

HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS

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**THE CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM'S
LEADERSHIP OF CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
FROM 1961 TO 1975**

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INTRODUCTION

1. The reasons for choosing the research topic

In September 1960, the third national congress of Worker's Party of Vietnam set two strategic revolutionary tasks for both the Northern and the Southern. Facing the strong development of the Southern revolutionary since the Concerted Uprising, the Congress decided to strengthen the leadership of strategies, policies and organizational implementation towards the Party Committee in the Southern of Vietnam.

The Congress passed the Party Charter (amendment), Article 24 put the Executive Board had authority in appointing some Central members to establishment the Central office for South Vietnam responsible for ruling the affairs of Party in strategic special Party Committee. The Central office for South Vietnam is under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee. To realise the strategies of the third national congress of Party, the third meeting of Central Executive Committee (3rd term) occurred in January 1961, concluded to establish the Central office for South Vietnam and specific declare of organization, roles, responsibilities, power of the Central office in new context.

In October 1961, The Central office for South Vietnam has been found officially. In terms of scope of leadership, since 1961 up to 1964, The Central office for South Vietnam lead the resistance movement in the entire south. Since 1965 up to 1975, the scope of leadership of The Central office for South Vietnam has been limited in the Southern battlefield and the southernmost battlefield of Central Vietnam.

During the resistance war against the United States for national salvation, the cultural and educational front occupied a position of particular importance. It was on this front that an intense struggle unfolded between the revolutionary culture and education of the Vietnamese people-characterized by national, scientific, and popular principles and the neo-colonial culture and education imposed by the United States and the Saigon

administration. Revolutionary culture and education served not merely as instruments for improving public knowledge and literacy; they also functioned as powerful weapons for shaping a new generation of citizens, fostering noble ideals and sentiments, and strengthening the people's unwavering confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolutionary cause.

Fully aware of the significance and role of the cultural and educational front, the Vietnam Workers' Party, particularly the Central office for South Vietnam (COSVN), closely followed developments on the ground and issued numerous timely policies and directives. Despite the harsh conditions of war, the constant instability of the liberated zones, and severe economic and financial difficulties, COSVN successfully led cultural and educational activities to achieve important accomplishments. Organizational structures were gradually consolidated, while a dedicated contingent of intellectuals, artists, writers, and teachers was mobilized and developed. Notably, the general education system and supplementary education movements expanded extensively throughout the liberated areas and revolutionary bases, attracting tens of thousands of students. The extraordinary perseverance and commitment of artists and cultural workers resulted in the creation of numerous cultural and artistic works that effectively served propaganda and mobilization efforts. These spiritual and cultural products united and inspired the population, inspired profound patriotism, and contributed significantly to the overall strength of the people's war, thereby undermining and defeating the enemy's psychological warfare campaigns.

However, alongside these achievements, limitations also existed in COSVN's leadership of cultural and educational work. Owing to the necessity of prioritizing military direction and wartime operations, comprehensive and overarching policies were not always formulated in a timely manner. The quality of certain cultural and educational outputs did not consistently reach a high standard, and the number of personnel working in these fields remained limited, falling short of the increasingly

demanding requirements of the battlefield. Furthermore, revolutionary bases and liberated zones continually faced intense ideological influence and subversive activities originating from the enemy's neo-colonial cultural system.

More than half a century has passed, yet the task of engaging with historical witnesses individuals who directly participated in the struggle within the revolutionary bases and contributed to the construction of culture and education in the liberated zones remains both urgent and profoundly meaningful from a humanitarian perspective.

Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive and systematic study of the process through which the Central office for South Vietnam led cultural and educational work during the resistance war against the United States for national salvation, to evaluate its achievements and limitations, and to draw historical lessons that may be applied in the contemporary context.

For these reasons, the doctoral candidate chose the topic *“The Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs from 1961 to 1975”* as the dissertation topic in the field of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

2. Research purposes and tasks

2.1. Research purposes

Clarify the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam in guiding cultural and educational work from 1961 to 1975, thereby drawing valuable lessons for reference and applying them to current cultural and educational leadership.

2.2. Research tasks

- To explain the factors which impact on the process that the Central Office for South Vietnam took leadership toward the cultural, educational affairs since 1961 up to 1975.

- To analysis the strategies and leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam toward cultural, educational affairs in the region of Southern and South of Central Vietnam in both periods 1961-1968 and 1969-1975.

- To conclude on the advantages and disadvantages, and some lessons from the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam toward the cultural, educational affairs (1961 - 1975).

3. Research subject and scope

3.1. Research subject

The research subject of this dissertation is the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam toward cultural and educational affairs since 1961 up to 1975.

