# SIGNAL VICTORY OF THE MILITANT UNITY OF THE THREE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLES

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# SIGNAL VICTORY OF THE MILITANT UNITY OF THE THREE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLES

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The Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, held on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, was convened at a place in the frontier region of Laos, Viet Nam and China from April 24 to 25, 1970. Photo shows a view of the conference room.



The signing of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples took place solemnly in the conference hall on April 25. Photo shows (from left to right) Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Prince Souphanouvong, President Nguyen Huu Tho and Premier Pham Van Dong signing the Joint Declaration.

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#### JOINT DECLARATION OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLES

The Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples was held at a place in the frontier region of Laos, Viet Nam and China from April 24 to 25, 1970 on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea. The three peoples of Indo-China were represented at the conference by four delegations:

The Delegation of the Cambodian People composed of

- Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, Head of the Delegation;
- Samdech Penn Nouth, Private Adviser to the Head of State, Representative of N.U.F.K., Deputy Head of the Delegation;
- Mr. Huot Sambath, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Representative of N.U.F.K.;
- Mr. Sarin Chhak, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Representative of N.U.F.K.;
- Mr. Chau Seng, Representative of N.U.F.K.;
- -Mr. Thiounn Mumm, Representative of N.U.F.K.;
- Mr. Roeurng Mach, Representative of N.U.F.K.

#### The Delegation of the Laotian People composed of

- His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Laotian Patriotic Front, Head of the Delegation;
- Mr. Khamsouk Keola, Chairman of the Committee of Alliance of Patriotic Neutralist Forces in Laos, Deputy Head of the Delegation;
- Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front, Deputy Head of the Delegation;
- -Mr. Khamphay Boupha, Member of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front;
- Mr. Oun Heuan Phounsavath, Deputy Director of the Information Bureau of the Laotian Patriotic Front in Hanoi.

The Delegation of the People of the Republic of South Viet Nam composed of

- Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Head of the Delegation;
- Lawyer Trinh Dinh Thao, President of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, Vice-President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Deputy Head of the Delegation;
- Mme. Nguyen Dinh Chi, Vice-President of the Revolutionary People's Committee of Thua Thien-Hue, Vice-President of the Committee of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of the City

- of Hue, Member of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam;
- Mr. Le Quang Chanh, Member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam;
- Professor Nguyen Van Hieu, Member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, Ambassador of the Republic of South Viet Nam to Cambodia;
- Mr. Vo Dong Giang, Member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.
- The Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam composed of
  - Mr. Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Head of the Delegation;
  - Mr. Hoang Quoc Viet, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, Deputy Head of the Delegation;
  - Mr. Hoang Minh Giam, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, Minister of Culture of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam;
  - Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam;
  - Mr. Nguyen Thuong, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to Cambodia.

The conference, after an exchange of views, arrived at a unanimous appraisal of the present situation in Indo-China and of the struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples against the common enemy, the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys.

The three peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam live together on the Indo-China Peninsula; for a long time friendly relations have united them closely. After long years of heroic struggle against the French colonialists and the American interventionists, they achieved independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. These national rights have been recognized and guaranteed under the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

Over the past 15 years, in the hope of realizing their dream of world hegemony, the American imperialists have tried to turn the Indo-Chinese states into colonies of a new type and military bases, so as to exploit the peoples of Indo-China, wipe out the national-liberation movement in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and oppose the socialist and other independent countries in Asia.

The American imperialists have shamelessly flouted the aspirations of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and south Viet Nam for independence, peace and neutrality, grossly violated the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, systematically sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China and those of 1962 on Laos, and posed a grave menace to peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world.

The American imperialists have launched a most barbarous "local war" against the Vietnamese people, provoked an atrocious "special war" against the Laotian people, and intensified their treacherous manoeuvres of encirclement, provocation and subversion against Cambodia. They have perpetrated crimes of unheard-of barbarity on the Indo-China Peninsula.

American imperialism is downright neo-fascism, it is the international gendarme and the most ferocious and dangerous enemy of the Indo-Chinese peoples and of humanity.

In the face of this common enemy, the peoples of Indo-China have fought side by side in defence of their sacred national rights.

