VO - NGUYEN - GIAP

ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

HANOI
THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE
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(EXCERPT FROM A REPORT IN THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, MARCH 1955)

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1

WE STRICTLY ABIDE BY THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

THE position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is to strictly abide by and thoroughly implement the Geneva agreements.

Hardly had the Agreements been signed than President Ho chi Minh called upon the whole People and Army in these unmistakable words: «From now on, we must struggle with all our strength for the consolidation of Peace, achievement of Unity, completion of Independence and Democracy throughout the country.

We are resolved to honour the agreements signed with the French Government and concurrently we must prevail upon the French Government to live up to the terms they have signed with us».

1 — The cease-fire order has been thoroughly carried out, the withdrawal and transfer of troops accomplished in good time.

We carried out the cease-fire, withdrawal and transfer of troops under the following circumstances. Our battlefied was that of guerilla warfare with no clear - cut and definite front line. Our forces and the opposite forces were extensi - vely interlocked.

Our troops were fighting in all the theatres of operations, from the main front to the battlefields in the enemy's

rear, from the North to the South, from the delta to the mountainous areas, from the rural districts to the enemy-controlled cities, from the battlefields in Vietnam to remote and insalubrious regions in Cambodia and Laos.

The armistice agreements were signed when our people's and army's patriotic war was entering its 9th year. In the process of all these years of cruel fighting, our people's and army's hatred and indignation had come to a head. Then our winter-spring campaign was marked by great successes: Our troops had won a great victory in Dien bien phu and following this had achieved success after success in every battlefield, liberating Nam dinh, Ninh binh, An khe and expanding the free areas in the South of Vietnam.

The cease-fire was ordered by the Vietnamese People's Army High Command under the complex circumstances I have just described. I feel greatly privileged to report to the National Assembly that this order has been thoroughly observed by our troops in all battlefields. All the regular troops, all the territorial units, all the units of militia and guerilla altogether stopped firing at the fixed date and time.

Just after the cease-fire, our troops had to disengage within 5 days, to withdraw to the provisional assembly area within 15 days and after that, our forces in the South started their transfer to the North. With a great exertion of our troops, with the hearty and unqualified support of the people, with the fraternal assistance in transport of our friends the Soviet Union and Poland, we were able to achieve all the above in good time or ahead of schedule. Today with the exception for a part of our forces still stationed in the Binh-dinh Quang-ngai area, more than 70.000

troops and a number of cadres and civilians in the South have been safely transferred to the North.

Among them not a single unit was missing of those who had been fighting throughout those years of patriotic war in the East and West of South Vietnam, in the Dong thap Muoi and on the shores of the Mekong, and there were guerillas who had been struggling hard behind the enemy lines in the Saigon—Cholon suburbs or right in the heart of cities. In the ranks of the 5th Interzone troops, there were units who had been victorious in Kontum, An khe, units who had been holding the independent areas of Southernmost Vietnam throughout the Resistance years and units comprising peoples from no less than ten national minorities in the Central Vietnam Plateau. The Vietnamese People's volunteers who were credited with many successes in Laotian and Cambodian battlefields also were back home. One and all officers and combatants were full of enthusiasm and high-spirited and they had been resolute in carrying out the cease-fire, withdrawal and transfer in parting provisionally with their beloved South, as a token of our people's and army's discipline and love for peace. This spirit of strict observance of discipline and obedience to orders deserves to be honoured.

2 — We have taken over 12 cities and transferred in a proper fashion a certain number of areas in the South to the opposite side :

As provided for by the Geneva Agreements, the French Union forces should gradually withdraw from the areas occupied by them North of the 17 th parallel and on May

19,1955 they must be completely withdrawn from the Hai-phong area, their last assembly zone in the North.

A fortnight after the cease-fire, our troops took over Bac-giang, Bac-ninh, Vinh-yen, Phuc-yen, Son-tay, Hung-yen, Hai-ninh. On October 5,1954 our troops began taking over the Hanoi perimeter area where is the town of Ha-dong and eventually on October 10,1954 our main forces entered the Hanoi area : Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic was completely liberated. Twenty days later, our troops took over the Hai-duong town.

All the above-mentioned areas, cities and towns had been under the control of the opposite side for rather a long time. Since the armistice, the deceitful propaganda had been stepped up, and law and order had not been maintained Our government laid down an 8-point policy for the taking over of newly-liberated area and 10 rules of conduct to be observed by the troops and cadres. Thanks to these policy and rules of conducts, our troops and cadres in their advance were eagerly waited for and enthusiastically received by the population, law and order were at once restored, the activities of the population in every field continued as usual and a wave of cheerfulness flooded the newly liberated areas.

The taking over of our capital Hanoi was in particular a great achievement. It has given the evidence that our Government was capable to administer not only the countryside but also the big towns. Our troops' and cadres' strict discipline in regard to the population's property, small and big, the considerateness and the care taken by them in regard to the population and foreign nationals' lives and properties, the maintenance of activities in every

field, have put heart and confidence into the whole population and commanded the world's admiration.

In the South, under harsh and complicated circumstances, we correctly transferred many areas controlled by our troops such as Ham-tan, Xuyen moc, Dong thap Muoi, the Ca-mau area and a part of the Quang Ngai province. Many a time, the opposite side acknowledged that the transfer had been performed fully and orderly. When taking over, the French Union delegation admitted « the rather optimistic situation at Cao-lanh » (Dong thap muoi) and «the population's easy and cheerful life» in Ca-mau.

