

**SOUTH VIET NAM
NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION**

DOCUMENTS

GIAI PHONG PUBLISHING HOUSE
SOUTH VIET NAM — DECEMBER 1968

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Publisher's note

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will be just eight years old on December 20. Born in the widespread, simultaneous uprisings of 1959-1960, the Front is the exponent of the deepest aspirations and the defender of the vital interests of the fourteen million South Vietnamese. It has been organizing and leading their sacred resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, from victory to victory, shattering all the vicious strategies and plans of the aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges.

Thanks to its sound political line, the Front has extended its ranks and strengthened the unity of the entire South Vietnamese people in the face of U.S. aggression. It enjoys the wholehearted help of its blood-sealed countrymen in the North and the sympathy, support and

assistance of the freedom, justice- and peace-loving people throughout the world, including progressive people in the United States.

Since the beginning of this year, under the Front's glorious banner, the generalized offensive and simultaneous uprisings of the People's Liberation Armed Forces and people of South Viet Nam have brought the South Vietnamese revolution on to a new period of unprecedently great and all-sided victories, and raised the Front's prestige at home and abroad. It is a glaring fact that the Front has become the authentic representative of the fourteen million South Vietnamese with a decisive say and full authority in every matter relating to South Viet Nam.

On the eighth anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation we introduce to the reader some documents of the Front, hoping that they will help him better understand its lines and policies.

GIAI PHONG PUBLISHING HOUSE

December 1968

MANIFESTO
OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM
NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

Compatriots in the country and abroad!

Over the past hundred years the Vietnamese people repeatedly rose up to fight against foreign aggression for the independence and freedom of their fatherland. In 1945, the people throughout the country surged up in an armed uprising, overthrew the Japanese and French domination and seized power. When the French colonialists invaded our country for the second time, our compatriots, determined not to be enslaved again, shed much blood and laid down many lives to defend their national sovereignty and independence. Their solidarity and heroic struggle during nine years led the resistance war to victory. The 1954 Geneva Agreements restored peace in our country and recognized "the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam".

Our compatriots in South Viet Nam would have been able to live in peace, to earn their livelihood in security and to build a decent and happy life.

However, the American imperialists, who had in the past helped the French colonialists to massacre our people, have now replaced the French in enslaving the southern part of our country through a disguised colonial regime. They have been using their stooge — the Ngo Dinh Diem administration — in their downright repression and exploitation of our compatriots, in their manoeuvres to permanently divide our country and to turn its southern part into a military base in preparation for war in Southeast Asia.

The aggressors and traitors, working hand in glove with each other, have set up an extremely cruel dictatorial rule. They persecute and massacre democratic and patriotic people, and abolish all human liberties. They ruthlessly exploit the workers, peasants and other labouring people, strangle the local industry and trade, poison the minds of our people with a depraved foreign culture, thus degrading our national culture, traditions and ethics. They feverishly increase their military forces, build military bases, use the army as an instrument for repressing the people and serving the U.S. imperialists' scheme to prepare an aggressive war.

Never, over the past six years, have gun shots massacring our compatriots ceased to resound throughout South Viet Nam. Tens of thousands of patriots here have been murdered and hundreds of thousands thrown into jail. All sections of the people have been living in a stifling atmosphere under the iron heel of the U.S.-Diem clique. Countless families have been

torn away and scenes of mourning are seen everywhere as a result of unemployment, poverty, exacting taxes, terror, massacre, drafting of manpower and pressganging, usurpation of land, forcible house removal, and herding of the people into "prosperity zones", "resettlement centres" and other forms of concentration camps.

High anger with the present tyrannical regime is boiling among all strata of the people. Undaunted in the face of barbarous persecution, our compatriots are determined to unite and struggle unflaggingly against the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and the dictatorial and nepotic regime of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Among workers, peasants and other toiling people, among intellectuals, students and pupils, industrialists and traders, religious sects and national minorities, patriotic activities are gaining in scope and strength, seriously shaking the U.S.-Diem dictatorial regime.

The attempted coup d'état of November 11, 1960 in Saigon in some respects reflected the seething anger among the people and army men, and the rottenness and decline of the U.S.-Diem regime. However, there were among the leaders of this coup political speculators who, misusing the patriotism of the army men, preferred negotiation and compromise rather than to overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem. Like Ngo Dinh Diem, they persisted in following the pro-American and traitorous path, and also used the anti-communist signboard to oppose the people. That is why the coup was not

supported by the people and large numbers of army-men and, consequently, ended in failure.

At present, our people are urgently demanding an end to the cruel dictatorial rule; they are demanding independence and democracy, enough food and clothing, and peaceful reunification of the country.

To meet the aspirations of our compatriots, the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* came into being, pledging itself to shoulder the historic task of liberating our people from the present yoke of slavery.

The *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* undertakes to unite all sections of the people, all social classes, nationalities, political parties, organizations, religious communities and patriotic personalities, without distinction of their political tendencies, in order to struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges — the Ngo Dinh Diem clique — and for the realization of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality pending the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* calls on the entire people to unite and heroically rise up as one man to fight along the line of a program of action summarized as follows:

1. To overthrow the disguised colonial regime of the U.S. imperialists and the dictatorial Ngo Dinh Diem administration — lackey of the United States —, and to form a national democratic coalition administration.

2. To bring into being a broad and progressive democracy, promulgate freedom of expression, of the press, of belief, of assembly, of association, of movement and other democratic freedoms. To grant general amnesty to all political detainees, dissolve all concentration camps dubbed "prosperity zones" and "resettlement centres", abolish the fascist 10-59 law and other anti-democratic laws.

3. To abolish the economic monopoly of the United States and its henchmen, to protect home-made products, encourage home industry and trade, expand agriculture and build an independent and sovereign economy. To provide jobs for the unemployed, increase wages for workers, army men and office employees. To abolish arbitrary fines and apply an equitable and rational tax system. To help those who have gone South to return to their native places if they so desire, and to provide jobs for those among them who want to remain in the South.

4. To carry out land rent reduction, guarantee the peasants' right to till their present plots of land, redistribute communal land and advance toward land reform.

5. To do away with enslaving and depraved U.S.-style culture, build a national and progressive culture and education. To wipe out illiteracy, open more schools, carry out reforms in the educational and examination system.

6. To abolish the system of American military advisers, eliminate foreign military bases in Viet Nam

and build a national army for the defence of the fatherland and the people.

7. To guarantee equality between men and women and among different nationalities, and the right to autonomy of the national minorities ; to protect the legitimate interests of foreign residents in Viet Nam ; to protect and take care of the interests of Vietnamese living abroad.

8. To carry out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, to establish diplomatic relations with all countries which respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam.

9. To re-establish normal relations between the two zones, pending the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

10. To oppose aggressive war ; to actively defend world peace.

Compatriots !

Ours are a heroic people with a tradition of unity and indomitable struggle. We cannot let our country be plunged into darkness and mourning. We are determined to shatter the fetters of slavery, and wrest back independence and freedom.

Let us all rise up and unite !

Let us close our ranks and fight under the banner of the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* to overthrow the rule of the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem — their henchman.

Workers, peasants and other toiling people! The oppression and misery which are now heavily weighing on you must be ended. You have the strength of tens of millions of people. Stand up enthusiastically to save your families and our fatherland.

Intellectuals! The dictatorial rulers have stripped us of the most elementary human rights. You are living in humiliation and misery. For our great cause, stand up resolutely!

Industrialists and traders! A country under the sway of foreign sharks cannot have an independent and sovereign economy. You should join in the people's struggle.

Compatriots of all national minorities! Compatriots of all religious communities! Unity is life, disunity is death. Smash all U.S.-Diem schemes of division. Side with the entire people in the struggle for independence, freedom and equality among all nationalities.

Notables! The interests of the nation are above all else. Support actively the struggle for the overthrow of the cruel aggressors and traitors.

Patriotic officers and soldiers! You have arms in your hands. Listen to the sacred call of the fatherland. Be definitely on the side of the people. Your compatriots have faith in your patriotism.

Young men and women! You are the future of the nation. You should devote your youthful ardour to serving the fatherland.

Compatriots living abroad! Turn your thoughts toward the beloved fatherland, contribute actively to the sacred struggle for national liberation.

At present the movement for peace, democracy and national independence is surging up throughout the world. Colonialism is irretrievably disintegrating. The time when the imperialists could plunder and subjugate the people at will is over. This situation is extremely favourable for the struggle to free South Viet Nam from the yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. Peace-loving and progressive people in the world are supporting us. Justice is on our side, and we have the prodigious strength of the unity of our entire people. We will certainly win! The U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique will certainly be defeated. The cause of liberation of South Viet Nam will certainly triumph.

Compatriots around the country!

Let us unite and march forward confidently and valiantly to score brilliant victories for our people and our fatherland!

SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT
FOR LIBERATION

PROGRAM

OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

Since the French colonialists invaded our country, our people have unremittingly struggled for national independence and freedom. In 1945, our compatriots throughout the country rose up, overthrew the Japanese and French and seized power, and afterwards heroically carried out a resistance war for nine years, defeated the French aggressors and the U.S. interventionists, and brought our people's valiant resistance war to a glorious victory.

At the Geneva Conference the French imperialists had, in July 1954, to undertake to withdraw their troops from Viet Nam. The participating countries to the Conference solemnly declared their recognition of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

Since then we should have been able to enjoy peace, and join the people throughout the country in building

an independent, democratic, unified, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

However, the American imperialists, who had in the past helped the French colonialists to massacre our people, have now plotted to partition our country permanently, enslave its southern part through a disguised colonial regime and turn it into a military base in preparation for aggressive war in Southeast Asia. They have brought the Ngo Dinh Diem clique — their stooges — to power under the signboard of a fake independent state, and use their "aid" policy and advisers' machine to control all the military, economic, political and cultural branches in South Viet Nam.

The aggressors and traitors have set up the most dictatorial and cruel rule in Viet Nam's history. They repress and persecute all democratic and patriotic movements, abolish all human liberties. They monopolize all branches of economy, strangle industry, agriculture and trade, ruthlessly exploit all popular strata. They use every device of mind poisoning, obscurantism and depravation in an attempt to quell the patriotism of our people. They feverishly increase their military forces, build military bases, use the army as an instrument for repressing the people and for war preparations in accordance with the U.S. imperialists' policy.

For more than six years, countless crimes have been perpetrated by the U.S.-Diem dictatorial and cruel rule: terrorizing gun shots have never ceased to resound throughout South Viet Nam; tens of thousands

of patriots have been shot, beheaded, disembowelled with liver plucked out; hundreds of thousands of people have been tortured, and thrown into jail where they died of a slow death; countless people have been victims of arson, house removal and usurpation of land, and drafted for forced labour or pressganged into the army; innumerable families are in distress or torn away as a result of the policy of concentrating people in "prosperity zones" and "resettlement centres", of exacting rents and taxes, terror, arrest, plunder, ransom, widespread unemployment and poverty, which are seriously threatening the life of all popular strata.

There must be *peace*! There must be *independence*! There must be *democracy*! There must be *enough food and clothing*! There must be *peaceful reunification of the fatherland*!

That is our most earnest and pressing aspiration. It has become an iron will, and a prodigious strength urging our people to unite and resolutely rise up so as to overthrow the cruel rule of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, and to save our homes and our country.

In view of the supreme interests of the fatherland, with the firmness to struggle to the end for the people's legitimate aspirations and in accordance with the progressive trend in the world, the *South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation* comes into being.

The *South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation* undertakes to unite people from all walks

of life, social classes, nationalities, political parties, organizations, religious communities, and patriotic personalities in South Viet Nam, without distinction of political tendencies, in order to struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the U.S imperialists and their henchmen and for the realization of *independence, democracy, improvement of the living conditions, peace and neutrality* in South Viet Nam pending *peaceful reunification of the fatherland*.

The program of the *South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation* comprises the following 10 points:

I.— TO OVERTHROW THE DISGUISED COLONIAL
REGIME OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND THE
DICTATORIAL NGO DINH DIEM ADMINISTRATION—
LACKEY OF THE UNITED STATES—AND TO FORM
A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COALITION
ADMINISTRATION

The present regime in South Viet Nam is a disguised colonial regime of the U.S. imperialists. The South Viet Nam administration is a lackey which has been carrying out the U.S. imperialists' line and policies. This regime and administration must be overthrown, and a broad national democratic coalition administration formed, including representatives of all popular strata, nationalities, political parties, religious communities, and patriotic personalities. We must wrest back the people's economic, political, social and

cultural interests, achieve independence and democracy, improve the people's living conditions, carry out a policy of peace and neutrality and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

II.—TO BRING INTO BEING A BROAD AND PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

1. To abolish the current constitution of the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial administration — lackey of the United States. To elect a new National Assembly through universal suffrage.

2. To promulgate all democratic freedoms : freedom of expression, of the press, of assembly, of association, of movement, etc. To guarantee freedom of belief ; to do away with discrimination against any religion on the part of the State. To grant freedom of action to the patriotic political parties and mass organizations, irrespective of their political tendencies.

3. To grant general amnesty to all political detainees, dissolve all concentration camps under any form whatsoever. To abolish the fascist 10-59 law and other anti-democratic laws. To permit the return of all those who had to flee abroad due to the U.S.-Diem regime.

4. To strictly ban all illegal arrests and imprisonments, tortures and corporal punishment. To punish unrepenting cruel murderers of the people.

III. — TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN ECONOMY AND IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS

1. To abolish the economic monopoly of the United States and its henchmen. To build an independent and sovereign economy and finance, beneficial to the nation and people. To confiscate and nationalize the property of the U.S. imperialists and the ruling clique, their stooges.

2. To help industrialists and traders rehabilitate and develop industry and handicraft, and to encourage industrial development. To actively protect home-made products by abolishing production taxes, restricting or ending the import of those goods which can be produced in the country, and reducing taxes of import on raw materials and machinery.

3. To rehabilitate agriculture, modernize farming, and animal husbandry. To help peasants reclaim waste land and develop production; to protect crops and ensure the consumption of agricultural products.

4. To encourage and accelerate the economic inter-flow between town and countryside, between plains and mountainous areas. To develop trade with foreign countries without distinction of political regimes, and on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

5. To apply an equitable and rational tax system. To abolish arbitrary fines.

6. To promulgate labour regulations, that is: to prohibit dismissals, wage cuts, fines and ill-treatment of workers and office employees, to improve the living conditions of workers and public employees, and to

fix wages and guarantees for the health of teen-age apprentices.

7. To organize social relief :

— Jobs for the unemployed.

— Protection of orphans, elderly and disabled persons.

— Assistance to those who have become disabled or without support due to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

— Relief to localities suffering from crop failures, fire and natural calamities.

8. To help those who have gone South return to their native places if they so desire, and to provide jobs for those who decide to remain in the South.

