

independence and peace  
for the Vietnamese people!

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# **Independence and Peace**

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The Vietnamese problem stands before world opinion in all its gravity.

Never has any national liberation movement been followed with such sustained attention and active sympathy. Not a single day passes without opinions being expressed on its subject not only in Indochina, in Asia, but all over the five continents from Western Europe to Latin America and Australia; without individual personalities or organizations raising their voices or engaging in actions to demand an immediate end to American aggression.

Those demands have grown more pressing with every passing day.

At the time of writing, an American expeditionary force of over 350,000 men has settled in South Vietnam. Its number will be brought, says the Pentagon, to 400,000 at the end of 1966. More than twenty billion dollars have been earmarked for war expenditures. Napalm, toxic chemicals, combat gases, jet super-bombers — the most inhuman war means have been used to put into effect a "scorched earth" policy over vast areas and conquer South Vietnam by force.

In North Vietnam, American air raids average 5,000 sorties a month. At the same time naval raids are conducted on coastal areas. Schools, hospitals, churches, pagodas, economic establishments, nothing is spared. On many occasions, American aircraft have attacked the port of Haiphong and the outskirts of Hanoi. They have savagely struck at dykes and water conservancy works with a view to causing floods and famine.

The Johnson administration makes no secret of its intention to intensify ground actions in the South and air strikes over the North until "Hanoi is forced to the conference table".

The Vietnamese people, in both zones of Vietnam, have not given way. They have stood firm to defend their right to independence, freedom, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace. Severe losses have been inflicted on the enemy: tens of thousands of American and satellite troops and over a hundred thousand puppet troops have so far been put out of action; several thousands of aircraft and tens of thousands of military vehicles destroyed.

One must stress the fact that the victories won by the South Vietnamese people and armed forces under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation have strongly reverberated in the towns and cities under the control of the Americans and their valets. A large and powerful movement of struggle is spreading to urban social strata, in which slogans opposing the Americans and the Thieu-Ky clique have been put forward.



The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has set forth its four-point stand for a solution to the Vietnamese problem. And in a five-point declaration the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has laid the basis for a cessation of hostilities in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people's position may be summarized as follows: national independence and peace; an end to the United States war of aggression; withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam; dismantling of American bases in South Vietnam; a definitive and unconditional end to American bombing of North Vietnam; the right for the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs without foreign interference; recognition of the National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Although the Johnson administration has called Heaven to witness that it is attached to peace and has constantly been talking about "unconditional negotiations", it has never frankly and straightforwardly recognized the Vietnamese people's just and logical position, the only one that is correct. It has not made the slightest move to end its war of aggression. It continues to maintain in power, by means of dollars and bayonets, the Thieu-Ky military junta, a bunch of traitors rejected and despised by the South Vietnamese people.

The war has been intensified, threatens to expand, and constitutes a serious menace to peace in Asia and the whole world.



In an effort to deceive world opinion, the Johnson administration alleges that its intervention in Vietnam is aimed at "safeguarding the security of the United States and the free world", "ensuring independence and freedom for the South Vietnamese people", honouring the United States "commitments" to South Vietnam, and "stopping Communist aggression".

If one were to believe the Johnson administration, there would be nothing it desires more than peace and prosperity for South Vietnam. It would oppose no social regime in Vietnam. It would be ready to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam as soon as an acceptable government is established there. Peace would depend on the attitude of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which should be held responsible for the prolongation of the bombing of North Vietnam and the war.

Recently, in co-ordination with United States representative Arthur Goldberg's speech at the United Nations, Washington has launched a big "peace campaign": meeting with American satellites and valets at Manila, trips by Johnson and his emissaries in Southeast Asia, the Pacific area and other regions of the world.

United States allegations have been echoed by such people as British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, who has added: "The key to peace is in the hands of North Vietnam". A few people — very few indeed — have sought to create confusion and have reproached the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for its "intransigence", its "unacceptable conditions",

its "refusal to show consideration for the United States prestige", for "closing the door to all peace suggestions". Bent on turning the Vietnamese position into an object for bargaining, they have tried to make people believe that the American and Vietnamese positions are getting closer, that the two parties can sit at the conference table and examine their respective conditions as equals.