3 — We have liberated all the prisoners of war and civilian internees of the opposite side.

From the outset of the Patriotic War to the signing of the Geneva Agreements, our people and army had been correctly carrying out the lenient policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam towards prisoners of war. As far as the prisoners of war of Vietnamese nationality are concerned, in compliance with their wish, we had been sending every year thousands of them back to their families. As for the prisoners of European and African origins, according to incomplete statistics, from 1950 until the conclusion of the armistice, we had liberated and repatriated more than four thousand men, we had several times allowed the French Union forces to retrieve their wounded soldiers at That khe (1950), at Thai nguyen (1951) and at Dien bien Phu (1954).

After the Geneva Conference, in strict abidance by the agreements signed, we have handed back to the French

Union side 13.414 men, of these 9.247 were of European and African origins, 54 were officers from captain to brigadier general ranks, 530 officers of lower ranks and 3.523 N. C. officers.

Not a single prisoner of war made any complaint about the treatment meted out to him by the Vietnamese people's army. On the contrary, prisoners of war have sent thousands of letters collectively or severally, expressing thanks to President Ho chi Minh and our Government.

Various investigations undertaken in Viet tri and Sam son have driven home to the International Commission the humane policy of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The opposite side has surrendered to us 8.872 prisoners of war and 59.372 civilian internees. But to date there are still many prisoners in its hands. The Delegation of the Vietnamese People's Army to the Central Joint Commission has handed to the French Union side a list of 11.932 persons not yet released, of these many names were on the list of prisoners of war previously supplied by the French Union side. An International Mobile Team's investigation at Poulo Condor detention island revealed that the Ngo-Dinh-Diem Government was detaining prisoners of war and political prisoners of our side, that these were treated in accordance with the 1862 regulations, that is very harshly and that the undertaking concluded in Geneva and at Trung-Gia concerning the improvement of their living conditions were not lived up to.

The truth is so obvious. However, some responsible and competent French personalities and bodies on the French Union side, making unfounded assertions and quoting contra-

dictory figures, alleged that we had nod surrendered all their prisoners of war and political prisoners. Such statements had no other purposes than to mislead French and international opinion, dim out President Ho chi Minh's and our governement's humane and lenient policy and our agreement-abiding policy and at the same to cover up their breaches of the accords, countenance the Ngo dinh Diem clique in detaining our prisoners of war and political prisoners.

As for the remains of the opposite side's fallen officers and soldiers, we have been giving the French Union side all facilities and assistance in making search for assembling and repatriating them.

4 — We have been correctly implementing the provisions concerning non discrimination, non victimization and democratic liberties to be guaranteed to individuals or organizations which had cooperated with the opposite side, and freedom of residence.

In application of the consistently lenient policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in strict abidance by the art. 14C of the Geneva agreements, there has been on our part not a single act of discrimination or reprisal in the newly liberated extensive areas and towns against those who had cooperated with the opposite side during the war. The civil servants that had formerly served in the offices of Bao Dai admininistration and had sided with our just cause and remained have been maintained in office with their previous ranks and salaries. In Hanoi alone, more than 7.000 of these are staying behind

(i.e. about 72% of the Bao Dai personnel). The numerous Bao Dai's troops who refused to follow their units enjoy freedom and can continue to work untroubled. In the countryside, they have the same rights as the other peasants in land reform. In the cities they have been given jobs. In Hanoi alone, the Bao Dai troops who have left their ranks to stay in the North number more than 10,000

Immediately after the liberation of the Capital, our Goverment promulgated freedom of speech and expression, and cancelled the newspaper censorship in force under the Bao Dai administration. Freedom of association and union has allowed the organizations and communities which existed under French occupation to continue to function, provided that they abide by the law. The right to move freely throughout the North and to choose any residence North or South of the provisional military demarcation line was clearly embodied in the December 20, 1954 communique of the Ministry of Public Security and the February 1, 1955 Communique of the Ministry for Home Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. (Under the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in accordance with the Government's policy, the right to freedom of circulation is guaranteed to the people).

Recently, the February 17, 1955 communique of the Ministry of Public Security laid special emphasis on regulations concerning facilities to move freely between the North and South of the provisional military demarcation line.

For the last 8 months, we have been correctly and fully implementing all the Geneva Agreements' provisions. In the meantime, the opposite side has been carrying out

a certain number of these provisions We have displayed our people's and army's love for peace.

Today the main areas of the North, with the exception of the Haiphong perimeter, have been liberated and the rehabilitation of production and economy has achieved its initial results. Land refrom has been stepped up. The correct policies of the Party and the Government in every field have been carried out. These policies have put confidence and heart in the population not only in the North but also in the South.

The international status of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has been unmistakably enhanced.

The abovesaid achievements point out all the more clearly the momentous significance of the Geneva agreements, 8 months of struggle and exertion to implement them have supplied an even clearer evidence of all our people's and army's unity and unanimity from the North to the South, around President Ho-chi-Minh, the Party and the Goverment, of their unbounded confidence in the political line of President Ho Chi Minh, the Party and the Government. This unity and confidence were displayed in unequivocal way on the first of January 1955, the grand and lively day in honour of the President's and the Government's return to the capital.

