

other hand, they have colluded with the Saigon puppet administration to stab the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces in the back, savagely massacred thousands of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia, impudently herded tens of thousands of others into concentration camps and submitted them to extremely inhuman treatment. We indignantly denounce to world opinion these barbarous crimes of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique. We urgently call on the world's people to stay their blood-stained hands. The more ferocious the US imperialists and their agents are, the more rapid and humiliating their defeat. Everywhere in Cambodia, the various strata of the Khmer people have promptly responded to the national salvation appeal of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, rallied within the National United Front of Kampuchea, stood up in a powerful struggle, using all methods including armed struggle to topple the traitors, henchmen of the enemy. The just struggle of the Khmer people for a really independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia, for lasting solidarity and friendship between the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, will unquestionably be crowned with glorious victory. With regard to the Kingdom of Laos, in the past 15 years the US imperialists have continually and systematically sabotaged the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, undermined the Lao national concord, and used their agents to wage a "special war" in Laos. Recently the US imperialists and their flunkies headed by Phouma have climbed another rung in their war escalation, thus creating a particularly

serious situation in Laos. They have stepped up their exterminatory bombing of the liberated zone, cynically introduced Thai mercenaries into Laos, tried to nibble at the liberated zone and used Laos as a spring-board for aggression against the other Indo-chinese countries.

Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Souphanouvong, the brother Lao people, in close co-operation with the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces have waged a most valiant struggle and successively foiled all tricky moves of the US imperialists and their hirelings.

Particularly, with the glorious Plain of Jars - Xieng Khouang victory, the heroic Lao army and people have smashed the plan to invade the liberated zone, dealt the first heavy blows at the US "special war", foiled Nixon's cruel policy of making "Asians fight Asians" and "Lao kill Lao". At present, while advancing in the flush of victory, the Lao Patriotic Front is seeking a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem by the Lao themselves without foreign interference. The just position full of good will of the Lao Patriotic Front, expounded in the five-point political solution, has warm approval from the Lao people of various strata and firm support from the people throughout the world.

Dear friends,

The peoples of South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have recorded the above victories at the cost of innumerable sacrifices and hardships.

The brilliant victories of the Indochinese peoples have weakened the position of the US imperialists inside the United States as well as in the world, and have created for them very great difficulties in all spheres. These victories are not only victories of the firm and indomitable struggle of each of our peoples and of the friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, but also the common success of the movements for national liberation and for peace, independence, democracy and social progress in South-East Asia and the rest of the world. Our victories have proved that when a people are determined to fight for the independence and freedom of their country, they are fully capable of defeating any aggressor, be it US imperialism with its enormous economic and military potential.

Dear friends,

Despite their bitter defeats, the US imperialists remain very obdurate, bellicose and perfidious. They have not yet given up their designs to grab Indochina and turn the Indochinese countries into their new-type colonies and military bases.

In the vain hope of avoiding their inevitable defeat in South Viet Nam, the US imperialists have sought to widen the war to the whole of Indochina, to knock together a reactionary alliance of their agents in Saigon, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok. This alliance constitutes a tool for the US imperialists to carry out Nixon's policy of making "Indochinese fight Indochinese" and "Asians fight Asians", thus

creating an extremely grave situation in this region and threatening peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

In face of such a situation, more than ever before, the Indochinese peoples must heighten their vigilance, close their ranks, strengthen their solidarity and mutual assistance. They are resolved to devote might and main, creativeness and determination, to the struggle against the common enemy the US imperialist aggressors and their flunkies. Only by so doing can the Indochinese peoples wrest back real independence and peace, free themselves from foreign domination, and enjoy the right to be master of their destiny and build their country along their own line.

Proceeding from the principle that the liberation and defence of a country are the affair of the people of that country, and in consideration of the urgent necessity for the Indochinese peoples to strengthen solidarity and mutual support to wage concerted struggle against the common enemy, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will do their utmost and shrink from no sacrifice, in resolutely leading the South Viet Nam people to boost their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, till total victory, to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of their country. We consider this a sacred task toward our people, a more active support to the building of socialism of our countrymen in the North, to the national liberation of our brothers and neigh-

bours, the Khmer and Lao peoples, and a concrete contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, Asia and the rest of the world.

