

three peoples, a powerful blow dealt at the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and a new development of the militant solidarity binding the Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian peoples.

In this atmosphere of friendship, allow our delegation to express to Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, to His Highness Chairman Souphanouvong, and to our brother Premier Pham Van Dong the warmest greetings of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. We convey to the valiant peoples of Cambodia and Laos our most fraternal greetings and the assurance of our unshakable militant solidarity. We particularly ask our dear brother Premier Pham Van Dong to convey to our 17 million fellow-countrymen in north Viet Nam the profound affection and indefectible attachment of the 14 million south Vietnamese people.

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

Our three countries have for a century been subjected to aggression, first by the French colonialists, then the Japanese fascists and now the U.S. imperialists. In the past 15 years, the U.S. imperialists have conducted the most ferocious war of aggression in history against the Vietnamese people, and a "special war" against the Laotian people, and have incessantly sabotaged the independence, peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

To preserve their existence, the Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian peoples have tightened further their solidarity, developed their tradition of patriotism, resolutely stood up against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys,

and have successively foiled their cruel and treacherous manoeuvres.

Resolved to use their sacred right of self-determination, the south Vietnamese people, united as one under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation and side by side with their north Viet Nam compatriots, have persistently conducted a sacred resistance war against the U.S. aggression and have recorded successive and very brilliant victories. Most particularly, since early spring 1968, the south Viet Nam armed forces and people have launched widespread offensives and uprisings and inflicted on the U.S. imperialists and their agents very hard blows, forcing the enemy to shift from the strategy of offensive to that of defensive, thus changing the balance of forces in favour of the south Viet Nam people. The national unity has been strengthened following the founding of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces. The liberated zone has unceasingly developed and expanded. People's power has been set up from the grassroots to the central levels. The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam shows not only the maturity and development of the south Viet Nam patriotic forces in various fields, but also the unalterable will of the south Viet Nam people to carry on their struggle against U.S. aggression till total victory.

These victories recorded by the south Viet Nam armed forces and people are due to the correct political and military line of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

They are the fruits of the ardent patriotism, fighting will, courage and perseverance of the entire people of south Viet Nam and the People's Liberation Armed

Forces who would rather make every sacrifice than live in slavery.

These victories spring from the invincible force of national unity of the entire Vietnamese people from north to south who are resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen; they are the victory of the national sentiment and the profound love among all our compatriots at the front as well as in the rear.

These brilliant victories cannot be separated from the precious and effective support of the brother peoples of Cambodia, Laos, the socialist countries, and the peace- and justice-loving peoples and governments in the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

The south Viet Nam people express their great admiration for and eternal gratitude to the brother Khmer people who, under the clear-sighted leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, have fought perseveringly and valiantly against imperialism to safeguard the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia and who, in the interest of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples and for the sake of their militant solidarity against the common enemy, have given the south Viet Nam people tremendous and precious support.

The south Viet Nam people express their great admiration for and eternal gratitude to the brother Laotian people who, under the perspicacious leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Chairman Souphanouvong, have brought their persevering and valiant resistance to U.S. aggression from one success to another and who have given effective support and

assistance to the just cause of the south Viet Nam armed forces and people.

Allow us to express once again here, on behalf of the south Viet Nam people, our boundless gratitude for the tremendous and effective support of the socialist countries, for the sympathy and precious support given to us by the friendly peoples and governments in the world including the American people in our struggle against the U.S. aggressors and for national salvation. This support and sympathy constitutes an important contribution to our brilliant victories.

For their part, the people, the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. of the Republic of South Viet Nam wholeheartedly support the valiant struggle of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. We support the struggle of the Chinese people for the recovery of Taiwan, an integral part of China's territory, the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their country, the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights and against the Israeli aggressors, lackeys of the United States, the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national liberation, the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression and racial discrimination, and the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, democracy and social progress.

Samdech,

Your Highness Chairman,

Your Excellency,

Dear friends,

Our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is advancing ever more impetuously and steadily. The war of aggression carried out by the U.S. im-

perialists has in the main been defeated. But the latter remain very obdurate and perfidious.