However, these achievements are just a beginning. Peace is not yet consolidated. The American imperialists, the circles of French colonialists opponents to the Geneva agreements, the Ngo dinh Diem clique have been striving their utmost to wreck the agreements, to sabotage Peace.

II

THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS, THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS OPPONENTS OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS AND NGO DINH DIEM CLIQUE HAVE BEEN MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO SABOTAGE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS, TO SABOTAGE PEACE.

THE Geneva Agreements are an important victory of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, a victory of the forces of peace and democracy the world over. For the American imperialists and their lackeys, the Geneva Agreements constitute a very serious set-back in the realization of their schemes aimed at prolonging and widening the war in Indochina, at wrecking peace in South East Asia.

That's why, in contradiction with the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements by our government, the American imperialists, the French colonialists opponents of the agreements and Ngo dinh Diem clique have been endeavouring to sabotage the carrying out of the important provisions of the Agreements and to spoil the great results of the Geneva Conference.

1 — The American imperialists have been trying to involve South Vietnam into the South East Asian aggressive bloc and have been openly intervening in South Vietnam with the intention of turning it into an American military base.

As it has been said above, apart from provisions for the cessation of hostilities, the Geneva Agreements also contain very important provisions aimed at rendering impossible the preparations for a new war and at solving

fundamental political problems such as the questions of unity and independence.

These important provisions stipulate that « the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy ». The provisions also prohibit the establisment of new military bases throughout Vietnam and put a ban on « the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnal »... « of any reinforcements in the forms of all types of arms, munitions and other war material ». These provisions also stipulate that the demarcation line is only provisional and that within a fixed length of time, Vietnam should be unified through general elections. No doubt these provisions do not suit in any way the American imperialist warmongers.

That's why immediately after the signing of the Geneva Agreements, US Secretary of State J. F. Dulles claimed that the Geneva Agreements were not against the establishment of a defensive line involving the associated states in Indochina.

Less than one month and a half later, notwithstanding the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, the American imperialists convened the Manila Conference with 8 participating countries to set up a military bloc called SEATO.

The French Government, a co-signatory with our Government of the Armistice Agreements reached in Geneva, also attended the Manila Conference.

Demagogic wording such as «joint defence» «in defence of common security», « resist communist aggression »

cannot deceive the peoples of South East Asian countries who are fully conscious of the aggressive nature of that so-called bloc for the defence of S E.A. Out of the 8 participating countries, only 3 are South East Asian, namely Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan which, moreover, are small countries influenced by U. S imperialism whereas sponsorship of the conference and main roles in it were played by 3 imperialist countries, the U.S.A , Britain and France. The SEATO openly included South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in its « protection zone ». This is a most glaring testimony to the aggressive policy of imperialism which decides at its own discretion to «protect» other countries — that is to commit aggression on them -- in complete disregard of the independence and sovereignty of these countries.

Exactly as the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has put it, the Manila Treaty is an «overt breach» of the Geneva Agreements, an infringement of the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, a menace to security and peace in South East Asia. This treaty which does not bring any good to peoples of South East Asia is aimed at waging aggression on countries of this area and binding them in a military alliance under US command. This treaty is a tool serving the imperialists' schemes of repressing national liberation movements in South East Asia, of using Asians against Asians and preparing for an armed attack on the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This treaty is part of a general plan of the US imperialists preparing for a world war.

And yet, Mr. Guy la Chambre, Minister for Associated States and Delegate of the French Government to the

Manila Conference, still had the front to say that the French policy pursued in Manila is a continuation of the French policy in Geneva. Indeed this is a very queer continuation which is much more of a contradiction than a continuation.

Immediately after the signing of the Manila Treaty, the French Government set about negotiating with Washington on US aid to the French Expeditionary Corps and the 3 Associated States of Indo-China. It was General Ely, Commander-in-Chief of French Union forces in Indo-China, the representative of the French Government entrusted with the task of carrying out of the Armistice Agreements, in Indochina who took part in these negotiations which very nature constitutes a violation of the Armistice Agreements.

Following these negotiations, French Prime Minister Mendes France went to the USA to discuss the question of strengthening military potential in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. As a result of pressure brought to bear by the US, the French Government recognized to US the right of granting aid directly to the Associated States and training directly Ngo dinh Diem's troops in South Vietnam — concessions which France had never consented to make throughout the war in Indo-China, despite US persistent demands. On the other hand, the French Government was also obliged to back Ngo dinh Diem against Nguyen van Hinh who is the representative of pro-French elements in Bao Dai army.

But the US Government need not wait for French approval. Early in November 1954, it sent Collins to Saigon with the special task of «bringing US unqualified support to Ngo dinh Diem government, of «bringing to

Ngo dinh Diem government every aid within the limits of US Government's possibilities».

This aid consists mainly in «taking in hands the training of the Vietnam army» 90% of whose equipment are US made. The US planned to reorganize the regular forces of Bao Dai by eliminating pro-French elements, under the false pretense of reducing army effectives and at the same time by training these forces following methods already experimented by US in Greece and in South Korea. The US also planned to set up separate police units of Ngo dinh Diem which would comprise from the very start extremely mobile units and fascist police units with the task of savagely repressing the movement in favour of peace, national unity and democracy of the population in South Vietnam.