Under the leadership of their Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Khmer people have frustrated all the manoeuvres of the American imperialists for encirclement, provocation and subversion against Cambodia and thus foiled their plans for establishing a system of military bases from south Viet Nam to Thailand, including Laos and Cambodia. During the past 15 years, the Khmer people have been able to safeguard an independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia and devote their strength to the building of an independent economy and the thriving of national culture. The prestige of independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia has ceaselessly risen in the international arena.

Under the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, the Laotian people are engaged in defeating the U.S. "special war" and the encroachment attacks by the U.S. flunkeys; they have built a liberated area which is being daily consolidated. They have waged a valiant and tenacious struggle for the preservation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements and against the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys who, under the signboard of independence and neutrality, have betrayed the supreme

interests of the Laotian people; they are advancing with steady strides along the road of building a truly peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

In response to the sacred appeal for resistance to American aggression and for national salvation issued by venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people have fought in unity and achieved great victories in their struggle to liberate the south of the country, defend the north and proceed to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation, the people of south Viet Nam have defeated the "special war" and are frustrating the extremely ferocious "local war" launched by the United States and its lackeys. The people in the north, united in the Fatherland Front, have frustrated the American war of destruction while successfully carrying out socialist construction and fulfilling all the obligations to the heroic "great front" incumbent on the "great rear area".

The brilliant victories of the three Indo-Chinese peoples have deflated the arrogance of the American imperialists, the ringleader of imperialism and the most ferocious enemy of all mankind, thus bringing enormous difficulties to them both within the United States and in the world. These victories have proved that with all their brute force, the American imperialists will nevertheless be battered when they encroach upon the sacred right to existence of a people who are united and determined to fight to the end for the independence and freedom of their fatherland. They constitute an important contribution and great encouragement to the struggle of the peoples of the world for independence and peace.

These most important and glorious victories are victories of the ardent patriotism and indomitable fighting spirit of the three Indo-Chinese peoples each of whom possesses a glorious history of struggle against foreign invasion and a brilliant civilization of more than a thousand years. These are victories of the correct and clear-sighted line advocated by the esteemed leaders of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam. These are victories of the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the three peoples, friendship and fraternity which have stood many tests and which are being consolidated and strengthened with each passing day. The 1965 Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples and the present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples contribute greatly to the strengthening and consolidation of this fraternal friendship and militant solidarity. These victories of the three Indo-Chinese peoples are also victories of the extensive and powerful sympathy and support of the world's people for their just cause.

In spite of heavy defeats, the American imperialists, obstinate in their schemes, have not abandoned their criminal aims of aggression against the Indo-Chinese peoples. Since Nixon took office, the United States has done its utmost to "Vietnamize" the war so as to prolong it and perpetuate American military occupation of south Viet Nam; it has intensified the "special war" in Laos and launched encroachment attacks against the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang region and other places of the liberated area in Laos where it has brought in numerous mercenaries from Thailand for intervention; using the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in its pay, the United States engineered the coup d'etat of March 18, 1970 against the Khmer people and against the policy of Head of State Samdech

Norodom Sihanouk, which essentially aims at safeguarding the peace, independence and neutrality of Cambodia and at strengthening the solidarity and friendship between the Indo-Chinese peoples. On April 20 this year, Nixon, President of the United States, displaying once more his gross obstinacy, repeated his deceptive talk about peace and again resorted to his treacherous scheme of withdrawal of troops; at the same time, he came out with impudent and tendentious allegations concerning the patriotic struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. These worn-out allegations and schemes decidedly cannot shake the firm determination of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos to strengthen their solidarity and intensify the fight till complete victory. Nor will these allegations ever appease the public opinion in America and in the world which strongly condemns Nixon's policy of "Vietnamizing the war", prolonging the war and extending it to the whole of Indo-China and which demands that the Nixon administration make a quick and complete withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam and cease its intervention and aggression against the Indo-Chinese states. It is obvious that the American imperialists now seek at all costs to prolong and expand the war in Indo-China, gravely menacing the peace in Southeast Asia and the world. It is a pressing demand of the day to stop and smash resolutely all the schemes and acts of the American warmongers.