9. To strictly prohibit forcible house removals, arson, usurpation of land, and the herding of the people into concentration centres. To ensure for the countryfolk and urban working people the opportunity to earn their living in security.

IV. — TO CARRY OUT LAND-RENT REDUCTION AND ADVANCE TOWARD THE SETTLEMENT OF THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM SO AS TO ENSURE LAND TO THE TILLERS

I. To carry out land-rent reduction. To guarantee to the peasants the right to till their present plots of land and ensure the right of ownership for those who have reclaimed waste land. To protect the legitimate right of ownership by peasants of the plots of land distributed to them.

2. To abolish the "prosperity zones" and the herding of people into "resettlement centres". To permit those forcibly herded into "prosperity zones" or "resettlement centres" to return home freely and earn their living on their own plots of land.

3. To confiscate the land usurped by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and distribute it to landless and land-poor peasants. To redistribute communal land in an equitable and rational way.

4. Through negotiations, the State will purchase from landowners at equitable and rational prices all land held by them in excess of a given area, fixed in accordance with the concrete situation in each locality, and distribute it to landless and land-poor peasants. This land will be distributed free of charge and with no conditions attached.

V. — TO BUILD A NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. To eliminate the enslaving and gangster-style American culture and education; to build a national, progressive culture and education serving the fatherland and the people.

2. To wipe out illiteracy. To build sufficient general-education schools for the youth and children. To expand universities, vocational and professional schools. To use the Vietnamese language in teaching. To reduce school fees, and exempt poor pupils and

students from school fees; to reform the examination system.

3. To develop science and technology and national literature and art; to encourage and help intellectuals, cultural and art workers to develop their abilities in service of national construction.

4. To develop medical service, physical culture and sports.

VI. — TO BUILD AN ARMY FOR THE DEFENCE FO THE FATHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE

1. To build a national army for the defence of the fatherland and the people. To cancel the system of U.S. military advisers.

2. To abolish the pressganging regime. To improve the material life of the army men and ensure their political rights. To prohibit the ill-treatment of soldiers. To apply a policy of assistance to families of poor army men.

3. To award and give worthy jobs to those officers and soldiers who have rendered meritorious services in the struggle against the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. To display leniency toward those who have collaborated with the U.S.-Diem clique and committed crimes against the people, but, having repented, are now serving the people.

4. To abolish all the military bases of foreign countries in South Viet Nam.

VII. — TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHT
OF EQUALITY BETWEEN NATIONALITIES,
AND BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN; TO
PROTECT THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF
FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN VIET NAM AND
VIETNAMESE LIVING ABROAD

1. To ensure the right to autonomy of the national minorities.

To set up, within the framework of the great family of the Vietnamese people, autonomous regions in areas inhabited by minority peoples.

To ensure equal rights among the nationalities. All nationalities have the right to use and develop their own spoken and written language and to preserve or change their customs and habits. To abolish the U.S - Diem clique's present policy of ill-treatment and forced assimilation of the minority nationalities.

To help the minority peoples to catch up with the common level of the people by developing the economy and culture in the areas inhabited by them, by training skilled personnel from people of minority origin.

2. To ensure the right of equality between men and women. Women to enjoy the same rights as men in all fields: political, economic, cultural and social.

3. To protect the legitimate rights of foreign nationals in Viet Nam.

4. To defend and take care of the interests of Vietnamese living abroad.

VIII. — TO CARRY OUT A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY

1. To cancel all unequal treaties signed with foreign countries by the U.S. henchmen which violate national sovereignty.

2. To establish diplomatic relations with all countries, irrespective of their political regimes, in accordance with the principles of peaceful co-existence as put forth at the Bandung Conference.

3. To unite closely with the peace-loving and neutral countries. To expand friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries, first of all with neighbouring Cambodia and Laos.

4. To refrain from joining any bloc or military alliance or forming a military alliance with any country.

5. To receive economic aid from any country ready to assist Viet Nam without conditions attached.

IX. — TO ESTABLISH NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO ZONES AND ADVANCE TOWARD PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND

The urgent demand of our people throughout the country is to reunify the fatherland by peaceful means. The *South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation* undertakes the gradual reunification of the country by peaceful means, on the principle of negotiations and discussions between the

two zones on all forms and measures beneficial to the Vietnamese people and their fatherland.

Pending national reunification, the Governments of the two zones will negotiate and undertake not to spread propaganda for secession or war preparation, not to use military forces against each other. To carry out economic and cultural exchanges between the two zones. To ensure for the people of both zones freedom of movement and trade, and the right of mutual visits and correspondence.

X. — TO OPPOSE AGGRESSIVE WAR, ACTIVELY DEFEND WORLD PEACE

1. To oppose aggressive war and all forms of enslavement by the imperialists. To support the national-liberation struggles of peoples in other countries.

2. To oppose war propaganda. To demand general disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons and demand the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

3. To support the movements for peace, democracy and social progress in the world. To actively contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

Compatriots throughout the country!
All Vietnamese patriots!

Following nearly a century of struggle and nine years of resistance our people who have shed much blood and laid down many lives are determined not to be enslaved again!

For peace, independence, freedom and the unity of our fatherland, for the destiny of our people, for the sake of our lives and future and the future of our descendants,

Let all of us rise up!

Let all of us unite!

Let us close our ranks and march forward to fight under the banner of the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* to overthrow the cruel domination of the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, their henchmen, in order to save our country and our homes.

We will surely win because the union of our people is an invincible force, because justice is on our side, and obsolete colonialism is now disintegrating and heading for total collapse. In the world, the movement for peace, democracy and national independence is expanding widely and strongly, and is winning more and more successes. This situation is very favourable to our struggle for national salvation.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen will certainly be defeated!

The cause of national liberation in South Viet Nam will certainly triumph!

Let us unite, be confident and struggle heroically! Let us go forward and win a glorious victory for our people and our fatherland!

Lebens mit der Kunst:

STATEMENT

OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE INTENSIFICA-
TION AND EXPANSION OF THE U.S. IMPERIAL-
ISTS' AGGRESSIVE WAR IN SOUTH VIET NAM

For more than ten years now, the U.S. imperialists have continuously interfered in South Viet Nam and committed aggression against it. Of late, they brought into South Viet Nam many more U.S. combat units, composed of missile and marine units and B.57 strategic bombers, as well as mercenary troops from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, Malaya, etc. They even ordered their air force and that of their henchmen to conduct repeated bombings against North Viet Nam and Laos. At present, they are not only stubbornly prosecuting their criminal aggressive war in South Viet Nam but also attempting to fan the flames of war throughout Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Clearly, the puppet administration in South Viet Nam, close upon the Americans' heels, is daily

committing more monstrous crimes against the fatherland. These impudent traitors are bending their knees before the aggressors and "bringing in snakes to kill chickens of the home coop", inviting troops of the United States and many of its satellites into South Viet Nam to massacre their own compatriots, occupy and trample upon our sacred territory and most harshly oppress and exploit our people.

The Vietnamese people, the peoples of Indochina and Southeast Asia, and peace- and justice-loving people all over the world are highly indignant at, and strongly protesting against, the criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists.

Facing this situation of utmost gravity, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation deems it necessary to reaffirm once again its firm and unswerving stand to carry out the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation.

I. — THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS ARE THE SABOTEUR OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS, THE MOST BRAZEN WARMONGER AND AGGRESSOR, AND THE SWORN ENEMY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

As is known to everyone, the glorious resistance of the Vietnamese people defeated the aggressive war of the French colonialists in spite of the intervention and assistance of the U.S. imperialists. True, during this protracted resistance, the U.S. imperialists supplied to the French colonialists 2,600 million dollars, hundreds of thousands of tons of armaments, and 200 military

advisers in order to strangle the aspirations for independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people. However, prompted by their indomitability and their determination to die rather than be enslaved, their courage and their strong resolve to fight, and enjoying the wholehearted support of the people around the world, the heroic Vietnamese people have won great victories, and liberated half of their beloved country from the clutches of the enemy; this led to the conclusion of international agreements in Geneva in 1954 which solemnly recognized the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, restored peace in this area and laid the basis for the reunification of Viet Nam by peaceful means.

The Vietnamese people deeply understand the value of these agreements. Now as in the past, they are correctly implementing them and are resolved to make them implemented with due respect to the spirit and letter of a thoroughly legal international accord. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Viet Nam have, step by step and more brazenly with every passing day, trampled on the Geneva Agreements and have in fact scrapped them by openly waging an atrocious war of aggression against it for nearly eleven years in an attempt to enslave and oppress its people, turn it into a colony and military base of their own, and perpetuate the partition of Viet Nam.

Before the ink of their signature on the Geneva Agreements had dried, the U.S. imperialists induced their

henchmen to set up the SEATO, a military bloc of aggression and deliberately put South Viet Nam under its "umbrella", which amounted in fact to placing this part of Viet Nam under the sway of the United States. Ever since the United States had undertaken deeper and more brazen intervention in the South. From late 1954 to 1959 the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem administration launched a series of barbarous terroristic raids and mop-ups such as the Truong Tan Buu and Thoai Ngoc Hau operations, frenziedly massacring patriotic and peace-loving people of all walks of life and former resistance members, and exterminating religious sects and all those who did not side with them.

Right in the first days following the restoration of peace, the blood of the South Vietnamese people already shed in Duy Xuyen, Huong Dien, Cho Duoc, Vinh Trinh and many other places, even in the streets of Saigon. In order to step up their large-scale and barbarous mop-ups, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen enacted the fascist 10-59 law, outlawing all the South Vietnamese people, political groupings and individuals who opposed them and whom they called "Communists". At the same time, they dragged guillotines across the breadth and length of the territory. In this period, according to still incomplete figures, the U.S. hangmen and their lackeys massacred or detained hundreds of thousands of patriots for the only reason that they struggled for peace and demanded the execution of the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, and consultation on general elections between the authorities

of the two zones with a view to the reunification of the country, or simply because they refused to submit to them.

The criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen naturally fanned the flames of anger throughout Viet Nam and aroused a wave of indignation around the world. Public opinion in Viet Nam and Asia and unbiased opinion all over the five continents severely condemned the tyrannical acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and demanded that they stop their acts of war and aggression against the South Vietnamese people and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

However, in defiance of the protest of the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world, the U.S. imperialists stubbornly continued to push forward their piratical war in South Viet Nam.

In pursuing their policy of colonialist aggression here in the past eleven years, the U.S. imperialists spent 4,000 million dollars under the signboard of "aid", more than 80% of which were devoted to military expenditures. This aggressive war has earned the special attention of the U.S. ruling circles. The late President Kennedy and President Johnson, the U.S. National Security Council, the Defence Department, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency have daily been following the developments in South Viet Nam. Honolulu has become the site for monthly meetings of the leaders of the White House and the Pentagon and American brass hats

in the Pacific to discuss plans for the invasion of South Viet Nam.

To tightly control and directly command the war of aggression against South Viet Nam, besides the military mission M.A.A.G., the American imperialists set up a U.S. military command in Saigon headed by Paul D. Harkins, and recently they rigged up the so-called "U.S. -Viet Nam Joint Command" which is in reality a military organ of the United States vested with the highest power in South Viet Nam and placed under the direct conduct of the American President and the Defence Department to prosecute the war of aggression against South Viet Nam. Nearly all the high officials of the United States, including Department secretaries and generals, have come to South Viet Nam to supervise and draw plans of aggression. To direct their predatory war on the spot the U.S. government sent to Saigon a series of well-known generals like O' Daniel, James Collins, McGarr, Robert Williams, P.D. Harkins, etc. More recently it dispatched there Maxwell Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a host of generals among whom W.G. Westmoreland and John L. Throckmorton.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have used all their modern weapons and war means, except atomic bombs, to terrorize and massacre the South Vietnamese people with the hope of achieving their only goal that is to impose their domination and turn South Viet Nam into a colony and military base of their own.

For nearly eleven years, they conducted over 160,000 big and small raids, killed nearly 170,000 people, wounded or tortured to invalidity some 800,000, detained over 400,000 in more than 1,000 jails, raped tens of thousands of women, including old women, little girls and religious believers, disembowelled, plucked out livers and biles of the victims, and buried alive over 5,000 persons, razed to the ground a great many villages, herded over 5 million persons into 8,000 concentration camps disguised as "prosperity zones", "resettlement centres" and "strategic hamlets", sprayed toxic chemicals on many areas, which destroyed hundreds of thousands of hectares of food crops and fruit trees, and affected the health of tens of thousands of persons. They have also demolished thousands of pagodas, churches and temples, killing tens of thousands of religious believers. Under the iron heels of the cruel American aggressors and their lackeys, the beautiful and fertile land of South Viet Nam has been turned into a land of ruins and desolation. The barbarous, fascist rule of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies in South Viet Nam is still more cruel than Hitler's nazi regime or sinister ones in the Middle Ages.

The above data written down with our blood suffice to denounce the crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their quislings, and expose their bellicose, aggressive and traitorous nature. The latter have not only violated the provisions of the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities and the Final Declaration of the 1954

Geneva Conference, but also blatantly and entirely scrapped all these international agreements. The Washington rulers and the Vietnamese traitors havenot only flouted the Geneva Agreements but also grossly trampled upon the spirit and letter of international law and the resolutions of the Bandung Conference. These are undeniable facts. To cover up their piratical nature, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to deceitful signboards which nevertheless cannot fool the world, people. It is necessary to recall that the so-called "White Paper" recently issued by Washington is completely null and void. This clumsy " thief-crying-stop-thief " trick has thrown stronger lights on their intention to intensify and expand their aggressive war. At present, the reality in South Viet Nam is that the U.S. imperialists are waging a criminal war, of aggression, that they are the most impudent saboteur of the Geneva Agreements, the most dangerous war provocateur and aggressor, the sworn enemy of the peoples of Viet Nam, Indochina and the rest of the world.

2. — THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIET NAM ARE RESOLVED TO DRIVE OUT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS IN ORDER TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES AND ACHIEVE AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PEACEFUL AND NEUTRAL SOUTH VIET NAM, PENDING NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

Though deeply attached to peace, the South Vietnamese people are determined not to sit back with folded arms and let the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen trample upon their homeland. Rather to

die than live in slavery, the fourteen million valiant South Vietnamese have stood up like one man in an undaunted struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the native traitors so as to liberate their territory and achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Viet Nam, in contribution to the maintenance of peace in Indochina and South-east Asia. Their war of liberation fully conforms to the most elementary and basic principles of international law concerning the people's rights to self-determination and their right to wage a patriotic war against foreign aggression. In this sacred war of liberation they have used all kinds of weapons to fight against their enemy. The chief and biggest arms purveyor of their forces is none other than the U.S. imperialists themselves, who have sustained heavy and repeated setbacks over the past years.