All the works of organizing and training Ngo dinh Diem troops are taken in hand by the US Military Adivsers Mission headed by General O' Daniel and comprising 371 instructors, to say nothing of US specialists who have come from the Philippines. US financial aid to Ngo dinh Diem Government in the fiscal year of 1955 reached 300 million US dollars of which 200 are earmarked for the building up of armed forces.

Directly taking in hands the organization and the training of armed forces, bringing in new military personnal arms and ammunition, openly granting military aid... these steps undeniably point to a military alliance. By so doing, the American imperialists and their agents have seriuosly violated the Geneva Agreements.

In February 1955, while tension was prevailing in Europe because of the Paris Agreements, and also in Asia as

a result of American intervention in Tai-wan, the American imperialists made a further step in their schemes of wrecking peace in Indo-China and in South East Asia. A conference of participants of the SEA aggressive bloc was convened in Bangkok and attended by a French Government Delegation. The Conference discussed a number of political, economic, military measures aimed at intensifying war preparations with particular attention paid to plans for coping with what they called « subversive activities », that is plans to repress national liberation movements in South East Asia. The Conference decided to set up a standing office of the South Asia aggressive bloc, a military advisory body comprising military representatives of 8 countries. The Bangkok Conference also worked out plans to strengthen the military potential of Thailand, the Philippines and other countries. It planned to set up mobile forces and intensify espionage activities under the signboard of « setting up a branch of security and information against subversive activities from the interior and from the outside ». Thus they are openly preparing for war. After that Conference, Dulles hurriedly went to Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam so as to step up the carrying out of the plans passed in the Bangkok Conference and to get these 2 countries and South Vietnam involved in the SEA aggressive bloc as soon as possible. The Bangkok Conference has increased tension in South East Asia.

Recently the 3 governments of USA, France and Great Britain intended to convene a conference of representatives of a high level to discuss the Indochina question.

This conference has no other aims than to discuss plans designed to step up the realization of their aggressive

schemes, to create a tense situation, to sabotage the future general free elections, to sabotage the implementation of the Geneva armistice Agreements in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos thus paving the way for a more brazen American intervention into the internal affairs of these 3 countries. The convening of this conference would eventually be a serious violation of the Armistice Agreements concluded at the Geneva Conference the Final Declaration of which said :

In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs.

2 – On instructions from the US imperialists and with the countenance of French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements, Ngo dinh Diem clique has been intensifying repression against the population of South Viet Nam.

Concurrently with the ever more brazen intervention of US imperialists in South Vietnam, their agents, that is the Ngo dinh Diem clique, with the countenance and complicity of French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements, have been carrying out a policy of savage repression of discrimination and reprisals against those who took part in the resistance.

Article 14 C of the Geneva Agreements stipulates:

« Each party undertakes to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons or organizations on

account of their activities during the hostilities, and to guarantee their democratic liberties ».

Article 15 D provides that :

« The two parties shall permit no injury to the life and property of the civil population... »

Article 9 of the Geneva Conference's Final Declaration says :

« The competent representative authorities of the Northern and Southern zones of Vietnam, as well as the authorities of Laos and Cambodia, must not permit any individual or collective reprisals against persons who have collaborated in any way with one of the parties during the war, or against members of such persons' families. »

But all these provisions have not been carried out in South Vietnam. Acts of repression and arrests have been taking place repeatedly in the provisional regrouping zone of French Union forces. We cannot help recalling without deep grief the dramatic slaughter which took place in Kim Doi (Thua thien province, Central Vietnam) on August 2,1954, that is one day after the cease-fire had come into effect in the theatre of operations of Central Vietnam. 84 persons, among them many old men and children, were killed or injured for having hailed peace. Our people will never forget the slaughter at CamLo (province of Quang tri, Central Vietnam), Cho Duoc (Quang nam, Central Vietnam), Ngan-son Chi-thanh (province of Phu-yen, Central Vietnam), Mo-cay (province of Ben-tre, South Vietnam), Vinh-xuan (province of Can-tho, South Vietnam), Binh-thanh (Long-xuyen province, South Vietnam), in which hundreds of our compatriots were killed and thousands of others arrested and detained.

Together with this large scale repressive action, numerous arrests of those who took part in the resistance have been carried out repeatedly throughout the regrouping zone of French Union forces. Most of the persons apprehended were cruelly tortured. According to still incomplete statistics, from the date of the cease-fire till January 31,1955, the opposite side has performed 2.321 acts of repression and slaughters, killing 822 persons, injuring 3.742 and arresting 13.000.

Investigations on a number of these cases such as the Ngan-son, Chi-thanh, Vinh-xuan, Mo cay, Binh-thanh incidents etc... led the International Commission to the conclusion that French Union forces violated articles 14 C and 15 D for having either opened fire on the mass of unarmed civilians or made excessive use of armed forces causing losses among the population.

Even most elementary individual liberties are not guaranteed in South Vietnam, to say nothing of other democratic liberties. No freedom of speech and expression: a severe censorship is now in force in South Vietnam. Eversince the signing of the Geneva armistice Agreements, 12 papers have been closed down one after another because they stood for national independence and to some extent supported peace and the unification of the country.

On November 7,1954 Ngo dinh Diem clique issued warrants against 7 personalities of the peace movement in Saigon-Cholon and afterwards arrested about 30 other peace partisans. Faced with a strong movement of protest from every section of the population all over the country, Ngo dinh Diem clique dared not prosecute these partisans

and instead had them illegally kept under surveillance at Hai-phong.

