TRAN CONG TUONG – PHAM THANH VINH

THE N.F.L. SYMBOL OF INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE IN SOUTH VIET NAM

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI – 1967

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Seven years ago, on December 20, 1960, came into being the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the organizer and leader of the valiant struggle of the South Vietnamese people who have been victoriously facing over one million American, satellite and puppet troops thrown into the U.S. war of aggression.

Upholding Viet Nam's revolutionary traditions, the N.F.L. — the symbol of independence, democracy and peace in South Viet Nam — is the sole authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

That is what the authors of this booklet, published on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the founding of the N.F.L., try to demonstrate.

We have thought it useful to annex to this booklet the Political Programme adopted by the Extraordinary Congress of the N.F.L. in August 1967, a document indispensable to those who take an interest in the Vietnamese problem.

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I. THE BASIS OF THE VIETNAMESE PROBLEM

The Viet Nam war has been worrying the world peoples. According to competent American circles, this "undeclared war" waged 13,000 km far from the United States has mobilized one-third of the ground forces, over one half of the air force, one-third of the navy, three-fourths of the transport potential of the Air Force Transport Command* of the mightiest capitalist country. It costs from 25 to 30 billion dollars a year, twice the gold reserve of the U.S.A. The monthly war expenditure even exceeds the appropriations for the "struggle against poverty" in Johnson's "Great society" programme (two billion dollars in the current budget). Notwithstanding Washington's propaganda, this military adventure with no way out entails more and more disastrous consequences for American life. Prices have raised (from 6 to 7 per cent) as well as taxes (from 6 to 12 per cent); the civil budget has been reduced to the minimum while the public debt

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* War means used in the Winter 1966 - Spring 1967 campaign: 4,300 planes, 1,200 heavy guns, 3,300 tanks and armoured cars and 230 warships.

has increased by 328 billion dollars, that is nearly three times the 1966 - 1967 budget. Losses in human lives have attained alarming proportions (113,000 for the 1965 - 1966 and 1966 - 1967 dry seasons).

The American people continue wondering over the significance of this war and trying to find an explanation to its balance-sheet of sacrifices. A powerful popular movement of protest is sweeping the world, including the United States.

To justify the aggression against the Vietnamese people, the Johnson administration has resorted to a series of more or less misleading arguments : struggle against North Viet Nam - directed subversion and aggression in South Viet Nam, commitment towards the "Viet Nam State" for the safeguard of its "freedom" and "independence", "people's right to self-determination" * and so forth.

The Yankee "brave knights" armed with napalm and gas have thus crusaded to defend the "independence" and the "freedom" of the South Vietnamese population threatened by their kith-and-kin from the North !

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* Let us recall that according to the 1954 Geneva Agreements which ended the French colonialists' war of reconquest, the 17th parallel was chosen as a temporary military demarcation line in order to facilitate the regrouping of the two sides. It should not be considered as a political or territorial boundary, pending national reunification. South Viet Nam : 170,000 sq. km. and 14 million people. Viet Nam : 329,600 sq. km. and 31 million people.

The White House has taken care to ignore a cardinal truth : the valiant struggle, the titanic efforts and the countless sacrifices of all strata of the South Vietnamese people under the guidance of the National Front for Liberation, for their basic national rights, their right to live and their democratic freedoms, against the U.S. neo-colonialist enterprise of conquest and oppression. Instead of recognizing the N.F.L. as the sole interlocutor—the only adversary to face their armed aggression — the American imperialists are prolonging an expensive and deadly war. They have made vain exertions to " annihilate " the N.F.L and the Liberation Armed Forces, to " pacify " vast areas under the control of the Front, and to impose the Saigon regime upon the people. In extending the war to North Viet Nam by criminal, deliberate and systematic bombings, they have failed to intimidate the Vietnamese people and, instead, fanned their hatred for the barbarous aggressor. The basis of the whole Vietnamese problem lies in the respect of the Vietnamese people's basic national rights — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — and in non-interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs.

The home truth that South Viet Nam is part and parcel of the Vietnamese territory implies the recognition of the N.F.L. as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, the only real exponent of South Viet Nam's basic national aspirations. It also requires an end to the U.S. war of aggression : withdrawal of American and satellite troops, abolition

of foreign military bases and cancellation of all treaties and accords tying South Viet Nam to military blocs. Moreover, this home truth demands that South Viet Nam's independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity and advance towards peaceful national reunification be respected. In brief, it calls for the recognition of the South Vietnamese people's profound aspirations advocated by the N.F.L.

II. THE ORIGIN AND TRUE NATURE OF THE SAIGON REGIME

Where does the present Thieu - Ky regime come from?

The Thieu - Ky "government" was set up in South Viet Nam by Washington after the ousting of a series of puppets who had succeeded the Ngo Dinh Diem nepotic clique (November 1963). Its appearance on the stage in mid-1965 coincided with the massive sending of G.I.'s to South Viet Nam and with the intensive bombing of the North.

The Thieu-Ky regime is the outcome of a string of *coups d'état* engineered by the U.S. embassy in Saigon and which begins with the crisis of the Ngo Dinh Diem nepotic dictatorship. Its prime *raison d'être* must be found in the condemnation of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime by Washington, owing to the unability of the two brothers Diem and Nhu to serve the U.S. neo-colonialist policy in South Viet Nam. A second element is noteworthy: the Thieu-Ky rule lasts longer than its predecessors, from the military junta led by Duong Van Minh (November 1963) to the Suu-Quat "civil government" (February-June 1965) and concurs

with the intensification and extension of the U.S. war of aggression in South Viet Nam. That constitutes another *raison d'être* of the Thieu-Ky formula along the line of the U.S. neo-colonialist policy and explains why Washington retains it in spite of the popular opposition in South Viet Nam. We shall expound these two elements characteristic of the present Saigon regime.

A Diem administration without the Ngo family and the puppet cliques after Diem

The present Saigon regime prides itself on a triumphant "revolution" against "the oppression of the Ngo clique". In truth, it came into existence in favour of a military *coup d'état* as the first of the thirteen administrations which were rigged up after the fall of the Ngo family dictatorship, within the framework of the self-same political system.

The day after this military *coup d'état* of November 1, 1963, the first military junta in power sought ways and means to sidetrack popular wrath on the Ngos' head and to divert it from the true culprit — U.S. imperialism. The murder of Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu, the capital sentence passed on Ngo Dinh Can, the dictator of Trung Bo (Central Viet Nam), and the sequestration of goods and chattels accumulated by the Ngo family were only "sensational" episodes of a scheme of diversion. On the political and juridical plane, the new regime was wrapped in a cloak of demagogy. Its first decision dated November 2, 1963,

was to set up a so-called "revolutionary military committee" headed by Duong Van Minh including Thieu and Ky ; all of them were none but former subaltern officers in the service of French colonialism, who had rallied to Ngo Dinh Diem at the outset. "Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown, the presidential regime suppressed and the government presided by Diem dissolved... because it betrayed the most sacred interests of the entire people" (art. I, 1st decision). Hoping to throw dust in the people's eyes with the adoption of popular slogans against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, the new administration had practically condemned itself since the "government which betrayed the most sacred interests of the entire people" had been served by the very men who were to proclaim his deposition in November 1963. The administration under the military junta was the *replica* of Ngo Dinh Diem's save for some members and relatives of the Ngo family*. Thus, a military dictatorship replaced the nepotic and feudal dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem**.