At this historic moment, the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples urgently calls on the three peoples to strengthen their solidarity, fight with heroism and tenacity and defy all hardships and sacrifices with the firm determination to defeat the American imperialists and their lackeys, defend their sacred national rights,

defend the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962, so that Indo-China may truly become an area of independence and peace in conformity with the aspirations of the three peoples and with the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The Cambodian, Laotian and south Vietnamese parties explicitly affirm their fighting objectives: independence, peace, neutrality, the prohibition of all presence of foreign troops or foreign military bases on their soil, non-participation in any military alliance and the prohibition of the utilization of their territories by any foreign country for aggression against other countries. These are the profound aspirations of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and south Viet Nam which conform to the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 and to the general situation in this part of the world. The people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully respect these legitimate aspirations and support with all their strength the struggle for these noble objectives.

The conference is particularly interested in the present situation in Cambodia. It expresses its resolute support for the heroic struggle of the Khmer people who, in response to the call of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, have risen throughout the country and are waging a fierce struggle with weapons in hand or in other forms, with the firm determination to expel the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup d'etat clique and frustrate the American imperialists' schemes of aggression. It expresses its full support for the five-point declaration of March 23, 1970 of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. It condemns the collective massacres of defenceless civilians, Cambodians and Vietnamese and

Chinese nationals carried out by the fascist and racist Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique for the purpose of camouflaging the American imperialists' intervention and aggression. It vigorously condemns all attempts by the United States and its flunkeys as well as reactionaries in Asia to abuse the name of UNO or any international or Asian organization or conference for legalizing the illegal power of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries and intervening in Cambodia. It is deeply convinced that the struggle of the Khmer people for an independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia will be crowned with glorious victory.

The conference expresses its resolute support for the valiant struggle of the Laotian people under the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front against the American imperialists and their flunkeys; it affirms its full support for the 5-point declaration of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front dated March 6, 1970. The American imperialists must put an end to their war of aggression, completely cease the bombardment of Laotian territory, withdraw from Laos all the American troops and the satellite troops of Thailand and let the Laotian people settle the affairs of Laos by themselves.

The conference expresses its resolute support for the tenacious and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American imperialist aggressors and their flunkeys and affirms its full support for the 10-point over-all solution put forward by the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The American imperialists must speedily, totally and unconditionally withdraw from south Viet Nam the American troops and the troops of foreign countries in the American camp

and let the Vietnamese people settle by themselves their own affairs without any foreign interference.

In the face of the treacherous manoeuvres of the United States which, with the "Nixon doctrine", attempts to make Asians fight Asians and sow discord and provoke chauvinistic hatreds between the three peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, the conference calls on the three peoples to redouble their vigilance, strengthen their solidarity and intensify the struggle against the common enemy — American imperialism and its flunkeys in the three countries — until complete victory.

Inspired by the principle that the liberation and defence of each country is the affair of its own people, the different parties undertake to do everything possible to render mutual support in accordance with the desire of the interested party and on the basis of mutual respect.

The parties affirm their determination to safeguard and develop the fraternal friendship and good-neighbourly relations between the three countries so as to give mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy and to co-operate in the future and on a long-term basis in the building of each country following the road which it finds appropriate. In the relations between the three countries, the parties are determined to apply the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; mutual respect for each other's political regime and noninterference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence. The parties respect the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, recognize and undertake to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present frontiers and respect the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. The parties affirm that all problems in the relations between the three countries can be resolved through negotiations in a spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual aid.

The parties agree that meetings will take place whenever it is necessary between their highest-level leaders or between competent representatives for exchanges of views on problems of common interest.

The Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples expresses its sincere and deep gratitude to the peoples of the world for their valuable sympathy and support. The conference calls on the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, of the countries throughout the world which love peace and justice and the American people to strongly oppose, and demand an immediate cessation of, the American imperialist aggression and intervention and to give increased support to the just struggle of the three peoples of Indo-China until final victory.

The conference expresses its full support for the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, against the bellicose American imperialist aggressors, against all forms of old and new colonialism; for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and freedom; for the struggle of the Chinese people for recovering Taiwan, inalienable territory of the People's Republic of China; for the struggle of the Korean people against the American imperialist aggressors and for the liberation of the south of the country and the reunification of Korea; for the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights against the Israeli

aggressors in the pay of the American imperialists; for the struggle of the American people against wars of aggression, against racial discrimination and for peace and the true interests of the people of the United States.