3– On instructions from US imperialists, with the countenance and help of French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements the Ngo dinh Diem clique has been endeavouring to entice and coerce tens of thousands of our compatriots to go to South Vietnam.

In the last few months, one of the greatest evils of the US imperialists, of the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements and Ngo dinh Diem clique was to misuse the Agreements' provision concerning the freedom for the population to choose their residence North or South of the provisional demarcation line with a view to enticing and coercing our compatriots to go to South Vietnam.

They have been trying by all means to entice our compatriots, especially those of catholic religion to go to South Vietnam in order to strengthen Ngo dinh Diem's position, to press our countrymen into their newly formed armed units and to enroll them as workers in rubber plantations. By so doing they also intended to create disturbances in our rear, to hamper the work of rehabilitating economic production in North Vietnam. They also wanted to throw discord between North and South and to thwart the efforts to reestablish normal relations between the two zones. They hoped to throw us into a difficult political position, to gather proofs which would enable them to slander us as having violated the Armistice Agreements, to make propaganda against us and at ease sabotage some provisions of the

Geneva Agreements, with the aim of hindering the consolidation of peace and the achievement of national unity.

At the very moment when French forces were about to withdraw from a number of towns in the North, especially from the capital of Hanoi, Ngo dinh Diem henchmen did their utmost to distort and slander the policies of our government. At the same time, they organized raids to kidnap, entice or coerce our compatriots to go to the South.

After the withdrawal of French Union forces from Hanoi, the opposite side began to entice and coerce our compatriots of catholic religion in the coastal provinces of Thanh-hoa, Nghe-an to go to South Vietnam, using the following propaganda tricks: God has gone South, those who stay behind in North Vietnam will lose their soul. Those who go South will be provided with land and draught animals, whereas those who stay in North Vietnam will die from atomic bombs which the Americans will drop on North Vietnam. They have succeeded in sowing anxiety and concern among a number of our catholics and availed of this to organize illegal concentration camps, to put up in some places armed opposition against the people's power, to make provocations with a view to using these as proofs in order to slander us as having violated the Armistice Agreements.

At present, in the perimeter of Hai-phong, they are making every effort to coax and compel our countrymen to go to South Vietnam. French military officials in Hai-phong have given instructions saying that from February 1, 1955, they would no longer be responsible for the security of those who refused to evacuate. At the same time

they organize evacuation trips under circumstances which they termed as « tense situation » or « emergency ».

As a result of the above schemes, hundreds of thousands of displaced Vietnamese from the North are now living a miserable life either in the plantations or in the refugees camps of South Vietnam where starvation is rampant and sick people were left without medicines. Even American papers admitted that the Vietnamese displaced to the South have realized that they are shut up in a waste land, or that they are being engulfed in moving sand.

They also wrote that these unhappy people have not been supplied either with farm tools, money or food, as they had been assured before.

Many of the displaced are now eager to return to their houses and lands in North Vietnam, but they are prevented from so doing and only a few of them have so far succeeded in coming back to North Vietnam.

These actions are most insidious manœuvres. By so doing they have made advantage of the provisions 14 D and 8 of the Geneva Conference's Final Declaration concerning freedom of residence and have acted against these provisions. And yet, to cover up their dark schemes, they had the front to slander us as having prevented immigration.

Typical of these propaganda tricks of slander is the incident in Balang (Thanh-hoa province). They enticed and forced our countrymen to go to the South, they manhandled the troops and resisted the local administration and illegally came into contact with ships of the opposite side. And yet, they circulated rumours that our troops have attacked a gathering of catholics that had assembled in

Balang, making much noise in France and America. But what is the truth?

Investigations made on the spot by the International Commission led it to the conclusion that there has never been any concentration of catholics in Balang.

« The presence of a French ship anchored at sea near Balang, the visit to which of 12 men from the village in a fishing craft started a series of events which led to the incident, particularly when coupled with the observations in the introductory part of the memorandum show an unatural interest on the part of the French authorities in this area ».

It is well known to everybody that our Government's policy provides for the respect of freedom of creed, for the guarantee of democratic liberties and freedom of circulation of the population. We hold that our compatriots are free to choose their place of residence and if they ever meet with difficulties in doing so, our administration will grant them help within the limits of our possibilities. Furthermore,with regard to persons who had gone South due to enemy propaganda tricks or coercive measures, their properties and lands will be looked after by the local administration during their absence and returned to them whenever they come back to the village.

However, we shall not tolerate illegal acts committed by the reactionaries such as brandishing atomic bomb bogus, illegally concentrating the population, openly resisting the Government.

From now till the withdrawal by French Union forces from the Haiphong perimeter, the enemy will try its best to coerce and incite our countrymen to go South. And after

that, they will still persist in carrying out these schemes of theirs. That's why we should be vigilant, we should resolutely struggle to frustrate these schemes so that our countrymen may decide freely to go, whether they really wish so or to stay behind, whether they so see fit, without being influenced by propaganda tricks or coercive devices.