With bare hands at the beginning, the South Vietnamese people have achieved a great work and recorded glorious feats of arms. They are firmly convinced that with their own strength and the wholehearted support of the people throughout the world, they will certainly win complete victory. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys find themselves in a desperate blind alley. They are being knocked down in the powerful storm of the South Vietnamese people's revolution and are madly writhing before reconciling themselves to their defeat. To retrieve this serious situation, the U.S. imperialists are plunging headlong into extremely dangerous military adventures.

The fact that they have dispatched to South Viet Nam more weapons and combat troops of the U.S.

Navy, Army and Air Force, more mercenary troops from South Korea and other U.S. satellites, and undertaken air strikes against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Kingdom of Laos, etc. is no indication of their strength; these are but frenzied acts of a truculent enemy who has lost his senses and thus can intimidate nobody.

The intensification and expansion by the U.S. imperialists of their aggressive war is in itself one of their pitiful failures, and proves that the colonialist and aggressive policy carried out in South Viet Nam over the past eleven years and their so-called "special war" have gone bankrupt. Bugged down so seriously in their "special war" they will have their hands fastened still more tightly in a "limited war". And if they are rash enough to extend the war to North Viet Nam, to the whole of Indochina or farther, they will surely meet with still more shameful and quicker defeat.

The National Front for Liberation once again reasserts that Washington's scheme to send to South Viet Nam more combat units of the naval, ground and air forces of the United States and its satellites to conduct air strikes against North Viet Nam and the Kingdom of Laos in an attempt to gain a "position of strength" and compel the Front and the South Vietnamese people to sell out their fatherland in some kind of negotiations with the U.S.A. is only a day-dream of crazy politicians and military adventurers. The South Vietnamese people warn the U.S. imperialists and their agents: "At present, the only way for you is to get out of South Viet Nam."

If you stubbornly continue plunging headlong into the war you will sustain the biggest and most shameful failures." On behalf of its fourteen million valiant compatriots the South Viet Nam N.F.L. solemnly declares: "The South Vietnamese people and their armed forces are resolved never to loose hold of their arms so long as they have not attained their goals: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They are determined to continue dealing thunder blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and they will surely win final victory. All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are entirely useless if the latter refuse to withdraw from South Viet Nam all their troops, war means and matériel and those of their satellites, if they do not abolish all their military bases in South Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender the South Vietnamese people's sacred right to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists, and if the South Viet Nam N.F.L. — the only genuine representative of the fourteen million South Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive say.

3 — THE VALIANT PEOPLE AND LIBERATION ARMED FORCES OF SOUTH VIET NAM ARE RESOLVED TO FULFIL THEIR SACRED DUTY TO DRIVE OUT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS SO AS TO LIBERATE SOUTH VIET NAM AND DEFEND NORTH VIET NAM

Viet Nam is one country, the Vietnamese people are one nation. North and South Viet Nam are of the same family. This sentiment is loftier than

mountains and deeper than the sea. This truth is shining like the rising sun, nothing can tarnish it. In this boiling situation and in this life-and-death struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, our heart cannot but suffer when our hands are out. That the people in North Viet Nam are resolved to accomplish their duty toward their kith and kin in the South fully conforms to sentiment and reason.

On behalf of the fourteen million South Vietnamese people, the N.F.L. conveys to their seventeen million blood-sealed compatriots in the North their unshakable confidence and unswerving commitment: "The South Vietnamese people and their heroic Liberation Armed Forces are determined to fulfil their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists, liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the reunification of their fatherland."

Recently, to save their critical situation and their inevitable collapse in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies recklessly sent aircraft and warships to bomb, strafe and shell North Viet Nam, but they have received due punishment. Over 50 American jet planes have been shot down. The South Vietnamese Armed Forces and people greatly rejoice at, and warmly hail, those brilliant military exploits of the North Vietnamese army and people.

The heart suffers when the hand is cut! To defend the beloved North, the armed forces and people of the South have given vent to their flames of anger at the U.S. aggressors and their agents. If the U.S. imperialists strike at the North of our fatherland they

will resolutely deal them blows twice or three times harder. In February 1965, when the aggressors and traitors attacked the North, in the South the Liberation Armed Forces launched stormy attacks on many of their important military bases and main forces, putting out of action 20,706 troops (among them nearly 600 U.S. aggressors killed, wounded or captured), seizing 4,144 guns of all calibers and shooting down, damaging or destroying 111 aircraft of various types.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation warns the U.S. imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors: "Having been incapable of vanquishing the fourteen million South Vietnamese, don't nurture the hope of defeating the thirty million people of Viet Nam. Your military adventure and your efforts to expand the war will in no way help you out of the quagmire; instead, they cannot but lead you quickly to suicide."

Also to extricate themselves from the impasse in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have repeatedly undertaken air strikes against the liberated areas in Laos, repeatedly violated the border and territory of Cambodia, sprayed toxic chemicals, and dropped bombs to massacre the Cambodian people. But they have received well-deserved counter-blows from the armed forces and peoples of Laos and Cambodia. The South Vietnamese people warmly hail the indomitable fighting spirit of the peoples of the two fraternal neighbouring countries. They are resolved to stand firmly by their side in the struggle against the common enemy — U.S.

imperialism and its flunkys. The people and the Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents in South Viet Nam — the starting point from which the latter undertake their acts of war and piracy against the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese people once again greet the brilliant successes of the recent Indochinese People's Conference for Solidarity, against the American aggressors.

The National Front for Liberation and the people of South Viet Nam warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys that should they dare expand their predatory war to the whole of Viet Nam and fan the flames of war to the whole of Indochina, the invincible strength of the thirty million people of Viet Nam and the strength, capable of displacing mountains and filling up seas, of hundreds of millions of people in Indochina and Asia will overrun and bury them.

4. — THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR PROFOUND GRATITUDE TO THE WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT OF THE PEACE- AND JUSTICE-LOVING PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD, AND DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING WEAPONS AND ALL OTHER WAR MATERIALS, FROM THEIR FRIENDS IN THE FIVE CONTINENTS

In their just, patriotic struggle the South Vietnamese people have enjoyed the sympathy, support and

encouragement of the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world. They have enlisted not only moral support but also material assistance from them. Of course, they and their representative — the National Front for Liberation — are fully entitled to accept this valuable assistance which they warmly welcome. Though the N.F.L. has always relied mainly on its own strength and capabilities, it is ready to go on accepting all moral support and material assistance, including weapons and other war materials from the socialist countries, and the newly-independent countries as well as from all international organizations and peace-loving people the world over. Besides, the Front reserves for itself the right to buy arms and matériel from all countries to strengthen the potential of its self-defence capacity.

The International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and For the Defence of Peace which was held late last year and attended by representatives from fifty countries and twelve international organizations, gave a positive response to these urgent and quite legitimate demands of ours. If the U.S. imperialists continue to commit U.S. combat troops and those of their satellites in South Viet Nam, and to extend the war to North Viet Nam and Laos, the N.F.L. will call on the peoples of all countries to send youths and armymen to South Viet Nam so as, shoulder to shoulder with the South Vietnamese people, to wipe out their common enemy.

As the U.S. imperialists go on sowing sufferings and death in our territory, the N.F.L., when necessary, cannot refrain from calling back the sons and daughters of South Viet Nam who have regrouped to the North in observance of the ceasefire agreement and thus have had to live far from home for nearly eleven years, to take up arms to wipe out the enemy and save their country and families. Diamond cut diamond. Decidedly, the invincible Vietnamese people and the peace-loving people around the world will not forgive the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, who will have to bear all the extremely serious consequences arising from their acts of war and aggression.

Once again, on behalf of its fourteen million compatriots the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation expresses deep gratitude to the peoples of the socialist countries, the newly-independent countries, the international organizations and the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world, who have wholeheartedly supported their just, patriotic war of resistance. More than ever we consider it our glorious internationalist duty to devote all our energy and endure all sacrifices to make a worthy contribution to the great common struggle of all peoples for independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world, and to defeat the international gendarme — warlike and aggressive U. S. imperialism.

5. — THE ENTIRE PEOPLE WITH ARMS IN
HAND CONTINUE TO MARCH FORWARD
HEROICALLY, RESOLVED TO FIGHT AND
DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND THE
VIETNAMESE TRAITORS

The armed struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen has won very great victories.

In appearance, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are formidable, but in reality they have been greatly weakened; confusion prevails in their ranks, and their isolation has reached unprecedented dimensions. The South Vietnamese people, bearing in mind their vow "rather to die than live in slavery", will certainly smash the cruel and savage enemy.

The South Viet Nam N.F.L. and people are not only strong with the justice of their cause; their material and organizational strength are rapidly increasing. They have been and are the glorious victors. The more they fight, the more ardent they become and the more victories they win; and the more they win, the stronger they grow and the greater their victories. Worthy heirs to the traditions of the Dien Bien Phu fighters and of the Vietnamese people who possess a 4,000-year history of heroic struggle against foreign invasion, we have developed these traditions to a high degree. Moreover, the N.F.L. and the people of South Viet Nam are conducting their valiant fight in extremely favourable conditions afforded by the present time when the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen up like tidal

waves. The socialist countries and the forces of democracy and peace around the world are an important factor stimulating the advance of mankind, overwhelming and smashing imperialism and colonialism under whatever disguise. If the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are rash enough to fan the flames of war all over Indochina, the people of this area and South-east Asia as a whole will resolutely stand up like one man and drive them out into the ocean.

The South Vietnamese people and their sole authentic representative — the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — will surely win final victory.

The Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation calls on the fourteen million heroic South Vietnamese and the people's armed forces who are determined to fight and win on all battlefronts, to hold their guns more firmly than ever, to enhance their indomitable fighting spirit, and to resolutely fulfil the following tasks:

- Let the entire people unite in a monolithic bloc.
- Let the people arm themselves and stand up like one man to drive out the American aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors.
- Let the Liberation troops and all the people's armed forces courageously march forward, fight continuously and vigorously, and strike accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, giving them no respite, and wiping out as many enemy forces as possible.
- Let the people in rural areas continue to rise up and destroy the remaining "strategic hamlets",

shatter all of the enemy's grip, widen the liberated areas to link up the liberated hamlets, villages and districts ; let them transform the liberated areas into solid strongholds, fight the enemy whenever they come and register success each time, firmly resolved to hold to and defend their native places, their fields and their gardens.

— Let the people of Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and the other cities of South Viet Nam urgently develop their revolutionary organizations ; let them keep on taking to the streets and stepping up their struggle in all fields, energetically demand that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys stop their aggressive war in South Viet Nam and unmask the traitors who are lending a hand to the aggressors, selling out the interests of our fatherland and people.

— Let all our compatriots, cadres and fighters march courageously forward under the liberation banner, determined to drive out the U.S. aggressors and their valets to save our country and our homes.

Even if we are to carry out the struggle for ten, twenty years or longer, and to suffer great difficulties and hardships, we are prepared to fight up until not a single American aggressor is seen on our soil.

We Vietnamese have a history of several thousand years. That is the history of a heroic people. In the past ten years of their resistance to the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the people and Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam have written in golden letters a new page in their glorious

history. We have been winning, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have been losing. This proves the invincibility of our strength and their weakening.

Having got the better of the U.S. aggressors in the past ten years, we now have still more favourable conditions to defeat them. They, who have lost during this time, will further weaken and incur still more shameful defeats, especially if they venture to extend the war to the North. We are absolutely confident that victory will be ours. We are determined to fight, strike vigorously and accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. We are determined to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify our fatherland.

South Viet Nam, March 22, 1965
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOUTH VIET NAM
NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

POLITICAL PROGRAM

OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

In 1960, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation came into being with a 10-point Program aimed at uniting the entire people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Since then, the Front has achieved broad union of the various sections of the people, the political parties, organizations, nationalities, religious communities, and patriotic personalities with a view to jointly fighting against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. It has succeeded in consolidating its base among the broad masses of the people; at the same time, it has engaged in joint action with many political and religious forces, and won over large numbers of manufacturers and traders, officials and functionaries of the puppet administration, and officers and soldiers of the puppet army.

The Front has constantly enjoyed wholehearted encouragement and assistance from our compatriots in the North and abroad. It has also enjoyed ever stronger approval and support from the peoples of

neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, from the peoples of the socialist, newly-independent and other countries in the world, including progressive people in the United States.

Under the leadership of the N.F.L., our people in the South have gone from victory to victory. The prestige of the Front has been unceasingly enhanced at home and abroad. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has become the sole authentic representative of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

These great achievements prove that the line and policies of the Front are correct, and that the strength of our people's unity and struggle is invincible.

At present, despite heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to give up their aggressive designs against Viet Nam. They are stepping up the war, trampling the South, and intensifying the bombing of the North of our country. The monstrous crimes of the U.S. imperialists, however, have only deepened our people's hatred and strengthened their indomitable will. The people of all walks of life in South Viet Nam, even a number of persons in the puppet army and administration, have clearly seen the true features of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, hate them, and want to contribute to the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Never before in our nation's history has the mettle of our entire people, united for the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country, been so strong as now. Our people are in a victorious position, they

firmly hold the initiative and are acting on the offensive. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been driven into a state of increasing passivity and perplexity; they are in an impasse and are sustaining defeats.

At this juncture, in a spirit of developing its former Program, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has worked out this Political Program with a view to further broadening the bloc of great national union, encouraging and urging the entire people to rush forward, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam.

I

TO UNITE THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, FIGHT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS, SAVE THE COUNTRY

1. During the four thousand years of their history, the Vietnamese people have united and fought against foreign invasions to preserve their independence and freedom.

Ever since our country was conquered by the French colonialists, our people have fought unremittingly for their liberation. In 1945, our people from North to South rose up, successfully carried out the August Revolution, seized power from the Japanese militarists and their lackeys, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

When the French colonialists came back to invade our country once again, our entire people heroically fought for nearly nine years, brought our sacred resistance to the great victory of Dien Bien Phu, smashing the aggressive schemes of the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists' policy of intervention.

The independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam were formally recognized by the 1954 Geneva Conference. Since then, the South Vietnamese people, together with their compatriots all over the country, should have been living in peace and building a free and happy life. However, the U.S. imperialists have sabotaged the Geneva Agreements, ousted the French colonialists, set up in South Viet Nam an extremely cruel puppet regime, and tried to turn the southern part of Viet Nam into a neo-colony and a military base in an attempt to prolong the partition of our country, conquer the whole of Viet Nam and impose their domination throughout Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists have shrunk from no cruel method to carry out their dark designs. Defeated in their "special war" they have switched to a "limited war", using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, along with more than half a million puppet soldiers, for aggression against South Viet Nam; at the same time, they have undertaken a war of destruction against the northern part of our country. They have also stepped up their "special war" in Laos and carried out continual provocations aimed at

wrecking the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

The U.S. imperialists are daily causing untold sufferings and mourning to our compatriots throughout the country. They have resorted to all kinds of modern war means and weapons, including strategic aircraft, napalm bombs, toxic chemicals and poison gas, to massacre our fellow-countrymen. They have launched repeated operations, "sweeping" again and again many areas, carrying out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy to raze villages and hamlets to the ground. They have herded the population, grabbed land, and set up "no man's land" and fascist-type concentration camps dubbed "strategic hamlets", "prosperity zones", "resettlement centres", etc. In the North, they have wantonly bombed and strafed towns and cities, villages, industrial centres, heavily populated areas; they have even struck at dikes, dams, schools, hospitals and pagodas.