3.2. Research scope

- In terms of content:

The dissertation focuses on clarify the strategies and leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam towards cultural, educational affairs in some fields of:

Building the organizational structure and team of cultural and educational staff; Directing the content and ways of cultural activities; Fighting against the enemy's reactionary culture and education.

- In terms of space:

The dissertation focuses on the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam in the revolutionary bases, liberated zones in the Southern and the southernmost part of Central Vietnam, belonging to the B2 battlefield.

- In terms of time:

The dissertation limits its scope of research to the period from 1961 to 1975.

To ensure the systemicity and the comparison, comprehensive assessment, this dissertation mentions some contents relating to the pre-1961 period.

4. Theoretical framework, methodology and historical sources

4.1. Theoretical framework

The dissertation is carried out on the basis of Marxism - Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's ideology of culture, education.

4.2. Methodology

To reach the research aims, the dissertation applying the specialised methods, including significantly: logic method, historic method, while applying other methods such as: analysis - synthesis - comparative, statistics, fieldwork, interview.

4.3. Historical sources

The dissertation significantly bases on the historical sources, including:

- The system of Communist Party of Vietnam resolutions: Complete Communist Party of Vietnam's resolutions (1961-1975) including 15 volumes, The Central Office for South Vietnam's resolutions (1946-1975) including 18 volumes.

- Directives, speeches, essays of the leaders of Vietnamese revolutionary, such as: Pham Van Dong, Le Duan, Nguyen Van Linh, Vo Van Kiet of the cultural, educational affairs.

- Archives at the National Archives Centres, local Archives Centres, National Archives Centre No II, No. III; Archive Department of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Office, Military Sciences Department of 7th Military Region and 9th Military Region.

- The scientific researches works; Party's history of the locals, monographs, journal articles, diaries of Vietnam war, cultural, educational activities in the Southern bases, liberated zones.

- Patent of Interviews with interviewees are cadres, artists who participated in cultural, educational activities in the B2's provincial bases, liberated zones.

5. The contributions of the dissertation

- Providing the various of believable document, materials system in order to study the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs in the B2 battlefield; contribute to the study some issues relating to the Party's history, history of People's war generally, and cultural, educational history particularly in each locals.

- Contributing to restoration, summarisation, assessment of the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs since 1961 up to 1975.

- Giving objective assessments of advantages, disadvantages, reasons and lessons from the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs at the B2's bases, liberated zones.

6. The dissertation's theoretical and practical meanings

6.1. Theoretical meanings

- The dissertation contributes to summarise the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs at the B2's bases, liberated zones.

- Providing research arguments to add, develop the current strategies and policies in constructing and preserving culture, education.

6.2. Practical meanings

- The dissertation's lessons can be applicated in the current Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of culture, education.

- The dissertation can be used as the material, reference serving for studying and teaching of the Party's leadership of cultural, educational affairs during the national rescue anti-American resistance war.

- The dissertation also can be used as the reference serving for studying and teaching the local history, providing the suggestions for studying and editing local history at the B2's provinces.

7. The dissertation's outline

Besides the Introduction, Conclusion, Table of content, Bibliography, List of Ph.D. candidate's published works relating to the dissertation, the content of this dissertation includes 4 chapters, 9 sections.

Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

1.1.1. Literature review of foreigners' works

“Dans les acquis de Vietcong” (“Inside the Vietcong's bases”) by Madeleine Riffaud; *“In Retrospect, The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam”* by Robert S. Mc Namara; *“The War Behind Me: Vietnam veterans confront the truth about U.S war crimes”* by Deborah Nelson; *“War Without Fronts: The USA in Vietnam”* by Bernd Greiner; *“Ngo Dinh Diem and South Vietnam Reconsidered”* by Philip E. Catton; *“Misalliance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and the Fate of South Vietnam”* by Edward Miller; *“Higher Education in South Vietnam in 1965-1975: An Approach from The Impacts of The Us Education Aid”* by Luu Van Quyet and Nguyen Thi Mai Huong, *“Building a Republican Nation in Vietnam, 1920 - 1963”* by do Nu-Anh Tran và Tuong Vu; *“Revolutionary war in Southern Vietnam 1954 - 1975: A cultural perspective”* by Nguyen Thi Phuong and Ho Son Diep,...

1.1.2. Literature review of national works

1.1.2.1. Literature review of works relating to the culture and education during the National Rescue Anti-American Resistance War

**** The works which summarise the National Rescue Anti-American Resistance War, relating to culture and education***

“Summarise the National Rescue Anti-American Resistance War: victory and lessons” edited by Steering Committee for War Summary under the Politburo; *“The history of Vietnamese economy 1945 - 2000 (volumne 2: 1955 - 1975)”* edited by Dang Phong; *“History of the Southern Resistance”* by Editorial Steering Committee of the History of the Southern Resistance, Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet is the President Committee, Tran Bach Dang is the general editor; *“Key issues in the Southern Resistance”*; *“Under a common flag”* edited by Tran Bach Dang; *“National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Alliance of National Democratic and Peaceful Forces of Vietnam, Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam”* edited by Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee; *“National*

Liberation Front of South Vietnam (1960 - 1977)” by Ha Minh Hong and Tran Nam Tien.