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* The first president was Nguyen Ngoc Tho, vice-president under Diem.

** The balance-sheet of crimes committed by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration till the end of 1963 is as follows : 150,000 persons murdered, 200,000 wounded, nearly 1,000,000 disabled, 400,000 jailed, several millions of people herded into camouflaged concentration camps named "agricultural settlements", "prosperity zones", "strategic hamlets".

After nine years of the Diem regime, the situation did not turn to the U.S. imperialists' advantage. Late in 1963, 89 per cent of the "strategic hamlets" were liberated, the

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Thirteen "governments" followed one another in Saigon within one year and a half, that is, nearly a "governmental" change per month on an average. This instability tells of the quandary of the U.S.A. in its attempt to find a form of puppet power suitable to its new policy of intensification and extension of the war.

"Anti-communism", defence of the "free world" and U.S. neo-colonialism

Like Diem, the puppets in power after him advocated an anti-communist policy and undertook to stay in the "free world" (cf. Proclamation of the first "Revolutionary military committee"). This line results in an internal policy of opposition to any popular power and an external policy of subservience to the United States, leader of the "free world". It is interesting to note here the true nature of the "free world" and of the "defence of the free world" policy as has been recently analysed by Lelio Basso, an Italian political figure and jurist, before the first session of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal held in Stockholm (May 1967). "What is the free world for

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power apparatus in the countryside wrecked as well as its political and paramilitary organizations. Even the regular army was threatened with disintegration. Back from the end of 1960, the world witnessed the unpopularity of the Diem regime, and foreign observers and journalists including many Americans had foreseen its fiasco.

the Americans?... President Eisenhower had sent a letter to French General De Castries who defended colonialism at Dien Bien Phu, to extol him as a defender of the 'free world'. At the U.N. General Assembly, this classical type of colonialism has been condemned by all countries as going counter to the principles of ethics and of international law. However, the U.S. president called it 'free world'. What is then this freedom, if not the liberty to do business, to freely exploit other peoples, for the biggest profit of what is called 'free enterprise', the liberty for American imperialists to impose their laws and social relations, and to oppose any other way of conceiving life and human relations."

In 1957, in the course of an official visit to the United States, Ngo Dinh Diem was welcomed by Eisenhower as "the greatest anti-communist leader and defender of the free world in Asia".

These signboards of "anti-communism" and "defence of the free world" are intended to cover up the colonialist aims of the United States which claims to world domination. Here is how the American executive chief interpreted the "defence of the free world" when the United States intervened in the Indochina war beside the French colonialists. He said that "If Indochina goes, several things happen right away... The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease to come. So, when the United States votes 400 million dollars to help that war, we are not voting a give-away programme. We are voting

for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the U.S.A., our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the Indochinese territory and from Southeast Asia." (Statement by president D.Eisenhower at the Governors' Conference held on August 4,1953, at Seattle). The former U.S. State Secretary, J.F. Dulles, started from the same viewpoint to recommend the policy of direct intervention in South Viet Nam after the 1954 Geneva Agreements and to put Diem in power. He said that "Indochina is rich in many raw materials — tin, oil, rubber, iron, ore... The area has great strategic value. It has major naval and air bases." (Statement on March 29,1964). H.C Lodge, American roving ambassador, adviser to President L.B. Johnson for the Viet Nam problem, twice U.S. ambassador to South Viet Nam, was no less explicit. He said that "Geographically, Viet Nam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world—Southeast Asia—an area with a population of 249 million persons. He who holds or has influence in Viet Nam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formose to the East, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the West, Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the South... From it (Viet Nam) large store-houses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined". (Statement before the Middlesex Club of Cambridge and reported in the Boston *Sunday Globe* on February 28,1965).

A puppet State and a reactionary government held in contempt by an entire people

To realize its colonial aims and its dream for world domination U. S. neo-colonialism uses other means than old-type colonialism hardly operative as from the end of the Second World War. Since then, a vast socialist camp struggling for the thorough emancipation of man has come into being, and a powerful national-liberation movement has been sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Under the label of "anti-communism", "anti-colonialism" and the "people's right to self-determination", U. S. aid with the economic, political and military strings attached has become "the Trojan horse" of modern times which allows the United States to bring its pressure to bear on the recipient countries. As regards Viet Nam, American aid to the French led to the founding of a so-called French Union "Associate State" headed by Bao Dai having, however, the right to accept "U.S. economic aid" on the basis of the 1948 American economic law (cf. the September 1951 Economic Agreement between the U. S. A. and the Viet Nam State).

After the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, it was still this "economic aid" which provided the "financial means" for the establishment of the Diem regime and the formation of puppet battalions integrated into the French Union forces commanded by

French field officers *. Thanks to a direct military "aid" granted at the annual average rate of 250 million dollars (between 1955 and 1960) associated with all kinds of fraudulent manœuvres ** and means of corruption, Washington set up a puppet government composed of reactionaries strongly hated by the Vietnamese people, of former lackeys of French imperialism and Japanese fascism. Thus, Ngo Dinh Diem, leader of a feudal clan, former mandarin to the Hue Court who had served both the French and the Japanese, was picked up. An army of mercenaries was also raised, openly trained by American military "advisers", illegally introduced into South Viet Nam in violation of the explicit stipulations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. Barbarous repressions were launched against the patriots, former resisters, and all those who demanded free elections provided for in the said accords for the peaceful reunification of the country. These U. S. neo-colonialists' activities were carried out against the people's will and the essential clauses of the "accords" through the channel of a puppet government supported by the U.S. embassy and American "advisers" directing all walks of life in South Viet Nam : political, military,

* Initial plan revealed by Robertson, then Assistant State Secretary in charge of the Far East. Effective of the puppet army : regular army : 150,000, militia : 60,000, police : 45,000, regional defence : 100,000, reserve : 115,000.

** Western press threw a strong light on elections in South Viet Nam : in the Saigon-Cholon sector, the registered electors did not exceed 400,000, but the polls gave Diem 600,000 votes.

economic, social and cultural. They transformed South Viet Nam into an American neo-colony and military base *. This flagrant violation of the national independence and sovereignty, this outrage to democratic freedoms, to the people's life and property has led to the uprising the South Vietnamese people against the puppets and their masters, the U. S. imperialists. It was this popular uprising which had shaken all the

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* Hereunder follow some evidences from American sources :

"President Eisenhower, aware of Ho Chi Minh's popularity, was looking for an anti-communist who might stay the tide of the movement. D. Eisenhower and J. F. Dulles thought that the tactics used against the communist Huk guerillas might work in Viet Nam, and requested a briefing by E. Lansdale, an Air Force colonel, who had been a key figure in the C.I.A.-directed operation in support of Magsaysay.

Lansdale was called back from the Philippines to appear before a special panel of intelligence and foreign officials, including J. F. Dulles. He emerged from the meeting with a mandate to find a popular leader in Viet Nam and throw the support of the Invisible Government behind him.