The U.S. imperialists are clearly the most ruthless aggressors in history, the saboteurs of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the wreckers of the peace and security of the peoples of Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world, the enemy number one of our people and of mankind.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have continually escalated the war, yet they have unceasingly clamoured about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to deceive the American and world peoples.

The Saigon puppet administration has sold out South Viet Nam to the U.S. imperialists. It has oppressed and exploited our Southern compatriots in an

extremely ruthless way. It has forced South Viet Nam youths into the army to serve the United States in the massacre of our fellow-countrymen. In a demagogic bid, it has also staged the farce of "working out a constitution" and "holding elections". It is only a clique of traitors, a tool for the U.S. imperialists to enslave the South Vietnamese people, prolong the partition of our country and serve the U.S. war of aggression.

2. The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys think they can intimidate our people by the use of force and deceive them by means of tricks. But they are grossly mistaken. Our people will never submit to force, never let themselves be deceived!

Developing our nation's tradition of dauntlessness, our 31 million compatriots from South to North have resolutely stood up, united as one man, to fight the U.S. aggressors and save the country.

In the frontline of the fatherland, our Southern fellow-countrymen have over the past thirteen years shown splendid heroism. Irrespective of age, sex, political tendency, religious belief, and no matter whether they live in the plains or in mountain areas, our people of all strata and all nationalities have resolutely fought shoulder to shoulder to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance toward the reunification of the fatherland.

As early as 1959-1960, our compatriots in the countryside carried out simultaneous uprisings, destroyed whole series of concentration camps and "prosperity zones" of the U.S. imperialists and the

puppet administration, and liberated vast rural areas.

Our armed forces and people then rushed forward, destroyed thousands of "strategic hamlets", liberated millions of people, and defeated the U.S. "special war".

Since 1965, although the U.S. aggressors have brought in hundreds of thousands of U.S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against South Viet Nam, our armed forces and people have repeatedly won big victories, smashed two successive U.S. dry-season strategic counter-offensives and won victories over more than one million enemy troops (U.S., puppet and satellite). The liberated areas have continuously expanded and now already make up four-fifths of the South Viet Nam territory with two-thirds of its population. In these liberated areas, a national and democratic power is taking shape and a new life is blossoming. In addition to big military victories, we have also recorded important successes in the political, economic, cultural and diplomatic fields.

In the beloved Northern part of the fatherland, our seventeen million compatriots are heroically defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting production, wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the South, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear toward the great front.

In the world, the peoples of the socialist, newly-independent and other countries, including progressive people in the United States, are sternly condemning the U.S.

imperialists' war of aggression, and are giving their approval, support and assistance to our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Facts have clearly shown that the more the U.S. imperialists obdurately intensify and expand their war of aggression against our country, the more bitter defeats they sustain and the more they are isolated; on the other hand, our people win ever greater victories and get ever more friends.

3. The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are *the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys — the traitorous puppet administration.*

The present tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation are: *to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackeys, the puppet administration, establish a broad democratic national-union administration, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.*

The force that guarantees the fulfilment of the above task of fighting against U.S. aggression to save our country is our *broad national union*. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation constantly stands for uniting all social strata and classes, all nationalities, all political parties, all organizations, all religious communities, all patriotic personalities, all patriotic and progressive individuals and forces irrespective of political tendency, in order to struggle

together against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, wrest back our sacred national rights, and build up the country.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is ready to welcome into its ranks all patriotic forces and individuals who oppose the U.S. aggressors, to shoulder together the common duties. It proposes that any force which, for one reason or another, does not join its ranks, take joint actions with it against the common enemy, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to strive, shoulder to shoulder with the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, to fulfil gloriously the common task of *fighting against U.S. aggression to liberate the South, defend the North and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.*

While fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of South Viet Nam actively accomplish their internationalist duty. Their resistance war against U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to stand within the united bloc of the Indochinese peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to take an active part in the

common struggle of the world people against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

4. The cruel U.S. aggressors are trampling our homeland. We, the people of South Viet Nam, *must stand up to make revolution and wage a people's war with a view to driving them out of our borders, and wresting back national independence and sovereignty.*

Having experienced over twenty years of war, our Southern compatriots eagerly want to live in peace and rebuild our war-devastated country. But the U.S. imperialists have trampled upon this legitimate aspiration. That is why our people have to fight against them to win peace in independence. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Only when real independence is secured can we have genuine peace!

The enemy of our nation is ruthless and obdurate. But our entire people are determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. So long as the U.S. imperialists do not end their war of aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from our country, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves the internal affairs of South Viet Nam without foreign interference, our people will resolutely fight on until total victory. The South Vietnamese people's liberation war is a long and hard one, but it is bound to end in victory.

Our people rely mainly on their own forces ; at the same time, they strive to win the sympathy, support and assistance of the world peoples.

To defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, our people shrink from no sacrifice, they enthusiastically contribute manpower, material resources and talent to the national-liberation war, in the spirit of doing everything for the front, everything for victory.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to develop the liberation armed forces comprising the regular units, the regional troops and the militia and guerilla units, with the aim of promoting people's war, combining guerilla with regular warfare, wiping out as many forces of the enemy as possible, crushing the enemy's will for aggression, and winning final victory.

The Front undertakes to build and develop the political forces of the masses, promote political struggle, combine armed struggle with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops, thus forming three converging prongs to defeat the enemy.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to encourage all strata of the population in the urban and rural areas still under enemy control to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, destroy the "phuong" (guilds) and "strategic hamlets", demand democratic freedoms, national sovereignty and a better life, oppose pressganging and forced labour, struggle against enslaving and

depraved culture, and march forward, together with the entire people, to overthrow the enemy's rule and seize power.

At the same time, the Front undertakes to encourage all strata of the people in the liberated areas to unite closely, build the people's self-management system, set up step by step a local national democratic administration, build base areas; strive to produce and fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation; continue solving the agrarian problem satisfactorily; build a new economy and culture of the liberated areas, foster the people's forces with a view to ensuring supplies for the frontline and carrying the resistance war through to complete victory.

II

TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PEACEFUL, NEUTRAL AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH VIET NAM

The people of South Viet Nam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and to devote themselves body and soul to building a political system that guarantees the independence and sovereignty of the nation and the freedom and happiness of the people, to heal the wounds of war, to liquidate the social evils left by the U.S.-puppet regime, to restore normal life and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam. To achieve these objectives, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation lays down the following concrete policies:

1. To set up a progressive regime of broad democracy

— To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam, to overthrow the puppet administration, hireling of the United States; not to recognize the puppet "national assembly" rigged up by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; to abolish the "constitution" and all anti-national and anti-democratic laws enacted by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration.

— To hold free general elections in order to set up a National Assembly in a really democratic way in accordance with the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot. This National Assembly will be the State body with the highest authority in South Viet Nam; it will work out a democratic constitution which fully embodies the most fundamental and most eager aspirations of all social strata in South Viet Nam and guarantee the establishment of a progressive State structure of broad democracy. To guarantee the immunity of the deputies to the National Assembly.

— To set up a democratic national-union government including the most representative persons among the various social strata, nationalities, religious communities, patriotic and democratic parties, patriotic personalities and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation.

— To proclaim and ensure broad democratic freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of the press and publication, freedom of assembly, trade-union freedom,

freedom of association, freedom to form political parties, freedom of creed, freedom of demonstration.

— To guarantee to all citizens inviolability of the body, freedom of residence, secrecy of correspondence, freedom of movement, the right to work and rest, and the right to study.

— To enforce equality between men and women and equality among the various nationalities.

— To set free all persons detained by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration on account of their patriotic activities.

— To dissolve the concentration camps set up in all forms by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

— To give all people who have had to seek asylum abroad because of the U.S.-puppet regime, the right to return home to serve the country.

— To severely punish the die-hard cruel agents of the U.S. imperialists.

2. To build an independent and sovereign economy; to improve the people's living conditions

— To abolish the policy of economic enslavement and monopoly of the U.S. imperialists.

— To confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their die-hard cruel agents and turn it into State property.

— To build an independent and sovereign economy. To rapidly heal the wounds of war, to restore and

develop the economy so as to make the country strong and prosperous.

- To protect the citizens' right to ownership of means of production and other property in keeping with the laws of the State.

- To restore and develop agricultural production. To improve cultivation, animal husbandry, fish-rearing and forestry.

The State will encourage the peasants to unite and help one another boost production; grant them loans at low interest rates for the purchase of buffaloes, oxen, farm implements, agricultural machines, seeds, fertilizers, etc; help them develop irrigation works and apply advanced agricultural techniques.

- To guarantee outlets for agricultural products.

- To restore and develop industry, small industries and handicrafts.

- To guarantee to the workers and employees the right to take part in the management of enterprises. The State will encourage industrialists and traders to participate in the development of industry and handicrafts.

- To ensure freedom of enterprise beneficial to national construction and the people's welfare; to apply a customs policy designed to promote and protect home-production.

- To restore and develop communications and transport.

- To encourage and step up economic exchanges

between town and country, between the plains and the mountain areas.

— To give due consideration to the interests of small traders and small shop-owners.

— To set up a State bank and create an independent currency.

— To apply an equitable and rational tax policy.

The State will adopt a policy of granting loans at low interest rates to encourage production, and will prohibit usury.

— To develop economic relations with the North; the two zones will help each other so that Viet Nam's economy may prosper rapidly.

— In accordance with the Front's policy of neutrality and the principles of equality, mutual benefit and respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Vietnamese nation, foreign trade will be expanded, and economic and technical assistance from foreign countries will be accepted, regardless of their political and social systems.

3. To implement the land policy, to carry out the slogan "Land to the tillers"

— To confiscate the lands of the U.S. imperialists and the die-hard cruel landlords, their lackeys and allot these lands to landless or land-poor peasants.

— To confirm and protect the peasants' ownership of the lands allotted to them by the revolution.

— The State will negotiate the purchase of land from landlords who possess land upward of a certain

amount varying with the situation in each locality; it will allot these lands to landless or land-poor peasants. The recipients will receive the lands free of charge, and will not be bound by any condition whatsoever. In areas where the required conditions for land-reform do not yet obtain land rent will be reduced.

— To entrust the lands belonging to absentee landlords to peasants for cultivation and enjoyment of the produce. Adequate steps will be taken on this subject at a later stage upon consideration of the political attitude of each landlord.

— To allow landlords to offer land to the Liberation Peasants' Association or to the State. The Liberation Peasants' Association and the State will allot those lands to landless or land-poor peasants.

— To encourage the owners of industrial crop or fruit tree plantations to keep production going.

— To respect the legitimate right to land ownership of churches, pagodas and holy sees of religious sects.

— To carry out a fair and rational re-distribution of communal lands.

— To guarantee the legitimate right to ownership of reclaimed lands to those who have reclaimed them.

— Those who have been herded into "strategic hamlets" or concentration camps of any form are free to return to their former villages.

— Those who have been compelled to "evacuate" or to "move away" and who wish to stay where they

are, will enjoy ownership of the lands and other property resulting from their labour, and will be helped so that they can continue earning their living in those places; those who wish to return to their native places will also receive help.

4. To build a national and democratic culture and education, to develop science and technology, to promote public health

— To eliminate the American-type enslaving and depraved culture and education now adversely affecting our people's fine, long-standing cultural traditions.

— To build a national and democratic culture and education; to develop science and technology to serve national construction and defence.

— To educate the people in the Vietnamese nation's tradition of struggle against foreign invasion and its heroic history. To preserve and develop the fine culture and good customs and habits of our nation.

— To raise the people's cultural standard: to liquidate illiteracy, to promote complementary education; to open new general-education schools, higher-education establishments and vocational schools. To make all-out efforts to train and foster scientific workers, technicians and skilled workers.

— To use the Vietnamese language as teaching medium in higher-education establishments.

— To reduce school and college fees; to exempt poor pupils and students from school fees, and grant them scholarships.

- To reform the system of examinations.
- To give every possible help to the youths and children who have rendered services in the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, the children of families who have rendered services to the revolution, and other outstanding youths so as to enable them to study and develop their capabilities.
- All citizens have the right to carry out freely scientific and technological researches, to devote themselves to literary and artistic creation, and to participate in other cultural activities; to encourage intellectuals, writers, artists and scientists and afford them favourable conditions for research work, creation and invention in the service of the fatherland and the people.
- To give help to cultural workers, writers and artists who have been persecuted by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys owing to their patriotic activities.
- To develop health services, hygiene and prophylaxis. To attend to the people's health. To prevent and eliminate epidemics, to do away with dangerous diseases left by the U.S.-puppet regime.
- To develop physical culture and sports.
- To develop cultural relations with the North; the two zones will help each other raise the people's educational level and foster talent.
- To promote cultural relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

5. To safeguard the interests of factory and office workers and other labouring people and see to their livelihood

— To promulgate labour legislation, and put into practice the 8-hour working day; to provide for a regime of rest and recreation; to set up a rational system of wages and bonuses for increased productivity.

— To improve the living and working conditions of workers, labourers and civil servants.

— To apply a policy of adequate remuneration for apprentices.

— To see to the employment of workers and poor urban people; actively to do away with unemployment.

— To put into practice a social-security policy in order to care for and assist workers, labourers and civil servants in case of disease, incapacitation, old age or retirement.

— To improve living conditions in working people's residential quarters.

— To settle disputes between employers and employees through negotiations between the two sides and mediation by the national-democratic administration.

— To strictly prohibit ill-treatment of workers and labourers; to strictly prohibit wage dockings, fines and unjustified sacking of workers.

6. To build powerful South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces in order to emancipate the people and defend the fatherland

— The South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the regular units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerilla units) are sprung from the people; they are boundlessly loyal to the interests of the fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the South, defend the fatherland and make an active contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

— To pay due attention to the building of the Liberation Armed Forces. To strive to raise their quality and increase their fighting capacity with a view to stepping up the people's war, defeating the U.S., satellite and puppet troops, and bringing the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to complete victory.

— To strengthen political work with a view to enhancing the patriotism and determination to fight and win of the Liberation Armed Forces; to raise their sense of discipline; to continuously tighten the "fish-and-water" relations between the army and the people.

— Officers and men of the Liberation Armed Forces enjoy the right to vote and to stand for election, and enjoy land rights and all other citizen rights.

