – and their associated social and political implications – lay the possibility of future conflict.

The immediate effects of the First Vietnam War encompassed loss of life, land and infrastructure. Vietnamese casualties in the war are estimated at 500,000 – 800,000 and sites of production were shut down, deserted or destroyed, as were railroads, roads and ports. Northern Vietnam suffered the brunt of such land and infrastructure destruction, compounded by (and interconnected with) the exodus of people from the North after the Geneva settlement.[vi] As a result of these significant losses and damage, the nature and outcome of the war created related economic, social and political instability – themselves interrelated – which in turn became catalysts of the Second Vietnam War.[vii]

The poor economic position of Vietnam as a result of Japanese occupation during World War II was exacerbated by the First Vietnam War.[viii] In particular, Northern Vietnam faced a crumbled economy whose foundations – industrial, natural and human – were significantly damaged in its aftermath. As can be expected, the loss of a significant labour force was a crucial absence in attempting to re-establish an efficient economy.[ix] Nevertheless, in an attempt to rebuild, North Vietnam sought to eliminate the class of landlords, reinvigorate the landless and poorer peasants, and in turn increase crop surpluses, by implementing policies of 'land confiscation and redistribution' (1953-1956). Whilst, as a result of such measures, rice production increased by two thirds in two years, many Vietnamese were incorrectly categorised, victimised and even executed. Despite this and a resultant peasant uprising (1957), the government proceeded to collectivise the agricultural economy (1958-1959).[x] However, in what seems to be a cycle of improvement and decline in the interwar period, productivity remained low as a result of a lack of industrialised machinery, which had been both destroyed in the war and forfeited in the French withdrawal. Whilst economic assistance from China and the Soviet Union aimed to boost economic measures throughout the period, the Northern Vietnamese economy (and society) never really became sufficiently stable, remaining 'poor, industrially underdeveloped [and] peasant-based.'[xi] Additionally, by default of a persistent concern to unify Vietnam through liberating the South, any progress made was significantly counteracted by the draining of manpower and resources. It was this aim of unification – foremost in the war against the colonial power of the French – which was to catalyse the makings of a second war already set in

motion. Contrastingly, though not staunchly engaging in land reform practices to address increased rates of tenancy or the unequal distribution of land, the economy of Southern Vietnam remained stable through an increasing dependence on American assistance.[xii] Instead Saigon was concerned primarily with anti-communist policies.[xiii] Thus, the economic situations in North and South Vietnam were markedly contrasted as a result of the effects of the First Vietnam War; whereas the North had sustained significant physical losses, the South had benefited from the intervention of the United States as a result of the Geneva settlement.

Social instability in Vietnam was connected with economic and political conditions, embodied in the displacement of persons during and after the war. During the time of 'free exchange' provided by the Geneva agreement an estimated 900,000 people fled south, with only 130,000 Viet Minh troops and supporters migrating north.[xiv] Somewhat paradoxically, in the wake of this event, whereas North Vietnam had attempted to gain popular support amongst the peasants through its land, education and health reform practices,[xv] South Vietnam was preoccupied with maintaining the political allegiance of wealthier land owning classes. However, these differing practices and attitudes are not able to be directly correlated with a particular level of social stability; not only was its achievement innately linked with the prevailing economic situation, but politics – which was now at the core of the conflict – was always in such a state of flux that to maintain social stability was near impossible.