Lansdale arrived in Saigon just after the fall of Dien Bien Phu. He canvassed the various factions in the cities and in the countryside, and concluded that Diem alone had enough backing to salvage the situation. He met with Diem, working out elaborate plans for bolstering the regime." (David wise and Thomas B. Rose, *The Invisible Government*, London, Jonathan Cape Thirty, 1965, page 156.

"If we are not parents of little Viet Nam, then surely we are the god parents. we presided at its birth, we have given assistance to its life, we have helped to shape its future." (Senator J. F. Kennedy, speech at a convention of the American Friends of Viet Nam, June 1, 1956).

foundations of the hastily and fraudulently set up puppet State. It also had got the better of the mercenary army and successively checked the "unilateral war" led by the Saigon troops under the guidance of American "advisers" (1955—1960), then the "special war" (1960—1964) and the "limited war" invented by the American imperialists to impose a neo-colonialist regime and a hated quisling administration on the people. It was this popular movement which accounts for the instability of the Saigon regime.

The U.S. policy of relying on puppets and the character of the present Saigon government

After the fiasco of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, the U.S. policy of using quislings has undergone a veritable crisis. On the Saigon political stage, the changes of puppets and the *chassés- croisés* between the cliques subservient to the United States have become frequent occurrences under the more or less drastic action of a small group of military chiefs controlled by the American embassy.

The relative stability of the Thieu-Ky team in power since June 1965 is no proof of its strength and authority. It rather reveals the incapability of the White House to find agents less hated by the people and equally ready to help it in its war of aggression. Likewise, the comedy of the September 3,1967 presidential elections in a quite limited zone — one-fifth of the territory with one-fourth of the population of South Viet Nam — does not prove the legitimacy of a

military dictatorship set up for the extension of the war. "Before the polls took place, there had been doubt as to the regularity and honesty of the vote," remarked the French paper *Combat* (September 5,1967). The fraud was transparent. The official census places the number of electors at 5,850,000, which supposes that Saigon controls 12 million people at least. This is all the more absurd as every one knows that three-fourths of the 14 million inhabitants are controlled by the N.F.L. Even admitting against all possibility that 83.3 per cent of the electors went to the polls (official figure) as the *Expressen* (September 4,1967) put it, "it is a frightful rather than an encouraging figure," for, the Swedish paper added, "it is public knowledge that the electors are not enthusiastic and have no confidence in democracy. On the other hand, many of them voted for money, under duress, coercion, or deceit."

This U.S. policy of reposing on puppets is fraught with contradictions. It stems from the necessity of imposing a neo-colonialist regime by force. Hence, most reactionary, warlike and sanguinary lackeys have been enrolled. The typical representative of the Ngo family — Ngo Dinh Diem — was chosen during the first period of the neo-colonialist policy under its traditional form that is an anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-communist puppet dictatorship, based on the assistance of American "advisers" and on military and economic "aid." By starting "special warfare" in 1961 to check a broad popular movement which had sprung from the devilish crimes committed by the Ngo nepotic

regime the United States had implicitly admitted the bankruptcy of this puppet government. As the Ngo family could not efficiently serve the U.S. "special war" and even thwarted it, the need arose of less ambitious and more obedient valets. The November 1963 *coup d'état* solved this contradiction by purely and simply liquidating the Ngo family while maintaining the whole of its former staff.

However, new difficulties cropped up: the "special war" soon backfired and was doomed to fail. From "special war" the U.S.A. gradually shifted to "limited war" with a massive landing of G.I.'s in South Viet Nam. To achieve this purpose, the U.S.A. badly needed most bellicose and blood-thirsty young militarymen but easy to handle and ready to serve the policy of extension of its aggressive war. Therefore, after having tested many puppet military and civil dictatorships * the Americans picked up the "young

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* Minh-Tho (November 1963—January 30,1964): military dictatorship combined with non-party civilian power;

Khanh-Hoan (January 30,1964 — August 16,1964): military and civilian dictatorship representing the most reactionary parties;

Khanh-Minh-Khiem (August 25,1964 — September 8,1964): military triumvirat;

Nguyen-Khanh (September 8,1964 — October 27,1964): personal military dictatorship;

Suu-Huong (October 27,1964 — January 27,1965): civilian power with an administrative character;

Suu-Quat (February 20,1965 — June 11,1965): civilian power representing an alliance of parties;

Thieu-Ky (since June 1965): military dictatorship.

Here we do not mention the aborted pustches, nor the more or less known purges.

Turks". Finally, the Thieu - Ky team came on the stage, cynically hailing the "limited war" in South Viet Nam and the air war of destruction against North Viet Nam.

One can conclude that the present Saigon regime is only a by-product of the grave crisis inherent in the system of puppet powers created by the American neo-colonialists. It is imposed on the South Vietnamese people against their own will by means of dollars, by all forms of deception and corruption, coercion and intimidation. It is politically unpopular and juridically illegal. Its recognition by the United States and its satellites is a further proof of foreign interference in Viet Nam's affairs and can neither legalize, validate nor maintain a reactionary regime held in contempt by the people. Notwithstanding all the schemes and means used by American neo-colonialism, this condemned regime is doomed to collapse before the irresistible development of popular forces.

III. THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

A long-standing tradition of anti-imperialist struggle for national independence

In 1868, at the beginning of the conquest of Viet Nam by the French colonialists, a peasant patriot from South Viet Nam, Nguyen Trung Truc, shouted in front of the enemy's firing squad, "So long as there is grass on this land, there will be men to resist the invaders." This soul-stirring prediction has been confirmed by history.

Continuing a millenary tradition of struggle against aggression, the South Vietnamese have kept up resisting foreign domination. To speak only of the period following the November 1940 uprising, for nearly thirty years they have been unremittingly fighting against the invaders: French colonialists, Japanese fascists and American imperialists now. As is known, the nation-wide resistance against the war of colonial reconquest by the French began in September 1945 in South Viet Nam. It was before long extended to the whole country and ended with the resounding Dien

Bien Phu victory and the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements which recognized the Vietnamese people's national rights: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. But violating these accords, the United States undertook to transform South Viet Nam into a colony and military base of its own. And when Ngo Dinh Diem drowned it in blood (1955-1960) the resistance flared up again.

It was in these historical conditions that the National Front for Liberation was founded on December 20, 1960 with a view to rallying and uniting the various patriotic forces which had until then struggled separately, and thereby giving to the fight against U.S. imperialism a new strength and scope. Striking deep roots into the people, the N.F.L. has been leading their struggle for seven years now.

The persistent and invincible anti-imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese people, and more particularly of the South Vietnamese people, has proved to be a historical necessity. The South Vietnamese problem would not be settled without the N.F.L. Likewise, all pretension of the Americans or other imperialists to overrun and annihilate it by force of arms is doomed to a complete failure, something that has been demonstrated by the fiasco of the U.S. war effort during these last thirteen years in South Viet Nam, from the "unilateral war" (1954-1960) to the "special war" (1961-1964) and the present "limited war".

The invincible strength of the N.F.L. lies in the soundness of its political programme, in the national

and international rallying of forces against neo-colonialism to defend the South Vietnamese people's legitimate national rights, as well as in its immense and effectual mobilization of the people's forces, administrative organization and activities in the sphere of international relations. An analysis of these different points will explain the historical role of the N.F.L. in the South Vietnamese population's just struggle against the U.S. imperialists for their liberation and the realization of their basic aspirations: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity and advance towards the reunification of the Fatherland.