With regard to Cambodia, the people, National Front for Liberation, and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam reaffirm, their unswerving basic policy of constantly strengthening the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood, scrupulously respecting the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her existing borders, not interfering in the Khmer people's internal affairs, totally supporting the solemn five-point Declaration of March 23, 1970 of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and wholeheartedly supporting the patriotic struggle of the Khmer people. They pledge themselves to stand side by side with the fraternal Khmer people in the struggle against the common enemy.

With regard to Laos, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam reaffirm their unshakable solidarity, friendship, and good-neighbour policy, and fully support the just war of resistance of the Lao people against US aggression, for national salvation, with a view to realizing the noble objectives of their struggle, namely peace, independence, neutrality, unity, democracy and prosperity. Once again, allow us to reiterate our total support to the five-point Declaration of March 6, 1970 of the Lao Patriotic Front urging the United States to put an

end to its aggressive war, halt all bombing and shelling of the Lao territory, and withdraw the US troops and Thai mercenaries from Laos. This is a very correct basis for the peaceful settlement of the Lao problem, letting the Lao people settle their own affairs without foreign interference.

With a view to constantly enhancing the fraternal friendship and consolidating the militant solidarity between the Indochinese peoples, our delegation proposes that the parties proceed to frequent consultations, so as to exchange their opinions on the situation and the tasks to be carried out in order to lead the national liberation struggle of the Indochinese peoples against the US imperialists to yet bigger victories.

Dear friends,

The US imperialists and their stooges have sustained and continue to sustain repeated heavy defeats in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. Their global strategy, their "special war" and "limited war" strategies, as well as the Nixon doctrine of making "Asians fight Asians" have gone through hard trials, have been foiled and will ultimately go bankrupt. No effort of the US imperialists and their flunkies can turn back the wheel of history or retrieve their defeat in Indochina.

In the flush of their victories, the people of South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos are fully conscious of the propitious historic situation and of their glorious but very heavy mission. They are resolved to hold higher the banner of independence, peace, neutrality

and strengthen their solidarity in mutual respect and assistance and to struggle valiantly and perseveringly. With the sympathy and support of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the other socialist countries, the nationalist countries and friends in the five continents, including the progressive people in the United States, the South Vietnamese people will certainly win total victory over the US aggressors and their hirelings.

He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind. The US imperialists and their lackeys, who have perpetrated utterly barbarous crimes against the Indochinese peoples will be charred by the flames of indignation of our peoples. The storm of revolution in Indochina will infallibly sweep them away so as to restore to Indochina its pure skies and so that the great family of the Indochinese peoples may live in harmony, happiness and peace.

We extend our best wishes for brilliant successes to our conference.

Thank you for your attention.

SPEECH BY MR. PHAM VAN DONG

PRIME MINISTER

**Head of the Delegation of the People of the
Democratic Republic of Viet Nam**

*Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,
President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,*

*Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, President of the
Lao Patriotic Front,*

*President Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National
Front for Liberation,*

Dear friends,

The delegation of the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam extends its warm welcome to the heads and members of the fraternal delegations to the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened at the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea. At this conference

we wish to express the sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people to the fraternal Khmer people and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and to the fraternal Lao people and His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, for their wholehearted support and assistance to our fight against US aggression, for national salvation. In particular, the people of South Viet Nam and of Viet Nam as a whole will never forget that Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk is the leader of the fraternal neighbouring country who recognized and established diplomatic relations at the earliest date with the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. For us, Samdech will always remain the man who has from the outset of our resistance, expressed his firm belief in our victory and has not ceased to accord a vigorous support to our just cause.

At the present moment when in our three countries the national liberation struggle is advancing with the impetus of victory and when the US imperialists' intervention and aggression have created an extremely grave situation, this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is a conference for tightening and strengthening the solidarity of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam to pursue and step up our tenacious and resolute fight till total victory. At the same time, it marks a new development of the close friendship and lasting co-operation in the future among our three peoples.