Political instability in Vietnam stemmed from Geneva's 17th parallel provision, which created a tentative geopolitical division. Accordingly so, it is evident that a lack of political coherence amongst the people – exemplified in the exodus from the North where the 'hearts and minds' of the people had not been won – was directly related to the eruption of the Second Vietnam War, for it served to militarily and forcefully achieve this political, as well as cultural/ethnic, unity.[xvi] In South Vietnam the intervention of the United States resulted in the installation of anti-communist leader, Ngo Dinh Diem, who responded brazenly to communist dissidents, using military force to place an estimated 50,000 in re-education camps and execute a further 12,000 between 1955and 1959.[xvii] The increasing economic and political strength of the South Vietnamese government frustrated the hopes of Ho Chi Minh. His decision to have a number of Viet Minh remain in South Vietnam in order to garner support for the communist North, in preparation for the proposed elections which he had hoped would result in his election as leader of a unified Vietnam, had been negated by the actions of Diem.[xviii] From mid-1957 the Viet Cong[xix] aimed to 'secure the allegiance of the peasants [of South Vietnam] and destroy the credibility of the Diem regime' by engaging in the assassination of officials and the redistribution of land seized from landlords, to peasants.[xx] Consequently, the central aim of South Vietnamese government action at this time was to more definitely break the ties of guerrilla communists residing in the South with the South Vietnamese population, and to in turn quell any infiltration. American assistance to South Vietnam, in the form of both equipment and training, peaked in 1957-1958, and Diem sought to organise the countryside into larger villages surrounded by various fortifications (agrovilles).[xxi] However, in time the Viet Cong exploited the increasing disenchantment of the population with Diem and by 1962 controlled (or at least influenced) approximately two thirds of Southern Vietnam, reducing the government's stranglehold on its people.[xxii] Coupled with the fluctuating state of the Northern Vietnamese economy and society, it was decided at a meeting of the Vietnam Worker's Party that 'the fundamental path of development for the revolution in South Vietnam [was] that of violent struggle.'[xxiii] Nevertheless, Duiker debates the origin of the war:

> [It] was not the result of a deliberate policy decision by… Northern Vietnam, but was the consequence of Diem's own repressive measures in the South – measures which forced desperate peasants and Viet Minh supporters to take up arms to defend themselves…. [I]t was not Hanoi which started the war, but Saigon. And it was not…an invasion from the north, but a civil war in the south.[xxiv]

Though musing upon the varied interpretation of historical events, what this summation achieves most pertinently is the enunciation of the way in which economic, social and political instability experienced as a result of the first war, created the conditions for a second.[xxv]

The Second Vietnam War was an extension of the first; compounded by the complexion of the Cold War it represented the culmination of unresolved social and political relations. What perhaps connects the two wars most closely is the central aim of liberating and unifying Vietnam. Whilst this aim was lost in the process of the first war, it was fervently reclaimed in its aftermath, the second war ending with the capture of Saigon by the Viet Cong in April 1975. As a result of, and despite this success, postwar Vietnam was characterised by significant political, social, cultural and economic struggle and transformation.

As with the first war, the immediate effects of the Second Vietnam War encompassed significant loss of life, land and infrastructure, which were needed for post-war reconstruction. Casualty estimates of both North and

South are placed between 3 and 4 million, including 1.5 to 2 million civilian deaths.[xxvi] Additionally, Young asserts:

> [I]n the south, 9,000 out of 15,000 hamlets, 25 million acres of farmland [and] 12 million acres of forest were destroyed… 1.5 million farm animals had been killed…. [A]ll of the six industrial cities in the North…provincial districts and towns…4,000 out of 5,800 agricultural communities… [and] roads, railroads and ports [had been decimated in the war].[xxvii]

The extensive use of air bombing technology (8 to 15 million tonnes), mines and chemical warfare heightened the extent of this destruction. In fact, unexploded mines and the toxicity of 72 million litres of 'Agent Orange' continued to wreak havoc even after the war had ended.[xxviii] It is not surprising then that the achievement of peace in post-war Vietnam was complicated by 'recover[y] from the physical damage and psychological bitterness caused by the war.'[xxix]

First and foremost, the post-war period in Vietnam was characterised by political struggle and transformation, as a result of the fact that ideological conflict had catalysed the war. However, it is important to reiterate the significance of winning the war in terms of the 'hearts and minds' of the people, for the increased control and influence which North Vietnam came to possess over members of the South Vietnamese population in the early 1960s was instrumental.[xxx] Consequently, 'the communists did not outfight, they simply out-politicked their enemies.'[xxxi] It must be noted that the Second Vietnam War had not ended in the way the North had predicted; rather than succeeding in a revolution of the South and then gradually engaging in political and economic unification, the unexpected conclusion to the war prompted Hanoi to 'embark on a program of rapid unification and socialist transformation.'[xxxii] Power was quickly centralised in the South from Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) and the country was formally renamed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. However, the creation of communist order was complicated by the necessity to remake 'nature, history, geography, and human psychology…in the spirit of a military campaign' – a point which was in conflict with the assurances which had been provided to the South Vietnamese population that their assets and finances were secure.[xxxiii] Thus, in engaging in social, cultural and economic transformations in order to enact socialist rule, the new Vietnamese government was to encounter significant struggle and experience a mix of success and failure.