A programme of national, democratic and popular struggle

The National Front for Liberation put forward a political programme in a manifesto passed by its Congress in 1960 when the latter was founded: the historical mission of the Front was to free the South Vietnamese people from the yoke weighing on them.

This ten-point programme has clearly shown the N.F.L. 's political line with regard to the vital problems facing South Viet Nam as follows:

1. Basic task: to overthrow the disguised colonial regime of the American imperialists and the dictatorial, fascist power of their lackeys, to set up on a national-union basis, a democratic power comprising the representatives of all strata of the people, all nationalities, all political parties, all religious com-

munities, and at the same time to realize a broad and progressive democracy on the basis of universal suffrage and respect of democratic rights and freedoms.

2. On the economic plane: to build up a national and independent economy, improve the people's living conditions, abolish the Americans' and their lackeys' monopolies, develop national industry, reduce land rents, and grant land to the tillers.

3. On the cultural plane: to develop a national and democratic culture and education.

4. On the external plane: to promote a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, abolish the unequal treaties signed between the Americans and their lackeys, respect the principles of peaceful coexistence of the Bandung Conference, carry out a policy of close solidarity with peace-loving countries, chiefly Cambodia, Laos and Southeast Asian countries, struggle against imperialism and all aggressive wars, and defend world peace.

5. Between the two zones of Viet Nam: to restore normal relations between North and South, and proceed towards national reunification.

This political line of the N.F.L. characterizes the national-democratic revolution in South Viet Nam temporarily separated from the North, and paves the way for the reunification of the country. An essentially patriotic movement, the N.F.L. sets itself the primordial task of liberating South Viet Nam from the disguised yoke imposed on it by the U.S. imperialists. This task could not be accomplished without the

overthrow of the Saigon puppet dictatorial regime and without the establishment of a democratic one.

The N.F.L. advocates struggle against American neo-colonialism until final victory.

The repeated victories of the South Vietnamese people since the implementation of the ten-point programme has proved the soundness of the Front's standpoint.

In August 1967, the N.F.L. Central Committee adopted at an extraordinary congress a Political Programme which develops that of 1960 and reflects the great successes scored in the struggle for national liberation.

Owing to the evolution of the situation, of the war of aggression waged on a large scale by the American expeditionary force and satellite troops in South Viet Nam, of the U.S. war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the broad masses of the South Vietnamese population nurture a deep hatred for the aggressors and the native traitors. The contradictions between the Vietnamese people and the American imperialists is becoming more bitter with every passing day. More and more people join the Front to fight on its side, or support it, or ally with it for common action against U.S. aggression. A most urgent requirement is being felt to broaden the national united front.

The 1967 Political Programme of the N.F.L. tackles the four following major issues:

1. To unite the entire people for the fight against American aggression;

2. To build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam;

3. To restore normal relations between North and South Viet Nam and to proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland;

4. To apply a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

Regarding the unity of the entire people to fight U.S. aggression, the Programme points out that, "The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are the American aggressors and their lackeys — the traitorous puppet administration. The present tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation are: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackeys, the puppet administration, establish a broad national-union administration, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and advance towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

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

lackeys, wrest back our sacred national rights, and build up the country.

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

As for the building of an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, the programme lays down the following concrete policies:

"1. To set up a progressive regime of broad democracy;

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

3. To implement the land policy, to carry out the slogan: land to the tillers;

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

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

6. To build powerful South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces with a view to liberating the people and defending the Fatherland;

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

8. To organize social relief;

9. To carry out equality between man and woman; to protect mothers and children;

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

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

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

13. To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese;

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

As regards the restoration of normal relations between North and South Viet Nam, and the advance towards peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, the Programme lays down the following policies:

"1. The reunification of Viet Nam will be realized step by step and through peaceful means on the principle of negotiation between the two zones, without either side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference;

2. Pending the reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to oppose

foreign invasion and defend the Fatherland and at the same time endeavour to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to another and to choose their place of residence."

The foreign policy of the N.F.L. defined by the Political Programme firmly defends the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of South Viet Nam. It advocates the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the basis of mutual respect for each other's national rights, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of equality, mutual interests and peaceful coexistence, non-adhesion to military blocs, acceptance of technical and economic assistance from all countries without political conditions attached, strengthening of relations of good neighbourhood with Cambodia and Laos, active support to the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and active contribution to the common struggle of world peoples for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

This brief analysis of the N.F.L.'s Political Programme brings out the will of the South Vietnamese people to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, the strength of their union and their will to reunify their Fatherland. The Political Programme shows how creatively the Front has integrated the revolutionary experiences of the South Vietnamese people with those of their compatriots all over the country and combined firm principles with flexible tactics.

In his letter of September 6,1967 to Dr. Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the N.F.L. Central Committee, President Ho Chi Minh, the respected leader of the Vietnamese people, wrote : "It is a programme of broad-national union, a programme expressing the determination completely to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the clique of lackeys traitorous to the Fatherland."

It is our confidence that these apt solutions to a series of problems raised by the fight against U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam have a general significance and could help the struggle of all peoples, particularly those of Asia, Africa and Latin America still in the grip of U.S. neo-colonialism.

The National Front for Liberation is not a unique party. As pointed out before, it originates from the fight put up by different strata of the South Vietnamese population against American neo-colonialism and its native valets. For this basic reason, right from its founding, it comprises a variety of social organizations which have spontaneously taken part in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialists in all the military, economic, social and cultural fields.

Thus, from the start, the N.F.L. has rallied more than twenty major mass organizations including ten of the workers and peasants, others belonging to the youth, women, students, pupils, writers, artists, journalists, industrialists, traders, former resisters and even patriotic military men who left the puppet army.

There are also mass organizations with a religious character (Catholic, Buddhist, Hoa Hao) and three

large political parties : the Radical Socialist Party (of the intellectuals), the Democratic Party (of the national bourgeoisie) and the Viet Nam People's Revolutionary Party (Marxist-Leninist). The People's Revolutionary Youth Union and the People's Self-Defence Armed Forces constituting the Liberation Armed Forces have been members of the N.F.L. from the outset. The Front has also admitted into its ranks other militant organizations such as the South Viet Nam Committee for the Defence of World Peace, the South Viet Nam Democratic Jurists' Association, the Committee of Highlands Autonomous Nationalities. As early as 1961, the Front had already seven million members and sympathizers. Now, if one takes into account those in the towns and other areas occupied by the enemy, who accept its leadership, it has the support of three-fourths of the population.

Facing this irrefutable reality, the U.S.-Saigon propaganda tries to minimize the political significance of the N.F.L. by accusing it of being a disguised communist creation. There is no use lingering over this classical propaganda which brands all that resists U.S. schemes as communist. It evidently seeks to whitewash the American aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The masses' support to the N.F.L., the just cause of the South Vietnamese people and the correct conduct of their struggle account for their invincibility in the teeth of the U.S. brutal and barbarous aggression. All these factors derive from the three basic aspects of the N.F.L.'s Programme — national, democratic and popular.