A general look at the situation leads us to the opinion that the American imperialists, the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements and the Ngo dinh Diem clique are resolutely undertaking to systematically sabotage the Armistice Agreements. On the one hand, the American imperialists have been cynically intervening in South Vietnam, they have been increasing the military potential of South Vietnam, taking in hands the direction of internal affairs, making pretence of carrying out reforms and trying their best to consolidate the position of their faithful agent Ngo dinh Diem. On the other hand, Ngo dinh Diem administration has been carrying out a most savage policy of repression, with the aim of curbing the fighting spirit of our countrymen in South Vietnam now struggling for peace, unity, independence and democracy. They have been endeavouring to suppress the fighting spirit of the people, to prepare necessary conditions for wrecking the Armistice Agreements, for sabotaging peace, preventing the holding of free general elections to achieve Vietnam's unity, continuing to prepare for war, and turning South Vietnam into an American military base.

The more the Americans intervene in South Vietnam, the more they harm the French position and interests in their favour. In the military field, the Americans have replaced the French by taking up the training of Ngo dinh Diem

troops. In the economic field, US aid policy and investments of capital are more and more damaging the interests of French concerns. The US is doing its utmost to grab South Vietnam main resources and take over the former position held by French in the economy of this area. Besides, non content with this, the Americans have many a time expressed their dissatisfaction at French efforts to maintain economic interests in North Vietnam. In the political field, the US and Ngo dinh Diem clique are trying their best to oust pro-French elements from key positions in the administration and the army, going the length of using the false pretense of «eliminating officials guilty of speculation, extortion and embezzlement» in order to punish former French efficient agents.

Therefore, as a result of the American intervention the situation in South Vietnam is more and more confused every day. The people's working and living conditions have turned out to be harder and harder. Frequent clashes take place between Ngo dinh Diem's army and troops of other religious sects and recently these clashes have in several cases expanded in size. A serious menace is hovering over the peaceful life of our compatriots in South Vietnam. Our people are more and more conscious that the American imperialists are their chief and dangerous enemy.

The intervention of American imperialists and their policy of sabotaging the Geneva Armistice Agreements not only run counter to the fundamental interests of our people, but are also in contradiction with fundamental interests of the French people.

That is why the French people are against this intervention, against such a policy of the American imperialists.

Even some of French bourgeois politicians grew anxious and had raised their voices in protest against American schemes.

However, for the time being, the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements still continue to join hands with the Americans in sabotaging the Geneva Agreements. The American imperialists should bear the main responsibility for their acts but the French authorities which are signatory of the Agreements should undoubtedly bear their own part of responsibility.

The path followed by the French government at present in sabotaging the Geneva Agreements augurs no good for France.

III

IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLES OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA, THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS HAVE BEEN ENDEAVOURING TO SABOTAGE THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA SO AS TO TURN THESE TWO COUNTRIES INTO THEIR MILITARY BASES.

1.— The Agreements signed in Geneva on the cessation of hostilities in Laos and Cambodia were a great victory scored by the peoples of the two countries in their fight for peace, independence, unity and democracy.

Fighting units of Pathet Lao and Vietnamese people's volunteers units in Laos which were in control of extensive liberated areas embracing 1 million inhabitants and about half of the whole territory of Laos, at the time of the signing of the Agreements, correctly and thoroughly implemented the Agreements.

One after another, units of Pathet Lao armed forces left Southern Laos, Middle Laos and many provinces in the South West of Laos and came to the regrouping zone which comprizes the 2 provinces of Sam-Neua and Phongsaly, in accordance with the schedule set by the Geneva Agreements.

Meanwhile, units of Vietnamese volunteers were ordered to leave the provinces bordering on the Mekong River or on the frontier regions of Laos and Cambodia and return to Vietnam. In spite of difficulties of communications and supply, our armed forces, thanks to the efforts made by officers and men, thanks to the help of the local population, succeeded in withdrawing entirely from Laos territory on November 16, 1954, ahead of schedule. The withdrawal

of Vietnamese volunteers from Laos not only demonstrated their high sense of discipline but also the lofty internationalism of our officers and men of the volunteer units which came to Laos and along with the Lao people, fought the aggressors on Lao soil solely for the purpose of securing independence and freedom for the Lao people.

In Cambodia, forces of Khmer Issaraks and units of Vietnamese volunteers also correctly and thoroughly implemented the Geneva Armistice Agreements. Issarack forces stopped firing in accordance with schedule and were demobilized on the spot. The International Commission itself also acknowledged that the demobilization had been accomplished in keeping with the Agreements.

Units of Vietnamese volunteers in Cambodia also withdrew from faroff provinces North West or South East of Cambodia. Their withdrawal was completed by October 17,1954. Exactly as it was the case in Laos, the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers units from Cambodia bears evidence to the high sense of discipline and at the same time to the lofty internationalism of our volunteer units which throughout these past years, notwithstanding hardships, have been fighting against the aggressors in Cambodia with the only aim of helping the people of Cambodia.

2 — The Royal Government of Laos as well as that of Cambodia have, in Geneva, « declared itself resolved to take the necessary measures to integrate all citizens, without discrimination, into the national community, in particular by participating in the next general elections ; the two governments have also declared that they « would not join in any

agreement with other states, if this agreement carries for Laos (or Cambodia) the obligation to enter into a military alliance not in conformity with the principles of the charter of the United Nations or with the principles of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities, or the obligation to establish bases on Laotian (or Cambodian) territory for the military forces of a foreign power, as long as the security of Laos (or Cambodia) is not threatened.

The Geneva Conference's Final Declaration has given recognition to these statements.