*** *The works which mention the culture***

“*Southern liberation literature*” by Pham Van Si; “*National Rescue Literature*” by Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences - Vietnam Institute of Literature, general edited by Hoang Van Thong; “*South Vietnam culture and arts 1954 - 1975*” by Tran Trong Dang Dan; “*Memories of 50 Years of Southern Revolutionary Music*” by Ho Chi Minh City Music Association, general edited by Xuan Hong.

“*50th anniversary of the establishment Southern Vietnamese resistance cinema (1947 - 1997)*” by Ho Chi Minh City Cinema Association; “*Luu Huu Phuoc - Life and Musical Career*”; “*The roles of Saigon - Cholon - Giadinh literature, arts, and artists in the cause of national building, national liberation*” compiled by Ho Chi Minh City Union of Literature and Arts Associations and Ho Chi Minh City Literature and Arts Theory and Criticism Council; “*Cuu Long Performing Arts Troupe during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war*” collected and compiled by Department of Culture, Sport and Tourism of Vinh Long Province; “*Dong Thap artists during the resistance war (1945 - 1975)*” by Dong Thap Union of Literature and Arts Associations.

*** *The works which mention the educational affairs***

“*Overview the 30-year Southern education 1945 - 1975*” general edited by Tran Thanh Nam; “*Southern revolutionary education during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war (1954 - 1975)*” general edited by Assoc.Prof.Dr. Nguyen Xuan Te; “*Scientific workshop Nine-year building resistance education in the South - achievements and experience (1945 - 1954)*” by Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee's Propaganda Department; the article “*Building democratic national education in the Thu Dau Mot - Binh Duong revolutionary base during the anti-American resistance war (1954 - 1975)*” by Nguyen Van Hiep published in the Vietnam Journal of Historical Studies, No. 8; the article “*Overview about the Southern revolutionary education during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war (1954 - 1975)*” by Tran Thanh Nguyen; the article “*Southern*

revolutionary education (1954 - 1975) - The historical significance and some lessons” by Nguyen Xuan Te and Do Thi Cuong.

1.1.2.2. Group of scientific works relating to the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam in the cultural, educational affairs

**** The works which mention the leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam during the resistance war generally***

“*The victorious strength of the national-rescue anti-American resistance war*” by Institute of History; “*The 9th military region's 30-year resistance (1945 - 1975)*” by the 9th Military Region Command; “*The 8th military region's 30-year resistance (1945 - 1975)*” by Party Committee - Command the 9th military region; “*Chronological history of the Southern Regional Party Committee and the Central Office for South Vietnam (1954 - 1975)*” by Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics and Public Administration - Institute of History of Party general edited by Prof.Dr. Trinh Nhu (2008); “*History of the Southern Regional Party Committee and Central Office for South Vietnam (1954 - 1975)*” by Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics and Public Administration - Institute of History of Party general edited by Prof.Dr. Nguyen Quy; “*History of the Party Committee of 7th Military Region (1945 - 2005)*” by Central Military Party Committee, Party Committee of the 7th Military Region; “*Southwestern resistance war*” by Southwestern resistance war Compilation Board; “*History of Vietnam's Southeastern and Southernmost Central (1945 - 1975)*” compiled by Party Committee, Command of Military Region 7; “*Binh Thuan revolutionary base during 30-year liberation war (1945 - 1975)*” by Military Region 7 - Binh Thuan Provincial Party Committee; “*The Party's leadership of intellectual mobilization in the South (1954 - 1975)*” general edited by Dr. Nguyen Thang Loi; the article “*Operational achievements, leadership experience of Provisional Party Committee of the South and the Central Office for South Vietnam during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war*” by Prof.Dr. Trinh Nhu; the article “*The Central Office for South Vietnam - a Party's victory of organizing and leading revolutionary war*” by Nguyen Binh.

*** *The works which mention the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam towards culture, education***

“*Liberal education during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war*” by Nguyen Quoc Bao and Pham Thanh Liem (2012); Collection “*Artists during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war (volumne 1)*” by Ho Chi Minh City Fine Arts Museum; “*Unforgotten songs*” by The traditional resistance club Propaganda Committee’s Central Office for South Vietnam; “*Propaganda Committee’s Central Office for South Vietnam during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war (1961 - 1975)*” by Do Van Bien, the dissertation “*U Minh base during two anti-French colonism and anti-American imperialism resistance wars (1945 - 1975)*” by Tran Ngoc Long (2005); the dissertation “*Revolutionary education in the Southeast region (1945 - 1975)*” by Huynh Hong H nh,...

