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TEXT OF HA VAN LAU'S PARIS SESSION REMARKS

[Following is the English text of the DRV opening statement by Ambassador Ha Van Lau at the 22d plenary session of the Paris meetings, June 19, 1969, as released to the press by the Vietnamese communists]

Statement by Ambassador Ha Van Lau, on behalf of the delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, at the 22d plenary session of the Paris conference on Vietnam. (June 19, 1969)

1--The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam established more than a week ago has given birth to a new enthusiasm among the Vietnamese people in both zones north and south, and gained the sympathy and vigorous support of the governments and peoples of many countries in the world.

On June 12, 1969, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declared: The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam which sprang from the congress of the people's representatives of South Vietnam is the legal government, the authentic representative of the South Vietnam people. At the same time it decided to raise the representation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in Hanoi to the level of special representation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with special privileges and prerogatives. All the socialist countries and many nationalist countries have officially recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and established with it diplomatic relations at ambassadorial rank. Many peace and democratic organizations in the world have sent messages of congratulations to the Provisional Revolutionary Government, considering it as the authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnam people.

Such facts point to the international prestige of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and to the sympathy and support of the world people towards the just and victorious struggle of the South Vietnam people and of the Vietnamese people as a whole against U.S. aggression.

Holding such a position on the international scene, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam will have the greater drive and enthusiasm to lead the resistance war of the South Vietnam people to complete victory. At the same time, it will actively contribute to the search for a correct political solution of the South Vietnam problem and to the progress of the Paris conference.

2--At the last session the delegates of the United States and of the Saigon administration dwelt upon the June 8, 1969 Midway meeting between U.S. President Nixon and Nguyen Van Thieu, and made believe that it was an important event in the search for a peaceful solution to the Vietnam problem. Back in Washington from Midway, Mr Nixon himself noisily clamoured about the decision to withdraw 25,000 U.S. troops from South Vietnam, considering it as having opened wide the door to peace, and alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam must bear the responsibility for . . . not walking through that door which we have opened.

At the last session, I analyzed the real nature of the U.S. design embodied in the Midway joint communique. I wish today to make further remarks on this subject.

The door which Mr Nixon opened in Midway is not a door to peace but a door to war. The Midway communique has revealed Mr Nixon's scheme of obstinately pursuing the war of aggression in South Vietnam under another form, that of de-Americanizing or Vietnamizing the war--using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese--and implementing U.S. neo-colonialism in South Vietnam. Mr Nixon could not either hide the fact that the withdrawal of 25,000 U.S. troops is merely a redeployment of U.S. forces. As to the delegate of the Saigon administration, he said at the last session that those 25,000 U.S. troops will be replaced by the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam on which the United States is the god-father.

According to a UPI dispatch dated June 13, 1969, the U.S. Defense Department will spend 6.2 billion dollars and will need another 5 years or more to modernize the puppet army, so as to enable it to fight in the place of the United States. These acts of the Nixon administration have thus shown one aspect of its foreign policy which consists in relying on military strength in order to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries and play the role of an international gendarme.

In a speech made at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs on June 4, 1969, in reply to those who criticize his policy, Mr Nixon blatantly asked: What would happen to this world if America were to become a dropout in assuming the responsibility for defending peace and freedom in the world? Now, everybody is entitled in return to put to him the following questions: Who asks the United States to assume that responsibility? On what grounds did the United States take upon itself the right to act as an international **gendarme**? General David Shoup, Ex-commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps and former member of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, has criticized that America has become a militaristic and aggressive nation, that it has been following the 'military task force' type of diplomacy in the tradition of the gunboat diplomacy, especially since the end of World War II.

Speaking of U.S. policy in Vietnam which has been conceived in that way, Senator Fulbright said that Mr Nixon's speech fortifies the impression that the administration is not prepared to leave South Vietnam except in the hands of a proxy government, hence it (the war) will just go on and on. (INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, June 6, 1969).

Indeed, the first thing that strikes one in the Midway communique is that Mr Nixon still obstinately maintains and consolidates the warlike, dictatorial and corrupt Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration to use it as an instrument for continuing the U.S. war of aggression, opposing the legitimate and vigorous demand of the South Vietnam people that this puppet administration be replaced by a peace cabinet which will hold serious negotiations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam so as to rapidly end the war and restore peace.

The second point that appears in the Midway communique is that Mr Nixon still refuses to withdraw from South Vietnam all U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp without posing any condition whatsoever. Faced with ever heavier defeats on the battlefield, and under the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad that demands that U.S. troops be brought home, Mr Nixon resorted to the trick of withdrawing troops in dribblets to soothe public opinion, which amounts to prolonging the U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam.

To justify this stubborn attitude, the United States insistently clings to its most absurd demand on mutual troop withdrawal which we and even world opinion have rejected. Unable to deny the fact that the U.S. troops and those from other countries of the U.S. camp being the foreign troops of aggression in South Vietnam, naturally have to withdraw from there, Mr Nixon put forward the concept of non-South Vietnamese forces. As we have repeatedly stated, this is an insidious and perfidious trick aimed at equating external forces making aggression against South Vietnam with Vietnamese armed forces fighting against aggression on their own soil. But how can the United States refuse to admit the truth that Vietnam is one and the Vietnamese people is one? How can it distort the basic principle of the 1954 Geneva agreements that recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam?