At the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, they have always eluded the fundamental question, namely, the U.S. must put an end to its aggression, totally and unconditionally withdraw the U.S. troops from south Viet Nam and let the south Viet Nam people themselves settle their own affairs without foreign interference, as proposed by the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. in their fair and reasonable ten-point over-all solution.

In south Viet Nam, they have tried to carry out their plan for "Vietnamization" of the war with a view to prolonging the war and continuing the occupation of our country, making Vietnamese fight Vietnamese, maintaining neo-colonialism in south Viet Nam and perpetuating the division of our country.

Nixon's April 20 address has once again laid bare the stubborn and aggressive stand of U.S. imperialism. Nixon's announcement that the withdrawal of 150,000 troops will be completed in the spring of 1971 is but a manoeuvre to drag out the period of troop withdrawal so as to cope with the difficulties of all kinds besetting the United States, instead of ending the aggressive war in south Viet Nam. The settlement of the south Viet Nam problem on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam requires the total and unconditional pull-out of all U.S. troops from south Viet Nam, not of 50,000 or 150,000. The U.S. aggressors' plot to drag out for a long period the withdrawal of troops to be carried out alongside the perpetration of innumerable crimes against the south Viet Nam population shows that they still cherish

the vain hope of securing a position of strength on the battlefield and at the conference table, with a view to imposing their insolent conditions on the south Viet Nam people in a settlement of the south Viet Nam problem.

But these are senseless calculations of an utterly obdurate and perfidious enemy driven into a position of irretrievable defeat.

Under the glorious banner of the N.F.L., the south Viet Nam people, carrying out the sacred teachings of President Ho Chi Minh and with the impetus of victory, are marching forward resolutely, with the determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors.

While conducting an aggressive war against south Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists have not ceased violating the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. But the Khmer people, who have a long tradition of patriotism and struggle against colonialism and imperialism, will never submit.

In the past 15 years, under the leadership of their Head of State, the Khmer people have foiled all manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and have preserved their independence, peace, and neutrality, and built a prosperous country. They have warmly supported the national-liberation movement in Asia and the rest of the world, courageously supported the south Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, constantly enhanced the solidarity and friendship with the other Indo-Chinese peoples, thus continually raising Cambodia's prestige and position in the international arena. That is why the U.S. imperialists, in collusion with the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionary clique, engi-

neered the coup d'etat of March 18, 1970, against the just and clear-sighted line of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, with the aim of "shifting Cambodia into the U.S. camp" and using it to oppose the resistance of the Vietnamese people.

On orders from their American masters, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionary clique have carried out merciless repression of the Khmer patriots. On the 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 driven tens of thousands of others into concentration camps and submitted them to extremely inhuman treatment.

We indignantly denounce before world public opinion these barbarous crimes of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, lackeys of the U.S. imperialists. We urgently call on the world's peoples to stay their bloodstained hands.

The more ferocious the U.S. imperialists and their agents are, the more rapid and humiliating will be 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 unfailingly be crowned with glorious victory.

With regard to the Kingdom of Laos, in the past 15 years, the U.S. imperialists have continuously and systematically sabotaged the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, undermined the Laotian national harmony, and used their agents to wage a "special war" in Laos.

Recently, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies headed by Phouma have climbed a new step 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 their mercenaries into Laos, tried to nibble at the liberated zone, and used Laos as a spring-board for aggression against other Indo-Chinese countries.

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

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



Your Highnesses,  
Your Excellencies,  
Dear friends,

The people 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 Indo-Chinese peoples have weakened the position of the U.S. imperialists inside the United States as well as in the world, and have brought very great difficulties to them in every respect. These victories are not only victories of the firm and indomitable struggle of each of our peoples and of the friendship and militant solidarity among the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries, but also the common success of the movements for national liberation and for peace, independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast 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 U.S. imperialism, which has enormous economic and military potentialities.

Despite their bitter defeats, the U.S. imperialists remain very obdurate, bellicose and treacherous. They have not yet given up their designs to grab Indo-China and turn the Indo-Chinese countries into their new-type colonies and military bases.