Faced with the danger of being definitively driven out of Indochina, and in the hope of getting out of their

disastrous situation, the US imperialists are now putting into effect dark designs pursuant to the reactionary "Nixon doctrine", "to make Indochinese fight Indochinese".

In Cambodia, after the coup d'état staged by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak traitors, the US imperialists and their flunkies have come up against ever wider and more vigorous resistance from the Khmer people who are rising up in response to the March 23, 1970 Appeal of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk. In their panic, they have revealed their extremely reactionary features of fascists, savagely repressing the Khmer people and committing unpardonable savage crimes against Vietnamese nationals. They are being condemned by mankind and will certainly be punished by the Khmer people. For their part, the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam resolutely demand that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique stop forthwith all acts of terror, massacre and discrimination against Vietnamese nationals and declare that they must be held responsible for the crimes they are perpetrating. The murderers of Vietnamese nationals will certainly have to pay for their crimes.

In Laos, the US imperialists have introduced many American troops and large quantities of weapons. Through the Lao rightist troops and armed forces of Thailand they have intensified the "special war", launched savage air raids and multiplied nibbling attacks on the liberated zone. But the patriotic people of Laos have dealt them telling blows in the Plain of

Jars and on all other battlefields, winning great, all-round victories and driving them into a position of passivity and defeat.

In Viet Nam, our long, arduous and heroic resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, has recorded great and all-round victories. The population of South Viet Nam have defeated the "special war" of the United States and foiled one after another all its strategic plans in its "limited war". Following up their victories, they are developing their offensive position with the firm determination to defeat the more than one-million strong army of the United States, puppets and satellites. The population of the socialist North have defeated the extremely atrocious war of destruction launched by the United States while continuing successfully to build socialism, thus strengthening the economic potential and defence capabilities of the North, the great rear of the South and the solid base of the whole country. The US imperialists are bound to fail, but they are seeking to continue their war of aggression with their "Vietnamization" plan. It is because US President Nixon wants to prolong and extend the war of aggression instead of setting to real negotiation that the Paris Conference is in a deadlock. Born of failure, the US plan for the "Vietnamization of the war" is in itself a failure. It is now failing and will certainly fail completely. The new wave of attacks by the South Viet Nam armed forces and people and their brilliant victories prove that the resistance forces have strengthened unceasingly in the fight and will certainly persist in, and step

up, the struggle till complete victory. A few days ago, in his April 20, 1970 address, the US President once again repeated his stubborn allegations and carried on his tricky move on the withdrawal of American troops, prolonging indefinitely the occupation of South Viet Nam by the US aggressor army, and fooling American and world public opinion which is urgently demanding from the US government the quick and total withdrawal of American troops from South Viet Nam. A year ago, our great President Ho Chi Minh made clear that "the Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all US and satellite troops, not only 25,000 or 250,000 or 500,000 men but a total, complete and unconditional withdrawal", "as long as there is a single aggressor in our country, we must fight on to sweep him away."

As is known everyone, the correct political solution to the Viet Nam problem has been clearly defined in the ten points of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, of which two main points are:

First, rapid, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all American and satellite troops from Viet Nam.

Second, formation of a provisional coalition government in South Viet Nam with a view to the holding of free and democratic elections and the establishment of a coalition government in South Viet Nam.

In a word, the patriotic struggle of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam is developing favourably, in close connection with the favourable development

of the national liberation movement and of the revolutionary cause of the world's people. The more the US imperialists frantically prolong and widen the war, pile up crimes against our three peoples, the bigger the difficulties and the heavier the setbacks they will meet in Indochina, in the United States itself and in the world.