The N.F.L., therefore, is an alliance of broad masses, springing from the people's struggle for liberation of South Viet Nam from American grip and the puppet fascist regime. It expresses the deep aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and enjoys their confidence.

The N.F.L., the organizer and leader of a national-liberation people's war against U.S.-puppet oppression

Relying mainly on its own forces, the N.F.L. uses the most practical war means at the Vietnamese patriots' disposal; it combines the two forms of political and military struggle.

Confident in its just cause, the Front has from the start opposed to the brutal force of the American imperialists and their puppets the invincible force of a united people rising up against neo-colonialist domination. Drawing its strength from the people's deepest patriotism, from their love for an independence and freedom recovered at the cost of their blood after a long struggle involving untold sacrifices, the N.F.L. knows how to lead their multifarious fight for the realization of their basic aspirations for independence, democracy, prosperity, national reunification and peace.

Let us make the balance-sheet of the results of this struggle seven years after its inception in order to analyse its main motives and visualize its prospects.

In the January 1961 - April 1965 "Special War" period:

— 550,000 enemy troops put out of action (including prisoners and deserters), among them 4,890 G.I.'s;

— 2,100 planes and helicopters downed or destroyed on the ground;

— 1,000 warships and other naval craft, 2,300 military vehicles and 170 military trains blasted;

— 75,000 weapons captured;

— 7,000 "strategic hamlets" demolished;

— 2,000 posts and military training centres razed. (These figures also cover the latter 6 months of 1965).

In the 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 dry seasons of the "limited war" period:

— 289,000 enemy troops annihilated, among them 113,000 G.I'.s, 15,000 satellite and 161,000 puppet troops;

— 3,240 planes downed or destroyed on the ground;

— 5,295 military vehicles blasted, including 2,115 tanks and armoured cars;

— 420 cannons destroyed;

— 127 warships and motor launches destroyed;

— 320 enemy positions wiped out;

— 372 bridges destroyed;

— 158 locomotives and waggons destroyed.

The figures issued by the Pentagon and Western sources, though greatly minimized, suffice to testify to the United States' defeat in the "special war" and in the first phases of the "limited war".

According to *A.P.*, *U.P.I.* and *A.F.P.*, the losses suffered by the aggressors increase in proportion to the effectives they introduce into South Viet Nam. From 11 per cent in 1966, those losses have reached 14 per cent in 1967. Besides the number of troops reported missing and that of dead left behind on the field, the U. S. command has weekly sent 175 G. I. s' corpses on an average to the U. S. A. American statistics for the first quarter of 1967 reveal that monthly losses are from 6,000 to 8,000, that is, from 70,000 to 100,000 per year.

On the other hand, the Saigon army's disintegration has speeded up with the massive landing of G. I.' s. After an on-the-spot investigation the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Committee reported that in 1966 there were about 120,000 deserters. Another Western source placed the figure at 180,000. Westmoreland himself disclosed at the Guam Conference in 1967 that only 7 out of the 150 puppet battalions were in combat readiness.

In the political, economic and financial fields, the situation goes on worsening, due to the U.S. policy of intensifying and extending the war of aggression. The zone under the control of the aggressors and their puppets have shrunk further, in spite of their "pacifica tion" efforts. The same report of the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Committee acknowledged that the "Viet Cong"

control 80 per cent of the South Viet Nam territory and that the dissensions within the Saigon government and army continue widening. In the very face of their Yankee bosses, the flunkeys try to cut one another's throat so as to monopolize positions and privileges. Still according to American sources, the N.F.L. regular forces, the "Viet Cong" s'back-bone, become stronger, instead of being broken by "search-and-destroy" operations, while the guerilla forces number several hundred thousand.

How did the South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces and population, under the leadership of the N.F.L., succeed in inflicting so bitter a defeat on the American, satellite and puppet troops? For an answer to this question, one must study the problems of "people's war" brought to a high pitch by the South Vietnamese in their struggle for the right to live. This booklet can but approach some of its general features.

In this kind of war, political, psychological and social factors sometimes constitute decisive elements. The heroism and determination of the combatants and people of South Viet Nam, who fight for a just cause and enjoy wholehearted support from their Northern brothers, and increasing sympathy and assistance from peace-loving people all over the world, are the main sources of their repeated and evergreater successes. Nevertheless, those factors, however important, do not explain everything. One has in effect witnessed just and heroic struggles, which, benefitting by a broad support, have failed, or have not been able in so short a period to bring

about so complete a change in the situation and in the relation of forces.

Heir to a long tradition of revolutionary and anti-imperialist people's war, the L.A.F. are closely linked with the people. They include three categories of forces : *the local self-defence units* composed of guerillas who while doing their daily work, fight for the defence of their villages and hamlets ; *the regional units* generally grouped in companies operating in a district or a province ; and *the regular army* who is well equipped and trained to every form of modern warfare, and operates throughout the territory. Thus organized, the L.A.F. are present everywhere and possessed of extreme mobility. They easily get supplies and replenish their effectives by vertical permutation from local units to regional units then to the regular army. "The army is to the people what the fish is to the water": these three categories of forces receive aid from the people and organize them so that they make one with the army and take part in fighting directly or indirectly. Confronted with such an opponent on a fairly reduced theatre of operations, the U.S. half-a-million strong army using a tonnage of bombs exceeding that dropped in the Pacific during the Second World War, have proved inefficient and sustained bitter defeats.

Furthermore, the L.A.F. have a superior strategic direction that stems from the very character of the war. From the fact that ours is a people's revolutionary war for national liberation against an unjust and barbarous neo-colonialist war of aggression waged

by an enemy with initially stronger forces, a first conclusion calls for a strategic consequence: to oppose a protracted resistance to the aggressors' *blitzkrieg*. A no less important conclusion from the point of view of the constitution of forces is: "If while fighting we maintain our forces, foster them, train our army and people, learn military tactics, strive to secure in sufficient quantities all that we need, and at the same time wear down and discourage the enemy forces, the latter will be weakened and finally will meet defeat." (*The Resistance War Will Win*, Truong Chinh, Hanoi, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1966).

Availing themselves of their political advantage and of the ubiquitous forces at their disposal, the L.A.F. skilfully and efficaciously combine three forms of struggle: armed struggle, mass political struggle and agitation among puppet troops.

Not only does such a combination divide and disintegrate the ranks of the enemy, and make him powerless in spite of all his weaponry, but it also raises the political consciousness of the people in their nation-wide struggle against the domination of foreign imperialists and traitors to the Fatherland.

As regards command, the L.A.F. have shown a clear-sighted, resolute, and tried and tested direction. On the one hand, it can objectively, at any moment, appraise the relation of forces, see through the adversary's strategic intentions and, on the other, take adequate strategic decisions and apply suitable combat methods. In an article on the Winter 1966-Spring 1967 victory, the L.A.F. commentator Truong

Son has drawn five lessons on the conduct of military strategy. He explains how the L.A.F. Supreme Command found out the opponent's strategic intentions and discovered the rules and possibilities of his action in order to decide on combat methods, thereby to maintain and develop the L.A.F.'s unremitting offensive position, and compel the enemy to fight battles of their own choice. Then, he analyses the strategic and tactical guide-lines which enabled them incessantly to raise combat efficiency, such as:

1. To improve the effectiveness of all weapons, from the most primitive to the most sophisticated ones, in such a way as to create an enormous destructive capacity.