1.2. RESEARCH RESULTS FROM LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE ISSUES WHICH THE DISSERTATION FOCUSES ON

1.2.1. Research results from literature review

1.2.1.1. *On sources*

Generally, the research works of culture, education, the leadership of Central Party Committee, Central Office for South Vietnam in cultural, educational affairs in B2 battlefield since 1961 up to 1975 are various, diverse of genre, including published works such as books, journal articles, theses, dissertations,... It illustrates that the aforementioned topic grabbed attentions from many researchers, scientists to exploring and studying.

These are precious, believable sources to contribute in researching, clarifying the process that Central Office for South Vietnam took leadership the cultural, educational affairs in the bases, liberated zones in B2.

1.2.1.2. *On approach and research methods*

Both scientific works of the American's Vietnam war; national and international scientific works of the cultural, educational affairs in B2 are studied from the different perspectives such as History of Communist Party of Vietnam, Vietnamese history, History of Military, Political sciences, Educational sciences,... Applying different research methods including historical, comparative, analysis and synthesis, logical, statistical,... Thanks to the various approaches and research methods, we can have suitable choice

for approaching and studying in the field of History of Communist Party of Vietnam.

1.2.1.3. On content

The aforementioned works have clarified these following issues::

- The situation, characteristics, consequences, achievements and some lessons, experiences in building and developing resistance culture, education in B2 during the national-rescue anti-American resistance war.

- The lively, comprehensive, and fully revolutionary activities of team of cadres, teachers, lecturers, and artists.

- The significant roles of the cultural, educational battlefield in developing the democratic, comprehensive strength to carry out the revolutionary tasks, national liberation, and national reunification.

- The foreigners' works analysis the Southern revolutionary forces as a heroic, brave, resilient, received-widespread-support-of-people fighting force.

On the basis of the aforementioned works, it can affirm that almost there is no scientific work duplicate with this dissertation. We inherit from the aforementioned works:

First, the establishment, roles, functions of Central Office for South Vietnam; thereby, overview and analysis the position, roles of culture, education during the comprehensive resistance under the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam (1961 - 1975).

Second, exploit, applying the sources relating to the re-establishment bases and liberated zones at the military regions post-Concerted Uprising 1960, to analysis the establishment of bases, liberated zones at B2 battlefield.

Third, thanks to inheriting the works of arts, literature, cinema, education, lifestyle,... to analysis the implementation cultural, educational activities at the departments, governments at B2 battlefield since 1961 up to 1975.

1.2.2. The key issues that the dissertation focuses on to solve

First, the factors have influence on the establishment of Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies in directing the cultural, educational affairs at B2's bases, liberated zones since 1961 up to 1975.

Second, the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam of culture, education at B2's bases, liberated zones since 1961 up to 1975.

Third, the advantages and disadvantages of the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs at B2's bases, liberated zones since 1961 up to 1975.

Fourth, the experience, lessons from the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam of culture, education in B2's bases, liberated zones since 1961 up to 1975.

Chapter 1's conclusion

Generally, the research works of cultural, educational field in B2 battlefield during the national rescue anti-American resistance war have reflected the diversity in arts, literature, cinema, lifestyle, education at B2's bases and liberated zones. However, these research works only mentioned the specific field, parts of content, not depth analysis, comprehensive analysis, and specially, did not give assessments the roles and leadership of the Central Office for South Vietnam in directing the cultural, educational affairs in B2's bases and liberated zones since 1961 up to 1975.

Thereby, the dissertation should clarify, enhance analysis of the strategies, leadership of Party, Central Office for South Vietnam towards the resistance cultural, educational affairs; consequences, impacts of the cultural, educational field towards the B2's provinces people.

Chapter 2

THE STRATEGIES AND LEADERSHIP OF CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TOWARDS CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS (1961 - 1968)

2.1. THE FACTORS INFLUENCING ON THE LEADERSHIP OF CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TOWARDS CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

2.1.1. Geographical, sociocultural conditions of the Southern and the southernmost part of the South Central Coast

During the national rescue anti-American resistance war, Southern and the southernmost part of the South Central Coast are considered as the key battlefield of the South Vietnam and South Indochina.

The geographical, social conditions of B2 provinces have significant impacts on the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam towards cultural, education affairs. Therefore, the Central Office for South Vietnam focuses on the indigenous factors to build the bases, liberated zones, implementation the suitable cultural, education to the characteristics of the locals.