In such a situation, this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples marked with complete identity of views from the outset of the preparatory work, is a great victory of the militant solidarity among our three peoples; it is an expression of our will to unite closer than ever with a firm resolve to fight and defeat the US imperialists, the most cruel and dangerous enemy of the Indochinese peoples and of the whole mankind.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully support the five-point Statement of March 23, 1970 and the appeals of April 4 and 20, 1970 of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia. We firmly support the heroic patriotic struggle of the Khmer people united in the National United Front of Kampuchea with the firm determination to overthrow the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and to foil the schemes of intervention and aggression of the US imperialists, to build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Cambodia. The Khmer people is animated by an ardent patriotism and endowed with a history of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression and an age-old brilliant civilization. We firmly believe that

the Khmer people, united in the FUNK under the banner of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, and fighting in solidarity with the Lao and Vietnamese peoples and with the support of the peace and progressive forces in the world, will win total victory.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam warmly acclaim the successive and brilliant victories of the Lao people who, under the leadership of His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, have smashed all the nibbling attacks by the US imperialists and their lackeys, have preserved and consolidated the liberated zone. We fully support the five-point programme advanced by the Lao Patriotic Front with a view to a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos and in keeping with the realities of the present situation in Laos. We firmly believe that the patriotic struggle of the valiant Lao people will be crowned with complete victory.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam greatly rejoice at the great victories recorded recently by their dear combatants and countrymen in the South, and are drawing therefrom an increased determination to fulfil their tasks of the great rear area toward the great fighting front. Over the past 40 years, our people have carried out the national and people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, they have undergone countless hardships and sacrifices, have waged a tenacious and protracted fight, and have gone from victory to victory.

We will certainly win complete victory, since our countrymen throughout the country are closely united, are animated by a great revolutionary heroism and are waging a people's war: they have been launching continuous offensives against the enemy on all fronts in a tenacious and protracted fight. Our fight is closely linked to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people who have brought us a great and valuable international support, thus forming a very broad popular front of the world in support of Viet Nam against US aggression. Meanwhile, however big the US economic and defence potential may be, it is far from being unlimited. Moreover, the US imperialists are defending an unjust cause, and are beset with multiple contradictions and difficulties in Viet Nam as well as in Cambodia and Laos, in the United States and in the rest of the world; they have sustained and are sustaining setbacks and will inevitably meet with total defeat. Our people throughout the country have engraved in their hearts the sacred Testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh and are resolved to materialize his teaching: "Even though our people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, may have to go through more hardships and sacrifices we are bound to win victory."

The victories of the Vietnamese people prove that in the world of today, the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who want to regain genuine independence and freedom must struggle against intervention and aggression by the US imperialists. They must uphold

a firm will of struggle and a firm determination to fight perseveringly, then they will be able to fight and defeat the US imperialists even if their country is not large and its population is not big. The Vietnamese people will defeat US imperialism, so will the Khmer and Lao peoples, and together with us, other peoples, victims of US intervention and aggression.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have done their best and will do their best to develop the fraternal friendship and good-neighbour relations between Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, mutual respect for one another's political regime and non-interference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once again declare recognition of, and pledge respect for, the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders. The Vietnamese people pledge themselves always to side with the fraternal Khmer and Lao peoples, in mutual esteem and respect, in cordial solidarity and devoted mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy and in a long-term co-operation with a view to national construction according to the road and abilities of each people.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam express their sincere and profound gratitude to the peoples of the

socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the peace- and justice- loving people in the world, including the progressive people in the United States, for their sympathy with, and their vigorous support and assistance to, our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation.

Together with the Khmer and Lao peoples, the Vietnamese people express full support to the struggle of the world's people against the aggressive and war-seeking US imperialists, for the lofty goals of our times; to the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and freedom, to the struggle of the Chinese people for recovering Taiwan, an inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China; to the struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialist aggressors for liberating South Korea and achieving national reunification; to the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights against the Israeli aggressors — stooges of US imperialism; to the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression, against racial discrimination, for peace and the true interests of the United States.

*Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,
President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,
Messrs Heads of delegation,
Dear friends,*

This Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is a conference for enhancing solidarity and promoting

our fight which is sure to win victory. With the strong sympathy and support of the socialist camp and the various governments and peoples in the world our just cause will certainly be crowned with glorious victory, the national rights of the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese peoples will be realized in accordance with the spirit of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. Indochina will become an independent and peaceful zone, in accordance with the aspirations of our three peoples. This will be a positive contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

ADDRESS BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE LAO PEOPLE AT THE CLOSING SESSION

Mr. President,

Messrs Delegates,

The delegation of the Lao people notes with high elation that our Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples has been a complete success and big victory of our three peoples.