And yet, notwithstanding the spirit and letter of the Geneva Agreements, the American imperialists have been in the past months endeavouring to get Laos involved in the South East Asian aggressive bloc. On the occasion of Dulles' visit to Vientiane (Lao capital) the Katay government issued a communique expressing « its satisfaction at the results of the Bangkok Conference » of the SEA military bloc and asserting that « although Laos is not a signatory, it is not without any links with the Manila treaty ». Negotiations on US aid to Laos are now being carried out between the Royal Government of Laos and the US. These acts are contrary to the Geneva Armistice Agreements.

Also in this lapse of time, under the influence of American imperialists, many military actions, contrary to the Geneva Agreements, have taken place in the two provinces of Sam-Neua and Phongsaly. Recently with the countenance of the Royal Government of Laos, K.M.T. troops have entered several provinces of Northern Laos, thus creating a new menace for our own frontiers and those of China.

Laos which is our neighbour and shares with us a long frontier from the North to the South, maintained through-

out the past centuries many close relations with our country in every field. As a neighbour country and a signatory of the Armistice Agreements reached in Geneva with the Royal Government of Laos, our Government is eager to establish friendly relations with the Royal Government of Laos on the basis of implementing the Geneva Agreements and on the basis of the five great principles of peaceful coexistence laid down in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese Joint Statements. Such a policy has been many a time stated by our Government in no uncertain terms.

However, we resolutely oppose every scheme of the American imperialists in Laos, we protest against the actions taken by the Katay Government in contradiction with the Armistice Agreements. We approve the declaration made on February 23,1955 by Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao forces, expressing the desire to settle fundamental political questions through frank negotiations on the basis of the principle of abidance by the Agreements and opposing every scheme of the American imperialists.

3) At the Geneva Conference, the Royal Government of Cambodia has also declared that it would unify the national forces through general elections, and that it would not join any military alliance. But in spite of these declarations, the Americans, which pay no heed to the spirit and contents of the Geneva Agreements, are endeavouring to draw Cambodia into the South East Asian aggressive bloc. American Ambassador to Cambodia, Mac Clintock, once revealed US intention of turning Cambodia into an American stronghold. The American Government is helping

Cambodia in building up the port of Ream and military officials of Cambodia recently expressed the intention of signing agreements on US aid. After the Bangkok Conference, Dulles came on a visit to Phnom-Penh and put forth a plan of helping Cambodia raise its armed forces to 55.000. These steps are contrary to the Geneva Conference.

Last February, authorities of Cambodia expressed the intention to amend the constitution prior to the holding of general elections, with a view to eliminating those who took part in the resistance. Sometime later, American newspapers circulated rumours purporting that the Royal Government of Cambodia disapproved the activities of the International Commission and intended to ask for the dissolution of the Commission. We note with satisfaction that so far the Royal Government of Cambodia still intends to hold general elections in accordance with the present constitution and has again asserted its willingness to cooperate with the International Commission.

Vietnam and Cambodia are two neighbouring countries with a long record of numerous friendly contacts on every field.

Especially for the last 100 years, the peoples of the three countries have suffered from the same yoke of imperialism and have been struggling together for national independence and freedom. We are very eager to set up friendly relations with the Royal Government of Cambodia. Such relations should be established on the basis of abidance by the Geneva Agreements and in the spirit of the 5 great principles laid down in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese Joint Statements. We resolutely oppose every scheme of the American imperialists aimed at turning Cambodia into a military base of theirs.

IV

WE SHOULD RESOLUTELY STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS, FOR CONSOLIDATING PEACE, ACHIEVING UNITY, COMPLETING INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

EVERSINCE the signing of the Geneva Agreements many new developments occurred in the world as well as in our own country. In the world, in order to neutralize the effects and the results of the Geneva Conference, the Americans have been doing their utmost to speed up the setting up of aggressive military alliances, to push ahead armament races and preparations for an atomic war, thus increasing world tension. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the great success achieved in the Geneva Conference, peace movements in all countries have been gaining in strength, forces of the camp of peace and democracy led by the Soviet Union are more powerful and united than ever before.

In our country, we have scored great successes as a result of the implementation of the Armistice Agreements during the last months. Liberated North Vietnam is now being consolidated in every field. The whole Vietnamese peole are now tightening and broadening their unity in their struggle for peace and unity. A general look at the situation in the whole of Indo-China leads us to say that the strict implementation of the Armistice Agreements by our troops in Cambodia and Laos has practically laid a groundwork for future good relations between our people and the peoples of the two neighbouring countries. In South East Asia the

role of some progressive countries, such as of India, Indonesia, Burma regarding the consolidation of peace, is more and more apparent.

On the other hand, the American imperialists, the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements and the Ngo dinh Diem clique have been violating and sabotaging a number of important provisions of the Geneva Agreements. They have been endeavouring to increase military potential in South Vietnam, to divide our country, to turn South Vietnam into an American military base. Meanwhile they have been trying their best to win over Cambodia and Laos. They are making frantic preparations for war in South East Asia and concurrently, are increasing their intervention in Tai-wan and South Korea. As a result of this, the situation in our country and in Asia is also becoming more strained.

Immediately after the signing of the Geneva Agreements, President Ho chi Minh, the Lao Dông Party and the Government set forth to the whole people the task of strictly abiding by and thoroughly implementing the Armistice Agreements.