Once again, I deem it necessary to reaffirm that U.S. troops and those from other countries of the U.S. camp are external troops coming to South Vietnam for purposes of aggression. Therefore, if the war is to be ended, these forces must totally withdraw from South Vietnam, without posing any condition. The armed forces fighting against U.S. aggression are the Vietnamese people's forces fighting on their own soil to defend their fatherland, in keeping with the sacred right to self-defence of every nation. This problem is to be settled by the Vietnamese parties among themselves, as has been pointed out in the front's 10-point overall solution. Mr Nixon's raising the question of the withdrawal to North Vietnam of the so-called North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam as a condition for the withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those from other foreign countries of the U.S. camp only aims at delaying this withdrawal and buying time to carry out the de-Americanization or Vietnamization of the U.S. war.

The third point that comes out of the Midway communique is that though talking of respecting the South Vietnam people's right to self-determination, the U.S. actually opposes these rights and tramples them underfoot.

At the last session, the U.S. delegate repeated President Nixon's statement that his country pursued only a limited objective in Vietnam, that is to say, it only seeks to give the Vietnamese people the opportunity to decide their own political future without foreign interference.

But, over the past 15 years, the United States itself has been seeking every means to prevent the South Vietnam people from exercising their right to self-determination. In fact, who brought Ngo Dinh Diem back to South Vietnam to set up a puppet Administration there as an instrument for carrying out U.S. neocolonialism? Who, fearing the results of free general elections, opposed the 1956 general elections aimed at reunifying Vietnam, with a view to permanently partitioning the country? Who introduced a 540,000-man strong expeditionary corps to make aggression against South Vietnam and prop up the U.S. neocolonialist regime which was shaking and was about to collapse, buffeted by the great wind of the South Vietnam people's struggle for independence, freedom, and self-determination? Who is manoeuvring now to prolong the U.S. military occupation of South Vietnam in order to prolong the existence of the Saigon puppet administration and to protract the war by using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese, under the programme of de-Americanizing or Vietnamizing the war, thus going against the will of the whole people of South Vietnam? No one else but the United States.

Having for the past 15 years infringed upon and trampled underfoot the South Vietnam people's right to self-determination, and still doing so now, the United States now dares to say that its objective is to ensure the right to self-determination of the South Vietnam people. How very deceitful indeed!

If such is really the U.S. objective, the first and simple thing the United States must do is to totally and unconditionally withdraw from South Vietnam its troops and those from other foreign countries in the U.S. Camp, give up the maintenance and consolidation of the dictatorial and corrupt Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration, and let the South Vietnam people decide their own political future through a logical, reasonable, and genuinely democratic process, as has been correctly pointed out in the 10-point overall solution put forward by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

3--But, far from doing so, Mr Nixon has intensified the war in South Vietnam and stepped up the infringements of the sovereignty and security of the democratic Republic of Vietnam, in an attempt to create for the United States a position of strength at the conference table.

In South Vietnam, the United States does its utmost to make what it calls maximum military pressure. US troops, those from other countries in the U.S. camp, and puppet troops are day and night stepping up their sweeps, indiscriminately bombing and shelling densely populated villages in the liberated areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government, massacring the civilian population, destroying their property. On June 2 alone, they carried out 46 battalion-sized or even bigger operations. In return, the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces inflicted deserved blows on the aggressors who sustained heavy losses in lives and war means. The recent increase in U.S. combat deaths is due to Mr Nixon's continued intensification of the war.

The U.S. military command tries by every means in its power to conceal this, but American public opinion and many U.S. political figures are voicing their strong denunciation of the U.S. intensification of military activities in South Vietnam.

With regard to North Vietnam, in May 1969, U. S. planes launched 52 raids on many places in Vinh Linh, Quang Binh and even in Nghe An, 260 kilometers away from the 17th parallel. During the first half of June, they made 610 sorties to carry out more than 400 reconnaissance missions over all provinces and cities.

Besides, they launched continuous attacks on many areas of North Vietnam lying between the 17th and 19th parallel: The bombing and strafing of a number of places in Quang Binh Province and in the Vinh Linh area on June 5; the bombing of Hon Mat Island and Noong De village, both belonging to Nghe An Province, on June 8; the bombing of a place of Ben Thuy (Nghe An Province) on June 9; the bombing and strafing of Muong Xen township (Nghe An Province) and of the western part of Tuyen Hoa district (Quang Binh Province).

Especially on June 12 and 13, 1969, many U.S. air-raids--each involving over 100 planes of the F-105, F-5 and B-57 types--were carried out against a number of populated areas belonging to Le Thuy and Quang Trach districts, Quang Binh Province, releasing hundreds of bombs, including CBU's.

