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HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON MICROFILM

FOR THE DEFENCE AND STRICT
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIET NAM

MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM

JANUARY 1975

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam was signed on January 27, 1973 to end the war and restore peace in Viet Nam on the basis of respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. The Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communique further strengthen the strong legal character of the Paris Agreement.

Nevertheless, over the past two years, the Agreement has not been strictly respected and scrupulously implemented, genuine peace has not been restored in South Viet Nam, and the situation here has become extremely serious.

This booklet will help clarify both the fundamental and immediate causes of this tense situation; it points out the correct way to defend the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and ensure its scrupulous implementation in response to the South Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence, democracy, better living conditions and national concord.

Part One

THE US CONTINUES ITS MILITARY INVOLVEMENT AND INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOUTH VIET NAM

By signing the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the United States committed itself to respect the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, namely the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, as well as the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. Article 4 of the Agreement stipulates: "The US will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam."

Yet, over the past two years, the United States has acted in a way completely contrary to these commitments and has systematically sabotaged the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

- 1.- The US continues giving a large amount of military aid to the Nguyen Van Thieu administration

Article 14 of the Paris Agreement stipulates: "The acceptance of military aid by South Viet Nam in the future shall come under the authority of the government set up after the general elections in South Viet Nam provided for in article 9 (b)."

Yet, since the signing of the Paris Agreement, the United States, far from stopping its military aid to the warlike Nguyen Van Thieu clique, has instead kept on increasing it. In order to cover up this serious violation of the Agreement, the United States has consistently tried to hide the full extent of its aid. As well as "visible" aid which in itself is considerable, the US administration has used various devious ways to give large amounts of military aid to the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, such as granting additional and emergency aid, transferring to Saigon "reserve war materials" and "surplus military goods," using the greater part of economic aid on military expenditures, implementing the "food for peace" program, transferring to Thieu aid destined for other countries, putting pressure on a number of countries to adopt "multi-lateral aid" programs in support of the warlike Nguyen Van Thieu clique.

In the fiscal year 1973-1974, the officially disclosed amount of military aid to the Saigon administration was 1,126 million dollars. But the US Senate Armed Services Committee has revealed that expenditures for the "use, maintenance, and purchase of weapons" in South Viet Nam alone accounted for over three billion dollars.

On January 1, 1975, Representative Les Aspin revealed that since January 28, 1973, the US administration has devoted the greater part of eight billion dollars to "continuation of the war in South East Asia."

In the framework of its increased military aid, during the past two years, the United States has illegally introduced into South Viet Nam millions of tons of weapons, ammunition and war materials, including poison gas and toxic chemicals prohibited by international law. In an August 5, 1974 report, a study mission of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed that "the greatest part of the US aid program" for the Nguyen Van Thieu administration was munitions. According to still incomplete figures, during the period from January 28, 1973 to July 10, 1974 alone, the United States illegally introduced into South Viet Nam :

- 694 aircraft, including 84 F.5E's.
- 800 artillery pieces.
- 204 warships.
- 1,100 tanks.

As is clear to American public opinion, the enemy of the United States is not the Vietnamese, but inflation and economic recession. These were described by the Chicago Sun, January 12, 1975 as real, dangerous and obstinate enemies affecting the life of every American citizen. Why doesn't the US administration pay attention to its dangerous and obstinate enemies at home, and why has it given so much military aid paid for by the American people to the Nguyen Van Thieu administration to oppose the South Vietnamese

Thieu administration, according to many persons in US political circles, is aimed at nothing but encouraging the ~~wick~~ like Nguyen Van Thieu clique to sabotage the Paris Agreement and reject any political settlement in South Viet Nam. "US military aid to Indochina is for the purpose of war not peace," as Senator Edward Kennedy said on July 8, 1974. "It will only increase killing and hostility" (Senator Mike Mansfield, January 9, 1975), and "prolong the war" (Senator Frank Church, January 10, 1975).

2.- The US maintains its war command machinery in South Viet Nam

Article 5 of the Paris Agreement stipulates that within 60 (sixty) days of the signing of the Agreement, the US shall withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops, military advisers, and military personnel, including technical personnel, military personnel associated with the "pacification" program, and advisers to all paramilitary organizations and police forces.