Five years ago, the previous Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was a victory. We still remember that at a grand meeting in Phnom Penh, after the Conference's Resolution was read out, cheers and applause burst out from all the participants, mingled to this song of the Khmer youth :

"No force on earth can resist unity and solidarity. Let's unite to drive the imperialists out of our country."

The Conference's Resolution strongly inspired our three peoples of Indochina and had wide repercussions in the world.

Since then, our three peoples have unceasingly recorded big victories in the course of their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The Americans are losing in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. By using the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak to stage a coup d'état against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and against the Khmer people, and to massacre the civilian population with utmost barbarity, they have shown still more clearly the impasse and quandary they have been driven to. As is rightly pointed out in the Joint Declaration of the present Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the victories we have recorded demonstrate that "for all their brutal force, the US imperialists are beaten when they encroach on the sacred right to life of a people united and determined to fight through to the end for the independence and freedom of their fatherland". The 1965 Conference of the Indochinese Peoples had its important historic significance. Our present Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea, is planting a landmark in the history of the militant solidarity of our three peoples.

At a time when the US imperialists and their agents are in the grips of failure and disarray and are finding themselves in a position of passivity in Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam, the successes of the present Conference more particularly its Joint Declaration, will certainly and vigorously inspire our three peoples to increase mutual support and push ahead

still more actively their armed struggle as well as their struggle under all appropriate forms. The world's people will increase their confidence in us and give us positive support, aware as they are that our three peoples are scoring more and more victories, military as well as political, tightening their ranks and their bonds of solidarity, and demonstrating their determination together to overcome all difficulties so as to defeat the common enemy—the US imperialists and their agents, the traitors.

These days, there has been much talk in the US camp about the solidarity in the anti-US struggle of our three peoples in the peninsula. This amply proves that the Americans are afraid of the strength of our unity. The perfidious manoeuvres in the so-called withdrawal of American troops and the slanderous allegations about the patriotic struggle of the three Indochinese peoples which US President Nixon once again rehashed in his address on April 20 can never fool public opinion in the United States and the world which is energetically demanding an unconditional withdrawal at the earliest date of all US and satellite troops from Indochina. Instead they only enhance the militant solidarity of the three peoples of Indochina and intensify our common struggle against the US interventionists and aggressors. The total success of our Conference and its Joint Declaration are precisely stunning blows dealt at them.

We are convinced that every combatant of the Lao patriotic armed forces as well as every one of our Lao people will manifest the same enthusiastic sentiments as we do today on learning of the success of the Confer-

ence in all fields. The Lao army and people are resolved to bring to failure all the plunderous acts of the US imperialists and all the traitorous acts of their stooges, to realize at all costs the 12-point Political Programme of the Lao Patriotic Front and heroically march forward to bring a worthy share to the materialization of the Conference's Joint Declaration.

Our Lao people are resolved to march side by side with the Khmer people and the Vietnamese people in the fight to chase the US aggressors out as well as in the building of their fatherland.

We wish all delegates good health.

**ADDRESS BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIET NAM
AT THE CLOSING SESSION**

*Respected and beloved Samdech Head of State Norodom
Sihanouk,*

*Your respected and beloved Highness President Soupha-
nouvong,*

*Respected and beloved Prime Minister Pham Van Dong,
Dear friends,*

After two days of hard work, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is crowned with success. This historic Conference constitutes a powerful blow dealt at the US imperialists and their henchmen, who are making all-out efforts to prolong and widen the war in Indochina. It is also a powerful blow dealt at the "Nixon doctrine" of making Asians fight Asians. Our Conference reflects not only the spirit of unshakable solidarity between the peoples of our three

countries but also the iron-like determination of the Indochinese peoples in their struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges. The Joint Declaration unanimously adopted by our four delegations is a severe verdict against the US imperialist aggressors, against the prolongation of their ferocious war of aggression in South Viet Nam, against their violations of the territory and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, their intensification of the "special war" in Laos and their sabotage of the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Proceeding from the principle that the liberation and the defence of each country are the affairs of its people, the Joint Declaration pointed out that the peoples of our three countries have at present the urgent task to "strengthen their solidarity and step up their fight against the common enemy — American imperialism and its lackeys in the three countries — till total victory".