The conference holds that the present situation is more favourable than ever to the Indo-Chinese peoples in their struggle against American aggression and for national salvation. Never have the American imperialist aggressors met with so many defeats and difficulties and been so gravely weakened and isolated as now. The Indo-Chinese peoples are fighting for a just cause, they have a correct line, they are animated by an unshakable determination; they have forged an indestructible solidarity; moreover, they possess greater strength and enjoy more vigorous sympathy and support than ever from the peoples of the world. The conference expresses its firm conviction that the three Indo-Chinese peoples on their victorious advance will make full use of their position of having the initiative and being on the offensive and persistently carry on and intensify the struggle in all fields and will certainly win complete victory.

Done on April 25, 1970 in the Khmer, Laotian and Vietnamese languages.

The French text will serve as reference.

The Head of the Delegation of the Cambodian People,

Norodom Sihanouk

Head of State of Cambodia, Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea The Head of the Delegation of the Laotian People,

Prince Souphanouvong

Chairman of the Laotian Patriotic Front

The Head of the Delegation of the People of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

#### Nguyen Huu Tho

President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

The Head of the Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

#### Pham Van Dong

Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

(Hsinhua News Agency, April 27, 1970)

#### CAMBODIAN HEAD OF STATE SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S SPEECH

# At the Opening Session of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples

(April 24, 1970)

Mr. President of the Presidium, Mr. Premier, Your Highness,

Your Excellencies,

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

First of all, allow me to extend my heartfelt and warm thanks to the Delegation of the Laotian People, the Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Delegation of the People of South Viet Nam for their noble act of inviting a Cambodian to open this historic Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples.

It is true that in 1965 I had the honour of taking the initiative in bringing together our three peoples in a conference of fraternity and militant solidarity and that my country, Cambodia, and its capital, Phnom Penh, had the privilege of receiving the distinguished delegates from the brother countries of Laos and Viet Nam.

Today, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have made me and my anti-imperialist comrades exiles who have to fight to regain the right to return to our beloved motherland with heads erect.

We are all the more touched by the fact that you have invited me to preside over the opening and closing of this conference to which we do not have the possibility to play host as we did in 1965.

Your act is eloquent proof of the esteem, unfailing friendship and unflinching support of the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples for the brother people of Cambodia. Your invitation is all the more significant in this period so dark and painful in our history and our national life.

We hereby express our everlasting gratitude to you and to the great and glorious brother people of the People's Republic of China whose Government has done so much for us.

Dear brothers and sisters,

If we, Khmers, are extremely grieved at the misfortune into which a handful of fascist and neo-Nazi traitors in the pay of U.S. imperialism have plunged our country, the Khmer people and the peaceable Vietnamese residents, we feel greatly encouraged by the very favourable perspectives which the present conference is bound to present to the future of our motherland and her people as well as to that of Laos and Viet Nam and the Laotian and Vietnamese peoples.

Contrary to certain international conferences, the First Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, far from being "a disappointment", has throughout the years of 1965-1966-1967-1968 and 1969 borne magnificent "fruits" which found expression in the ever closer unity, the ever more militant solidarity and the ever more powerful

mutual aid among our three peoples who are fighting for the triumph of the common ideals of freedom, independence, peace and justice and against the enemies, saboteurs and destructors of these ideals.

Certainly, these enemies, on their part, have intensified their violence and increased their material strength in their aggression; they have "escalated" their war against our three peoples; they have savagely bombed north Viet Nam and Laos, split the Laotians and driven all the patriotic and progressive Laotians into the jungle; they have just succeeded in installing an illegal, anti-popular and pro-imperialist government in Phnom Penh.

But all this is only the death-bed kicks of the dying U.S. imperialism; all this is only the sign of fear and despair of the imperialists who see their doom approaching so quickly in Indo-China.

By putting an end to their savage but ineffective bombing of north Viet Nam, they have already admitted the total defeat which the D.R.V.N. inflicted on them.

They have been defeated by the Laotian Patriotic Front in the Plain of Jars and other regions of Laos and have admitted their impotence by recruiting the support of the pitiable Thai mercenaries.

They have admitted their bitter and irreversible defeat before the heroic anti-imperialist fighters and people's forces of south Viet Nam by giving up the "Americanization" of the war in south Viet Nam and returning to a solution which flopped in the time of Ngo Dinh Diem: the so-called "Vietnamization".

With regard to my country, they feel gravely injured by our categorical refusal to fall into line with them and by our unfailing solidarity with the sacred struggle of the south Vietnamese people for the liberation of their country.