Naturally, world opinion in its majority has not been taken in. More and more voices have vigorously denounced the fallacious character of the American proposals. The movement of opposition to the United States aggressive policy has grown ever stronger. Teach-ins and conferences have been held in many countries, including the United States, in which intellectuals and political personalities have helped to shed light on the problem.

Nevertheless, Washington has succeeded in throwing confusion into the minds of a number of people, who have been ill-informed.

Who is the aggressor? What lies behind the White House's proposals for a "negotiated peace"? What is the outline of a genuine peace? What are the stands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation?

Those are so many questions which must be answered so that events in Vietnam could be clearly understood and a correct solution be reached for the Vietnamese problem.

## I

### THE ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM

#### 1. Vietnam is one country

From the Vietnam-China frontier to Cape Camau, the 31 million Vietnamese people share the same millenary history, the same age-old original culture, speak the same language and have the same customs and habits.

Close economic ties exist between the northern and southern parts of the country. The Vietnamese people's long history is strongly marked by their heroic struggle against numerous foreign invasions. Many vestiges all over the country still bear testimony to the victories they won in the 11th, 13th, 15th and 18th centuries.

In 1858, French colonialists landed in Danang, starting the period of imperialist aggression against Vietnam. Running up against resolute opposition,

they could not complete their conquest until twenty-six years later. Even after that, our people continued their struggle for freedom and independence. Insurrections, demonstrations, strikes broke out one after another.

In 1940, under the banner of the Viet Minh — League for the Independence of Vietnam — the Vietnamese people started making preparations for the reconquest of power from the hands of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists. The revolution triumphed in August 1945. From North to South, the whole of Vietnam was liberated. The power of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established everywhere in the country. Everywhere, the red flag with a golden star fluttered.

On September 23, 1945, with the support of Anglo-Indian and Japanese troops, the French colonialists staged a comeback. They attacked Saigon then gradually extended their occupation to other provinces. The people of Nambo rose up against them. On December 19, 1946, nation-wide resistance broke out. It was to last nine years. Without much equipment in the first days, we captured more and more weapons from the enemy as the war went on. Starting with only guerilla units, we ended up by building a regular army. Acting first on the defensive, we gradually passed to the offensive, putting out of action several hundred thousand enemy troops. During the whole course of the resistance, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam kept vast expanses of territory under its control:

In Bacbo, the Northern provinces, the Northwest, the Northeast, the provinces south of Hanoi.

In Trungbo, the three provinces of Thanhhoa, Nghe-an, Hatinh from the 18th to the 20th parallel; four other provinces from the 12th to the 16th parallel: Quangnam, Quangngai, Binhdin, Phuyen, and almost the whole area of the Central Highlands.

In Nambo: the vast regions of the Northeast and the West and almost the whole of the Mekong River delta.

Thus, before the Geneva agreements of 1954, Vietnam had never been divided into two parts. The Vietnamese people are one nation. Vietnam is one country.

## **2. Juridical recognition**

In 1954, bled white by heavy losses on all theatres of operations, especially at Dienbienphu, the French colonialists had to give up their aggressive designs on Vietnam and accept peace.

The Geneva agreements were signed on July 20, 1954. They recognized the sovereignty, national independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

To facilitate the implementation of the cease-fire, it was stipulated that the French expeditionary force would withdraw south of the 17th parallel, pending their evacuation from Vietnam. General elections were to be held in July 1956 to bring about the reunification of the country.

The agreement on the cessation of hostilities prohibited the introduction into Vietnam of all reinforcements, troops and military personnel (art. 16), all types of armaments, munitions, and other war material (art. 17). No new military bases were to be built anywhere on Vietnamese territory. Both zones, North and South, could not take part in any military alliance (art. 19).

While guaranteeing the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, the Geneva agreements include clauses aimed at keeping off foreign interference and aggression and letting the Vietnamese settle their own affairs.