In the vain hope of avoiding their inevitable defeat in south Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists have sought to widen the war to the whole of Indo-China, to knock together a reactionary alliance of their agents in Saigon, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok. This alliance constitutes a tool for the U.S. imperialists to carry out

Nixon's policy of making "Indo-Chinese fight Indo-Chinese" 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, the Indo-Chinese peoples must, more than ever before, 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 U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkys. Only by so doing can the Indo-Chinese peoples wrest back real independence and peace, free themselves from foreign domination, and enjoy the right to be masters of their own 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 Indo-Chinese peoples to strengthen solidarity and mutual support, to wage a 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 U.S. aggression and 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 towards our people, a more active support to the building of socialism by our compatriots in the north, and to the national liberation of our brothers and neighbours, the Khmer and Laotian

peoples, and a concrete contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Indo-China, 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 neighbourliness, 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, fully 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 brother 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 neighbourly policy, and fully support the just war of resistance of the Laotian people against U.S. aggression and 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 for the five-point declaration of March 6, 1970, of the Laotian Patriotic Front urging the U.S. to put an end to its aggressive war, halt all bombing and shelling of Laotian territory, and withdraw the U.S. troops and Thai mercenaries from Laos. This is a very correct basis for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian

problem, letting the Laotian people settle their own affairs without foreign interference.

With a view to constantly enhancing the fraternal friendship and consolidating the militant solidarity among the Indo-Chinese 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 Indo-Chinese peoples against the U.S. imperialists to still bigger victories.

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

The U.S. imperialists and their agents have suffered and are suffering heavy defeats in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. Their global strategy, their "special war" and "local 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 U.S. imperialists and their flunkies can turn back the wheel of history or retrieve their defeat in Indo-China.

Marching from victory to victory, the peoples of south Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos are fully conscious of the favourable historic situation and of their glorious but very arduous mission. They are resolved to hold higher the banner of independence, peace and neutrality, strengthen their solidarity in mutual respect and assistance and struggle valiantly and perseveringly.

Enjoying 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 peoples of south Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will certainly win total victory over the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings.

He who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys who have perpetrated utterly barbarous crimes against the Indo-Chinese peoples, will be burnt in the flames of indignation of our peoples. The storm of revolution in Indo-China will infallibly sweep them away so that a clear sky will return to Indo-China and the Indo-Chinese peoples will live in harmony, happiness and peace.

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

Thank you for your attention.

## **PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S SPEECH**

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

(April 24, 1970)

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,  
Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea,  
Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the  
Laotian Patriotic Front,

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

Dear Friends,

The Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam extends its cordial regards to the heads and members of the brother delegations participating in the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples convened on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea. At this conference, we extend to the brother Khmer people and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, to the brother Laotian people and His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, the sincere feelings of gratitude of our people for their wholehearted support and aid to our struggle against U.S. aggression and for

national salvation. In particular, our compatriots in the south and throughout Viet Nam will never forget that Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is the leader of the brother neighbouring country which was among the first to recognize the National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and to establish diplomatic relations with them. For us, Samdech will always remain the man who, since the very beginning of our resistance, has been firmly confident in our victory and has never ceased to support vigorously our just cause.

At this juncture, when in our three countries the struggle for national liberation is advancing from victory to victory and the intervention and aggression of U.S. imperialism have brought about the gravest situation, the present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples is a conference to tighten and strengthen the solidarity of the Khmer, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples for continuing and pushing forward their unswerving and resolute fight for complete victory. At the same time, it marks a new development of the cordial friendship and lasting co-operation among our three peoples.

In face of the menace of being completely driven out of Indo-China and in the hope of getting out of their catastrophic situation, the U.S. imperialists are carrying out base schemes in line with the out-dated Nixon doctrine of "making Indo-Chinese fight Indo-Chinese".

In Cambodia, after the coup d'etat staged by the traitors Lon Nol-Sirik Matak, the U.S. imperialists and their valets have come up against the ever growing and ever more powerful struggle of the Khmer people who have risen in response to the March 23, 1970, appeal of Head of

State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. In their panic, they have revealed in broad daylight their extremely reactionary fascist features, savagely suppressing the Khmer people and committing barbarous and intolerable crimes against the Vietnamese nationals. They are condemned by all mankind and will certainly be punished by the Khmer people. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, for their part, strongly demand that the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique immediately stop the acts of terror, massacres and discrimination against the Vietnamese nationals, and declare that this clique is held responsible for all the crimes it has been committing. The murderers of the Vietnamese nationals shall certainly be punished for their crimes.