In the aftermath of war, social and cultural transformation in Vietnam was directly connected to the creation of a socialist state. However, the social makeup of Vietnam had been altered by the war; there was a demographic imbalance due to the number of men killed, 879,000 children had been orphaned, one million people widowed and 181,000 disabled. The rural-urban/urban-rural movement of people and the exodus of approximately seven million refugees – frustrated by the extensive devastation – worsened this impoverishment and fragmentation.[xxxiv] Land reforms were the first to be instituted, but whilst the North had achieved support by relaxing its control of the land during the war, it reneged on its actions in the unexpected aftermath. Additionally, Vietnamese provinces were redefined by the communist government in accordance with the Leninist belief that an 'integrated economic machine' required regions to be defined by scientific criteria rather than historical notions.[xxxv] Further to these changes to the physical landscape, the government was also concerned with 'remov[ing] the legacy of Western influence in Southern Vietnam and sow[ing] the seeds of a new socialist culture.'[xxxvi] Whilst it was crucial to achieve this change in order to effectively unify Vietnam, the government was also mindful that changes needed to be gradual and moderate as the enchantment of the population was necessary for key economic and political measures. The education system was transformed into 'a vehicle for building the communist citizen[;]' teachers were retrained and classrooms were stocked with Marxist-oriented textbooks, camps were set up to re-educate former soldiers and civil servants, and a campaign launched to confiscate American paraphernalia.[xxxvii] Additionally, the government aimed to create a more egalitarian society by integrating tribal minorities, permitting freedom of religion and strengthening the role of women in society. However, fervent nationalist goals and attitudes are a notable absence from the social and cultural reforms in the post-war period; perhaps it is this which can account in part for the fundamental rigidity of post-war political and economic measures.[xxxviii]

As a result of post-war political and social struggle, Vietnam was also characterised by related economic struggle and transformation. After 1975 Vietnam's population continued to increase at the same time as foreign aid was declining, the reality of the country's economic situation becoming apparent in this absence.[xxxix] Furthermore, the damage caused to Vietnam's industrial, natural and human economic foundations resulted in a significant production decrease, let alone of taxable surpluses.[xl] The rapidity with which the communist government began to implement economic measures aimed at establishing communist order was in direct contrast to the assurances it had provided the South Vietnamese population. Within months a changeover to socialist currency had been organised and citizens had just three days to make exchanges and, in 1978 industry and commerce were nationalised, and agriculture was collectivised. However, these measures were largely

unsuccessful, hampered by the fact that, as a result of the war, those who best understood the rural system (communists in the South) had been killed, and that the sacking and compensation of landlords by the Americans had paved the way for an emergent class of capitalist peasants unwilling to participate in communist cooperatives.[xli] Thus, the desired economic results were not achieved with barely even half the population active members of the cooperatives; such inefficiency was attributed to the hostility of peasant farmers in the South.[xlii] In reference to this, Owen argues that the purpose of a communist economy seemed to be at odds with the means by which such an institution was to be achieved; the state was the 'necessary agent of the reforms' which aimed to 'restrict arbitrary state power over the economy.'[xliii] In a response which did nothing to ease these negative impressions, the government kept dissidents under close surveillance or sent them to re-education camps where conditions were extremely poor. The resentment which was building within the state increased with refugees fleeing and revolts being organised as a result of the government's 1978 decision to remove the private economy. Such doubts were fuelled further when, as a result of the decreased labour force and government disenchantment, industrial production significantly decreased and food rationing was introduced. Nevertheless, Duiker simply maintains that 'the regime had tried to accomplish too much, too soon,' its situation worsened by the shambolic state of its foreign relations.[xliv]