2. To know how to smash an enemy superior in number; to combine small, medium and large-scale operations.

3. To defeat the enemy in any circumstance, inside or outside his bases and fortifications, by day as by night, on all terrains (mountains or plains, countryside or town).

4. To co-ordinate military, political and economic actions against the enemy.

5. To mount small and large-scale engagements as well.

Finally, the commentator lays stress on the valuable experience of the L.A.F. in the establishment and development of their different categories of forces, on the forms of struggle and the proper relation between the number and quality of the armed forces.

This short analysis of a few basic elements of the L.A.F. organization and direction explains the invincibility of the people's revolutionary and anti-colonialist war in South Viet Nam under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation. It also emphasizes the creative action of the 14 million South Vietnamese and the precious theoretical work undertaken by the Front Central Committee to serve people's war science.

Therefore, the people's revolutionary war for national liberation in South Viet Nam is not only legitimate and just one, it constitutes a valuable contribution to the development of people's war against imperialism.

That is why the First Conference on Viet Nam of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization (August 1967) has recently adopted the following resolution:

"The First Conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization held in Havana (Cuba) has paid particular attention to the situation in South Viet Nam. After hearing addresses from delegates of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam the delegates unanimously

— Declare that the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people constitute a front-line rampart in the world struggle against imperialism. The Vietnamese people's successes are an invaluable contribution to the complete eradication of imperialism. Their examples of heroism and sacrifice have further strengthened the consciousness and struggle of the popular masses and efficiently stimulated other peoples in their revolutionary struggle, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Besides, the Vietnamese people's fight is an unprecedentedly great contribution to the solidarity between peoples in struggle and their heroism proves that the people's unshakable will is a force capable of breaking up the most barbarous and the most brutal machine of destruction.

— Solemnly declare that Viet Nam shows the revolutionary path to the peoples of America and that our slogan will be to create two, three, several Viet Nams in the struggle for the complete annihilation of imperialism".

A new-type power at the service of the people and a foreign policy of peace and neutrality

All foreigners, whether reporters, writers or historians, have reported from their visit to the liberated areas, that they could without leaving them and in broad daylight, travel throughout South Viet Nam up to the outskirts of Saigon. True, the free zone lies at a stretch, whereas the territory under the control of the Americans and their puppets is reduced to cities and towns and connected with one another mainly by air, sea or river communications. Only well escorted convoys can afford to pass.

In his January 1966 report, Senator Mansfield admitted: "It is common knowledge that commodities reaching Saigon's markets by road from Dalat area paid a tax to the Viet Cong before reaching the city and that unless the tax is paid they will not reach the city. The fact is plain: Much of Saigon's indigenous

food and commodity supply depends on the sufferance of the Viet Cong and on payments to them."

The "pacification" plan, which aims essentially at narrowing down the liberated areas, has lamentably failed. In the Mekong delta, Saigon control is confined to cities, district towns and a few limited regions, *Washington Post* admitted (April 7, 1967).

In addition to the Mekong delta, a whole region from Ca Mau to the Plain of Reeds is under the control of the N.F.L.. The existence of a vast liberated territory is no longer contested by anyone, even by the American authorities themselves.

As for security in the occupied zone, it is far from being ensured. As early as 1966, J.T. Wheeler, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, had observed that three-fourths of South Vietnam were under "Viet Cong"'s hands, that even in the areas said to be still under "government control", the "Viet Cong" freely carried out clandestine activities, and that Saigon and American troops were under the constant threat of falling into traps. (*A.P.*, January 25, 1966).

The *New York Herald Tribune* of May 19, 1967 gave a similar evidence: Thousands of hamlets are practically under the thumb of the "Viet Cong" while thousands of others are apparently controlled by Saigon in the day time and belong to the guerillas at night.

Even in the occupied towns the authority of the N.F.L. makes itself felt as show the waves of demonstrations against the Saigon regime, in which

the townsfolk, challenging the cannons of puppet troops, shout the Front's slogans.

The *New York Herald Tribune* has rightly recognized that the N.F.L.'s "Vietnam State" is a reality whereas that of the Saigon Government is merely an illusion. It is now no mystery for anyone that certain quarters of Saigon are practically controlled by the Front. A few months ago, Robert Guillain of *Le Monde* wrote that, "according to reliable sources, the Front disposed of forces equal to one division ready to come into action at the first signal."

"With the disintegration of the 'camouflaged' colonial regime of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys a genuine and unshakable structure of a people's transition power has taken shape in the liberated areas" (Report by President Nguyen Huu Tho to the Second National Congress of the N.F.L., January 1964).

Basing himself on many people's on-the-spot investigations a French historian has described the "State machine" of the N.F.L. in these terms: "The Front is also the organized political authority of South Viet Nam. In fact, there exists a State machine of the Front ruling the overwhelming majority of South Viet Nam. At the village level, the population elect self-managing committees that direct all local activities, military and economic as well. On the other hand, from the district to the central level, the Commissions specialized in military, economic, sanitary, cultural affairs, etc., have *de facto* competence of ministerial administrations. At the top,

the Front Central Committee and its Presidium with Dr Nguyen Huu Tho and five Vice-Presidents at the head constitute the government apparatus of the Front." (Charles Fourniau, *Le F.N.L. gouvernement de fait*, France Nouvelle, No 127, May 24, 1967).

The N.F.L. thus forms a real State power over four-fifths of the South Viet Nam territory with over 10 million people. According to the ten-point Programme this State machine advances towards "a democratic national-union government", "a progressive regime of broad democracy".

All the patriotic social strata, political movements, and religious tendencies are represented in the N.F.L. and, consequently, in its State machine. The people's self-managing committees are selected among the members of the corresponding councils directly elected by the people at hamlet level, or chosen through election among the members of lower-level councils at district level upward. Such a procedure shows all the better the truly democratic and popular character of the N.F.L.'s political regime as in the present situation of military struggle the American imperialists and their henchmen are seeking ways and means to win back lost ground and massacre revolutionary cadres and the population.

To meet the requirements of the struggle and daily life, this *de facto* State power of the N.F.L. has created various organizations and services dealing with specific matters, so as to ensure order and security, conduct the patriotic war against the U.S. imperialist

aggressors and their lackeys, manage foreign affairs, economy and finances, develop and keep up communications, education, culture, public health and other social work. Foreign visitors have been struck by the new, and healthy way of life of the people in the liberated zone. Masters of their destiny, these enjoy fundamental democratic rights. More than two million hectares of land have been distributed to the peasants. Land ownership unquestionably constitutes the essential democratic right of the peasantry which accounts for over 80 per cent of the population. The judicious agrarian policy of the N.F.L. is one of the motives of the peasants' uprising against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys who had taken away their land by force of arms and restored them to the landowners; moreover, they often seize their crops. It is the agrarian policy which forms the decisive factor of the development of agricultural production — the main economic sector in the liberated zone. In its turn, this development makes it possible to oppose Washington's neo-colonialist economic policy which, through American "aid", has laid a firm hold on the South Viet Nam market and strangled the economy of the occupied zone.