In Laos, the U.S. imperialists have brought in numerous U.S. troops and large quantities of arms; they have intensified the "special war" through the Laotian Rightist troops and Thai armed forces; they have carried out savage air raids and multiplied the nibbling operations against the liberated areas. But the Laotian patriotic armed forces and the heroic Laotian people have dealt powerful blows to the enemy in the Plain of Jars and in all other theatres of operation and won great victories in all fields, landing the U.S. imperialists in a position of passivity and defeat.

In Viet Nam, our protracted, arduous and heroic resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has scored great victories in all fields. The people of south Viet Nam have defeated the "special war" conducted by the United States and have smashed one after another all the strategic plans of the United States in the course of its "local war". Carrying forward their victories, the people of south Viet Nam have developed their



offensive position with the firm determination to vanquish the more than one million U.S., puppet and satellite troops. The people of the socialist north have defeated the extremely savage war of destruction conducted by the United States while successfully carrying on the socialist construction, thus reinforcing the economic potentialities and defence capability of north Viet Nam, the "great rear area" of the south and the solid base for the whole country. The U.S. imperialists find themselves facing evident defeat, but they try to carry on the war of aggression with their plan of "Vietnamizing the war". It is because U.S. President Nixon wants to prolong and expand the war of aggression instead of real negotiations that the Paris conference is landed in an impasse. Born in defeat, the U.S. plan of "Vietnamization of the war" in itself signifies defeat, and is suffering defeats at present and will inevitably end in complete defeat. The new wave of offensive launched by the armed forces and people of south Viet Nam with brilliant victories proves that the forces of the resistance have been growing stronger and stronger in fighting and that they will stoutly continue and intensify the struggle till complete victory. A few days ago, the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, in his speech on April 20, 1970, once again repeated his obstinate purpose and continued his perfidious manoeuvres on the withdrawal of new U.S. contingents. In fact he aims at putting off the departure of U.S. troops, prolonging indefinitely the occupation of south Viet Nam by the U.S. aggressor forces, and deceiving U.S. and world public opinion which urgently demands that the U.S. Government rapidly and completely withdraw the U.S. troops from south Viet Nam.

One year ago, our great President Ho Chi Minh said explicitly: "The Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops, not the withdrawal of only 25,000 or 250,000 or 500,000 men, but a total, complete, unconditional withdrawal." "As long as there is a single aggressor in our country, we must fight on to sweep him away."

As everybody knows, the correct political solution of the Viet Nam problem has been clearly defined in the ten points of the National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, two essential points of which are:

— First, the rapid, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all the U.S. and satellite troops from Viet Nam.

— Secondly, the formation of a provisional coalition government in south Viet Nam with a view to organizing free and democratic elections and setting up a coalition government in south Viet Nam.

In a word, the patriotic struggle of the Khmer, Lao-tian and Vietnamese peoples is developing favourably; this progress is closely linked with the favourable development of the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary cause of the world people. The more crimes the U.S. imperialists, in their hysterical attempts to prolong and extend the war, commit against our three peoples, the more will they be exposed to immense difficulties and heavy defeats in Indo-China, in the United States and in the world.

At this juncture, the present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, marked by a perfect identity of views from the beginning of the preparatory work, constitutes a great victory for the militant solidarity

among our three peoples; this is a manifestation of our will to fight shoulder to shoulder and with a determination greater than ever before to defeat U.S. imperialism, the most cruel and dangerous enemy of the Indo-Chinese peoples and of all mankind.