7. To show gratitude to war martyrs, to care for disabled army men, to reward army men and civilians who have distinguished themselves in the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation

The entire people are grateful to, and constantly honour the memory of war martyrs of the Liberation Armed Forces and of all other revolutionary services and organizations, and those who laid down their lives in political struggles. Their families are cared for and assisted by the State and the people.

— To give care and assistance to army men and civilians disabled in the course of armed and political struggle.

— To reward in a worthy manner all army men and civilians who have distinguished themselves in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Families who have rendered services to the revolution will be remembered and will receive help.

8. To organize social relief

— To give relief to compatriots victims of the war of aggression unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet regime.

— To care for orphans, old folk and invalid people. To organize relief work in areas affected by natural calamities or bad crops.

— To give consideration also to disabled puppet soldiers killed in action.

— To help those driven to depravation by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys rebuild their lives, thereby enabling them to serve the fatherland and the people.

9. To carry out equality between men and women ; to protect mothers and children

— To pay utmost attention to raising the political, cultural and vocational standard of the women, in view of their merits in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. To develop the Vietnamese women's tradition of heroism, dauntlessness, fidelity and ability to shoulder responsibilities.

— Women are equal to men in the political, economic, cultural and social fields.

— Women who do the same job receive the same salary and allowances and enjoy the same rights as men.

— Women workers and civil servants enjoy two months' maternity leave with full pay, before and after childbirth.

— To apply a policy of actively favouring, fostering and training women cadres.

— To promulgate progressive marriage and family regulations.

— To protect the rights of mothers and children. To develop the network of maternity homes, creches and infant classes.

— To eliminate all social evils brought about by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, which are harmful to women's health and dignity.

10. To strengthen unity and practise equality and mutual assistance among nationalities

— To abolish all systems and policies applied by the imperialists and their lackeys with a view to

dividing, oppressing and exploiting the various nationalities. To oppose discrimination against and forcible assimilation of national minorities.

— To develop the long-standing tradition of unity and mutual assistance among the various fraternal nationalities in our country with a view to defending and building the country.

— All nationalities are equal in rights and obligations.

— To implement the land policy with regard to peasants of national minorities. To encourage and help them settle down to sedentary life, improve their lands, develop economy and culture, and raise their living standard so as to catch up with the general standard of the people.

— The national minorities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages to develop their own culture and art; they have the right to maintain or change their customs and habits.

— To strive to train minority cadres so as to enable the minorities within a short time to manage local affairs by themselves.

— In the areas where national minorities live concentrated and where the required conditions prevail, autonomous zones will be established within independent and free Viet Nam.

11. To respect freedom of creed, to achieve unity and equality among the different religious communities

— To counter all manœuvres and tricks of the imperialists and their lackeys, who use a number of persons putting on the cloak of religion to oppose our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, sow dissension between believers and non-believers and among different religious communities, and harm the country, the people and religion.

— To respect freedom of creed and worship. To preserve pagodas, churches, sanctuaries, temples.

— All religions are equal and are not subject to any discrimination.

— To achieve unity among believers of various religions, and between believers and the entire people, for the sake of the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to defend and build the country.

12. To welcome puppet officers and soldiers and puppet officials back to the just cause; to show leniency and give humane treatment to rallied armymen and prisoners-of-war

— To oppose the U.S. imperialists' and the puppet administration's attempts to pressgang mercenaries to serve the U.S. aggressors against the fatherland and massacre the people.

— To severely punish the die-hard thugs acting as obedient agents of the U.S. imperialists.

— To afford conditions for puppet officers and soldiers and puppet officials to come back to the just

cause and join the people's fight against U.S. aggression to save and build the country.

— Individuals, groups or units of the puppet army and administration who have fought against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, will be rewarded and promoted to adequate positions. Those who sympathize with and support the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, or those who refuse to carry out orders of the U.S. and puppets to harm the people, will have their merits recorded.

— Individuals, groups or units who have broken away from the puppet army and voluntarily apply to join the Liberation Armed Forces for fighting against the U.S. aggression to save the country are welcomed and enjoy equal treatment.

Regarding those groups or units who have broken away from the puppet army and administration and risen against the U.S. aggressors to save the country, the Front stands ready for joint action with them against the U.S. aggressors, on a basis of equality, mutual respect and assistance so as to protect the people and liberate the fatherland.

— Functionaries of the puppet administration who volunteer to serve the fatherland and the people in State services after the liberation of South Viet Nam will enjoy equal treatment.

— Those in the puppet army and puppet administration at any level who have committed crimes against the people but are now sincerely repentant will be pardoned. Those who redeem their crimes by meritorious deeds will be rewarded accordingly.

Captured officers and soldiers of the puppet army will enjoy humane treatment and leniency.

— U.S. and satellite officers and soldiers who cross over to the people's side will be given kind treatment and helped to return to their families when conditions permit.

— Captured U.S. and satellite troops will receive the same treatment as captured puppet troops.

13. To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese

— To hail the patriotism of overseas Vietnamese and highly value all their contributions to the people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

— To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

— To help all overseas Vietnamese who wish to return to the country to take part in national construction.

14. To protect the legitimate rights and interests of foreign residents in South Viet Nam

— To hail those foreign residents who have contributed to the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

— All foreign residents living in South Viet Nam must respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam and abide by the law of the national-democratic administration.

— To protect the legitimate rights and interests of all foreign residents who have not co-operated with the

U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in opposing the Vietnamese people, and who have not harmed the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam. To give adequate consideration to the rights and interests of those foreign residents who have directly or indirectly supported the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

— To resolutely oppose and abolish all policies of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen aimed at sowing dissension between the Vietnamese people and Chinese residents in South Viet Nam, exploiting, repressing, and assimilating Chinese residents.

— To punish the die-hard agents and secret agents of the imperialists and the South Viet Nam puppet administration.

III

TO RESTORE NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM; TO ADVANCE TOWARD PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND

Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. No force can divide our fatherland. Reunification of the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Viet Nam must be reunified.

The policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is as follows:

1— The reunification of Viet Nam will be realized step by step and through peaceful means on the

principle of negotiation between the two zones without either side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

2— Pending the reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to counter foreign invasion and defend the fatherland, and at the same time endeavour to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to the other and to choose their place of residence.

IV

TO CARRY OUT A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation carries out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace. This policy consists of the following concrete points :

1. To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-infringement upon each other's territory; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

— To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administration has signed with the United States or any other country.

— To respect the economic and cultural interests of those countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

— To accept from all countries technical and economic assistance without political conditions attached.

— To join no military alliance; to accept no military personnel or military base of foreign countries on South Viet Nam's territory.

2. To strengthen friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

— To strengthen good neighbourly relations with Cambodia and Laos. To unceasingly strengthen the solidarity and mutual assistance between the peoples of the Indochinese countries, with a view to defending their respective independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the aggressive and war-like policy of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

3. To actively support the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

— To actively support the struggle of the American people against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam.

— To actively support the just struggle of the Afro-Americans for their fundamental national rights.

— To actively support the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress in all countries of the world.

4. To actively struggle for to the safeguarding of world peace, against bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism. To demand the dissolution of all aggressive military blocs and military bases of imperialism in foreign countries.

— To unceasingly consolidate and develop relations with international democratic organizations and the peoples of all countries, including the American people.

— To actively contribute to the consolidation and development of the world peoples' front in support of Viet Nam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for national independence and peace.

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Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is extremely hard but very glorious. It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and for generations to come, but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish this glorious task, our people must achieve still closer and broader unity.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation warmly hails all political parties, organizations, patriotic and progressive personalities who broadly rally inside and outside the Front and pool their

efforts to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is a just one. Our people throughout the country are of one mind in their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. The sympathy, support and assistance of the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and peace and justice-loving people all over the world, including progressive people in the United States, is increasing day after day. We are winning, and will surely win complete victory.

No matter how frenzied, brutal, obdurate and perfidious the U.S. imperialists may be, they will inevitably meet with bitter failure in their criminal schemes.

In view of the supreme interest of the fatherland, let the entire people of South Viet Nam strengthen solidarity, millions like one, and shoulder to shoulder rush forward on the impetus of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, the puppet administration; let them, together with our Northern compatriots, brilliantly fulfil the great cause of liberating the South, defending the North and advancing toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to remain always worthy of the confidence of our compatriots and our friends on the five continents.

The Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious!

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen will certainly be defeated!

The Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will certainly be carried into effect!

Fighters and compatriots throughout South Viet Nam, under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, march forward heroically!

The Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious.
The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys will
certainly be defeated.

The program of the South Viet Nam National Front
of liberation will certainly be carried into effect.
Fighters and sympathizers throughout South Viet
Nam under the glorious banner of the South Viet
Nam National Front of liberation march forward
heroically.

SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L.

APPEAL TO ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE

Over the last years, the struggle of the South Vietnamese people for national salvation has won repeated victories. The situation at home and abroad is very favourable to our people's liberation revolution.

The United States is finding itself in serious passivity, failure and predicament while the puppet army, its mercenary instrument, is heading toward complete disintegration.

The decayed and impotent puppet administration has revealed more and more its treacherous nature.

On the *Tết* this year, acting in accordance with the eager desire of our entire people and our national tradition, the N.F.L. ordered a seven-day suspension of military attacks so that everybody could enjoy these festive days in peace. To conceal their dark design, the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique also spoke of cease-fire but they declared that they would observe only a forty-eight-hour truce. However, they betrayed their own words and cut the truce down to thirty-six hours, then called it off in the five northern

provinces of South Viet Nam throughout January 29 and 30, 1968 (that is the 30th day of the 12th month and the 1st day of the Lunar New Year). Finally, on January 30 at 14:00 hours, they completely cancelled their deceitful truce order. In the meantime, they ordered the bombing and shelling of heavily populated areas and confined all puppet troops and administration personnel to their camps and offices, making it impossible for them and our compatriots to enjoy the festival.

Thus, the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique have trampled upon the aspirations and interests of all sections of our people and continued to attack, massacre and repress them even during the traditional *Tết* holidays, seriously offending their sacred feelings. The savage and shameful acts they committed have given rise to deep indignation among the various strata of our people throughout the country, among the puppet army men and administration personnel and also among the world people. Our compatriots burning with wrath and holding the U.S. and the Thieu-Ky clique in contempt, will not forgive their crimes.

Faced with this situation, the Presidium of the Front Central Committee orders all the People's Liberation Armed Forces, the forces engaged in political struggle and all members of the associations for national salvation affiliated to the Front, together with other patriotic forces and the people as a whole, to stand up as one man, determined to duly punish

the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique of traitors.

Compatriots, cadres and fighters,

March valiantly forward!

We shall win!

January 30, 1968

COMMUNIQUE

OF THE ENLARGED EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On February 11 and 12, 1968, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation convened an enlarged extraordinary session chaired by its president Nguyen Huu Tho, to have an over-all survey of the situation in South Viet Nam since the opening of the Front's large-scale offensive, draw appropriate conclusions and set immediate tasks for the Front.

The Session was attended by all the members of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, by representatives of the People's Liberation Armed Forces Command, of the political parties and organizations — members of the Front — and by many high-ranking cadres in charge of various branches of activities attached to the Committee.

The Session heard :

— Tran Nam Trung, Vice-President of the Presidium and President of the Military Commission attached

to the Central Committee, reporting on the development of the military situation on the various South Viet Nam battlefronts ;

— Huynh Tan Phat, Vice-President of the Presidium and Secretary General of the Central Committee, reporting on the over-all situation in Saigon, Cho Lon, Hue, Da Nang and the other towns and townships of South Viet Nam as well as on the situation in the rural areas still under enemy control before the offensive ;

— Y Bit Aleo, Vice-President of the Presidium and President of the Western Plateaux Nationalities Movement for Autonomy, reporting on the situation in the region ;

— Tran Buu Kiem, Presidium member and President of the Foreign Relations Commission attached to the Central Committee, reporting on world repercussions as a result of the victories won by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people in the early days of spring.

— The Session devoted much time to assess the over-all situation and discuss immediate tasks for the Front.

1. The Session unanimously held that within a brief period, from January 30 to February 10, 1968, in response to the appeal made by the Front, the people and the People's Liberation Armed Forces had conducted big simultaneous attacks and uprisings on all battlefields from Quang Tri to Ca Mau, winning major all-round victories unheard-of in our great patriotic war for the liberation of South Viet Nam from the ruthless rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Thieu-Ky clique of traitors.

Our armed forces and people have struck at all the large cities, almost all the provincial capitals and townships, military sectors and sub-sectors, a series of military bases, airfields and storages of the U.S.-puppets, as well as their last hide-outs; they have thus killed or wounded a large number of U.S. troops, wiped out and disorganized a very important part of the puppet army, crossing out from the call-roll regiment- or battalion-sized units, destroying leading organs and military headquarters of various levels and millions of tons of weapons and other war means, cutting off or paralyzing strategic highways, forcing the surrender of a series of posts, capturing a number of American and puppet officers and soldiers, crushing grass-root puppet administrative organs and upsetting or paralyzing central ones.

Prompted by high revolutionary mettle, people of all strata in urban and rural areas so far under enemy control rose up as tidal waves, smashing the enemy's grip, punishing cruel agents and traitors, liberating vast expanses in the countryside, many district towns and townships, establishing people's revolutionary power, breaking the enemy's "pacification prong", occupying and controlling many provincial capitals, towns and townships, driving back repeated enemy counter-attacks, and winning far-reaching successes.

In this revolutionary storm our people are developing their political and military forces by leaps and bounds. Millions of people in urban and rural areas freshly freed from enemy rule, old and young, men and women, regardless of religious belief and nationality,

are being organized: tens of thousands of boys and girls have enlisted to fight for the defence of the fatherland.

The Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces has come into existence and is working in large cities and, shoulder to shoulder with other patriotic organizations, has assumed its glorious task before the nation. The united front of solidarity against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, of our entire people has been consolidated and broadened more than ever before.

The whole world is attentively following our struggle; all progressive mankind warmly hails our resounding victories won in these early days of spring, encouraging us to march forward to complete victory.

These big, all-round victories are of considerable importance.

Once more these victories prove the complete correctness of our political and military lines and policies. They result from a resolute and creative leadership which attaches equal importance to both military and political struggles, both urban and rural areas. They testify to the invincible strength of people's war brought to a high degree of development. On the other hand, they point to the irretrievable bankruptcy of the entire strategy and all the policies of U.S. imperialism in its "limited war" of aggression, aimed at imposing the yoke of neo-colonialism on our people: they also lay bare the utter rottenness and inevitable collapse of the puppet army and administration created by U.S. imperialism.

Our victories have dealt a very heavy blow at the aggressive will of the U.S. imperialists, thus giving rise to rapid and important changes in the current balance of forces between us and the enemy, and generating most favourable conditions and a very firm basis for our people to achieve complete final victory.