They can never change the indomitable spirit of the Khmer people and it is such despair that led them to set the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to destroy, within a few days, the prestige, unity, peace, independence, neutrality, progress, dignity and the good Buddhist reputation of our Kampuchea. They try to pull our country into their camp, putting the usurpers in the same "basket" with the regimes of Thieu-Ky, Pak Jung Hi, Chiang Kai-shek, Kittikachorn and other Asian renegades while making the Khmer renegades manifest their sanguinary features of the most racist, anti-popular and bloodthirsty fascism and Nazism.

The second conference of our three peoples, being one at the highest level, will also raise "to the summit" the militant and fighting solidarity of the Laotian, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples. The Khmer people were forced by the coup d'etat of last March 18 to give up their peaceful neutrality in order to fight in a united front and shoulder to shoulder with the other two brother peoples until their sovereignty, freedom and neutrality (which will not exclude their struggle against imperialism or their solidarity with the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples) are restored to them.

Our conference considers as a foregone conclusion the victory of the Indo-Chinese peoples, with the powerful support of the great Chinese people and the other peoples of the world, over U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; our conference will also lay the foundations for the future co-operation of our three peoples and our three countries with regard to national rehabilitation, national reconstruction and national economic development on

the basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, independence, internal regime and territorial integrity.

Our conference will finally show that the Khmer, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples are the most united in the world and that our union, solidarity and co-operation forged in the common struggle first against French colonialism and then against U.S. neo-colonialism, will be a powerful factor of peace and stability in tomorrow's Southeast Asia, and an important contribution to the victory of the other oppressed peoples of the third world in their present and future struggle against the oppressors headed by the most dangerous oppressor, U.S. imperialism.

It is in this firm belief that, with your permission, respected brothers and sisters, and after paying tribute to the memory of all the Indo-Chinese heroes who have died for their respective countries, I declare open the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples.

Glory to our three peoples!

#### PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG'S SPEECH

### At the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples

(April 24, 1970)

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, Mr. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, Mr. President Nguyen Huu Tho, and Messrs. Delegates,

The First Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples convened five years ago on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, marked a new development of the militant solidarity among the three peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam against the common enemy, the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

This time, also on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples is held at the very moment when the Nixon administration, notwithstanding the heavy setbacks it has sustained on the battlefields of Indo-China, is bent on intensifying its war escalation in Laos and dragging out the war of aggression in south Viet Nam through its "Vietnamization" policy, and it has engineered a coup d'etat in Cambodia and is plotting to extend the war to the whole of Indo-China. This conference which meets

the urgent demands of the situation bears a very great significance as it strengthens and consolidates the solidarity and friendship among Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam and heightens the determination of the three peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors in defence of national independence and for a lasting peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The Delegation of the Laotian People is very happy to take part in this conference. It wishes to convey its heartiest congratulations to the Delegation of the Khmer People, the Delegation of the People of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the authentic representatives of the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, incarnating their noble national aspirations.

Known for their traditional ties of friendship, Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam, united during many years of their heroic struggle, have recorded brilliant victories and recovered their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. These national rights of our three countries have been reaffirmed by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

However, the U.S. imperialists have shirked their responsibilities under the Geneva Agreements. They have deliberately pursued unchanged their manoeuvres of aggression against the countries in Indo-China, with a view to turning them into neo-colonies and military bases. All along the past 16 years, the Laotian, Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, highly conscious of their responsibilities to history, have unceasingly struggled against these perfidious manoeuvres of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, and have recorded big successes, especially in recent years.

The Vietnamese people, responding to the appeal of the great President Ho Chi Minh, have been closing their ranks in fighting and in production, and have won many big victories in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and in the building of socialism. North Viet Nam has defeated the war of destruction conducted by the United States and turned itself into a solid rear for the fighting front against U.S. aggression. The people of south Viet Nam, closely united around the National Front for Liberation, have defeated the "special war" and are bringing to failure the "local war" conducted by the U.S. imperialists, the most barbarous war in human history.

This heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has greatly contributed to the fight jointly conducted by the Indo-Chinese peoples against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and exerted a very great influence on the national-liberation movement in the world.