The people and 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 resolutely support the heroic patriotic struggle of the Khmer people who are united round the National United Front of Kampuchea and are firmly determined to overthrow the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup d'etat clique, frustrate the plots of intervention and aggression of the U.S. imperialists, and build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Cambodia. The Khmer people are actuated by ardent patriotism; they possess a history of indomitable struggle against foreign invasion and a long-standing and brilliant civilization. United round the National United Front of Kampuchea under the banner of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, fighting in solidarity with the Laotian and Vietnamese peoples and enjoying the support of the peace and progressive forces in the world, the Khmer people, we are sure, will win complete victory.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam warmly acclaim the repeated signal victories of the Laotian people who, under the leadership of His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, have defeated the nibbling operations of the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and defended and consolidated the liberated areas. We fully support the position of the five points put forth by the Laotian Patriotic Front for the

peaceful settlement of the problem of Laos on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and in the light of the realities of the present situation in that country. We are firmly convinced that the patriotic struggle of the valiant Laotian people will be crowned with complete victory.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam deeply rejoice over the great victories scored recently by their dear fighters and compatriots of the south. They have derived from these victories increasing determination to fulfil with all their force the obligations incumbent on the "great rear area" towards the "great front". Over the last 40 years, our people have carried on the people's democratic national revolution and the socialist revolution, undergone countless privations and sacrifices, waged a persistent and protracted struggle and have thus gone from victory to victory. It is certain that we shall win complete victory because our compatriots throughout the country are closely united, imbued with high revolutionary heroism and waging a people's war. They have launched continuous offensives against the enemy in all fields while carrying on a tenacious, protracted struggle. Our fighting is closely linked with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world who give us tremendous and precious international support, thus forming a very broad world people's front in support of Viet Nam against the U.S. aggressors. Moreover, however great may be the American economic and defence potentialities, they are far from inexhaustible; the U.S. imperialists are defending a bad cause and they have met with multiple contradictions and difficulties in Viet Nam, as in Cambodia and Laos, in the United States and

in the world. They have suffered and continue to suffer from failures and will inevitably end in complete defeat. Our entire people have engraved in their hearts and are firmly determined to carry out the sacred will of our great President Ho Chi Minh:

**"The resistance war against U.S. aggression may drag out, our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the U.S. aggressors till total victory."**

The victories of the Vietnamese people prove that in the world today, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who wish to gain genuine independence and freedom should struggle against the intervention and aggression of the U.S. imperialists. It is essential to have a firm fighting will and a firm determination to fight with tenacity. In these conditions, it is possible even for a small country with a small population to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialists. The Vietnamese people will defeat U.S. imperialism, the Khmer people and the Lao-tian people will defeat it and, together with us, the other peoples of the world who are victims of U.S. intervention and aggression will defeat it!

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have always worked and will continue to work with all their force for the development of the fraternal friendship and the relations of good neighbourliness among 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 each other's political regime and non-interference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful co-

existence. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once again declare that they recognize and pledge to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders. The Vietnamese people pledge always to remain on the side of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos with mutual esteem and respect, cordial solidarity, mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy, and long-term co-operation with a view to building their respective countries according to the road and the talent befitting their people.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam express their sincere and profound gratitude to the people of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries and to the peoples cherishing peace and progress in the world, including the progressive people in the United States, for their sympathy, support and vigorous aid to our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Vietnamese people, along with the Cambodian and Laotian peoples, express their full support for the struggle of the world people against the bellicose and aggressive U.S. imperialists and for the lofty objectives of our epoch; their full support for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' struggle for independence and freedom; for the Chinese people's struggle for the recovery of Taiwan, the inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China; for the Korean people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and for the liberation of the southern part of their country and the reunification of Korea; for the Arab people's struggle for their fundamental national rights against the Israeli aggressors who are in the pay of the U.S. imperialists;

and for the American people's struggle against the war of aggression and racial discrimination and for peace and the genuine interests of the United States.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea,

Messrs. Heads of Delegation,

Dear friends,

Our present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples is a conference to strengthen solidarity and intensify our struggle which will certainly be victorious. Thanks to the profound sympathy and support of the socialist camp and of various governments and peoples throughout the world, our just cause will surely be crowned with glorious victory and the national rights of the Khmer, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples will be realized in accordance with the spirit of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements; Indo-China will truly become a zone of independence and peace in conformity with the aspirations of the three peoples; this will be a positive contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

## PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG'S SPEECH

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

(April 25, 1970)

Mr. President,  
Messrs. Delegates,

The Delegation of the Laotian People notes with high elation that our Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples has been a complete success and a big victory of our three peoples.

Five years ago, the previous Conference of the Indo-Chinese 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 with 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  
countries."*

The conference's resolution strongly inspired our three peoples of Indo-China, and had wide repercussions in the world.