2. In an atmosphere full of enthusiasm and confidence the Session paid high tribute to the extraordinary combativeness and splendid resourcefulness of all the cadres and fighters of the People's Liberation Armed Forces, offspring of the heroic Vietnamese people, to their three categories of forces — regular army, regional troops, militia and guerillas — who had been attacking on all battlefields, dealing telling blows at and striking fright into the enemy, and performing brilliant exploits. On the seventh anniversary of the historic merging of all the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, the Session called on their cadres and fighters to promote with might and main the fine tradition of the revolutionary army which is theirs, to march forward valiantly, launch continual attacks, score victory after victory and fulfil the glorious task entrusted them by the people.

The Session paid high tribute to the patriotism, solidarity and indomitable struggle of our compatriots in Saigon, Gia Dinh, Hue, Da Nang and other cities, provincial capitals and townships throughout South Viet Nam who, animated with deep hatred for the enemy, evincing heroism, ready to make sacrifices rather than be enslaved, and firmly convinced that

· “nothing is more precious than independence and freedom”, had valiantly stood up, smashed the grip of the Americans and their puppets and their regime of oppression and exploitation, wrested back power, quickly developed their political and military strength, wholeheartedly assisted and supplied the Liberation forces, thus greatly contributing to the brilliant victories of the entire South Vietnamese armed forces and people in the early days of spring.

The Session paid high tribute to our compatriots still living under the enemy's control in the plains and mountain regions, who had simultaneously risen up, shattered the enemy's grip, liberated vast areas and established their own revolutionary power; it warmly hails those in the liberated zones and in the base areas for their great contribution in human and material resources to the victories of our entire people. The Session greeted and welcomed the emergence of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and various patriotic organizations set up by the people and rallied armymen as well as other revolutionary armed organizations. It was firmly convinced that the bloc of national union constitutes the invincible force that enables our people to fulfil the glorious task entrusted them by the nation and history, and to lead the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to complete victory.

The Session acknowledged the meritorious deeds of the patriotic officers, soldiers, personnel and units of the puppet army and functionaries of the puppet administration, who, aware of the trend of the situation,

had completely dissociated themselves from the enemy, rallied to the just cause of our people and together with our people, struggled against U.S. aggression, for the defence of our country and our homes. It urged those who still remained in the puppet army and administration to clearly realize the present situation and timely choose the correct path by returning to the people's side and contributing to the liberation of the fatherland.

3. Basing itself on the over-all analysis of the situation on our side and the enemy's, the Session with the firmest determination arrived at decisions on tasks, policies and immediate measures to make our entire people and their armed forces, in the flush of their victories, rush forward, enhance their seething revolutionary mettle, strive to maintain and accentuate the impact of their great successes, launch continual attacks and simultaneous uprisings, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow the puppet administration and secure complete victory.

On the proposal of the Emulation Commission attached to the Front Central Committee, the Session decided to commend the urban and other areas and the People's Liberation Armed Forces units which had recorded outstanding achievements early this spring.

The Session also heard reports by Dr Phung Van Cung, Vice-President of the Presidium of the Front Central Committee and President of the Liberation Red Cross, and by Superior Thich Thien Hao, representative of the patriotic Buddhist members of the

Front, and President of the Commission for Denouncing the U.S. and puppets' War Crimes in South Viet Nam, on the barbarous crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys against the population in Saigon, Hue and other centres. It strongly condemned and denounced to world public opinion the most barbarous revanchist measures taken by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique against the civilian population by massacring them en masse with bombs and toxic gases, devastating their houses, compelling tens of thousands of them to live in very hard conditions.

The Session called on the townsfolk and the People's Liberation Armed Forces to translate their hatred into a material force, so as to deliver well-deserved blows at the criminals, defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, overthrow the puppet administration, smash their extremely cruel domination once for all, liberate the cherished South of the fatherland, and at the same time unite and help one another in daily life.

The enemy of our people are finding themselves in a most difficult situation and in an utterly confused and seriously deadlocked battle-array.

Aggressive and bellicose, obdurate and cruel by nature, they are frenziedly thrashing about, resorting to ruthless war methods. Nevertheless, their undertaking is crumbling and doomed to complete failure.

Our people's fight has reached a new phase which requires of us a high sense of urgency, one of relentless struggle and extremely rapid developments.

We have made a really good start.

Our position is very steady, our strength has considerably increased.

Compatriots and fighters, unite millions like one, overcome every hardship, make every sacrifice and take advantage of our successes to forge ahead, attack unremittingly, rise up in force and score victories daily and hourly in our rush toward complete victory, thereby fulfilling the great and glorious tasks you are entrusted by the nation and history so as to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, pending the reunification of the fatherland.

February 13, 1968

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
VOL. II.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
J. B. ALLEN, 1825.

1825

STATEMENT

OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICANS' AND PUPPETS' CRIMES AGAINST THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE URBAN POPULATION

Instead of resigning themselves to a humiliating and miserable life under the rule of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and burning with hatred at the enemy's monstrous crimes, the people in the cities and towns of South Viet Nam, in close co-ordination with the patriotic armed forces, have stood up as one man to storm the lairs of the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique of traitors and wrest back their sacred national rights.

At the end of their tether, the U.S. aggressors and Thieu-Ky frenziedly thrash about and perpetrate still more bloody crimes in the hope of stamping out the South Vietnamese people's patriotic tide.

They have barbarously bombed heavily populated areas, destroying thousands of houses, schools, churches, pagodas, temples and age-old cultural and historical relics inside and outside Saigon, Hue, Da

Nang, Pleiku, Ban Me Thuot, My Tho, Ben Tre, Can Tho, Vinh Long and other urban centres.

Their bombs and poison gas have killed or wounded thousands of civilians, mostly women, children and old-aged people, including Buddhist believers, soldiers and personnel of the puppet army and administration and members of their families. The U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique have moreover taken advantage of the difficulties they caused to the population to herd them into concentration camps, pressgang the youth, crack down upon the patriotic and peace-loving people, and ruthlessly oppress the population in the areas still under their control. To mask their crimes, they hypocritically staged the farce of "relief work" which is actually intended to extort the people's property and prevent them from assisting one another.

The crimes committed by the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique against the South Vietnamese are piling up like mountains. Their frenzied terror only exposes their ignominious failure, their complete powerlessness and their utter despair right in the areas which a few days ago they considered their most secure places.

The more crimes they commit against the South Vietnamese townsfolk, the deeper the hatred of the South Vietnamese and the entire Vietnamese people for the criminals, the closer their solidarity and the stronger their determination to fight and bring to complete victory their struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. No violence can extinguish the flame of struggle which is raging across the cities and countryside of South Viet Nam.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation denounces to public opinion at home and abroad the monstrous crimes of the U.S. aggressors and Thieu-Ky against the South Vietnamese townsfolk. It severely warns the criminals that they will have to pay for their crimes.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation Central Committee calls on the urban population, together with all the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, to rush forward on the impetus of their victories, to fight unremittingly and more valiantly, to smash all enemy counter-attacks and acts of oppression and terror, to wipe out the U.S. aggressors, annihilate, thin out and disintegrate the puppet army, to crush the puppet administrative machine from top to bottom and wrest back power. Let them promote their tradition of indomitability, unite and assist one another to overcome difficulties in their daily life, adequately organize civilian air defence and fight the enemy to the bitter end.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation Central Committee calls on the rural population throughout South Viet Nam to assist with might and main their compatriots in the towns who are facing difficulties due to the enemy's terror and massacre, and to materialize militant solidarity in a resolute fight against the common enemy.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation urgently appeals to:

The Governments and people of the newly-independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America,

The Governments and peoples of the socialist countries, the Governments and peoples of all countries and progressive people in the United States,

The peace and democratic organizations of workers, women, youth, students, intellectuals and religious followers in the world,

The scientists, lawyers, cultural and art workers and progressive personalities of all countries,

To sternly condemn the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique and take timely actions to check their crimes against the population of Saigon, Hue and other cities of South Viet Nam, step up their actions and all practical deeds in support and assistance to the South Vietnamese people with a view to their complete victory!

For their sacred cause of national liberation, for the fulfilment of their lofty obligations toward the peoples now struggling against U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, the South Vietnamese people are determined to accomplish the glorious task assigned them by history.

February 15, 1968

STATEMENT
OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. PRESIDUM
ON THE FOUNDING OF THE VIET NAM
ALLIANCE OF NATIONAL, DEMOCRATIC
AND PEACE FORCES

The Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has elicited a warm reception and response from our entire people, irrespective of social background and class, of nationality and religious belief, in the towns and the countryside alike. It has enlisted the sympathy and support of large numbers of officers and men of the puppet army and personnel of the puppet administration. It has also received a warm welcome from our brothers and friends in the five continents.

In the light of this Program our entire people and armed forces have dashed forward in the flush of new victories and launched repeated military and political attacks on the enemy in the towns as in the countryside, and won unprecedentedly great and all-round victories in the first spring days of this year. The revolutionary storm is sweeping South Viet Nam,

paralyzing the U.S. puppets' ruling apparatus and speeding up its inescapable collapse.

In this high tide of revolution, our people's fighting ranks have been further consolidated and broadened; many patriotic forces and individuals and many units of the puppet army have mutined and are struggling together with the entire people for peace, for our fatherland's independence and freedom. The Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces has come into being and declared that its program of action is to resolutely oppose foreign aggression, completely overthrow the Nguyen Cao Ky puppet regime, set up a national-union administration, contact, discuss and join actions with the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation so as to win back independence and sovereignty for the country, achieve peace, freedom and happiness for the entire people.

True to its national salvation mission which is to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow the puppet administration, found a broad national union and democratic administration, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and ultimately achieve peaceful reunification of the fatherland, true to its unswerving policy of broad national union and ready to join actions with all patriotic forces and individuals opposing the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen so as together to oppose the common enemy, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation feels greatly gratified at the emergence of the Viet Nam Alliance of National,

Democratic and Peace Forces. The Front declares its support for the political position and program of action of the Alliance, and is ready to join actions with it in the common fight for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity, a free and happy life for the entire people and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation earnestly calls upon all forces and individuals who wish our people to be independent and free and everybody to enjoy peace and happiness, in these crucial hours of history, to place the interests of the fatherland above all, pool efforts, strengthen their solidarity and struggle to achieve the above-said objective at all costs.

The failure of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys is a foregone conclusion. However, they remain very obdurate, crafty and cruel. Let our entire people and all our armed forces enhance their solidarity and vigilance, sharpen their fighting will, follow up their victories with relentless offensives, smash all counter-attacks of the enemy, and win complete victory.

April 1968

STATEMENT ON THE PARIS TALKS

For nearly one month now, at the official conversations in Paris between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States, the American representative has been rehashing utterly absurd contentions, covering up the U.S. schemes and acts of aggression, cynically misrepresenting the South Vietnamese people's sacred resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and eluding the determination by the United States of the unconditional cessation of bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation deems it necessary to voice the indignation of the entire South Vietnamese people at the obdurate position of aggression taken by the United States, and to categorically reject its absurd contentions.

Hard facts over the past fourteen years have clearly shown that the U.S. imperialists are the aggressor in South Viet Nam, the wrecker of the independence, peace and unity of our country, the

wrecker of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, the enemy number one of our people. The United States has rigged up in South Viet Nam a most ruthless puppet administration which has carried out bloody repressions against the people's movement for the peaceful reunification of our country. Confronted with an energetic rebuff from the South Vietnamese people, it has despatched troops across the Pacific to wage a "special war", then a "limited war". Over half a million troops of the United States and its satellites, together with half a million puppet troops, have been using thousands of aircraft, warships and all kinds of modern weapons, millions of tons of bombs and shells, toxic chemicals and poison gas to sow destruction and death, thus perpetrating bloody crimes throughout South Viet Nam, from the countryside to the towns, from the Demilitarized Zone to Cape Ca Mau. Obviously, this is the most atrocious colonial war of aggression in history, a war waged in an attempt to subdue the South Vietnamese people, to turn South Viet Nam into a U.S. neo-colony and military base, to perpetuate the partition of our fatherland, eventually to conquer our whole country, to sabotage the peace, security and independence of the Indochinese people, and pose a threat to peace in Asia and the world.

The Saigon puppet administration is merely a tool for aggression illegally created by the United States; representative of nobody, it is opposed by the entire South Vietnamese people and held in contempt by all progressive mankind. Were it not for

the U.S. dollar support and the protection of U.S. arms, the Saigon puppet administration, from Diem-Nhu to Thieu-Ky, could not have survived more than one day in the face of the wrath of all social strata in the South. The U.S. commitment to the puppets is a commitment between invaders and traitors; it is completely null and void, and cannot in any way camouflage the U.S. features as an impudent aggressor.

The South Vietnamese people are the masters of their own destinies. The United States having embarked on aggression in South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people have to fight the aggression. Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the broad masses of the people in South Viet Nam are waging a sacred resistance in order to defeat the U.S. war of aggression, overthrow the puppet administration, achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. This is a legitimate self-defence struggle consonant with international law and the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. The big victories of the general offensive and the simultaneous, widespread uprising of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people since early this spring, the coming into existence of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Viet Nam and other patriotic forces, have more eloquently than ever testified to the national character of the resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, in South Viet Nam.

Viet Nam is one country. The Vietnamese people are one nation. The U.S. imperialists have embarked on an aggression in the South, and a war of destruction in the North; so the people throughout Viet Nam have the sacred duty and the legitimate right to join forces and fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy. In the cause of liberating the South, the South Vietnamese people, who rely mainly on their own forces, have the right to receive all-round aid from their Northern brothers. The United States, which has unleashed aggression against the South, must end this aggression. The United States, which has undertaken bombing raids against the North and encroached upon the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, must end these acts of war without posing any condition whatsoever. It is still less entitled to demand under cover of "reciprocity" that the Vietnamese people stop fighting against the aggressor.

The South Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is an integral part of the world peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. It enjoys approval, support and aid from all progressive mankind, including progressive American people. The South Vietnamese people express warm thanks for the strong support and great assistance extended by the socialist and newly-independent countries and their friends all over the five continents to their struggle against U.S. aggression. In future as in the past they reserve their right to call for, and receive, aid in all fields from their

friends around the world including aid in terms of weapons and volunteers.

The South Vietnamese people are winning big victories, the United States is sustaining big defeats, the rotten Thieu-Ky puppet administration is collapsing. No desperate effort, no machiavellian manoeuvre can save the Americans and their stooges from a complete defeat.

The South Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace, but this must be peace in independence and freedom. The United States must stop its aggression, withdraw from South Viet Nam all American and satellite troops, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs in accordance with the Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, without foreign interference. So long as the United States persists in its aggression, the South Vietnamese people will fight on with the firm resolve to gain at any cost their sacred national rights.