For the Vietnamese people, the Geneva agreements not only confirmed a military victory, but also crowned eighty years of resolute struggle against French occupation. They liberated half the country and constituted a juridical basis for achieving national independence and reunification in July 1956. These facts should be recalled so it may be understood that the wish of the Vietnamese people was the strict implementation of those accords. For its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has never departed from a correct attitude in the execution of the agreements concluded in Geneva.

Following the signing of the Geneva agreements in 1954, the Vietnamese people set themselves the task of struggling to free South Vietnam from foreign occupation and achieve unity and territorial integrity.

If the clauses of the accords had been faithfully implemented, it would have been possible for the Vietnamese people, all over these years, to devote

themselves to peaceful labour in an independent, reunified, democratic and prosperous fatherland.

But availing itself of the defeat of the French colonialists, the American Government intervened in the affairs of South Vietnam, sabotaged the Geneva agreements and finally launched an armed aggression against the whole of Vietnam.

### **3. From intervention to aggression**

Indeed, American aggression actually began even before 1954.

In 1950, when the French expeditionary force began finding itself in dire straits, the United States Government, by means of several treaties on "common defence of Indochina" (1950), economic cooperation and mutual security (1951), supplied it with dollars, weapons and war material. Over a period of four years, from 1950 to 1954, American aid was estimated at 2.6 billion dollars. About 340 aircraft, 1,400 tanks and armoured cars, 350 landing craft, 150,000 tons of small arms and a large quantity of ammunition were introduced into Vietnam. An American military mission, M.A.A.G. (Military Assistance Advisory Group), was set up beside the French Command.

Washington's direct interference increased with every passing day.

Former French Premier Laniel, in his book *Le Drama Indochinois* (The Indochinese Tragedy), reveals that in May 1954, in order to try and save the French



troops at Dienbienphu, the Pentagon worked out Operation Vautour, in which 300 American bombers were to strike at the areas surrounding that French entrenched camp to annihilate the attacking forces. The landing of eight American divisions in North Vietnam was also contemplated.

The Vietnamese people's military successes prevented Washington from carrying out those schemes.

On May 7, Dienbienphu fell into our hands.

For the United States Government, this was merely a lull. No sooner had the Geneva agreements been signed than it began striving to perpetuate the division of Vietnam and turn South Vietnam into an American new-type colony and military base.

Old-style colonialism having been rejected by the Vietnamese people, Washington sought to camouflage its policy of intervention and aggression behind the screen of a puppet administration.

To this effect, a flunkey who had received elaborate training in a New Jersey seminary was brought back to Vietnam: he was Ngo Dinh Diem, a sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people and revolution. A former puppet minister under the French, trimming his sails to the wind, he had offered his service to the Japanese, then to the Americans.

He was brought to power in replacement of Bao Dai, the French puppet. He refused all consultations with the North for the holding of general elections stipulated in the Geneva agreements, in spite of numerous proposals made by the Government of the

Democratic Republic. He had a "constitution" worked out, a "national assembly" "elected"; the "Republic of Vietnam" was born of which he proclaimed himself "president".

Behind this façade, Washington carried into effect its military plans:

The M.A.A.G. mission was strengthened. Under General Samuel Williams, it included in the years 1956-1957 2,000 advisers, among them 280 senior officers. In fact, it controlled the South Vietnam puppet military apparatus, conducted psychological warfare, took in hand the training of troops, studied military equipment, organized the puppet air and naval forces and logistics services.

South Vietnam was put under the "protective umbrella" of S.E.A.T.O. rigged up by John Foster Dulles. In fact it entered into a veritable military alliance with that aggressive bloc.

In the form of military and economic aid, there was an influx of dollars which served to build a puppet army. It is estimated at two billion dollars for the period from 1954 to 1960.

By this neo-colonialist aggression carried out under the signboard of anti-communism, the American Government sought to suppress the South Vietnamese people's patriotic movement.

The South Vietnamese people could not accept the division of their country and the aggression by the United States against South Vietnam. Their struggle began first in political form: demonstrations, strikes,