Besides, the Front has carried out a veritable revolution in the fields of public health and education. Nearly every village is possessed of a sanitary station and a maternity-house. An almost complete medical education system is organized in the hard conditions of the war. Up to now, over ten classes of physicians, several classes of specialists, more than one hundred classes of midwives have succeeded one another. The

Front has also made substantial progress in general education. In 1965, about 80 per cent of school-aged children attended classes, and in the past few years some 5,000 educational establishments have been opened to over half a million pupils. In the liberated zone, illiteracy has been in the main eliminated.

Together with military activities, the multifarious and efficient activities of the N.F.L. in other fields evidence the strength and vitality of the political regime and the State machine of the Front. They affirm the latter's immense authority on the South Vietnamese people. As a matter of fact, the Front exercises its sovereignty on almost the whole territory and population of South Viet Nam by means of a transition State power of a people's democratic character in accordance with the conditions of the armed struggle.

On the external plane, the Front enjoys a broad international support in the socialist countries, in Asian, African and Latin American countries where the struggle for national liberation is in full swing, as well as among peace and justice-loving people the world over, including the United States. In face of the massive landing of G.I.'s in South Viet Nam, 22 governments, 22 international organizations, 493 political parties and mass organizations in 92 countries, have entirely approved of the Front's political line of struggle against American imperialism for national salvation, the condensed expression of which is the five-point Declaration of March 22, 1965. They have

declared their readiness to give aid to the N.F.L. in men and *matériel*.

Many international organizations have chosen the 20th of December, anniversary of the N.F.L. founding, as "Day of Solidarity with the South Vietnamese people". N.F.L. delegations have attended various international conferences on national independence, peace and democracy. Twelve of the biggest of those organizations have recognized the Front and its bodies and elected its delegates to their leading organs. The N.F.L. has permanent representations in the socialist countries and many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has recognized the present borders of Cambodia and established a Permanent Representation in the capital of Phnom Penh. In international conferences, the N.F.L. is regarded as the sole authentic and legal representative of South Viet Nam. Personalities of world renown have recognized the N.F.L.'s decisive role in the solution of the South Vietnamese problem, the Front being considered as the only force which represents the South Vietnamese people's basic aspirations and is able to mobilize and lead them in the present struggle against U.S. aggression.

The N. F. L., the sole authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people

The N.F.L. is regarded as the sole authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people by their compatriots from South to North and

progressive countries and people in the world, because:

1. Only the movement for liberation led by the Front with a firm, consistent and uncompromising attitude, is heir to the struggle conducted by our ancestors over the past centuries for the defence of the Fatherland against foreign invasion. This movement alone preserves and promotes the traditions of our national people's democratic struggle which ensured the triumph of the August 1945 Revolution and the victory of the resistance war against the French colonialists. It is the only force in South Viet Nam which contributes to speed up the irresistible march of history, the movement for liberation of oppressed peoples, and to safeguard world peace.

2. The Front's Programme alone reflects the determination of the people to get rid of the American-puppet domination, and their legitimate aspirations for independence, democracy, social progress, peace, and reunification of the country. It alone demands that the United States respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements which recognize these fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people.

3. The Front alone originates from this politically powerful mass movement which has led millions of South Vietnamese to legitimately rise up against the domination of the Americans and puppets and their policy of depredation, repression, fascist terror and cynical exploitation. The patriotic organizations and democratic elements that make it up take deep root

among the masses and reflect the closely-knit national union of the people in the national people's democratic revolution. The Front alone has a truly patriotic programme which meets the aspirations of all strata of the South Vietnamese population.

4. The Front alone calls for the union of all those who oppose the U.S.-puppet rule and is able to build up this anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, national and democratic union. It alone benefits by the support of the North Vietnamese and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Thus, together with the D.R.V.N., it materializes the union of the whole Vietnamese people to counter U.S. aggression.

5. The Front alone has, from the very start, organized and led the broad patriotic mass movement against the foreign invader and his lackeys. It alone has liberated four-fifths of the territory and three-fourths of the population. It rules the liberated areas with the functions of a veritable State, achieving broad-based democracy, ensuring the people's security, distributing land to the peasants, promoting a national and popular economy and culture.

6. The Front is the sole decisive political force against U.S. aggression in South Viet Nam. People's war of liberation being conducted by the N.F.L. alone is capable of solving the grave problem which is weighing on our people's destinies, namely, to foil aggression and drive the imperialist aggressors out of the Fatherland, destroy the native traitors' ruling machine in order to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify Viet Nam.

7. The Front alone applies a foreign policy responding to our people's interests, and compatible with the march of history: friendship with all peace-loving and democratic countries, establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their political and social regime, on the basis of respect for each other's national rights, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, equality, mutual interest, peaceful coexistence, support to national-liberation movements and to the progressive forces in the world struggling for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Front alone is backed up by the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the democratic and progressive forces all over the world.

8. The Front alone opens up the prospects that all Vietnamese patriots are striving for, namely, a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet Nam — which would be an important factor of peace, progress and really humane civilization in Southeast Asia and in the world.

Against glaring facts, the American imperialists deny the existence of the National Front for Liberation. The latter will undertake to remind them ever more seriously of its presence in South Viet Nam.

Some people still wonder whether the Front is really the sole authentic and legal representative of South Viet Nam.

The problem is not to demand that the Front be recognized by each and every of the 14 million South

Vietnamese. There could not be question here of electoral calculations fitting bourgeois views, nor of admitting, in competition with the Front, politicians bent on substituting other foreign interests for American domination, still less of a so-called "national-union" power which would include professed and notorious traitors. The basic problem is to deal with a genuinely patriotic and truly revolutionary organization having an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, that is, taking part in the national and democratic struggle, an organization possessed of a correct political line and capable of arousing, organizing and leading a broad mass movement in this gigantic combat that it alone can, and certainly will win, whatever the sacrifices required.

From this point of view, the South Viet Nam N.F.L. is beyond contest the sole authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

Consequently, the problem is to support and ceaselessly strengthen the Front in order to hasten the defeat of American aggression and the victory of the Vietnamese people's just struggle, which is also the struggle of all nations and men attached to peace and freedom.

Such is the stand of the Tri-Continental Conference: "The Conference declares that the South Viet Nam N.F.L. is the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people; it is firmly convinced that under the leadership of the Front, the South Vietnamese people will surely win final victory." (General

declaration of the Tri-Continental Conference, January 1966).

Just in the same line the Latin American Solidarity Organization stated in a resolution on Viet Nam, adopted at its August 1967 Meeting that it was determined

"To give unconditional support to the four points of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five points of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese population, and to President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal of July 17, 1966;

"To call on Latin American peoples to step up by all possible means their actions of solidarity with Viet Nam, and particularly to give a strong impetus to their revolutionary struggle, their armed struggle, which constitutes the most effective means of showing their concrete militant solidarity with this heroic people — the Vietnamese people."