However, after the signing of the Paris Agreement, the US kept some 25,000 military personnel disguised as civilians in South Viet Nam. The US embassy in Saigon has all kinds of dependent organizations such as the Defense Attache Office (DAO), the Special Assistance to the Ambassador for Field Operations (SAAFO), the US Agency for International Development (USAID), four US "consulates-general" in Da Nang, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Can Tho, and US "consulates" in different provinces ... In fact, it is a whole apparatus for the conduct of the war, a camouflaged US governing apparatus from the centre down to regional levels, to direct the Saigon puppet administration in carrying out war plans and applying the policy of terror and repression against the South Vietnamese people. That is why US Ambassador Martin is known as "a wicked and cunning governor-general" to the people of South Viet Nam.

US News and World Report, in its February 4, 1974 issue, referred to the US embassy in Saigon as "the Pentagon East" building for it is in fact a "defence-operations centre that looks a lot like a combat control post left over from the days when Americans were fighting."

In civilian guise, US military personnel have directly worked out "pacification" and land-grabbing plans and promoted their implementation. The US has also organized an intelligence network throughout South Viet Nam for better control of Nguyen Van Thieu's army, police force and reactionary political organizations.

The US administration has openly or secretly sent high-ranking personalities and military specialists of all arms services - the air force, the navy, the army, logistics, intelligence - to South Viet Nam to make inspections and prod the Nguyen Van Thieu administration to implement US war plans.

The Christian Science Monitor, January 30, 1974, remarked "The American presence in South Viet Nam remains sizable. By itself, the official US mission in South Viet Nam is still the largest American mission in the world."

3.- The US is unwilling to abandon its "policy of deterrence" :

With regard to North Viet Nam, the US has on many occasions ordered planes and war ships to grossly encroach upon the sovereignty and territory of the DRVN. Moreover, it has deliberately eluded its duties and obligations with regard to the healing of the wounds of war and the post-war reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and throughout Indochina. While seriously undermining the Paris agreement on Viet Nam, the US has slanderously accused the DRVN of adopting the path of war and has uttered many threats against it.

In Laos, although the Agreement on the Restoration of Peace and the Achievement of National Concord has been signed, and the Provisional Government of National Union set up, the US persists in fostering and directing the ultra-rightists to prevent and sabotage the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

In Cambodia, the US has increased its military aid to the Lon Nol group and continued using the latter to prolong the war, cause destruction and commit crimes against the Cambodian people.

In Thailand, in spite of the Thai people's persistent struggle, the US maintains there tens of thousands of troops and hundreds of aircraft of various types, including the strategic B-52's. Of late, US aircraft have been taking off from US military bases in Thailand to carry out many reconnaissance flights over the DRVN, South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Moreover, US RF-4 aircraft have directly guided Saigon planes in attacking the region of Loc Ninh. A great deal of weapons, munitions and other war materials were hurriedly transferred from arsenals in Thailand to the governments of Nguyen Van Thieu and Lon Nol. In the meantime, the US put its troops stationed in Okinawa bases on alert and ordered the aircraft carriers Enterprise and Midway along with many other warships to head for the territorial waters of Viet Nam.

These U.S. actions are aimed at intimidating the Indochinese peoples, preventing or limiting popular struggle in South East Asia, serving the U.S. attempt to implement neocolonialism in South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

4. The Ford Administration pursues the "Nixon doctrine" in South Viet Nam

As soon as he came to power on August 12, 1974, the new U.S. President Ford declared his intention to continue the "Nixon doctrine" in South Viet Nam and Indochina, reaffirmed that the U.S. would continue to give aid to the Nguyen Van Thieu clique, and emphasized that the U.S. policy towards South Viet Nam would remain unchanged. Since late December, 1974 the Ford administration has conducted a campaign to deceive American public opinion and the U.S. Congress as to the cause of tension in South Viet Nam in an attempt to get increased military aid for the warlike and fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique to intensify the war and undermine the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Recent facts have proved that the Ford Administration has refused to draw lessons from past defects, that it is still blindly going further along the path of military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam; it is helping the warlike Nguyen Van Thieu clique continue the war, undermine peace, and sabotage the Agreement, and using the latter as an instrument to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, and perpetuate the division of Viet Nam.

In order to justify their systematic sabotage of the Paris Agreement, the responsible leaders of the U.S. Administration have endeavoured to distort the Agreement, saying that the U.S. is morally and politically, if not juridically, committed to helping the Republic of Viet Nam (Kissinger, June 4, 1974), that the United States has a tacit commitment to give aid to South Viet Nam (Schlesinger, May 22, 1974); that the United States may not abandon South Viet Nam and stop aiding it ... and has the clear obligation to help Saigon (Philip Habib, December 20, 1974), U.S. Defence Secretary Schlesinger again publicly declared on January 14, 1975 that the United States had undertaken to support Saigon in opposing their adversaries by giving it full assistance.