2.1.2. The cultural, educational situations in the Southern and the southernmost part of the South Central Coast pre-1961

Since the Concerted Uprising 1960, the Southern revolutionary have got significant achievements, such as the re-establishment of the bases, liberated zones in the South, the establishment of National Front for the Liberation of the South (20/12/1960) within cultural, educational activities under the leadership of NFL which has laid the foundations to the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam in B2 battlefield in the period 1961-1975.

However, Ngo Dinh Diem's government carried out the terrorist policies and political, economic, military tactics... including those related to culture and education. That reality requires the Central Office for South Vietnam have to immediately suggest strategies, directions to implementation cultural, educational affairs in the new context.

2.1.3. The establishment of bases, liberated zones in the Southern and the southernmost part of the South Central Coast

Since the Geneva Accords (7/1954), the liberated zones are reoccupied by Saigon government. In 1961, the Central Office for South Vietnam was found and directed to build the Southern bases. The population of these bases in B2's provinces rising sharply since the Concerted Uprising 1960. The construction, strengthen and enhance of bases in B2's provinces have strategic significance which creating the physical and forces strength for revolutionary. Along with the re-establishment bases and the developing in building and raising military forces, teams of organizations, there is also the enhance the liberated zones.

2.1.4. The implementation American's strategies and the requirements towards the South Vietnam revolutionary

From 1961 to 1968, the implementation American's Special Warfare and Local Warfare strategies in South Vietnam made the war more and more severe.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, the Central Office for South Vietnam, from 1961 to 1968, B2's military and civilian used people's war arrangement, determined to struggle against American imperialism and the Saigon government on all fronts, including the cultural, educational fronts.

2.1.5. The strategies of Party's Central Committee of cultural, education affairs in the South Vietnam

The reality in Southern battlefield, and the international context have created advantages and disadvantages required the Party have to add and correct, finalise the national rescue anti-American resistance strategy. The key point in the Party's cultural, educational strategies is building and developing populist democratic nationalist culture and education, raising revolutionary heroism, patriotism,... Thereby, encouraging the patriotic competitive movement in all fields, contributing to the general victory in building socialism in the North and liberation for the South, national reunification.

The Party's perspectives, strategies of resistance culture, education in the South is the compass to the Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies of culture, education keep up with the reality of revolutionary in the South during the national rescue anti-American resistance war.

2.2. THE CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM'S STRATEGIES OF CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

Implementation of the Party's Central Committee, from 1961 to 1968, the Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies of cultural, educational affairs is: culture, education have to served the public, people and the political tasks of the Party; gradually improve the people's lifestyle quality in the fields of mentality and physicality. Meanwhile, have efforts in encouraging the public, people uprising to anti-enemies and attack enemies in all fields from politics, military, to economy, culture in all regions; developing revolutionary heroism, building new persons.

2.3. THE LEADERSHIP OF CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TOWARDS CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

2.3.1. Building organizational system and teams of cultural, educational cadres

**** Building the cultural, educational organizing system***

On 23 November, 1961, Propaganda Committee's Central Office for South Vietnam is officially found. The organizational system of Propaganda Committee includes Arts sub-committee, Educational sub-committee,... Until 20 July, 1961, Southern Liberation Arts and Literature Association has been found with its key departments are Liberation Performing Arts Troupe. Military forces also found a distinguish team called Liberated Army Performing Arts Troupe (20 December, 1962).

**** Building the team of cultural cadres***

The Arts sub-committee, the Propaganda Committee, Central Office for South Vietnam and Political Department under the Regional Command has organized training cadres, artists at the locals through short-term training class. Specially, the roles of the Lam Giang Arts School.

**** Building the team of educational cadres***

Almost team of lecturers taking part in education, training are the Northern cadres, lecturers, the overseas intellectuals, military and civilian at B2's provinces.

2.3.2. Directing the content and ways of cultural activities

**** Building the cultural content***

Since its establishment, the Central Office for South Vietnam has focused on leading, guiding, building and developing the patriotic arts and literature served to the Party's political tasks; fighting against reactionary arts and literature of the enemies; keeping the strengthening and enhancing the bases, liberated zones along with building and promoting populist democratic nationalist culture.

**** Building the ways of cultural activities***

Organizing the small performing arts troupes (from 15 to 25 persons); opening professional training classes at the bases; giving cadres, artists' performances (in groups from 3 to 5 persons) to Tet and holidays gala shows; using the Liberated Radio Station and revolutionary newspapers printing to

spread the cultural - artistic activities. In addition, organizing film screening teams and photo exhibition teams reflecting current events, forming new habits, building a cheerful, healthy life.

2.3.3. Directing the content and ways of educational activities

** Building the content, curriculum*

The Pedagogy sub-committee edited the first textbook set including 24 titles according to the reunified curriculum over region. The textbook set focuses on key issues, including: fighting, producing, and cultural life. In addition, each province, each district also edited an additional textbook set in accordance with the local condition.