The Khmer people, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, have frustrated all U.S. manoeuvres of intervention designed to cause Cambodia to depart from its policy of independence, peace and neutrality. They have been able to preserve their independence and freedom, build a more and more prosperous Cambodia and heighten the prestige of their country in the international arena. The successes of the policy of independence, peace, and neutrality pursued by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have, in fact, greatly contributed to the militant solidarity of our three peoples against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Delegation of the Laotian People warmly hails these big victories of the two fraternal peoples as factors really favourable to the Laotian people's struggle. With regard to Laos, during the past 16 years, the United States has pursued an extremely cruel policy of aggression in an attempt to turn this kingdom into a U.S. neo-colony and military base.

Right after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the United States began intervening in the affairs of Laos. On their own authority they placed Laos under the "protective umbrella" of the SEATO aggressive bloc, overthrew the National Union Government set up in 1957, illegally jailed patriotic leaders, disarmed the fighting units of the Pathet Lao, and rekindled the war in Laos.

Intrepid and indomitable, the fighting units of the Pathet Lao and the entire Laotian people under the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front have valiantly stood up against the U.S. aggressors and their agents in defence of their fatherland. The ardent patriotic movement throughout the country led a number of officers and men in the enemy ranks to rise up and, together with a number of progressive personalities, they overthrew the reactionary administration, founded the Neutralist Forces, and entered into alliance with the Laotian Patriotic Front to fight, together with the rest of the people, against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

Through their persevering military and political struggle and with the brilliant victory of Nam Tha, the Laotian people won victory by compelling the United States to recognize the coalition government with the participation of representatives of the patriotic forces, to sign the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and to recognize once again the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos. The U.S. imperialists

and their agents suffered a defeat. However, immediately afterward, they undertook to undermine cynically the National Union Government of Laos and trampled underfoot these international agreements. Starting with the assassination of patriotic personalities who stand for peace and neutrality, the U.S. imperialists eventually overthrew the National Union Government and set up a reactionary government camouflaged behind a facade of "peace and neutrality" and headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma.

Through this reactionary government, the United States illicitly brought into Laos more arms and military personnel. It made every effort to build a more than 70,000-strong puppet army including more than 20,000 "special forces" troops organized and directly commanded by Americans. On the other hand, it started a "special war" against the Laotian people. Moreover, beginning May 1964, it overtly sent its air force, mostly from U.S. military bases in Thailand, to carry out raids of destruction against Laotian territory and provide air cover for the puppet forces during a series of nibbling operations against the liberated zone.

At the same time, they sought the most odious means—political, economic and cultural—to establish step by step a neo-colonial regime in the areas under their temporary control.

Since Nixon took office, the United States, applying the policy of making Asians fight Asians, has escalated the war in Laos, taking it to an unprecedented level of fierceness. The U.S. air raids in Laos have reached such a point that the Western press has had to acknowledge that they have exceeded in intensity the air war of

destruction conducted by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

During the last months of 1969 and the first months of 1970, U.S. aircraft poured an average of 3,000 tons of bombs daily on Laotian territory. On some days, more than 1,000 sorties were flown against the liberated zone in Laos.

Since February 1970, the United States has even sent its B-52 strategic bombers against northern Laos. The bombing raids have thus been extended to the whole of Laos with an exterminative character.

On the other hand, the Nixon administration has introduced many regular units of Thai troops into Laos for joint operations with the Laotian puppet army and for large-scale attacks deep into the liberated zone under the control of the Laotian patriotic forces.

Beginning August 1969, the United States mustered nearly 50 puppet battalions along with Thai units and the American "Green Berets", and with massive U.S. air cover, to launch a most ferocious campaign against the strategic area of Xieng Khoang-Plain of Jars. During that campaign, the U.S. air force conducted extremely sayage bombings and strafings while U.S.-paid puppet troops, wherever they went, carried out looting, burnt down villages and slaughtered the innocent civilian population, sparing neither aged persons, nor women, children or bonzes. The Americans and their henchmen have sown widespread mournings and sufferings. These barbarous crimes have aroused the indignation of the whole mankind, invited condemnation from world public opinion, fanned up the hatred and strengthened the patriotism of the Laotian people and patriotic armed forces.

Nevertheless, carrying out the "thief-stop-thief" trick, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have continually slandered the Laotian Patriotic Front and invented the fantastic story of "aggression against Laos by Viet Nam", with a view to dividing the Indo-Chinese peoples and covering up the U.S. aggression in Laos.

In fact, it is the Americans who have three times impeded and undermined the realization of national concord in Laos. They have overthrown the National Union Government wherein the patriotic forces were represented, and have trampled underfoot the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and it is they who have continuously intensified the war of aggression in Laos.