This is a scheme to legalize the continued U.S. military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. Senator Edward Kennedy has remarked: "The (U.S.) Administration now holds that the Paris Agreement has created a new U.S. commitment to South Viet Nam" ... and "shaken the hope that we (the United States) would eventually get out of direct involvement in Viet Nam."

Through two years of the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, facts have shown that the United States has refused to completely end its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. This is the root and immediate cause of the current tension in South Viet Nam. The United States must bear responsibility for the very grave situation in South Viet Nam.

Part two

STRIVING TO UNDERMINE THE AGREEMENT, CONTINUING THE WAR, OPPOSING PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL CONCORD, THE NGUYEN VAN THIEU CLIQUE CONSTITUTES THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIET NAM.

1. On U.S. orders, over the past two years, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has continued the war in South Viet Nam and given it an extremely atrocious character

Immediately the Agreement was signed, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration mobilized almost all its forces to launch a campaign to "invade the whole territory", and to conduct continuous, bloody land-grabbing and "pacification" operations. Their goal was to usurp land, win more people, eliminate the leopard-skin situation, encroach on the PRG-controlled areas gradually to narrow and ultimately to erase them, and do away with all the achievements recorded by the South Vietnamese people in their struggle.

In 1973, Saigon troops sometimes conducted as many as 20,000 ferocious police and "pacification" operations a month; in 1974, this number increased six times to 23,215 operations. In the last months of 1974, they endeavoured to launch many large-scale "pacification" operations, for instance, the "Dong Khoi" (Concerted Uprising) operation in the first military zone, the "Hoa Binh" (Peace) operation in the second military zone, and the "Au Dam" (Pacification of People) operation in the third military zone. In the course of these operations, they ruthlessly "purged", killed and plundered

the people, destroyed their villages, pressganged the youth and concentrated populations, thus piling up barbarous crimes against the people. From the day the Paris Agreement was signed to December 1974, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has bulldozed or cut down trees to establish "white zones," levelled 1,728 villages (300 were completely destroyed). They destroyed tens of thousands of hectares of crops ricefields and gardens, concentrated 1,690,000 people in 240 new camps, driving them into oppressive and miserable living conditions. Nguyen Van Thieu ordered an "economic embargo" on the liberated zones, and at the same time, speeded up the "rice-grabbing" campaign in the Mekong delta and in the plains of the middle part of Central Viet Nam, considering it a "form of war strategy" (New York Times, December 8, 1974).

Along with "pacification" operations, Thieu has launched a great number of large-scale land-grabbing operations, staging prolonged and fierce attacks against the areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. Seventy (70) battalions carried out operations in Chuong Thien from June to September 1973; 52 battalions in Lo Minh (Gia Lai), Ban Don (Dac Lac) and North Kontum from February to April 1974; over two divisions in Ben Cat (Thu Dat Mot) from May to November 1974; a force of more than one division launched land-grabbing operations in Thua Thien against Mo Tau area (southwest Phu Bai). Division-sized operations have steadily increased: in the first eleven months of 1974, their number trebled in comparison with the same period in 1973. There were three multi-divisional land-grabbing operations.

The Nguyen Van Thieu clique has continuously staged air raids against many places lying deep in the PRG zone of control, killing many civilians and razing many villages. The town of Loc Ninh has so far been bombed 20 times. On August 6 and 7 alone, more than 500 persons, mostly old people, women and children, were killed or injured by the bombing. Many vast areas under the control of the PRG were brazenly declared to be "free fire zones." Recently, the whole province of Phuoc Long controlled by the PRG was designated "an area in which Saigon aircraft are free to attack any moving object" (UPI, January 3, 1975). And on January 8, 1975, US F-4's and unmarked aircraft carried out reconnaissance and guided Saigon planes in launching once again extermination bombing against Loc Ninh and its surroundings.

From January 28, 1973 to January 10, 1975--according to still incomplete figures, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique committed 532,154 violations of the ceasefire, including:

394,109 "pacification" and police operations,
59,794 land-grabbing operations,
48,354 shelling attacks,
29,897 bombings and armed reconnaissance flights. As a result, tens of thousands of people, mostly old folk, women and children, were killed or injured.

The above-mentioned facts expose slanderous accusations of the U.S. and the Thieu administration against the P.R.G. of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the DRVN and lay bare the extremely warlike and cruel nature of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique in continuing the war and seriously undermining the Paris Agreement.