The Joint Declaration constitutes for our three countries a Programme of struggle against US imperialism. It strongly encourages the Indochinese peoples to march ahead, resolved to fight and defeat the American aggressors.

Materializing the Testament of Great President Ho Chi Minh, the people, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam are ever more determined to hold aloft the banner of independence and freedom and devote might and main to push ahead their patriotic struggle against the US aggressors, to liberate South Viet Nam, defend North Viet

Nam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of our country, thus joining our efforts to those of the fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos in order to foil all the dark and perfidious manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their agents.

The South Viet Nam people are for ever grateful to the Khmer people under the leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, to the Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by his Highness Prince Souphanouvong, for their sympathy with, and support and assistance to, our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The South Viet Nam people are for ever grateful to the socialist countries and the progressive peoples and governments all over the world for their considerable and efficacious support.

We firmly believe that with the common will and struggle of our kith and kin Northern fellow-countrymen, with the sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos as well as those of the people all over the world, including the American people, the South Viet Nam people will surely win final victory and realize their sacred aims, namely independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity and ultimate peaceful reunification of our country. We are convinced that in the light of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the fight for independence, peace and neutrality of the peoples of South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will certainly win final victory,

that US imperialism will be driven out of the Indo-chinese peninsula, and our three peoples, co-operating and helping one another in the spirit of mutual respect, will rebuild our beautiful countries and live for ever in good neighbourhood and in peace on the Indo-chinese peninsula.

Long live the unbreakable solidarity of the three peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos!

The Indochinese peoples will win!

US imperialism and its henchmen will inevitably be defeated!

**ADDRESS BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIET NAM AT THE CLOSING SESSION**

*Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,
President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,
Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, President of the
Lao Patriotic Front,
President Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam
National Front for Liberation,*

Dear friends,

Our Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples has been a complete success. The Joint Declaration that we have unanimously adopted is a historic document marking a very important step forward in the patriotic struggle of our three peoples. It manifests the will to enhance solidarity and the determination

to push ahead the fight, and represents the will and determination of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam who are standing up to wrest back their right to be masters of the destiny of their Fatherland. With this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, our three peoples are holding firmly in hand the factor determining our victory. However long and hard our struggle may be, however crafty and brutal manoeuvres US imperialism, other imperialisms and their lackeys may resort to, the militant solidarity of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, rallied each within the national united front of their country, will enable them to win complete victory. Our three peoples will surely defeat the US imperialist aggressors and their flunkies and will succeed in safeguarding the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, and materializing the sacred national rights of each people.

Our three peoples have always shown high vigilance and a firm determination to break all attempts of the US imperialist aggressors to put into effect the so-called Nixon doctrine. They are at the same time resolved to smash all manoeuvres of the other imperialists and the other reactionary organizations and forces in Asia and the world such as the so-called "Asian Conference on the Cambodia problem" being projected by the Indonesian reactionaries, which manoeuvres are intended to destroy our solidarity and our just, certainly victorious fight.

For their part, the Vietnamese people are more than ever before resolved to pursue perseveringly and promote their war of resistance against US aggression, for

national salvation, to build up their forces and win ever bigger victories as they fight, to develop their struggle on the treble front, military, political and diplomatic fields, so as to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of their country. At the same time, they unreservedly support the patriotic struggle of the fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos.

Our nation is endowed with traditions of loyalty and fidelity to our friends and respect for moral principles. Today, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a socialist country consistently faithful to proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will unswervingly abide by the sacred commitments inscribed in the Joint Declaration of our Conference. Having shed so much blood for national independence and freedom, resolved not to tolerate any intervention and aggression by the imperialists, the Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will always respect the independence, sovereignty, all the national rights and the political regimes of their two neighbouring countries in Indochina as well as of any other country.