The South Vietnamese people and the National Front for Liberation fully support the sound and just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as expounded in Minister Xuan Thuy's statements at the Paris talks. This position reflects the aspirations and sacred rights of the entire Vietnamese people. The Front sternly condemns the obdurate and elusive attitude of the United States and firmly demands that the latter unconditionally put an end to its bombing raids and all other acts of war throughout

the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On behalf of the South Vietnamese people, the National Front for Liberation conveys to the seventeen million compatriots in the North and the oversea Vietnamese the expression of its deep gratitude for their efforts and sacrifices they have made in a spirit of fraternity, to contribute substantially to the sacred cause of liberating the South.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation strongly supports the statements of the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Neo Lao Haksat protesting against the U.S. attempts to raise the Cambodian and Lao problems at the talks between the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States, and pledges active contribution to strengthen the unity bloc of the Indo-chinese peoples against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation calls on all the armed forces and people in the South to unceasingly enhance their determination to fight and their vigilance, to push strongly forward in the flush of their victories, to launch continual attacks and widespread uprisings, and win complete success for the glorious cause of liberating the South, defending the North, advancing toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and contributing to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation earnestly calls upon the peace-loving governments,

organizations and peoples in the world and progressive American people to support and help still more actively and vigorously in all fields the South Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

June 10, 1968

organization and people in the world and progressive
American people to support and help with their
activity and movement in the United States and
other people's movement to let us know
and all solutions.

Page 31

STATEMENT

ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S
INALIENABLE RIGHT TO INTENSIFY THEIR
STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION, FOR
NATIONAL SALVATION AND FOR THE
LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIET NAM

Since the *Tet*, developing their strong, winning position and skilfully combining armed attacks with uprisings staged by the masses, the South Vietnamese people have dealt deadly blows at the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen and won very big victories, driving the enemy into an utter predicament.

The populations of Saigon, Cholon, Gia Dinh and other urban centres, in co-ordination with the patriotic armed forces, have fought vigorously and hit with great precision series of military bases and nerve centres of the enemy, causing them heavy losses.

Confronted with the danger of irremediable collapse, the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique of traitors have frenziedly poured bombs, shells and gas on heavily populated areas in over 130 towns, provincial capitals and townships in South Viet Nam, killing or wounding tens of thousands of civilians and rendering

homeless hundreds of thousands of others. They have devastated Hue, a city with many cultural and historical relics of Viet Nam, and destroyed over 30,000 dwelling houses in the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh area. Recently, they went so far as to delineate "free-strike zones" which include large areas north and south of Saigon, thus revealing their cynical scheme to massacre the civilian population.

In face of the condemnation by the entire Vietnamese people and the world peoples, the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique and their propaganda machine are spreading odious slanders, in an attempt to make black white, to shift the blame on the patriotic armed forces for the losses of civilian lives in South Vietnamese towns.

This is a customary trick of "thief crying stop thief" of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

Everybody knows that for more than ten years the whole policy of the United States in South Viet Nam—by means of overt intervention, "special war" or "limited war" conducted with the most inhuman genocidal methods—has been spearheaded at the fourteen million South Vietnamese people with the aim of turning South Viet Nam into an American neo-colony and military base. Not a single hamlet, not a single town, not a single bush, not a single tree in this land of South Viet Nam is spared by the U.S.-puppets' "burn all, kill all, destroy all" policy. Not a single family is left without at least one member killed or wounded by their bombs, gas or extremely

ruthless repression. There is no denying that the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are the slaughterers of South Vietnamese people. It is they who have been for more than three years fiercely bombing and strafing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, massacring people both in the countryside and in the towns.

More than ever before, the fourteen million people of South Viet Nam, direct victims of the U.S. war of aggression, are duly punishing their enemy. Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese population of all strata are bringing their sacred war of resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to a high level. The South Vietnamese patriotic armed forces, the sons and daughters of the people who foster, assist and shelter them and join actions with them, are waging an extremely valiant fight, attacking the enemy in all parts of South Viet Nam, including the towns, their last hide-outs. The enemy has raised clamours and concocted the fantastic story of the "massacre of civilians" by the patriotic armed forces because they themselves have been deadly hit and are frightened by the punishing blows dealt by the people.

It is evident that though the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen have sustained heavy defeats, they still remain stubborn and perfidious. They insolently demand that our people stop fighting against aggression, and are preparing public opinion for a fresh escalation of the war in both parts of our country and creating obstacles to the Paris talks between the

representatives of the D. R. V. N. and the United States.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation once again re-affirms that since the United States has invaded South Viet Nam and has been indulging in the massacre of its people, the latter must resist them and drive them out of their country to regain independence and freedom and to save their fatherland. It is the sacred, inalienable right to self-defence of the Vietnamese people. As long as the United States continues its aggression, the Vietnamese people will carry on their fight.

The United States must end its aggression, withdraw all American and satellite troops from South Viet Nam and leave the South Vietnamese people to settle themselves their internal affairs in accordance with the Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, without foreign interference. The United States must stop completely and permanently the bombing and all other acts of war against the D. R. V. N. and has no right to demand any kind of "reciprocity".

The just cause of the Vietnamese people, who are enjoying the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, will certainly achieve complete victory.

June 26, 1968

STATEMENT

OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL
COMMITTEE ON THE "TRIAL IN ABSENTIA"
BY THE SAIGON ADMINISTRATION OF THE
LEADERS OF THE VIET NAM ALLIANCE OF
NATIONAL, DEMOCRATIC AND PEACE FORCES

According to Saigon and foreign press the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet authorities, lackeys of the U.S. imperialists, have recently passed a death sentence *in absentia* on the leaders of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

As everyone knows, the Alliance is a broad organization comprising different patriotic forces and individuals in the towns and cities of South Viet Nam, which has come into being in the high tide of our entire people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to contribute to their struggle for independence, democracy and peace. Its emergence and its activities have received a warm welcome and response from people from all walks of life. The Alliance has also enlisted the sympathy and support of progressive opinion the world over.

This "trial" constitutes an extremely base and despicable act of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, the puppet administration. It supplies further evidence to the former's lamentable failure in their war of aggression in South Viet Nam, and to the latter's inevitable disintegration. It shows that the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are frightened by the tremendous growth of the national united front against U.S. aggression and the mounting influence and prestige of the Alliance. It further unmasks the clique of traitors who oppose all patriotic forces and all those who long for independence, democracy and peace.

This "trial" will certainly increase the isolation of, and the contempt for, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys at home and abroad. It will not at all hinder the various strata of the urban population in South Viet Nam and all those in the Saigon administration and army who nurture national feelings from rising up in greater numbers and with more violence against them in order, finally, to overthrow them and win back national independence and sovereignty, peace and happiness for the entire people.

The Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation calls on the urban population, all personalities, intellectuals, and patriotic forces in South Viet Nam, the people throughout the country, and progressive opinion around the world, to condemn severely this odious piece of cowardice of the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration in their pay.

Let our compatriots and fighters give full play to their implacable hatred for the U.S. aggressors and the traitors, rush forward in the flush of their victories, attack unremittingly and rise up everywhere to deal still more thundering blows at the enemy until final victory is won.

It is the U.S. imperialist aggressors who have unleashed the most ruthless war of aggression in the history of mankind, and committed utterly savage, unpardonable crimes, that must be tried and condemned by the tribunal of human conscience.

It is the chieftains of the puppet administration and army who have, with knees down, offered the U.S. imperialists half of our beloved fatherland and brought in over 500,000 troops of the United States and its satellites to ravage our land and massacre our compatriots, that must be hauled into court and severely condemned by the South Vietnamese people.

No act of the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration, whatever cruel it may be, can save them from a shameful defeat.

U.S. imperialism will be certainly defeated!

The puppet administration will be certainly overthrown!

The South Vietnamese people will certainly win final victory!

July 14, 1968

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STATEMENT

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR
LIBERATION ON THE OCCASION OF JULY 20 *

After resisting aggressive colonialism for decades and foiling the scheme of the U.S. warmongers to prolong and expand the Indochina war, the people of Viet Nam and Indochina as a whole have recorded big victories. The South Vietnamese people would have enjoyed independence and peace, Viet Nam would have been reunified and the situation in this country would have developed satisfactorily, in conformity with the aspirations of its people as well as the peoples in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

However, the U.S. imperialists have sabotaged the Geneva Agreements. They have rigged up in South Viet Nam an utterly brutal puppet regime, feverishly used armed force and fascist measures to wipe out

* The day the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam was signed in 1954. (*Pub*).

the patriotic forces and carried out bloody repressions against all movements for peace and national reunification.

Having failed in their scheme to use the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime to stamp out the South Vietnamese people's patriotic movement, in 1961 the U.S. imperialists launched a "special war" in the South and set up an American military command in Saigon to take in hand the conduct of the war. Failing again in their "special war", in 1965 they switched over to a "limited war", massively pouring U.S. expeditionary troops into South Viet Nam. 600,000 men of the United States and its satellites, together with over half a million puppet troops, have been utilizing thousands of aircraft, warships, modern weapons of all kinds, millions of tons of bombs and bullets, toxic chemicals and gas to sow destruction and perpetrate bloody crimes throughout the South. Since 1964-1965, the American imperialists have thrown their air and naval forces into a barbarous war of destruction against the North. Clearly, the aggressive war they are conducting in Viet Nam is the most savage ever known in history. They have also sabotaged the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and stepped up aggression against this country, encroached upon Cambodia's territory and threatened her independence and neutrality.

Hard facts in the past fourteen years have clearly demonstrated that U.S. imperialism is the aggressor in South Viet Nam and the saboteur of the independence, peace and unity of Viet Nam, of the 1954

Geneva Agreements and of the peace, security and independence of the Indochinese peoples. It is U.S. imperialism that threatens peace in Asia and the world.

The Saigon puppet administrations, from Diem-Nhu to Thieu-Ky-Huong, are nothing but instruments forged by the United States to serve as a prop for its aggressive war and to carry out neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam. They are merely a group of henchmen supported and protected by the United States, a gang of traitors and a monstrous offshoot of the U.S. colonialist war, hated and spurned by the entire people in South Viet Nam and progressive people all over the world. They represent nobody and owe their survival to American dollars, expeditionary troops and weapons.

By waging their war of aggression, the U.S. imperialists are robbing the South Vietnamese people of their independence and freedom, and infringing upon the most sacred aspirations and sentiments of every South Vietnamese. There is no other alternative for the South Vietnamese people than to rise up and resist aggression to save their country and regain national independence and sovereignty. This is the inviolable right of self-defence which fully conforms to international law and the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. The fight of the South Vietnamese people not only aims at recovering their sacred national rights but also makes a positive contribution to the common struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese people have successively smashed all the perfidious and extremely wicked manoeuvres and plans of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, frustrated their "limited war" at its very important phase, thus winning one victory after another. Since early spring this year, bringing into play their strong and winning position, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, in their general offensive and simultaneous uprising, have dealt stunning blows at the Americans and the puppets, driven them into a serious predicament, recorded victories of over-all strategic significance, and created a new and very favourable situation for them to march forward and defeat the U.S aggressive war, overthrow the puppet administration and win complete victory.

In the North, the army and people have recorded big successes in foiling the basic objectives of the U.S. war of destruction.

At present the United States is obviously facing defeat. But it has not yet given up its aggressive design and continues to dispatch more expeditionary troops to South Viet Nam, bringing the total of American troops to nearly 540,000 while going on to press such of its satellites as South Korea and Thailand for more cannon-fodder. They have also ordered the puppet administration to effect "general mobilization", feverishly drafting the youth into the puppet army with the hope of raising its strength to 800,000 men by the end of this year. With intensified B.52 raids, they have barbarously massacred the civilian

population all over South Viet Nam, where they have impudently delimited "free-strike zones" right in the Saigon, Cholon and Gia Dinh areas, and increased by 50 per cent the use of toxic chemicals. At the same time, they have concentrated their fierce bombing on an important part of the D.R.V.N. Thus, while talking "peace" the U.S. aggressors are in fact intensifying and expanding their war of aggression, piling up crimes against the people in both North and South Viet Nam.

The South Vietnamese people ardently cherish peace, but that must be peace in independence and freedom. Nothing can shake their determination and that of their liberation armed forces to wrest back their national rights at all costs : independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity and the ultimate peaceful reunification of their fatherland. No brutal force, no reactionary power and no perfidious manoeuvre can prevent them from rushing forward to win final victory. So long as the U.S. imperialists refuse to end their aggressive war in South Viet Nam, withdraw American and satellite troops, abolish their military bases and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their internal affairs without foreign interference, the latter will continue to fight with arms in hand till final victory. With the devoted aid of their seventeen million blood-sealed compatriots in the North, and the sympathy, support and assistance of progressive people throughout the world, the more we fight, the bigger victories we shall win and the more adequate conditions we shall have to stage

continual offensives and vigorous uprisings, and advance toward complete victory.

On the occasion of July 20, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation conveys the most heartfelt feelings of the fourteen million South Vietnamese people and fighters to their seventeen million brothers and sisters and the people's armed forces in the North, and warmly welcomes the brilliant feat of arms they have recorded by shooting down more than 3,000 planes of the U.S. aggressors and by frustrating the basic strategic objectives of their war of destruction. North Viet Nam is one half of our beloved fatherland and the big rear of the nation-wide struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The South Vietnamese people and their liberation armed forces are determined to defend the blood-sealed North, deliver well-deserved blows at the U.S. imperialists for all the crimes they have committed against it and, in all circumstances, to best accomplish the glorious tasks entrusted them by the nation.

On this occasion, the South Vietnamese people and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation wish to express sincere thanks to the governments, mass organizations and democratic organizations, the peace- and justice-loving people in the world and progressive people in the United States, who have been sternly condemning the crime of aggression and war crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Viet Nam, exposing their deceitful "peace manœuvres, warmly

stimulating and actively assisting the South Vietnamese people to push vigorously ahead their general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in order to fulfil their task of liberating South Viet Nam and defending North Viet Nam, thus contributing to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, in Asia and in the world.

Compatriots in the enemy temporarily occupied towns and rural areas, and in the liberated zones! Over the recent years and particularly since this early Spring all of you, young and old, men and women, poor and rich, irrespective of religion and nationality, have been at one to undergo sacrifices and hardships, shed your blood and use your wealth and abilities in order to counter the enemy, save our country, and keep up our national tradition of indomitability, and have recorded unprecedented victories.