Today, despite the fact that some changes have been brought to the situation, the policy of our Government remains the same : we continue to act up to the Agreements we have signed. We resolutely struggle to prevail upon the opposite side to abide by, and implement the Agreements.

The impending danger we are confronted with is the American imperialists' plot to divide our country, to seize South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to prepare for a new war. In the struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Armistice Agreements, the struggle for consolidating peace cannot be separated from that for national unity. « Only

when peace is consolidated can we have conditions to advance towards unity through general elections. Reversely, the struggle for the achievement of unity brings a very important contribution to the work of consolidating peace ».

We should resolutely struggle against the wreckers of peace and unity, the sabotagiors of the Agreements. We should resolutely struggle against the American imperialists, the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements and their agents, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Their violations of the Agreements have been many a time exposed by our government. Our people's feeling is running high against them. The « campaign against American imperialists » is embracing larger and larger sections of the masses. We should educate the whole people to realise clearly who is our foremost enemy and the enemy of peace and unity, to keep up the fighting spirit of our people and give them confidence in the final victory.

We should achieve broad unity in the country, we should unite ourselves with every person who stands for peace, unity, independence and democracy, we should unite with the peace-loving peoples all over the world, with the peoples of friendly countries, with the people of France and those of South East Asian countries. Only by so doing can we isolate the American imperialists and their agents.

Concretely speaking, in the fight for the implementation of the Armistice Agreements, we should oppose every scheme aimed at increasing military potential in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, aimed at introducing reinforcements in the form of new arms and military personal as

well as at setting up new military bases. We should continue to struggle against the South East Asian military alliance.

We should struggle to prevail upon French Union Forces to carry out the withdrawal of their troops from the Haiphong perimeter, in strict abidance by the conditions stipulated in the Armistice Agreements and make careful preparations for the take-over of Haiphong. At the same time, on our side, we should see that the transfer of our troops from the 5th interzone to North Vietnam be safely performed and in good time.

We should struggle so that the above-mentioned provision concerning freedom of residence will be implemented in accordance with the spirit of the Agreements. Those who would like to go are free to do so, those who choose to remain are free to do so and the displaced people in South Vietnam must be allowed to return to North Vietnam if so is their desire. We should oppose every scheme designed to entice and coerce our compatriots in the North to go to the South, to prevent our displaced countrymen in the South from coming back to North Vietnam and to repress our compatriots in the South.

We should fight for the carrying out of a policy of non-discrimination for guarantee of democratic liberties for persons and organizations who have collaborated with either side during the hostilities. We should oppose the terrorist policy and the cancellation of democratic liberties now being practised in South Vietnam.

Concerning the unification of Vietnam through general elections, paragraph 7 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference says :

«The Conference declares that, so far as Vietnam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot.

In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtained for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member states of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from 20-4-1955 onwards.»

We should right now prepare for the convening of a consultative conference to discuss with the opposite side on the question of generals elections. In order to create favourable conditions for the consultative conference, our Government has made a statement on the reestablishment of normal relations between North and South Vietnam. Our administration in the North and our compatriots of both zones should endeavour their best to reestablish and develop the above relations in every field: economic, cultural and social.

With regard to the Joint Commission of Armistice which is the body entrusted with the task of discussing the implementation of the Agreements' provisions, we make it a point

to try our best to settle every question through negotiations within this Commission.

With regard to the International Commission for Supervision and Control of the Armistice in Vietnam, we mean to help it and cooperate with it. In the past months, the International Commission has made many efforts and scored definite results, thus contributing to the consolidation of peace and the implementation of the Armistice Agreements. If the opposite side had sincerely abided by the Agreements, these results would have been greater.

The struggle for the implementation of the Agreements, for consolidating peace, achieving unity, completing independence and democracy throughout the country, is a long, hard and complicated one.

But we have with us the forces of liberated North Vietnam, the forces of the population throughout Vietnam from North to South. We are enjoying the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world and of the French people. We have with us the correct political line of President Ho chi Minh, of the Lao Dông Party and the Government. We have a firm legal basis, the Geneva Agreements.

The might of the unity of our people and of the peoples in the world plays a decisive role.

The will for peace and unity of the whole Vietnamese people constitutes a decisive force.

In the course of our long drawn-out war of resistance, the force of unity and the fighting spirit of the whole Vietnamese people, their unbounded confidence in President Ho chi Minh, in the Lao Dông Party and the Government did help us overcome every difficulty, endure every hard-

ship, frustrate the aggressive schemes of the French and American imperialists and secure victory.

In the present struggle for implementing the Armistice Agreements, for consolidating peace, achieving unity, completing independence and democracy throughout the country, the force of unity, the fighting spirit and the confidence of our whole people will certainly help overcome every difficulty, endure every hardship, will defeat the schemes of American imperialists, of the French colonialists opponents of the Armistice Agreements and their agents, the Ngo dinh Diem clique, aimed at dividing our national territory and preparing for a new war.

The American imperialists and their agents are choosing the path of preparation for war, they are plotting to divide our country to sabotage the Armistice Agreements. They go counter to the fundamental and just aspirations of our people and those of the peoples in the world. They will certainly be defeated.

The whole Vietnamese people are for the consolidation of peace, for the unity of our country, for the adherence to the Armistice Agreements. Our cause is just. We shall certainly win.

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