We, Vietnamese will be for ever deeply grateful to the leaders and fraternal peoples of Cambodia and Laos for their generous support and assistance to our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are firmly determined to fulfil their obligations aimed at strengthening the great militant solidarity between our three countries and we will always

remain worthy of the noble sentiments you reserve for us. For generations to come, the relations between the peoples of our three countries will be relations of mutual affection and esteem, militant solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy, lasting co-operation and mutual assistance with a view to building our countries according to the road and abilities of our own peoples.

All problems concerning the relations between our three countries can be settled through negotiations in a spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

Let our enemy be careful! The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples marks a new development and opens still brighter vistas for the just fight of our three peoples for independence and freedom. Big victories are awaiting us. With our militant solidarity, with the sympathy and strong support and assistance of the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the peace-loving and progressive people in the world, including the progressive people in the United States, the patriotic struggle of the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese peoples will certainly win complete victory.

CLOSING SPEECH BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE KHMER PEOPLE

*Your Highness and Your Excellencies Heads of delegation,
Dear brothers and sisters,*

Unlike so many other international conferences, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, though it aims at attaining very important objectives for the present and the future of these peoples, has not dragged out.

The brevity of our Conference and its total success bring to the world the testimony of the union without fault, of the absolute solidarity and the complete community of views, aspirations and determination of our three peoples and of their leaders.

French colonialism had formerly (and unvoluntarily) brought us nearer together and aroused in us a sentiment of solidarity.

But, "to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's", it is to the aggression of the US imperialists and the anti-popular regimes in their service that

belongs the "merit" of cementing now and for ever our unity which is related to the birth of an "Indo-chinese consciousness", to our fighting solidarity, to our co-operation for progress, and which, nevertheless does not rule out a strict respect for the national independence, sovereignty, frontiers, regime or the ideology of each of our three nations.

As the saying goes, "it is an ill wind that blows nobody good", the aggression of the USA in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia as well as the setting up of anti-popular regimes by the care of the US imperialists' "special services" in certain of our capitals have greatly accelerated the process of unification of the hearts and minds of our three peoples, and consequently, of the forthcoming and irreversible peaceful alliance of our three countries.

This process of union and co-operation is perfectly in line with the trend of History in the same way as that of de-colonization or rather of liberation of the oppressed peoples of the Third World.

"Yesterday", the colonialist powers divided these peoples to "rule", and they accepted to "de-colonize" them only after being defeated with weapons.

Today the imperialists and neo-colonialists have taken the place of the colonialists.

We must not hope to ward off the mortal danger they represent through diplomacy, negotiations, conferences or even friendly neutrality.

Armed struggle alone can remove this danger wherever it sets in.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements had recognized to Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam the right to live in peace, national unity and complete independence. Of all the powers having to shoulder responsibilities of international order, only the United States refused to sign these Agreements.

They soon began violating them in aggressing Viet Nam then Laos, and preventing by force the reunification of Viet Nam explicitly envisaged for 1956.

The United States is also responsible for the advent in Indochina of the horrors of fascism which was rife in South Viet Nam in particular under Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu, and which is now rife in Cambodia under Lon Nol and Sirik Matak.

The revival of the mass slaughter and genocidal practice of the defunct Hitlerite regime is the work of the "special forces" of the US imperialists themselves as is evidenced by the martyrology of Ben Suc, Son My, Ba Lang An, Khanh Lam, etc. The martyrology of Prasaut, Takeo, Kompong Cham, Angtassom, "Catholic villages", "signed" Lon Nol, is of the same style, and on a greater scale.

My country, Cambodia, for having too long a time believed it was possible to achieve peaceful co-existence with US imperialism, is now living the darkest and most dishonouring period in its nearly bi-millenary history, which had remained stainless before March 1970.

To be sure, the Khmer people regret their "peace" and their "joy of living" which have been lost now. But they know that they must accept all sacrifices

and difficulties to gain a life of dignity with security, social justice, democracy and progress.

It is in this conviction that they enthusiastically join the camp of fighting and revolutionary peoples, and will struggle shoulder to shoulder, in a united front, with the fraternal peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, all three enjoying the total, constant and extremely powerful support of the glorious and invincible Chinese people under the aegis of their great and very illustrious guide, President Mao Tse-tung.