** Building the ways of educational activities*

The classes at the bases, liberated zones are organized flexibly. The educational system including: general education system, illiteracy removal classes for people, and complementary classes for military soldiers and cadres. Cadres, lecturers, and students not only studying, learning, but also take part in resistance.

2.3.4. Fighting against the enemy's reactionary culture

During the Vietnam war, the American imperialism along with Saigon government has set and launch lots of cultural, educational policies, tactics to realise their neocolonialist invasion. The Central Office for South Vietnam has been flexible to fighting against the American imperialism and Saigon government. The organizational network, teams of cadres and right people in B2 are full of revolutionary character.

Chapter 2's conclusion

From 1961 to 1968, under the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam, the resistance cultural, educational activities are shaped at the bases, liberated zones, and are realised positively; in spite of the unstable activities, interruption, dependence on the situation of battlefield and military; it can be said that the cultural, educational affairs in B2 battlefield not only support military soldiers and civilian more and more developing, the bases and liberated zones are more and more strengthening, stable in using knowledge during the national rescue people's war, but also support to build cultural, educational lifestyle more and more diverse, enthusiastic with the encouraging results in the bases, liberated zones.

Chapter 3

THE STRATEGIES AND LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TOWARDS CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS (1969 - 1975)

3.1. THE IMPACTS OF NEW CONTEXT AND CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM'S STRATEGIES OF CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

3.1.1. The impacts of new context on the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs Tình hình mới tác động đến Trung ương Cục miền Nam lãnh đạo công tác văn hóa, giáo dục

3.1.1.1. The implementation American imperialism's Vietnamization war and the new requirements to the South revolutionary

The national and international context (1969 - 1975) has undergone lots of ups and downs. Since the Paris Peace Accord 1973, facing the better situation towards the revolutionary forces, Party's Central Committee, Central Office for South Vietnam lead military soliders and civilian in B2's provinces got the final victory, come to the end the national rescue anti-American resistance war.

3.1.1.2. The situation of the bases, liberated zones in the South and Southernmost part of South Central Coast

Since 1969 up to 1971, almost bases and liberated zones in B2 fall in the empty because of the Saigon military and American imperialism's neocolonial tactics. This situation make the leadership of Central Office for South Vietnam became more and more difficult.

Since the Paris Peace Accord 1973, Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies is restoring, strengthening and enhancing the bases, liberated zones. The population in the bases, liberated zones increasing dramatically, which create an enthusiastic revolutionary cultural and educational lifestyle atmosphere.

3.1.1.3. The strategies of Party's Central Committee of cultural, educational affairs in the South

In the period of 1969 - 1975, The Party's Central Committee laid out the strategies of cultural, educational affairs which focus on affording and keep up with the move of North and South revolutionary, especially the rising

need of learning, studying and educational, cultural activities of military soldiers and civilian in the Southern bases, liberated zones. Party's Central Committee lead the educational departments should lay out educational reforms dramatically, carry out the system of 12-year general education, illiteracy removal and remove the footprints of the colonial education; building new persons and new lifestyle in the South after liberation.

3.1.2. The Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies of cultural, educational affairs

On the basis of the awareness of American imperialist's tactics during the Vietnamization war, the Central Office for South Vietnam's strategies are having efforts in developing the roles of revolutionary administration, building and enhance the bases, encouraging the resistance spirit and mentality of military soldiers and civilian in B2 in front of the difficult situation of revolutionary.

The Central Office for South Vietnam also continuously set new strategies of cultural, educational affairs in order to meet the demand in studying, learning, raising studious performance of military soldiers and civilian in B2, encouraging the soldiers and civilian during the South's liberation, national reunification.

3.2. THE CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH VIETNAM'S LEADERSHIP CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

3.2.1. Building the organizational system and teams of cultural, educational cadres

**** Building the organizational system of culture, education***

From 6th to 8th June, 1969, Congress of Representatives of the People of South Vietnam to conclude to found the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, whose organizational system includes Ministry of Information - Culture, and Ministry of Education - Youth which are responsible office to organize and implementation all the Party's revolutionary strategies, to take care of educational affairs for the cadres, soldiers and civilian in the South.

**** Building teams of cultural cadres***

In the period of 1969 - 1970, The Central Office for South Vietnam has given artists to the Southwestern region, make people build the shows, and training professional skills for artists in the performing arts trouper. Until 1970, a team of Northern cinema cadres was added to the Liberation Studio including the cameramen,...

**** Building teams of educational cadres***

The Educational sub-committee, Central Office for South Vietnam has opened two training courses to provincial, district educational cadres, in order to training educational cadres for the locals. Since the Paris Peace Accord 1973, education in the bases and liberated zones has been facilitated to building the offices, training cadres, lecturers, enhancing the classes.