These are the most barbarous bombings, on the largest scale, ever known since November 1st, 1968, when the United States was compelled to cease unconditionally its bombardments on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Once again, on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I emphatically protest against the above-mentioned acts of the United States which seriously infringe the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that the Government of the United States must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from the said acts.

Such are the deeds of the United States, yet it still clamours about its readiness to negotiate, its search for common points, etc.

But how could there be common points since the United States and Thieu-Ky-Huong persist in evading the problem of the total and unconditional withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and of the troops from other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, and since they persist in demanding a mutual withdrawal? How could there be common points since the United States opposes the establishment of a provisional coalition government and the democratic process--a sensible and reasonable one--proposed in the Front's 10-point overall solution, and since the United States persists in maintaining the Thieu-Ky-Huong administration which the South Vietnam people are struggling to overthrow? How could there be common points since Mr Nixon, while talking about ensuring the South Vietnam people's right to self-determination, is in fact trampling that very right underfoot? How could there be common points since Mr Nixon, while talking about peace, is in fact continuing and intensifying the war?

How could there be common points since the United States persists in resorting to tortuous allegations to deny its so obvious aggression?

At the previous session, the U.S. delegate proposed to set the question of aggression aside and get on with the practical business of negotiating a settlement. The problem is not as simple as that because the solution advanced by the United States is in fact based upon its neo-colonialist policy of aggression, whereas the solution advanced by the Vietnamese people is based upon the real respect of their fundamental national rights!

The way the delegates of the United States and of the Saigon administration pose the problem as mentioned above is only aimed at deceiving public opinion, making believe that they have goodwill. In reality, they have deliberately created obstacles to the restoration of peace and hindered the progress of the conference. They complain that we impose our viewpoint and our solution upon the United States and the Saigon administration. But, considering the realities of the situation and the practical conditions, only on the basis of the 10-point overall solution of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation can the South Vietnam problem be settled in a most sensible and reasonable way. There is no alternative to this. I wish to reiterate that this is the honourable way out for the United States, because the legitimate interests and honour of the United States rest on its putting an end to its costly war, a war that has been moving from defeat to defeat, and on rapidly bringing all U.S. troops home so that they may enjoy family reunion, and leaving the Vietnamese people to settle by themselves their own affairs without foreign interference.

In its white paper of May 5, 1969, the American Friends Service Committee wrote: This approach would give us a whole new position in Southeast Asia. At the very least, it would change the present tragic image of the United States.

Every day sees the armed forces of the world's most powerful nation raining bombs and chemicals and napalm on the rice-fields and bamboo huts of one of the poorest and most defenceless countries. As long as this continues, millions must wonder whether the Americans have indeed become the new barbarians. A famous American professor, Mr. Noam Chomski, also said: The humiliation of a withdrawal cannot be subjected to a comparison with the national dishonour caused by a policy of scorched earth and massacre.

If the Nixon administration, instead of listening to reason, persists in pursuing the policy of aggression under whatever form, the Vietnamese people are resolved to carry on their fight for independence and freedom, till complete victory. This is the sacred right to self-defence of the Vietnamese people; this is also their unshakable, iron-like determination.

INDONESIA'S PRO-SAIGON SENTIMENT HELPS U.S.

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[Text] Recently, pro-U.S. elements and papers of the rightist forces in Indonesia carried out anti-South Vietnam National Front for Liberation activities that could be detrimental to the long-standing relations of friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and Indonesia. While the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation presented the 10-point overall solution to the South Vietnam problem to help restore peace in this country, Indonesian M.P. Darius Marpaung, chairman of the Indonesian Christian Federation of Trade Unions, in a recent interview with (?ANTARA) bluntly declared that he urge his government to reestablish relations with the Saigon puppet administration and close down the National Front for Liberation Representation office in Djakarta.

Particularly, since the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which was elected by the South Vietnam congress of people's representatives, and which has been speedily recognized by many governments and warmly acclaimed by the world at large, The Malaysian [as heard] Christian Federation of Trade Unions issued a statement demanding the closing down of the South Vietnam representation office in the Indonesian capital. And furthermore, since early this year, five delegations from the South Vietnam puppet administration have visited Indonesia.

On 5 June, the speaker of the Indonesian parliament declared that he fully supported the U.S. plan for mutual troop withdrawal from South Vietnam. He went to the length of saying that the Republic of Vietnam, that is, the Saigon puppet administration, has called for allied support, and that the allied forces have been in South Vietnam at the request of the Republic of Vietnam. These overt moves of pro-U.S. scheme to backup the rotten Saigon puppet administration, which is on the verge of collapse. While the South Vietnam congress of people's representatives elected the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and conceded the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation the mainstay of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the [word indistinct] reactionary moves of pro-U.S. elements in Indonesia have exposed forever the ugly scheme to deliberately sabotage the friendly relations between the Vietnamese and Indonesian people. These elements will certainly be condemned by the Indonesian people, who have had a long-standing tradition of opposing foreign aggression and preserve warm sympathy for the Vietnamese people.