Vietnam's internal political instability and isolation in the aftermath of war affected the country's foreign relations. Most obviously, Vietnam's relationship with the United States had altered significantly; however, the Vietnamese government's newfound political confidence in the aftermath of victory did not serve their relationship with Cambodia or China well.[xlv] In fact, Vietnam's expression of interest to engage in a 'special relationship' with both countries was ill received by the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia who interpreted the offer as a disguised attempt to assert authority and so responded with military attacks along the border. China, whilst not considering Vietnam an immediate threat, was concerned that Vietnam may attempt to assert authority over the territory of Indochina.[xlvi] Vietnam's attempts to resolve the error in communication with Cambodia were not successful and, when it became clear that China was supporting Pol Pot in their retaliation, the Vietnamese invaded the country, overthrowing the seat of power and installing a new government (January 1979). The invasion was brutal, with many civilians being placed into slave-labour, tortured or killed; China, fearful that Vietnam may expand further issued its own attack on the Chinese/Vietnam border, which damaged much rural land and infrastructure (February 1979). Similar fears, based on the 1960s 'Domino Theory,' were sparked across Southeast Asia and the Western world.[xlvii] Thus, Vietnam needed to drastically reassess its priorities, or risk both internal and external turmoil. The gradual worsening of internal crises in the early 1980s prompted the relaxation of socialist reforms and the implementation of the *Doi Moi* policy (1986) to stimulate productivity.[xlviii] This policy was immediately successful in that it boosted both production and citizen moral; however, Duiker maintains that the regime's cautiousness was just as questionable as post-war fervency.[xlix] Additionally, Vietnam was preoccupied with war in Cambodia and against China, which drained manpower and resources, and was politically isolated from former allies (the Soviet Union and China) as well the United States in the aftermath of defeat.[l] Alternately, 'it is in the common interest today to help bring the Vietnamese people out of their isolation and bring about the creation of a prosperous and secure Vietnam, able to cooperate fully in the affairs of the region.'[li]

No war, no victory, is ever simple, and yet the struggle to rebuild Vietnam – and to rebuild it with a socialist inflection – surpassed the wars itself in the 'strategic predicament' it created.[lii] The unification aims of the Viet Minh had been frustrated by the outcome of the first war, setting in motion the possibility of future, ideologically based conflict. Thus, the extensive and repercussive devastation caused by the second war, the government's hurried implementation of socialist practices and the lack of emphasis on nationalist goals, contributed to the political, social, cultural and economic instability, struggle and transformation of Vietnam in the aftermath of war. The battle for the 'hearts and minds' of the Vietnamese people was clearly a war which persisted long after the decisive physical victories and pervaded all facets of Vietnamese society in the post-war period.

**REFERENCES**

[i] Pham Van Dong, cited in William J. Duiker, *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam* (USA: McGraw Hill, 1995), 259.

[ii] For a sufficient analysis of the history leading up to the commencement of war with the French – necessary to comprehending the events which were to follow and their effects – refer to Kevin Ruane, *War and Revolution in Vietnam, 1930-75* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 1-18, and Duiker, *Sacred War*.

[iii] Matthew Hall, *Vietnam: The Two Wars*. (Banyo, QLD: Flat Earth Films and Magna Pacific, 2004), DVD.

[iv] As David Joel Steinberg asserts, South Vietnam was 'geopolitically indispensable' *In Search of Southeast Asia* (USA: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), 361.

[v] Hall. In discussing the origins of the Second Vietnam War, Anthony Short rather poignantly labels these effects 'the ashes of Geneva.' *The Origins of the Vietnam War* (London: Longman, 1989), 153-85.

[vi] Ruane, 107; Duiker, *Sacred War*, 270.

[vii] For a close analysis of the effects of the First Vietnam War/causes of the Second Vietnam War, see Short, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*.

[viii] As Robin Jeffrey explains in *Asia: The Winning of Independence*, (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1981), 191-3, a combination of disrupted established patterns of export and import, and agricultural practices and prices, as well as the destruction of roads and railways, and losses of one to two million civilians as a result of food shortages, resulted in significant economic impacts, on top of default wartime inflation.

[ix] In contrast, those who migrated to South Vietnam were divided between the civil service (if educated) and agricultural labour. In fact, in giving migrants land and financial support, the Saigon government created 319 villages. The opening of labour to migrants played a part in allowing South Vietnam to assert economic stability in the wake of the First Vietnam War.

[x] Ruane, 42; Jeffrey, 206. It is not known for certain how many peasants suffered at the hands of these officials; the estimates of those who died range from 3,000 to 100,000. The agricultural cooperatives had an estimated membership of 13 million.

[xi] Ruane, 43.

[xii] James Olson and Randy Roberts, *Where the Domino Fell: America and Vietnam 1945-1995* (USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 47; Duiker, *Sacred War*, 109.

[xiii] Duiker, *Sacred War*, 109. It is important to recognise that, although Diem was anti-communist, he was also highly elitist and, in effect, turned South Vietnam into a police state. He came from a small Catholic and educated family and was seated 'at the centre of a web of nepotism and corruption in which family connection and friendship were the strings of power' (Hall). Ruane asserts the implications of Diem's position in the interwar period: '[f]or Diem, the idea of cultivating wide rural support was evidently less important than maintaining the political allegiance of the wealthy agrarian capitalists' (46).