3.2.2. Directing the content and ways of cultural activities

**** Building cultural content***

Since 1969 up to 1975, The Central Office for South Vietnam continuously focuses on constructing and preserving the patriotic arts - literature, in order to serving the Party's political tasks, fighting against the reactionary arts of the enemies. Combine the strengthening and enhancing bases, liberated zones with the constructing and preserving populist democratic nationalist culture.

**** Ways of cultural activities***

The cultural - arts activities are strengthening, the arts cadres of the Central Office for South Vietnam not only limited in the bases but also spread to all the battlefields, urbans, military occupation territory, even the galleries, revolutionary fine arts performances at abroad in order to encouraging the fighting spirit of cadres, soldiers and civilian in the South, following the South liberation, national reunification.

3.2.3. Directing the content and ways of educational activities

**** Building educational content, curriculum***

On 10 April, 1972, The Educational sub-committee suggested to the Central Committee assist more books and documents, and print media. Almost books and documents are textbook sets, professional and technical documents, references, complementary documents, arts books. The major content are general teaching, knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry, literature, history, geography, etc... The training, educated subjective are children of cadres, soldiers and civilian.

The content of educational affairs at the bases and liberated zones focuses on general education, mass education, higher education, relics/ruins removal, reactionary-education prevention in the liberated zones, and educational system construction in the liberated zones.

*** *Ways of educational activities***

Revolutionary education during this period focuses on mass education and complementary classes for cadres, soldiers. Since the Paris Peace Accord 1973, the educational movement is strengthening, the educational restoration, strengthening, and development in the liberated zones ties with the fight of enhancing liberated zones, rescue of people's leadership. Comprehensive educational development in accordance with age of group and subjects.

3.2.4. Fighting to anti-the-enemies' reactionary culture, education

Since 1968, the anti-war arts movement within the students occurred strongly with: the re-opened movement of singing Historical songs, movement of singing Resistance songs in the Southern urbans. "Sing for my people" movement was found on 27th December, 1969. The Central Office for South Vietnam gave cadres, artists left the bases, liberated zones to move in the suburb, urbans in order to support the development of students' arts movements.

In terms of educational affairs, since 1971, the Central Office for South Vietnam strengthened the leadership of educational affairs at the rural; education is considered as the spearhead in the enemy's Rural Pacification Program.

Chapter 3's conclusion

Under the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of cultural, educational affairs in the period of 1969 - 1975, it has been upgraded to a new height and reached encouraged achievements; facilitated for the construction of socialist culture, education, the construction of new socialist persons, not only training, nurturing and developing the research knowledge, but also feeding the precious characters, the revolutionary heroism to overcome difficulties, disadvantages, challenges, bring all the nation into the last victory of national rescue anti-American resistance war.

Chapter 4

ASSESSMENTS AND LESSONS

4.1. ASSESSMENTS

4.1.1. Advantages and reasons

4.1.1.1. Advantages

Firstly, The Central Office for South Vietnam's awareness and strategies of the roles of resistance cultural, educational work that were appropriate to the realities of the resistance war and the revolutionary tasks.

Secondly, The Central Office for South Vietnam's directions of cultural, educational affairs at the B2's bases, liberate zones are flexible, creative.

Thirdly, the cultural, educational affairs has gained lots of achievements which contributes to the victory of the national rescue anti-American resistance war.

4.1.1.2. Reasons

Objective reasons

The support and assistance of socialist countries, the progressive democratic forces and the movements of anti-American's Vietnam war globally. The assistance of the North to the South in the fields of education, culture, arts...

Subjective reasons

The comprehensive People's war strategies of The Workers' Party of Vietnam, along with the flexible, creative strategies, directions of the Central Office for South Vietnam

The Central Office for South Vietnam, directly the Propaganda Committee, the Party cells, have organized to implementation cultural, educational affairs effectively, keep up with the context, situation.

During its leadership, the Central Office for South Vietnam specially interested in training, nurturing, feeding the qualified cadres who enthusiastic to revolutionary career.

Military soldiers and civilian in the Southern and Southernmost part of Central Coast have positively participated in cultural - arts - educational activities,...

4.1.2. Disadvantages and reasons

4.1.2.1. Disadvantages

Firstly, in some cases, The Central Office for South Vietnam hasn't set, launched comprehensive strategies, policies of cultural, educational resistance affairs.

Secondly, the Central Office for South Vietnam's leadership of educational affairs sometimes hasn't meet the studios demands of B2's military soldiers and civilian.

Thirdly, the content, forms of resistance education, culture still are limited.