And it is in the same conviction that they resolutely condemn the diplomatic and other manoeuvres which under cover of sham pacifism, aim at saving US imperialism from its inevitable defeat in Indochina and safeguarding in South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, the shaky position of this imperialism and the puppet governments in its trail.

In effect, what would mean a new "Geneva Conference" if it would not lead to a unanimous condemnation of the United States as the only violators of the basic Agreements of 1954 concerning our three countries.

Certain big powers want to achieve through a new international conference a new partition of our Indochina and a first partition of Cambodia into "zones of influence" while allowing the United States and the puppets to maintain themselves unduly in power in certain Indochinese capitals, in defiance of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

The world ought to know that the Indochina problem is very simple. The 1954 Geneva Agreements had guaranteed to us peace, unity and independence.

The United States alone has violated and is violating them. The question is, therefore, to compel it purely and simply to withdraw without delay and without condition all their troops and those of their "allies" and the problem will be *ipso facto* resolved.

As for the problems of reunification of Viet Nam and Laos and that of the regimes that the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Khmers would like to give themselves, they do not concern any country other than Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia respectively.

On behalf of people's Cambodia, I declare to deny beforehand to the United Nations and to the foreign powers any right to interfere in our affairs and to help, by any means whatsoever, US imperialism and the puppet regime at its devotion, to maintain themselves in our country.

In this respect, the Khmer people denounce the perfidious manoeuvre of the lackeys by appointment of US imperialism, de-Asianized Asians, who propose to hold a so-called "Asian" conference allegedly to save Cambodia and peace.

Now what are the countries approached for this conference?

There are simply "non-aligned" but very visibly aligned with the United States, anti-popular and anti-socialist on the one hand, SEATO members and "formal allies" of the United States on the other, and also... two countries which are more Western European than Asian by their population and their politico-ideological orientation, let alone the fact that they

own allegiance to the United States and are together with it, aggressors against South Viet Nam.

A conference composed of such participants would have no Asian and still less peaceful character.

It would be only a contemptible and ridiculous masquerade behind which the little honourable Uncle Sam could hardly hide himself.

This "Uncle Sam", since he was incarnated in the person of President Nixon, has "excelled" in the art of camouflaging the intolerable interferences in the internal and national affairs of the Indochinese peoples and the criminal aggressions against the same peoples perpetrated by US imperialism and neo-colonialism under the cloak of fake innocence, fake pacifism and fake respect for the sovereignty of our three countries.

In this connection, the televised address delivered on April 20 by the US Head of the Executive is very typical of this "art".

To speak only of my country, Cambodia, we can pick up flagrant and inadmissible untruths.

Thus the aggression committed by fascist reactionaries in the payroll of the CIA against their own people has become in Nixon's mouth a communist aggression against Cambodia and her neutrality.

Thus the escalation of the war in Cambodia as well as in Laos has become in the same mouth a work of North Vietnamese leaders and "Hanoi and Hanoi alone, that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for the peoples of South-East Asia" (sic).

The impudence reaches its height when Nixon advised the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to allow (our) peoples "to determine their own future free of any outside interference" (*sic*), when he affirmed that the Americans "want to end this war and achieve a just peace", demanded that the Indochinese peoples' liberation forces withdraw from Indochina and threatened to delay the withdrawal of US troops in case our peoples would continue to struggle against US neo-colonialism and the puppet regimes.

The Khmer people have known and know only one aggressor—US imperialism—which has sent and is sending on a regular basis, its aircraft and helicopters to indiscriminately bomb and strafe our country and its inhabitants, which has sent and is sending its armoured cars, its infantrymen and those of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem traitors deep into our national territory to sow death and destruction, which now entrusts the Saigon puppet administration and the Indonesian renegade Adam Malik with transporting arms and ammunition to Phnom Penh to make it possible for its other agents named Lon Nol and Sirik Matak to do better in massacring their own people and the peaceful Vietnamese residents, beginning with women, old people and children who are called "Viet Cong soldiers" by the despicable self-styled Brigadier-General Srey Saman at a recent press conference in Paris.

The cynicism of the US President reaches its highest level when he demands that the resistance forces of our three peoples pull out of their own countries in