2. Hundreds of thousands of political prisoners continue to be detained and maltreated by the Nguyen Van Thieu clique

Within 90 days of the signing of the Agreement, all those captured and detained in wartime should have been freed and allowed to join their families. Yet, two years have passed, and over 200,000 political prisoners, including people of the PRG and those of various political forces taking sides with neither party, are still detained and maltreated by the Thieu administration. Over the past two years, Nguyen Van Thieu has imprisoned 60,000 more people, 12 times the number of prisoners he had been compelled to return after the Agreement was signed. On the one hand, he has continued to mix up prisoners, send political detainees to unknown destinations, passing them off as common law offenders in an attempt to evade returning them. On the other hand, he has let them die a lingering death by applying an extremely harsh regime of detention and barbarous corporal punishments and tortures. A deputy to the Saigon National Assembly, after visiting some of Thieu's prisons said: "General prisoners are given only one bowl of rice with salt for lunch and only porridge for supper. They are doomed to die if prices continue to soar and their ration remains as before." (Dien T: Saigon, October 18, 1974).

Nguyen Van Thieu has ordered subordinates to liquidate or assassinate a great number of political prisoners. In November and December 1974 many political prisoners were killed; their bodies were found, with bellies opened and livers plucked out, adrift in the Ba The, Tam Hoi and My Lam canals, in Long Chau II province. On November 24, 1974 when a ship with several hundred prisoners aboard arrived at Nha Be (12 km from Saigon), Thieu's stooges

without the least provocation opened fire on the prisoners, killing or wounding many of them.

Nguyen Van Thieu's brutal acts are evidently aimed at destroying political prisoners physically as well as morally, in spite of the Paris Agreement, international law, and the energetic condemnation of world public opinion. The Americans who organized the "Week of Conscience for the Sake of Political Prisoners in Viet Nam" (from September 29 to October 6, 1974) justly affirmed that as long as political prisoners are still detained, peace cannot be effectively restored in Viet Nam.

3. The people's democratic liberties and right to a decent life are trampled under foot in Thieu controlled areas.

Nguyen Van Thieu has built up a police state that is among the most sanguinary in history. Thieu increased the number of regular policemen from 100,000 in 1972 to 150,000 in 1974. There is a roughly equal number of secret agents. Policemen, secret agents and Thieu's hired thugs are present everywhere. In 1974, Thieu appointed more than 20,000 officers of the Saigon army to be hamlet and village chiefs for the purpose of strengthening the apparatus of terror and repression against the people.

The people's democratic liberties, including the most fundamental ones, are trampled under foot. Any suspected person may be arrested and jailed by the Nguyen Van Thieu administration; anyone advocating peace, national reconciliation and concord, and the implementation of the Paris Agreement is persecuted, imprisoned or assassinated; anyone under him who refuses to collaborate is repressed and purged. The people have no freedom to move and earn their living; freedom of the press is throttled; lawyers' right to plead is abolished; activities of all opposition political parties, religions, and social organizations are obstructed and prohibited. The "Phoenix" program - a campaign to murder and liquidate tens of thousands of patriots and peace-lovers is feverishly carried on under the new name of "F.6 plan". On September 22, 1974, Nguyen Van Thieu began applying the "Comet Plan" in order to further intensify his repression of the current movement of various strata of the urban population.

The Chairman of the Saigon Press Council pointed out on September 12, 1974, that: "The regime (of Nguyen Van Thieu) has deprived the people of all freedoms, except the freedom to be exploited and to commit suicide because of hunger and

misery." "Chinh Luan," a Saigon newspaper, on August 4, 1974 reported that: "After spending some time in Saigon for investigations, the UN Sub-Committee on Human Rights came to the conclusion that the Republic of Viet Nam is one of seven countries that have violated human rights and fundamental democratic liberties."

The Nguyen Van Thieu clique has made every effort to plunder and exploit the people living in the areas under its control so as to feed the war and enrich itself. It has feverishly increased taxes, and levied many new ones. In 1972, it collected 65.4 billion piastres (Saigon currency) in taxes; in 1974 240 billion piastres; thus the imposition of taxes has increased fourfold in two years. In 1975, it envisages collection of 330 billion, five times more than 1972. In addition, inflation is growing more serious, prices are soaring, unemployment is rife. In April 1974, Phan Quang Dan, "Vice-Premier" of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, had to admit that there were 3.5 million jobless people in South Viet Nam.

The Saigon press has partly reflected the grim situation in the areas controlled by the Saigon administration: 500,000 jobless disabled ex-servicemen, 500,000 prostitutes, three million people with venereal disease; over 130,000 people addicted to drugs, of whom 50 per cent are children, and 40 per cent young people.