[xiv] Ruane, 38.

[xv] Steinberg, 369. Literacy was a key concern of the North in this period, and regained prominence in the aftermath of the Second Vietnam War. The health reforms instituted were unprecedented in Vietnam and led to a dramatic increase of the average life expectancy from 35 years to 58 years from 1940 to 1975.

[xvi] It is important to recognise, as Ruane illustrates (1-18), that Ho Chi Minh's aims for the Vietnamese people were a *combination* of nationalist and communist ideologies. This was demonstrated in the mass mobilisation of, and stirring of nationalism within, the peasantry, which catalysed war with the French; however, these original aims (particularly the balance between the two ideologies) was altered over time by various national and international organisations with varying ulterior motives. Thus, political and cultural/ethnic unity are here mentioned simultaneously in order to capture the original aims which were perhaps lost in the process of the Geneva settlement and clouded by American preoccupation with the spread of communism (in fact, the Second Vietnam War can be seen to have become the tangible battleground of the Cold War). Olson and Roberts, 86.

[xvii] Ruane, 47. South Vietnam was able to achieve a reasonably stable position in the immediate aftermath of the war despite Diem's unpopularity amongst the population, as America continued to support his authority by default of his staunch anti-communist stance.

[xviii] Though 100,000 Viet Minh troops had controlled approximately one third of South Vietnam at the end of the First Vietnam War, only about 10,000 remained after the Geneva settlement as Ho Chi Minh was confident that, come the 1956 elections, victory was a given (Olson and Roberts, 50). Interestingly, these figures place the anti-communist measures of Diem in a whole new light; the number of alleged communists imprisoned and killed clearly exceeds the number of Viet Minh actually present in South Vietnam. By means of comparison, it is also important to note that, although China offered its support to the North, and whilst the process of land reform executed was inspired by earlier Chinese practice, the country's increased role more directly served to compound the tensions between communism and capitalism already at play.

[xix] The government of Diem first began to refer to the Viet Minh as the Viet Cong in 1957. This term, as Steinberg notes, was more pejorative in that it literally meant 'Vietnamese communists'; effectively, this stark distinction (no longer the name of a force concerned with liberating Vietnam from colonial power and unifying the country under the ideologies of nationalism and communism) replicated that which the division at the 17th parallel had created. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in *The Search of Southeast Asia*, Steinberg alternates between the two terms based on not only the chronology, but the nature of the events he describes (363).

[xx] Olson and Roberts, 66.

[xxi] Duiker, *Sacred War*, 117.

xxii Ibid., 124-7; Norman G. Owen, *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia* (USA: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 346.

xxiii Quoted from *Cuoc Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc, 1954-1975*, as cited in Duiker, *Sacred War*, 120.

xxiv Duiker, *Sacred War*, 120-1.

xxv Ruane's exploration of the relationship between North Vietnam and the Diemist regime (48-53).

xxvi Interestingly, Hall illustrates the way in which the heavy casualties sustained by the Vietnamese were in part related to the United States use of air power; the tactical advantage and sheer force of this warfare meant that the Vietnamese sustained huge losses in comparison to the American forces. The ambiguity of Vietnamese here is intentional; by default of the fact that it was predominantly American soldiers operating the air force, their South Vietnamese counterparts could not escape direct conflict on the ground and simply 'fly away at the end of each day.'

xxvii Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 301-2.

xxviii Justin Corfield, *The History of Vietnam* (USA: Greenwood Press, 2008), 105; D.R. SarDesai, *Vietnam: Past and Present* (USA: Westview Press, 1998), 93. For an exploration of the immediate and long terms effects of this widespread natural destruction on the post-war Vietnamese economy see "Clean, Green, and Beautiful: Environment and Development under the Renovation Economy," an essay by Michael DiGregorio, A. Terry Rambo and Masayuki Yanagisawa in *Post-war Vietnam: Dynamics of a Transforming Society.* Hy V. Luong (Ed.), (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 171-99).

xxix Duiker, *Sacred War*, 259.