ANNEX

POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Never before in our nation's history has the mettle of our entire people, united for the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country, been so strong as

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

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

I

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

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

Ever since our country was conquered by the French colonialists, our people have fought unremittingly for their liberation. In 1945, our people

from North to South rose up, successfully carried out the August Revolution, seized political power from the Japanese militarists and their lackeys, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

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

The independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam were formally recognized by the 1954 *Geneva Conference.*

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

The U.S. imperialists have shrunk from no cruel method to carry out their dark designs. Defeated in their "special war" they have switched to a "limited war", using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, along with more than half a million puppet

soldiers, for aggression against South Viet Nam; at the same time, they have undertaken a war of destruction against the northern part of our country. They have also stepped up their "special war" in Laos and carried out continual provocations aimed at wrecking the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the frontline of the Fatherland, our Southern fellow-countrymen have over the past 13 years shown splendid heroism. Irrespective of age, sex, political tendency, religious belief, and no matter

whether they live in the plains or in mountain areas, our people of all strata and all nationalities have resolutely fought shoulder to shoulder to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance toward the reunification of the Fatherland.

As early as 1959-1960, our compatriots in the South Viet Nam countryside carried out "simultaneous uprisings", destroyed whole series of concentration camps and "prosperity zones" of the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration, and liberated vast rural areas.

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

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

In the beloved Northern part of the Fatherland, our 17 million compatriots are heroically defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting production, wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the South, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear toward the great front.

In the world, the peoples of the socialist, newly independent and other countries, including progressive people in the United States, are sternly condemning the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, and are giving their approval, support and assistance to our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

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

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

The present tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation are: *to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackeys, the puppet administration,*

establish a broad democratic national-union administration, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

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

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

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

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

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

The South Viet Nam National Front For Liberation pledges itself to take an active part in the common struggle of the world peoples against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

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

Having experienced over 20 years of war, our Southern compatriots eagerly want to live in peace and rebuild our war-devastated country. But the U.S. imperialists have trampled upon this legitimate aspiration. That is why our people have to fight against them to win peace in independence. Nothing

is more precious than independence and freedom. *Only when real independence is secured can we have genuine peace!*

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

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

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

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

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

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to *encourage all strata of the population in the towns and rural areas still under enemy control* to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, destroy the "phuong" (guilds) and "strategic hamlets", demand democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, and a better life, oppose pressganging and forced labour, struggle against enslaving and depraved culture, and march forward, together with the entire people, to overthrow the enemy's rule and seize political power.

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

II

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

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

1. To set up a progressive regime of broad democracy

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

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

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

— To proclaim and ensure broad democratic freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of the press and publication, freedom of assembly, trade-union freedom, freedom of association, freedom to form political parties, freedom of creed, freedom of demonstration.

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

— To enforce equality between man and woman and equality among the various nationalities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— To build an independent and sovereign economy. To rapidly heal the wounds of war, to restore and develop the economy so as to make the country strong and prosperous.

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

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

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

— To guarantee outlets for agricultural products.

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

— To guarantee to the workers and employees the right to take part in the management of enterprises.

The State will encourage industrialists and traders to participate in the development of industry and handicrafts.

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

— To restore and develop communications and transport.

— To encourage and step up economic exchanges between town and country, between the plains and the mountain areas.

— To give due consideration to the interests of small traders and small proprietors.

— To set up a State bank.

— To create an independent currency.

— To apply an equitable and rational tax policy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— Those who have been compelled to "evacuate" or to "move away" and who wish to stay where they are, will enjoy ownership of the lands and other property resulting from their labour, and will be helped so that they can continue earning their living in those places; those who wish to return to their native places will also receive help.

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

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

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

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

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

— To use the Vietnamese language as teaching medium in higher education establishments. To reduce school and college fees.

— To exempt poor pupils and students from school fees, and grant them scholarships.

— To reform the system of examinations.

— To give every possible help to the youth and children who have rendered services in the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, the

children of families who have rendered services to the revolution, and other outstanding youth so as to enable them to study and develop their capabilities

— All citizens have the right to carry out freely scientific and technological researches, to devote themselves to literary and artistic creation, and to participate in other cultural activities ; to encourage intellectuals, writers, artists and scientists and afford them favourable conditions for research work, creation and invention in the service of the Fatherland and the people.

— To give help to cultural workers, writers and artists who have been persecuted by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys owing to their patriotic activities.

— To develop health services, hygiene and prophylaxis. To attend to the people's health. To prevent and eliminate epidemics, to do away with dangerous diseases left by the U.S.-puppet regime.

— To develop physical culture and sports.

— To develop cultural relations with the North ; the two zones will help each other raise the people's educational level and foster talent.

— To promote cultural relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

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

— To promulgate labour legislation, to put into practice the 8-hour working day ; to provide for a

regime of rest and recreation ; to set up a rational system of wages and bonuses for increased productivity.

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

— To apply a policy of adequate remuneration for apprentices.

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

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

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

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

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

6. To build powerful South Viet Nam liberation armed forces with a view to liberating the people and defending the Fatherland

— The South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the main-force units, the regional troops,

and the militia and guerilla units) are sprung from the people ; they are boundlessly loyal to the interests of the Fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the South, defend the Fatherland and make an active contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

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

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

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

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

The entire people are grateful to, and constantly honour, the memory of war martyrs of the Liberation

Armed Forces and of all other revolutionary services and organizations, and those who laid down their lives in political struggles. Their families are cared for and assisted by the State and the people.

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

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

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

8. To organize social relief

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

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

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

— To help those driven to depravation by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys rebuild their lives in order to serve the Fatherland and the people.

9. To carry out equality between man and woman to protect mothers and children

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

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

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

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

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

— To promulgate progressive marriage and family regulations.

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

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

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

— To abolish all systems and policies applied by the imperialists and their lackeys with a view to dividing, oppressing and exploiting the various nationalities. To oppose discrimination against and forcible assimilation of national minorities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— To afford conditions for puppet officers and soldiers and puppet officials to come back to the just cause and join the people's fight against U.S. aggression to save and build the country.

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

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

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

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

— Those in the puppet army and puppet administration at any level who have committed crimes

against the people but are now sincerely repentant will be pardoned. Those who redeem their crimes by meritorious deeds will be rewarded accordingly.

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

— Men in the U.S. army and its satellite armies who cross over to the people's side will be given kind treatment and helped to return to their families when conditions permit.

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

13. To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese

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

— To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. No force can divide our Fatherland. Reunification of

the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Viet Nam must be reunified.

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

1. The reunification of Viet Nam will be realized step by step and through peaceful means on the principle of negotiation between the two zones without either side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

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

IV

TO CARRY OUT A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To actively support the just struggle of Black Americans for their fundamental national rights.

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

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

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

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

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Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is extremely hard but very glorious.

It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and for generations to come, but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are strug-

gling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish that glorious task, our people, already united, must achieve still closer and broader unity.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation warmly hails all political parties, mass organizations, patriotic and progressive personalities who broadly rally inside and outside the Front and pool their efforts to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

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

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

In the supreme interest of the Fatherland, let the entire people of South Viet Nam strengthen solidarity, millions like one, and rush forward shoulder to shoulder in the impetus of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, the puppet administration, and together with our Northern

compatriots brilliantly fulfil the great cause of liberating the South, defending the North and advancing toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

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

The Vietnamese people will surely be victorious!

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

The Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will surely materialize!

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

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