The most serious problem now spreading everywhere, including Saigon, is famine. "Up to 70% of the population of Central Viet Nam have not had sufficient food for nine months now!" ("Dai Dan Toc", October 1, 1974). On September 21, 1974, the Popular Front Against Famine in Saigon pointed out: "These conditions have made our people's life more precarious, insecure, without any hopeful for months future. Many families are in such dire poverty that they must eat cactus, banana stems or roots to survive. They have therefore contracted diseases and are on the verge of dying."

4.- The Nguyen Van Thieu clique is opposed to national reconciliation and concord and sabotages the peaceful solution of the internal problems of South Viet Nam.

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam has provided for the solution of the internal problems of South Viet Nam through political consultations between the two South Vietnamese parties, in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality, mutual respect and non-annexation, and on the basis of the existence in South Viet Nam of two-administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

However, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has forcefully stated that: "There is only one government and one army in South Viet Nam ... what is called the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam cannot exist" (March 9, 1973); "those who are courageous enough to voice their desire for pro-communist neutrality will live \neq no more than five minutes", (October 12, 1973); "The third political force is nothing but a bunch of small fry puppets, communist stooges and grasping politicians" (November 1, 1974); "there will be no general elections at all, peace will not be restored, the La Celle Saint Cloud Conference will never bring about a political settlement" (December 28, 1973).

With its aggressive and warlike stand, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has only used the negotiations between the two South Vietnamese parties to deceive public opinion, and cover up its continuation of the war and sabotage of the Agreement. Throughout the negotiations, it has insisted on the solution of the internal problems of South Viet Nam in the framework of the Saigon regime. It has put forward absurd proposals as preconditions and, at the same time, repudiated all the sensible and reasonable proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

On January 28, 1974, the British paper "The Times" wrote: "Thieu has buried the prospects of any meeting aimed at concluding the political bargaining mentioned in the Paris Agreement."

When it realized that it could no longer use the talks between the two South Vietnamese parties to deceive public opinion, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration resorted to provocations at the meetings, and on April 16 1974, brazenly adjourned sine die the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties and subsequently paralysed all activities of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission, thus bringing the negotiations to deadlock.

5. The Nguyen Van Thieu clique is an obstacle to the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. Its overthrow now constitutes the most imperative demand of all strata of people in South Viet Nam.

With its policy of sabotage of the Agreement, of prolongation of the war, of stepping up terror and repression against the people, of plunder and exploitation, the Nguyen Van Thieu clique has made the life of all strata of people in areas under its control unbearable. For this reason, a movement to oppose the corrupt dictator Nguyen Van Thieu and to demand peace,

better living conditions, democratic freedoms, national reconciliation and concord, the release of political prisoners, the implementation of the Paris Agreement, and the overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu, has developed and gained in intensity in all urban and rural areas controlled by the Saigon administration. This movement involves people from all walks of life, army mass organizations and individuals of different political tendencies, many members of the Saigon National Assembly, administration, and army, even persons who recently supported Nguyen Van Thieu. In spite of Nguyen Van Thieu's brutal repression, the movement continues to develop and gain momentum. All sections of people, all organizations, all components of the movement speak with one voice: "The Thieu regime does not respect the Paris Agreement, has no spirit of concord and reconciliation and only sows hatred among the people and the Buddhists" (The Buddhist Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners, October 7, 1974), "President Thieu's regime ensures no freedom of the press, violates the Paris Agreement because it is a regime standing for war and fearing peace, justice, and disclosure of the truth by journalists" (Committee for the Freedom of the Press and Publication, September 12, 1974). On September 8, 1974, the People's Movement against Corruption described the Thieu regime as being "too rotten and depraved" and made public a six-point impeachment to expose Nguyen Van Thieu's corruption. On October 18, 1974, the Women's Movement for the Right to Live denounced Thieu for "having devoted all efforts to building the army and press-gangling the youth in order to consolidate his presidential position". On September 17, 1974 the People's Organization for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement pointed out: "Nearly 20 months have elapsed since the Paris Agreement came into effect, but the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam still refuses to implement any provision related to the settlement of the political problems of South Viet Nam". On October 2, 1974, the Saigon Committee for Human and Civil Rights held that "the departure of the head of the administration (i.e. Thieu) is necessary for the achievement of peace".

"No support for Thieu", "No trust in Thieu", "Oust Thieu from the administration", "Thieu must withdraw", "Thieu must resign", "Down with Thieu" - all these slogans have become shouts of indignation by all organizations, all strata of people.