Clearly, it is the U.S. imperialists who have carried out systematic intervention and aggression in Laos. It is this U.S. intervention and aggression which is the origin of the grave situation now obtaining in Laos.

For genuine independence, peace and neutrality, and for the defence of the Geneva Agreements on Laos, the Laotian people of all nationalities have united closely around the militant alliance comprising the Laotian Patriotic Front and the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces, and have undertaken the struggle to preserve the independence and sovereignty of their country, to defend the liberated zone, and foil all the adventurous military actions of the U.S. imperialists and their agents. They have thus meted out due punishment to the latter.

The armed forces and people of Laos have driven the enemy to the defensive, as a result of its heavy military defeats and unprecedented political isolation. The enemy armed forces have been seriously weakened. Their morale has sunk to its lowest. The Vientiane administra-

tion headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma has proved to be a tool for the United States to conduct its "special war" and realize U.S. neo-colonialism in Laos.

Along with the armed struggle, the Laotian Patriotic Front has made public its 12-point political programme, a programme for national salvation and construction, which meets the deep national aspirations of the Laotian people and the interests of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. And on March 6, it put forth the radiantly just 5-point political solution which has elicited approval and support from all peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world including the American people.

It is the unswerving stand of the Laotian Patriotic Front that the Laotian problem must be settled on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements and the realities of the present situation in Laos. Having committed intervention and aggression against Laos, the U.S. must stop it. The Laotian problem must be solved by the concerned Laotian parties without U.S. interference.

In order that conditions could be created which will enable the concerned Laotian parties to meet, the U.S. must, first of all, stop escalating the war and put a definitive end to all bombardment against the Laotian territory, without posing any condition. If the U.S. and its agents remain obdurate and do not recognize the legitimate demands of the Laotian people, they will be held entirely responsible for all consequences arising from their obstinacy.

Loyal to the Laotian people's aspirations for the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos, the Laotian Patriotic Front, the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces and the Laotian people are resolved to fight till final victory.

In their tenacious and valiant struggle both in the military and in the political fields, the Laotian people have ceaselessly built their forces in all respects. Overcoming extremely hard trials, they have made great efforts in building and consolidating the liberated zone which accounts for two-thirds of the Laotian territory and is inhabited by half of the country's population. Great achievements have been recorded there in economic construction and cultural development and the administration has been greatly consolidated. The liberated zone has become a solid base for the patriotic forces in their struggle for a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos. The militant alliance between the Laotian Patriotic Front and the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces has been strengthening day by day. The Laotian People's Liberation Army and the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces have matured ideologically and organizationally, as well as in technique and tactics. The prestige of the Laotian Patriotic Front and that of the Laotian Patriotic Neutralist Forces have been enhanced incessantly both at home and abroad. These achievements constitute brilliant victories of the Laotian people and also fundamental factors guaranteeing the final victory of the Laotian people's struggle for national independence, peace and neutrality.

These victories have been won thanks to the political line of the Laotian Patriotic Front, to the sustained efforts and determination to unite in struggle of the Laotian patriotic forces and the entire Laotian people who have tenaciously and firmly held in hand the standard of independence, peace and neutrality. On the

other hand, these victories are due to the solidarity and devoted assistance of the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, the effective aid from the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, and the approval and support of all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world, including the American people.

On behalf of the Laotian people, the Delegation of the Laotian People expresses here its deep gratitude to the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples for their wholehearted support to the just struggle of the Laotian people.

The Delegation of the Laotian People also expresses its sincere gratitude to the governments and peoples of the socialist countries and to the peace- and justice-loving peoples of the world, including the American people, for the sympathy and support extended to the Laotian people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and for national salvation.

The brilliant victories of our three peoples have driven the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys into a position of passivity and defeat in Indo-China. The U.S. imperialists are encountering the greatest difficulties both at home and in the world, the "Nixon doctrine" is heading for bankruptcy. Yet, the U.S. imperialists are very obstinate. They do not want to give up their aggressive designs against the Indo-Chinese countries. They are resorting to all perfidious means and tricks to ward off their defeat.

They are using Thai territory and the reactionary forces of Thailand and other Asian satellites for their blans of aggression in Indo-China. While obdurately

prolonging and intensifying their war of aggression in south Viet Nam and escalating their war in Laos, they have instigated the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to rig up a regime of fascist dictatorship in Cambodia, and to prepare public opinion for an increased intervention in that country by themselves and their satellites and for the extension of the war to the whole of Indo-China.