4.1.2.2. Reasons

Objective reasons

The impacts of historical context, comparative forces between the United States and Liberation Army of South Vietnam at the B2 battlefield on the direction of Central Office for South Vietnam of cultural, educational affairs.

Subjective reasons

Almost our cadres, artists, lecturers have low qualification, most of them are selfstudy, or resulted from short-term training courses, meanwhile, doing lots of different tasks during the lost and lack of forces

4.2. LESSONS

4.2.1. Strong aware of the significance of cultural, educational affairs during the resistance war

4.2.2. Combine the construction and preservation cultural, educational affairs at the bases, liberated zones

4.2.3. Focus on political education affairs towards teams of cultural, educational cadres, artists, lecturers, especially the young generations.

4.2.4. In accordance with people, aims to people-based cultural, educational development

4.2.5. Focus on training, nurturing local teams of cultural, educational cadres along with using the Northern cadres.

CONCLUSION

1. The great victory of the resistance war against the United States for national salvation was not only a glorious triumph on the political, military, and diplomatic fronts, but also a complete victory on the ideological and cultural front. The process by which the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN) led cultural and educational work in the strategically important B2 Theater from 1961 to 1975 serves as compelling evidence of the Party's strategic vision: transforming culture and education from purely intellectual and spiritual activities into a crucial front and a powerful political and

ideological weapon in the struggle against the neo-colonialism imposed by U.S. imperialism confidential.

2. Under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party, and directly under that of COSVN, the wartime cultural and educational policy underwent profound development, progressing from a rudimentary stage to a more comprehensive and mature system that closely aligned with and effectively served each phase of the revolutionary struggle.

The period from 1961 to 1968 was characterized by the establishment of foundational structures and the direct support of combat operations. Cultural and educational activities were conducted according to principles of mobility and flexibility, penetrating villages, hamlets, and battlefields to fulfill urgent tasks such as eradicating illiteracy, strengthening the will to fight, and combating the enemy's subjugating culture. During this period, the model of the "new socialist individual," imbued with revolutionary heroism, was gradually shaped and cultivated.

The period from 1969 to 1975 marked a phase of institutionalization and affirmation of political legitimacy. COSVN directed cultural and educational activities in conjunction with the establishment and consolidation of institutions under the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. From a defensive posture focused on preserving cultural and educational achievements, these activities shifted to an offensive posture, expanding from revolutionary base areas into contested zones and urban centers. In doing so, culture and education became vivid demonstrations of the progressive and humane nature of the people's democratic regime.

3. Among the most significant achievements realized under the leadership of COSVN was the successful construction of a strong "people's support front" and the cultivation of a distinctive revolutionary character among the military and civilian population of the South Central and Southern regions. This character was manifested in ardent patriotism, profound hatred of foreign aggressors, resilience in the face of hardship and danger, unwavering loyalty to the Party and the nation, and a willingness to sacrifice for the revolutionary cause. It was further reflected in a spirit of solidarity, eagerness to learn, openness to self-improvement, creativity, initiative, and

leadership in mass movements, as well as in personal qualities such as kindness, openness, generosity, courage, bravery, and resourcefulness.

4. From an objective perspective, the B2 Theater was one of the most strategically important regions in South Vietnam, serving as the center of political, military, economic, cultural, and educational power for both the United States and the Saigon administration. It was therefore a key battlefield in the southern theater of war. Consequently, COSVN's leadership in cultural and educational affairs was not without limitations. The devastation caused by warfare and the continual confidential displacement of revolutionary base areas at times resulted in fragmented leadership, operational difficulties, and the absence of a comprehensive long-term strategy. Cultural cadres, artists, and teachers were often compelled to rely on their own resources or to "learn while working" under conditions of extreme material deprivation. Nevertheless, it was precisely amid such hardship and danger that the flexibility, adaptability, and leadership capacity of COSVN, together with the selfless dedication of intellectuals, educators, and artists, shone most brightly, enabling them to overcome adversity and fulfill their historic mission.

5. A study of COSVN's leadership of cultural and educational work from 1961 to 1975 yields five major lessons. *First*, it is essential to fully recognize and consistently uphold the role and significance of culture and education in revolutionary struggles. *Second*, cultural and educational development must be closely integrated with the protection of these activities within revolutionary bases and liberated zones. *Third*, political and ideological education should receive special attention, particularly for cultural and educational cadres, artists, teachers, and younger generations. *Fourth*, cultural and educational development must be rooted in the people and directed toward serving their interests. *Fifth*, emphasis should be placed on training and developing local cultural and educational personnel while effectively utilizing cadres supported from North Vietnam.

These lessons retain profound practical significance for the contemporary period, particularly in the implementation of comprehensive educational reform and the development of an advanced Vietnamese culture deeply imbued with national identity in the context of national renewal and international integration.

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