Facts in South Viet Nam have shown that Nguyen Van Thieu and his like are the root cause of all the sufferings and disasters of the South Vietnamese people, that they are at present an obstacle to the achievement of peace, national reconciliation and concord in South Viet Nam. So long as Thieu remains in power, the war will go on, repression, terror, oppression, corruption will continue, death, hunger, poverty, will not end, hatred and division will not cease. So long as Thieu is in power, the Paris Agreement cannot be implemented, national reconciliation and concord cannot be achieved. His overthrow has now become the most imperative demand of all strata of the South Vietnamese people.

Part Three

IT IS THE CONSISTENT POLICY OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM TO STRICTLY RESPECT AND SCRUPULOUSLY IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIET NAM.

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam represents the Vietnamese people's great victory after nearly twenty years on end of struggle full of sacrifices and hardships against US aggression, for independence and peace. The Agreement constitutes the political and legal basis guaranteeing the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; it is an effective weapon for the South Vietnamese people to continue their just struggle to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, advancing towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

Immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement, on January 28, 1973, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam solemnly stated that they would seriously and scrupulously implement all the provisions of the signed Agreement and would perseveringly struggle for their full implementation.

It is the unswerving policy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, as well as of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to strictly respect and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and, at the same time, to demand that the US and the Saigon administration do the same.

1. Sensible and reasonable proposals

Anxious to reach rapid settlement of the internal problems of South Viet Nam in keeping with the Paris Agreement, at the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties at La Colle-Saint Cloud (France), the Delegation of the PRG of the RSVN put forward many sensible and reasonable proposals conforming to the current real situation in South Viet Nam, with two administrations, two armies, two zones of control, and three political forces: the April 25, 1973 proposal; the June 28, 1973 statement on the main provisions and urgent measures for settling the internal problems of South Viet Nam; the March 22, 1974 six-point proposal on achieving peace and national concord in South Viet Nam. The spirit and content of these proposals consist in rapidly restoring genuine peace in South Viet Nam, achieving national reconciliation and concord, fully guaranteeing the people's democratic freedoms, returning all military and civilian personnel still under arrest and detention, forming the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord with three equal segments, organizing really free and democratic general elections, resolving the question of armed forces in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality, and mutual respect, free from foreign interference, and conforming to the postwar situation.

Yet, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has refuted these sensible and reasonable proposals. It posed pre-conditions for the settlement of the internal problems of South Viet Nam, thus stalemating the talks and sabotaging the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties, as well as the Joint Military Commission. At the same time, it went further in stepping up the war and undermining the Agreement.

2. Resolutely safeguarding peace and defending the Agreement

Whereas the PRG of the RSVN and People's Liberation Armed Forces strictly respect the ceasefire and perseveringly show self-restraint, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, obeying U.S. orders, has frantically gone ahead in intensifying the war and stepping up its ever more ferocious land-grabbing and "pacification" operations. In the face of this situation, nearly nine months after the ceasefire came into effect, a ceasefire never respected by the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, on October 15, 1973, the PRG asserted its legitimate right to take appropriate measures to oppose the sabotage of the Agreement by the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, to resolutely repulse the latter's acts of war and in any appropriate way and with any appropriate

The determined countering of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration's acts of war is extremely legitimate and necessary to defend the liberated zone, to protect the people's lives and property, and to safeguard the Agreement. The implementation of the Agreement must go along with the struggle against the violation of the Agreement, and with the due punishment of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration's sabotage of the ceasefire and intensification of the war. Only by so doing can one defeat the scheme of the US and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration of eliminating one party to the Agreement and wiping out the existence of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces in South Viet Nam. This resolute policy of the PRG has met the deep aspirations of all strata of the South Vietnamese people and has won the approval of world public opinion.

The French newspaper "Le Monde" pointed out that "the moment has come for the PRG to decide to strike back because after long restraint, it can no longer bear the stagnation of the political situation and the Saigon army's attacks and shellings."

The PRG of the RSVN has unwaveringly pursued the path of peace, national reconciliation, and national concord; it has put forward the well-known March 22, 1974 six-point proposal aimed at rapidly and peacefully settling the internal problems of South Viet Nam. Yet, the US and Nguyen Van Thieu have refused to negotiate and obstinately continue the war, launching continuous, ever more intense "pacification" and land-grabbing operations. These military ventures have been duly countered.