In face of these manoeuvres and tricks of the U.S. imperialists, it is an urgent task and a question of life and death for the Indo-Chinese peoples to strengthen the friendship and militant solidarity among them to foil all manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys to prolong and extend the war.

For the struggle against the common enemy and for the building of their country in conformity with their own conditions, the Laotian people affirm their fundamental stand as follows: to support with all their strength the south Vietnamese and Khmer peoples in the struggle to attain the common objectives of independence, peace and neutrality, to make indefatigable efforts to strengthen friendship and lasting relations of co-operation with Cambodia and Viet Nam on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and respect for the political regime of each country.

Proceeding both from their supreme national interests and from the interests of the peace and security of the Indo-Chinese peoples, the Laotian people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples with a view to defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Laos, whatever the developments of the situation, so that the three countries may safeguard their independence and Indo-China may

become a zone of independence and peace in conformity with the aspirations of the three Indo-Chinese peoples and the interests of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

With regard to the fraternal Khmer people, the Laotian people reaffirm their unswerving policy of strict respect for Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity within her existing borders. We vehemently condemn the coup d'etat engineered by the U.S. and its agents. We sternly condemn the barbarous acts of terror committed by the fascist reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique against the Vietnamese nationals in Cambodia. The Laotian people fully respect the position of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as the legal Head of State of Cambodia, firmly support the just struggle waged by the Khmer people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in keeping with the correct line laid down in the 5-point proclamation of March 23, 1970 by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. We are firmly convinced that the Khmer people's valiant struggle for independence, peace and neutrality will be crowned with brilliant victory.

With regard to the Vietnamese people both in the north and in the south, the Laotian people reaffirm the unshakable militant solidarity between the two fraternal peoples. We give our total support to the 10-point overall solution advanced by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and to the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We demand that the U.S. imperialists withdraw immediately and unconditionally all their troops and those of their satellites from south Viet

Nam. We firmly support the Vietnamese people's resistance war till complete victory over the U.S. aggression with a view to liberating the south, defending the north, ultimately achieving the peaceful reunification of their country, and building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

The Delegation of the Laotian People has just outlined the situation and stated its views concerning the problems of our three countries. These are also the problems our delegation wishes to submit to the delegations of the fraternal peoples for discussion in our conference.

The Delegation of the Laotian People pledges its best efforts to help bring the conference to a successful conclusion. We believe that our conference will be crowned with brilliant successes. The Delegation of the Laotian People avails itself of this opportunity to appeal to the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, and all other peace- and justiceloving countries the world over to severely condemn U.S. intervention and aggression in Indo-China, and to demand that the U.S. imperialists stop immediately all acts tending to intensify the war in Laos and to prolong the war in Viet Nam, and their impudent intervention in Cambodia, which threaten to expand the war to the whole of Indo-China. We call on the peoples and governments of these countries to extend increased support to the just struggle of the peoples of Laos as well as Cambodia and Viet Nam till final victory.

The Delegation of the Laotian People unreservedly supports the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and freedom against old and new colonialism in all its forms, notably against U.S. imperialism.

We unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Promoting their glorious national traditions on the basis of the great victories already recorded, the Laotian people are determined to strengthen further solidarity with the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples and extend wholehearted mutual support in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents, and to safeguard the genuine independence and sovereignty of our countries. With the unshakable determination of our three peoples, with the great sympathy, support and assistance of the governments and peoples of the socialist and nationalist countries and all other peace- and justiceloving governments and peoples in the world, including the American people, the struggle of our three peoples against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is sure to end in total victory.

The Delegation of the Laotian People expresses warm wishes for the success of the conference and the good health of all delegates.

#### PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO'S SPEECH

## At the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples

(April 24, 1970)

Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, Your Highness Chairman Souphanouvong, My Dear Brother Premier Pham Van Dong, Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, Dear Friends,

More than ever before, the Nixon administration not only persists in prolonging the cruel war of aggression in south Viet Nam but also tries to widen it to the whole of Indo-China, grossly trampling underfoot the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our three countries, and undermining the solidarity and friendship among our peoples.

The people of south Viet Nam, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam warmly greet the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, to convene the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, considering it a precious contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of our