At present, the U.S. aggressors are sustaining heavy defeats and facing a serious predicament. But, very stubborn, they have not given up their aggressive design. Further close your ranks, millions like one, rush forward and, together with the People's Liberation Armed Forces, mount continual attacks and rise up without let-up, dealing still more deadly blows at the Americans and the quislings, smashing the puppet army, overthrowing the puppet administration, wresting all the power for the people, in an effort to achieve our most glorious cause: the liberation of the South and the defence of North Viet Nam, pending the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

People's Liberation Armed Forces on all battlefields! Promote to the highest degree your revolutionary heroism and your determination to fight and to win, push ahead on the flush of your victories, launch continual attacks, register repeated successes, knock down and disintegrate as many U.S.-puppet forces as possible, destroy as many of their war means as you can, extend guerilla warfare to the towns and areas still under the enemy's control, efficiently help our compatriots to rise up, be resolved to win final victory!

Workers and labourers! Close your ranks, enhance your role as the vanguard force of the revolution, resolutely stand up to wipe out cruel agents and break the enemy's grip, disorganize the puppet administrative machine, help one another, rally yourselves into organizations, strive to get control over enterprises, companies, workshops and streets, completely free the towns, and liberate South Viet Nam!

Peasants, the powerful main force of the revolution! Continue resolutely to rise up and liberate the rural areas still under enemy control, set up and defend revolutionary power, strive to boost production, develop guerilla warfare, actively serve the front, and materialize the slogan "Everything for victory!"

Young men and women, students and pupils! At this historical hour decisive for our nation, let each of you display revolutionary heroism to the best of his or her abilities. Raise high the banner of solidarity and determination to fight and to win; let each of you be ready to lay down his or her life for the

fatherland to live on, enthusiastically join the revolutionary armed forces, resolutely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in view of a bright future for the younger generation !

Women of all social strata ! You have suffered more than anyone else from the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the Americans and the puppets. Hold aloft your tradition of heroism, indomitability, loyalty, and responsibility, stand up resolutely and struggle vigorously for the defence of your and your children's rights, happiness and dignity ; wholeheartedly help the army men, serve the front and take part in every resistance work for national salvation !

Intellectuals, writers and artists, industrialists and traders ! The U.S. - puppet regime is tottering. Avail yourselves of this unprecedented historical opportunity to fight the Americans and overthrow the puppets with all your abilities, by all means, and as your situation permits. Together with all our compatriots and armed forces contribute a worthy part to the brilliant victories of our people !

Officers and men of the puppet army, policemen and functionaries of the puppet administration ! At this urgent juncture you should timely decide on your own destinies. Take the path of glory, rise up and wipe out the U.S. aggressors and their cruel agents ; come back to the people's side with your weapons and fight with them for the defence of our country and our families, thereby making a contribution to our glorious national cause !

On the occasion of July 20, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation calls on all peace-, freedom- and justice-loving governments, organizations and people, including the American people, to give stronger moral support and material assistance to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, until its complete victory.

The cruel U.S. imperialist aggressors will certainly be defeated!

The South Vietnamese people will certainly win complete victory!

July 14, 1968

STATEMENT

OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMISSION OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE JOHNSON-THIEU MEETING IN HONOLULU

On last July 19 and 20 in Honolulu, U.S. President Johnson staged a farcical meeting, complete with a joint communique, with Nguyen Van Thieu, a lackey of the United States and head of the Saigon puppet administration.

Johnson and Thieu made quite a ballyhoo about their determination to "halt aggression" and "defend South Viet Nam" and about their "seeking an honourable peace" which was in fact a threat to step up the war of aggression and a peace hoax aimed at forcing the South Vietnamese people to renounce their just struggle and accept the yoke of U.S. neo-colonialism.

Johnson and Thieu reiterated all the absurd allegations they had previously made to distort the South Vietnamese people's struggle for national salvation and accuse North Viet Nam of aggression on South Viet Nam. Under the pretext of honouring

"commitments" to the Saigon administration they tried to justify the U.S. acts of aggression while denying the South Vietnamese people the right to resist aggression and evade the unconditional cessation of the bombing and all other acts of war by the United States against the D.R.V.N.

Thieu's so-called view on the "essential condition for peace in South Viet Nam" is but the U.S. contention which regards South Viet Nam as a "separate state", and is aimed at perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam and turning South Viet Nam into a neo-colony and military base of the United States.

As for Johnson's claim for a "just solution" at the conference table, it is none other than one for the Vietnamese people's acceptance of the absurd "reciprocity" condition set by the United States. This is the position of an aggressor which has been flatly rejected by the Vietnamese people and strongly condemned by the world people.

Together with the U.S. crimes in both South and North Viet Nam the public commitment between Johnson and his henchmen to step up the draft, increase the number of puppet troops and introduce more weapons and other war means into South Viet Nam, has further revealed the odious truth about the United States "desire for peace".

It is obvious that, despite its growing passiveness, perplexity, deadlocked situation and setbacks, the United States obdurately continues its war of aggression in South Viet Nam and its war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This is the only

obstacle to the restoration of peace in Viet Nam, to the progress of the talks between the representatives of the D.R.V.N. and the U.S.A. in Paris.

The South Vietnamese people and the N.F.L. resolutely unmask and condemn to the public the U.S. policy of stubbornly going on with its war of aggression and its perfidious moves. As has been affirmed by the N.F.L. Central Committee in its statement on the occasion of July 20 last, the South Vietnamese people ardently cherish peace, but that must be a peace in independence and freedom. Nothing can shake the determination of the South Vietnamese people and their Liberation Armed Forces to wrest back at all costs their national rights: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity and ultimate peaceful reunification of their fatherland. No brutal force, no perfidious manoeuvre can prevent the South Vietnamese people from rushing forward and winning final victory.

With the devoted assistance of their seventeen million compatriots in the North and the sympathy and support of the peace- and justice-loving people all over the world the South Vietnamese people's just cause will certainly triumph.

July 23, 1968

STATEMENT

OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM N.F.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE U.S. SCHEME TO INTENSIFY THE AGGRESSIVE WAR AGAINST VIET NAM

These last days Johnson and the American ruling circles have insolently declared that the United States would envisage the step-up of military measures against the Vietnamese people in case of new waves of attacks on American and puppet troops in South Viet Nam.

The spokesman of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is authorized to declare the following :

As a result of the heavy defeats sustained in both South and North Viet Nam — especially since the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in early spring 1968 of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people — and in face of vehement protests from public opinion, U.S. President Johnson has been forced to declare a "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam. This act, while reflecting the losing

and weakening position of the United States and its henchmen on the Viet Nam battlefield, is a cunning move to soothe public opinion. In reality, the United States is obdurately pursuing its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. It continues to send more American expeditionary troops to South Viet Nam, bringing the total of its effectives here to over 550,000. It has ordered the Saigon administration to enforce "general mobilization" so as to increase the number of puppet troops, while pressing its satellites for more cannon-fodder. At the same time the U.S. aggressors have frantically mounted many operations to terrorize and massacre the population, using B.52 strategic bombers to conduct raids with an exterminating character on whole areas at the gate of Saigon, and slaughtering people even inside the urban centres with bombs, shells and gas. For their part, the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique are rabidly opposing the surging movement of the townspeople, ruthlessly cracking down on students, intellectuals and other patriots who demand an end to the war and recognition of the National Front for Liberation. Meanwhile, U.S. aircraft and warships are concentrating their utterly savage attacks on an important part of the D.R.V.N.

While stepping up its war of aggression, piling up countless crimes in both parts of Viet Nam, the United States persists in its demand for "restraint" on the part of the Vietnamese people. Clearly, it remains stubborn, arrogating to itself the right to commit aggression on Viet Nam while denying the Vietnamese people the right to resist aggression.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation once again declares that so long as the U.S. imperialists continue their aggression in South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people will fight on; they will resolutely attack and wipe out the invaders and their flunkys at any time and in any place, so as to completely defeat the U.S. war of aggression, overthrow the whole puppet administration, and save their country and their homes. This is the just, inalienable right of self-defence of the South Vietnamese people, which conforms to the basic principles of the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and international law. In their just fight, the Vietnamese people have the right to receive wholehearted and all-round assistance from their seventeen million compatriots in the North and their friends in the five continents.

As the United States has unwarrantedly attacked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam—an independent and sovereign state—it must put an end to this act of aggression. It has no right to put any condition whatsoever for the unconditional cessation of its bombing raids and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the D.R.V.N.

The American ruling circles cannot in the least shake the fighting will of the Vietnamese people by stepping up its war in both parts of Viet Nam. It will only incense their hatred and make them further close their ranks and deal yet harder blows at their enemy. The American ruling circles' stubborn and bellicose attitude is only exposing stark naked the fallacy of their so called "goodwill for peace", and

will certainly invite stronger protests from progressive people in the United States and the world.

United millions like one under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation and in face of all the obstinacy and cunning tricks of the U.S. imperialists, the South Vietnamese people will push up their general offensive and uprising to gain still bigger victories in order to achieve the liberation of South Viet Nam, defend North Viet Nam and advance toward the reunification of their country, thus making a contribution to the cause of peace and national independence in Indochina and the world.

August 5, 1968

STATEMENT

ON THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM PROBLEM

Over the past fourteen years, in an attempt to materialize their scheme to turn South Viet Nam into a neo-colony and military base of the United States, the American imperialists have carried out a policy of aggression, the most ruthless in history, against the Vietnamese people, grossly trampling on the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam which have been recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

The U.S. imperialists have rigged up in South Viet Nam an extremely brutal puppet regime, and have tried to impose through fire and sword their domination on the South Vietnamese people.

However, united millions like one, the South Vietnamese people have risen up valiantly and have fought relentlessly and perseveringly against the aggressors and the traitors. Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and with the wholehearted assistance of their compatriots in the North, the sympathy and the firm

and strong support of friendly governments and of the people around the world, the South Vietnamese people have won repeated, ever bigger victories in their sacred resistance war.

In an attempt to stave off their complete defeat, the U.S. imperialists have massively sent U.S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against the South while conducting a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus perpetrating innumerable savage crimes everywhere in both parts of our country.

But no brutal force can possibly save the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen from ignominious failure.

Fighting with matchless heroism, the armed forces and people in North Viet Nam have shot down over 3,200 U.S. aircraft, defeating the U.S. war of destruction and fulfilling its duty as the great rear to the great front.

The armed forces and people in South Viet Nam have foiled all the plans of the United States to intensify its war of aggression and, since early spring this year, have been attacking and rising up continually and simultaneously, dealing thunder blows at the U.S.-puppets right in their hide-outs, recording unprecedentedly big victories in all fields, changing the war situation and further driving the enemy into an irretrievably passive and deteriorating position.

In face of the valiant and unflagging struggle and the victories of great significance in all fields of the

armed forces and people in all our country, and in face of the strong demand of the world people, including progressive people in the United States, the U.S. government has been compelled to agree to, and effect, an unconditional cessation of the bombing and shelling of the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This is a tremendous victory of our entire people and of the peace-loving people in the world.

This, however, does not mean that the United States has given up its aggressive design against Viet Nam. It is obdurately stepping up its war in the South and clinging to the puppet administration with the hope of maintaining its neo-colonialist rule there, and prolonging the partition of Viet Nam. It stubbornly continues to encroach upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It keeps demanding a price for its stopping the war of destruction in the North.

The South Vietnamese people and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation resolutely demand that the United States stop once for all every encroachment on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, put an end to its war of aggression in South Viet Nam, carry out all its pledges at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam, and respect the imprescriptible national rights of the South Vietnamese people.

* * *

The South Vietnamese people cherish peace. But that must be a peace in independence and freedom. Expressing this aspiration and resolve, and basing itself on its Political Program, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation solemnly declares its stand regarding the political settlement of the South Viet Nam problem as follows :

1. South Viet Nam is resolved to struggle for the materialization of its sacred rights, namely, independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity, and ultimate peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

2. The U.S. imperialists must put an end to their war of aggression against Viet Nam, withdraw all their troops and those of their satellites as well as all their war means from, and liquidate all U.S. military bases in, South Viet Nam.

3. The internal affairs of South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, without foreign interference. A national and broadly democratic coalition government must be established, and free general elections must be held in South Viet Nam.

4. The reunification of Viet Nam will be settled by the people in the two parts of Viet Nam step by step, by peaceful means and on the basis of consultations and agreements between the two parts, without foreign interference.

5. South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality: no military alliance in any

form with foreign countries, and establishment of friendly relations with all countries on the five principles of peaceful co-existence. Good neighbourhood relations will be established with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for her independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity within her present borders, and with Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements concerning this country.

The U.S. imperialists are the aggressors in South Viet Nam. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is the organizer and leader of the South Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression, resistance which has won one victory after another. The Front is building and developing the revolutionary administration of the South Vietnamese people. The Governments of many countries and the world people have recognized the Front and given it great support and assistance. The Front is the authentic representative of the legitimate aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and has full competence to settle all problems concerning South Viet Nam.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation reiterates its complete unanimity of views with, and full support for, the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This stand embodies the aspirations and will of the entire Vietnamese people, and forms the correct basis for the settlement of the Viet Nam issue.

Now that the United States has unconditionally stopped bombing and shelling North Viet Nam, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation firmly supports the stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as is expounded in its statement of November 2, 1968 aimed at finding a political solution to the Viet Nam problem. After discussing with the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and reaching unanimity of views with it, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation agrees to the holding of a conference of four parties comprising: the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the United States of America and the Saigon administration. At this conference the Front will raise the voice of the South Vietnamese people, the voice of justice.

The present administration in Saigon is but a clique of traitors, henchmen of the United States; it runs counter to the legitimate aspirations of the entire population of South Viet Nam. It has been strongly opposed by our people and spurned by progressive people in the world. It does not represent anybody. The presence of the representatives of the Saigon administration at the above-said conference does not mean recognition of this regime by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

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Despite its obvious failure, the United States has not yet given up its aggressive design against Viet Nam. As for our people's resistance, the nearer its victory, the more numerous its difficulties. Warmly responding to President Ho Chi Minh's sacred appeal of November 3, 1968, "So long as there is a single aggressor in our country, we must fight on to wipe him away", let all our compatriots and all the combatants of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces strengthen their resolve and fight perseveringly until final victory. Let us hold high the banner of victory, rush forward heroically and vigorously, enhance the mettle of continual offensive and continual uprising to defeat the U.S. war of aggression, overthrow the clique of traitors, wrest back complete power for the people, and fulfil gloriously our sacred mission, namely, to liberate the South, defend the North, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and contribute to the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world!

Soldiers and officers of the puppet army and personnel of the puppet administration, have a timely and clear appraisal of the situation, go over to the side of the fatherland, join the people in fighting to save our country, your homes, and your own lives, against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. The National Front for Liberation and the people are ready to welcome you.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation calls upon all governments, all organizations, all democratic personalities,

and progressive people throughout the world, including those in the United States, to give vigorous support to the just stand of the Front, and render more active assistance to the South Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, until its complete victory.

South Viet Nam must be liberated!

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, will surely triumph!

November 3, 1968

ERRATA

Page	Line	Instead of	Please read
74	23	soldiers killed in action.	soldiers and to needy and helpless families of puppet soldiers killed in action.