Whenever they are dealt counter-blows as at Tay Nguyen and Ben Cat in the past, or recently in Phuoc Long, Tay Ninh and Binh Tuy, they always resort to distortions and slanders against the PRG and the Government of the DRVN. Their allegations are only aimed at covering up their own acts of war and sabotage of the Agreement, and at putting pressure on the US Congress to increase military aid to Thieu.

They have also attempted to spread anxiety about the danger of a big war. In fact, only by defeating the US-Thieu "pacification" and land-grabbing programme can the "danger of a big war" be eliminated, because, under the US-Thieu plan, after stabilizing their zone of control through "pacification" and wiping out the leopardskin situation, they would concentrate their forces for a large-scale offensive against the liberated zone. Only by defeating the US-Thieu scheme and acts of war can one compel them to give up their military adventures. Over the past two years, facts have proved the complete correctness of the PRG policy to apply resolute measures to defend the Agreement. As long as the US and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration still refuse to stop their acts of war, the people and the People's Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam will persist in striking back to recover and defend their liberated zone, protect the population, defend the Agreement and safeguard peace.

For the independence and freedom of the country, over the past two years, the South Vietnamese people have waged a fierce and difficult struggle to compel the U.S. and the Saigon administration to seriously implement the Agreement, and have recorded important victories. The U.S. and Nguyen Van Thieu are obdurately pursuing the "Nixon doctrine", continuing the war, sabotaging the Agreement, and undermining peace. However, it is clear that after the conclusion of the Paris Agreement, the U.S. scheme in South Viet Nam has met with serious failure.

The new U.S. administration has to make a choice : either it continues with an erroneous and bankrupt policy as it is doing now, or it must take up the scrupulous implementation of the Agreement. Facts have shown that if it persists in following the present policy, it will only court now, still heavier defeats.

The correct way to settle the internal problems of South Viet Nam on the basis of the Paris Agreement has been pointed out in the October 8, 1974 statement of the PRG of the RSVN :

"The U.S. government must put a definitive and complete end to its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, and withdraw from South Viet Nam all its military personnel disguised as civilians, as provided for by the Paris Agreement.

"Nguyen Van Thieu and his like, the main obstacle to the settlement of the political problems of South Viet Nam, must be overthrown. A new administration standing for peace, national concord, and scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreement must be formed in Saigon.

"The P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. is prepared to hold talks with such an administration to rapidly solve the problems of South Viet Nam. And only such a Saigon administration can really negotiate with the PRG of the RSVN to ensure the application of the provisions of the Paris Agreement" ...

The struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement is a long, hard and complex one, but victory surely belongs to the South Vietnamese people.

The South Vietnamese people, the National Front for Liberation, and the PRG of the RSVN, are firmly convinced that the governments and peoples of fraternal and friendly countries, international democratic organisations, peace- and justice-loving people the world over, and progressive American people, will further strengthen their support and assistance for the South Vietnamese people's just cause ./.

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WEDNESDAY
January 29, 1975
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MINISTERS OF COUNTRIES CONCERNED AND OF
OTHER COUNTRIES

Hanoi VNA January 29. - Nguyen Duy Trinh, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, on January 27, 1975, sent a note to the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Hungary, France, Great Britain, Indonesia and Iran, signatories to the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, or members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. The note was also sent to the Foreign Ministers of many other countries, as well as to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization.

The note says :

"I have the honour by this note to bring to the knowledge of Your Excellency the situation as regards the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam over the past two years. The salient feature here is the systematic violation and sabotage of the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam by the US government and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, which have brought about an ever more serious situation in South Viet Nam. The US government has unceasingly deepened its military involvement in South Viet Nam, and is seeking every means to increase its military aid to the Nguyen Van Thieu administration to step up the war; at the same time, it is threatening to re-intervene in Viet Nam with US military forces.

At variance with its commitments under Article 1 and Article 4 of the Agreement, the US government has not respected the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, namely independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. It has not stopped its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. It has introduced large quantities of weapons and ammunition and brought more US military personnel into South Viet Nam, and continued the war through the instrumentality of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration in an attempt to impose US neo-colonialism on the whole of South Viet Nam and to perpetuate the partition of our country.

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Encouraged and aided by the US government, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has sabotaged the ceasefire with repeated "pacification" and land-grabbing operations ever since the Paris Agreement was signed. It has maintained in detention in harsh conditions hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, trampled upon democratic freedoms, and persecuted and repressed those who do not share their views. It has turned down the fair and reasonable proposals made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and completely paralysed the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties. Of late, it has tried to force the International Commission for Control and Supervision to act according to its desire in order to slander the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and to cover up its schemes and acts of sabotage of peace and of the Agreement.