xxx In referring to American intervention in Vietnam, McNamara illustrates the primacy of this concept: 'if the South Vietnamese were to be saved, they had to win the war themselves…. External military force cannot substitute for the political order and stability that must be forged *by* a people *for* themselves' (cited in Ruane, 120).

xxxi Hall.

xxxii Duiker, *Sacred War*, 260; Duiker, *Vietnam: Revolution in Transition* (USA: Westview Press, 1995), 108-15 and 139-43.

xxxiii Owen, 471; Duiker, *Sacred War*, 261.

xxxiv Young, 302; Hy Luong, "Introduction: Post-war Vietnamese Society: An Overview of Transformational Dynamics," in *Post-war Vietnam: Dynamics of a Transforming Society.* Hy V. Luong (Ed.), (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 4-5; Gabriel Kolko, *Vietnam: Anatomy of a Peace* (London: Routledge, 1997), 2. For a detailed analysis of the population movement and refugees in the post-war Vietnam see Andrew Hardy, "State Visions, Migrant Decisions: Population Movements Since the End of the Vietnam War," in *Post-war Vietnam: Dynamics of a Transforming Society.* Hy V. Luong (Ed.), (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 107-37.

xxxv Owen, 472. The discontent of the population resulted in the re-establishment of provinces over time; whilst the communist government had decreased the number of provinces from 72 to 38 in just three years, there existed 61 by the 1990s.

xxxvi Duiker, *Vietnam: Revolution in Transition*, 184.

xxxvii Ibid., 185 and 187; Edward Doyle and Terrence Maitland, *The Aftermath: 1975-85* (Boston: Boston Publishing Company, 1985), 16-7.

xxxviii Duiker, *Vietnam: Revolution in Transition*, 194.

xxxix Both of the declines in Chinese and Soviet Union aid to North Vietnam and, equally, the absence of American aid to South Vietnam due to their defeat/withdrawal.

xl Steinberg, 373.

xli In a chapter titled "Revolution in Crisis" Duiker explains the problems encountered by the government in instituting economic reforms and details both the nationalisation of industry and commerce and the collectivisation of agriculture. *Vietnam Since the Fall of Saigon* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 31-51.

xlii Owen, 472. Owen argues that this prevalent attitude is evidenced in the fact that black market trade had almost tripled by 1980.

xliii Owen, 471.

xliv Duiker, *Sacred War*, 262-5.

xlv Interestingly, during the course of the Second Vietnam War, the conflict had spread into Cambodia (1969) after the North Vietnamese had transported troops and supplies through the country, exploiting its neutrality.

xlvi Owen further provides that the relationship between Vietnam and China had began to alter significantly even during the Second Vietnam War as a result of Cold War tensions. Whereas Vietnam sought out the Soviet Union as a continued ally, the Chinese were increasingly fearful of the Soviet Union and instead attempted to achieve a close relationship with the United States (473). Steinberg extrapolates these connections, showing how Vietnam was driven to a 'suffocating dependency upon the Soviet Union,' which not only served to deteriorate Chinese relations further, but left Vietnam vulnerable, especially considering the later collapse of the Soviet bloc (372).

[xlvii] A restriction on trade existed between Vietnam and the Untied States up until 1994 (Luong, "Introduction," 2).

[xlviii] For a detailed analysis of the *Doi Moi* scheme see Melanie Beresford, "Economic Transition, Uneven Development, and the Impact of Reform on Regional Inequality" in *Post-war Vietnam*, 61-4.

[xlix] Duiker, *Vietnam: Revolution in Transition*, 265-7. Further, Duiker argues that problems continued to plague Vietnam: structural problems prevented true economic development and there was an ever-increasing contrast between bureaucracy and entrepreneurialism in the North and South, respectively.

[l] Duiker, *Sacred War*, 267-9; Corfield, 113.Vietnamese troops did not withdraw from Cambodia until 1989 (Luong, "Introduction," 2-3) and in addition, territorial debates, particularly over the South China Sea, consumed relations between China and Vietnam well into the 1980s (Duiker, *Vietnam Since the Fall of Saigon*, 139-40).

[li] Duiker, *Sacred War*, 269.

[lii] That is, '[a]fter 1975 Vietnam's rulers lost the peace *because* they won the war' (Richard K Betts, "The Strategic Predicament," in *Vietnam Joins the World* James W. Morley and Masashi Nishihara (Eds.) (New York: ME Sharpe, 1997), 94-114; Kolko, 149-60.