With regard to North Viet Nam, the US Government has repeatedly sent air and naval craft to intrude into the airspace and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and openly declared that it will not fulfil its obligations regarding the healing of the wounds of war in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as provided for in Article 21 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

In violation of Article 20 of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the US government has pursued the war of aggression against the Cambodian people, and is helping the Lao ultra-rightists to oppose the Vientiane Agreement, peace, and national concord in Laos.

The US government has moreover maintained a "deterrent force" in Thailand and South-east Asia with a view to opposing the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples.

Facts have shown that the US government is the instigator of plans for continued war and sabotage of the Paris Agreement, and that the Nguyen Van Thieu group is the executant. At present, the continued US military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam as well as of other countries in Indochina are the main danger threatening the peace and security of the nations in this area. The peoples of the world and the American people, constantly showing vigilance, will definitely not let the US government do as it likes. The Vietnamese people, who have never submitted to force or any threat of force, are resolved to oppose all adventurous US schemes and actions; our just struggle is sure to end in total victory. The US government must bear full responsibility for all consequences arising from its actions.

The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam constitutes a political and legal basis guaranteeing the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. It represents a very great victory of the Vietnamese people and a common victory of peace-loving people around the world. Our people ardently cherish independence, freedom, peace and national concord. We signed the Paris Agreement with the wish that these lofty aspirations would be achieved. Therefore, it is the principled stand and a great policy of our government to strictly respect and scrupulously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and to resolutely demand that the other side do the same.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has constantly shown its serious attitude and its good-will; it has spared no effort to ensure a strict implementation of the Paris Agreement. For the purpose of promoting the implementation of the Agreement, the representative of our government together with those of the US government and other parties signed the June 13, 1973 Joint Communique. At the Joint Military Commission and the Consultative Conference between the two South Vietnamese parties, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has repeatedly made fair and reasonable proposals aimed at bringing about genuine peace in South Viet Nam and settling the internal issues of South Viet Nam in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord. Throughout the past two years, the path of contacts and talks has remained wide open, but the US government has done nothing but to sabotage the Paris Agreement with increasing impudence.

The appropriate steps taken by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to punish the Nguyen Van Thieu group's acts of war are also aimed at compelling the other side to give up the path of war in favour of the path of implementing the Agreement. The US government's contentions about the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam "violating" the Agreement, and "turning from the path of negotiation to that of war" are merely slanderous charges designed to mix up the defenders and the saboteurs of the Agreement. Similarly Nguyen Van Thieu's proposal for "unconditional negotiations" and "unconditional resumption of the meetings in Paris and Saigon" is only aimed at deceiving public opinion and covering up his scheme of stepping up the war.

As has been pointed out by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the urgently necessary solution to the South Viet Nam problem at present must be : to put a complete end to the US government's military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, to withdraw from South Viet Nam all US military personnel in civilian

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has shown its readiness to negotiate with such an administration so as to reach an early settlement of the internal questions of South Viet Nam. This fully conforms to the actual situation in South Viet Nam, is consistent with the Paris Agreement, and responds to the imperative aspirations of the South Vietnamese people. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully supports this correct stand. For its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam demands that the US government put a complete end to all encroachments on the sovereignty and territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and fulfil its obligations regarding the healing of the wounds of war in North Viet Nam. The US government must correctly implement Article 20 (twenty) of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

In the legitimate interests of the Vietnamese people, and for the sake of peace in Indochina, South-East Asia and the world, our governments once again affirms its resolute stand and goodwill for the strict respect and scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam."

Finally, the DRVN Foreign Minister sincerely thanks the socialist and friendly countries for their sympathy with and support for the Vietnamese people's past struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and their present struggle for the implementation of the Paris Agreement. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam expresses the hope that the Governments and peoples of various countries will give more vigorous support to the struggle demanding that the Government of the United States fully observe the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

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FORD'S CLAIM REJECTED

Hanoi VNA January 29. - US President Ford's claim that he is concerned over the fate of American personnel missing in action in Indochina and US Vice-President Rockefeller's statement on continuing military aid to Nguyen Van Thieu were rebutted yesterday by a spokesman for the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Paris.

In a statement quoted by Gial Phong Press Agency (PA), the spokesman for the PRG delegation to the South Viet Nam Bipartite Consultative Conference at La-Celle-Saint-Cloud, said that Ford's claims are groundless because it is the US that has for two years now systematically sabotaged the Paris Agreement, including the provisions on military personnel missing in action.