Since then, our three peoples have unceasingly recorded big victories in the course of their struggle against



U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Americans are losing in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. By using the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to stage a coup d'etat 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 into. As is rightly pointed out in the Joint Declaration of the present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, the victories we have recorded demonstrate 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".

The 1965 Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples had its important historic significance. Our present Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples convened on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, is a landmark in the history of the militant solidarity of our three peoples.

At a time when the U.S. imperialists and their agents are in the grip 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 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 U.S. imperialists and their agents, the traitors.

In these days, there has been much talk in the U.S. camp about the solidarity in the anti-U.S. struggle of our three peoples in the peninsula. This amply proves that the Americans are afraid of the strength of our unity. The perfidious manoeuvre of the so-called withdrawal of American troops and the slanderous allegations about the patriotic struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples which U.S. 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 U.S. and satellite troops from Indo-China. Instead, they only serve to enhance the militant solidarity of the three peoples of Indo-China and intensify our common struggle against the U.S. 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 Laotian patriotic armed forces as well as every one of our Laotian people will manifest the same enthusiastic sentiments as we do today on learning of the success of the conference, and will bring into full play the success of our conference in all fields. The Laotian army and people are resolved to defeat all the plundering acts of the U.S. imperialists and the acts of treason of their stooges, and realize at all costs the 12-point political programme of the Laotian Patriotic Front and heroically march forward

to bring a worthy share to the materialization of the conference's Joint Declaration.

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

We wish all the delegates good health.

## **PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO'S SPEECH**

### **At the Closing Session of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples**

(April 25, 1970)

Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk,  
Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the  
Laotian Patriotic Front,  
Dear Brother Premier Pham Van Dong,  
Your Highnesses and Excellencies,  
Dear Friends,

After two days of hard work, the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples is crowned with success. This historic conference constitutes a powerful blow dealt at the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, who are making all-out efforts to prolong and widen the war in Indo-China; 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 among the peoples of our three countries but also the iron-like determination of the Indo-Chinese peoples in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. The Joint Declaration unanimously adopted by our four delegations is a severe verdict against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, against the prolongation of their ferocious war of aggression in south Viet Nam, 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 own people, the Joint Declaration pointed out that the urgent task of the peoples of our three countries at present is to "strengthen their solidarity and intensify the struggle against the common enemy — American imperialism and its flunkies in the three countries — until complete victory".

The Joint Declaration constitutes for our three countries a programme of struggle against U.S. imperialism. It strongly encourages the Indo-Chinese peoples to march ahead, fight resolutely and defeat the American aggressors.

Carrying out the instructions contained in the will of the 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 to push ahead with might and main their patriotic struggle against the U.S. aggressors, to liberate south Viet Nam, defend north Viet Nam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of our fatherland, thus joining our efforts to those of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos in order to defeat all the dark and perfidious manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their agents.

The south Vietnamese people are forever grateful to the Khmer people under the leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, to the Laotian people under

the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, for their sympathy with and support and assistance to our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; the south Vietnamese people are forever grateful to the socialist countries and the progressive peoples and governments all over the world for their tremendous and effective support.

We firmly believe that fighting shoulder to shoulder and closely united with our dear brothers in north Viet Nam, with the approval, support and assistance of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos, as well as those of the people all over the world, including the American people, the south Vietnamese 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 Indo-Chinese Peoples, the fight for independence, peace and neutrality of the peoples of south Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will certainly win final victory, that U.S. imperialism will be driven out of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and that our three peoples, co-operating with and helping one another in the spirit of mutual respect, will rebuild our beautiful countries and live forever in good neighbourliness and in peace on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

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

The Indo-Chinese peoples will win!

U.S. imperialism and its henchmen will inevitably be defeated!

## **PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S SPEECH**

### **At the Closing Session of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples**

(April 25, 1970)

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,  
Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea,  
Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the  
Laotian Patriotic Front,

President Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium  
of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam Na-  
tional Front for Liberation,

Dear Friends:

Our Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese 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 have stood up to wrest back their right to be masters of the destiny of their fatherland.

With this Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, our three peoples have held firmly in our hands

the decisive factor for our victory. However long and hard our struggle may be, and whatever crafty and brutal manoeuvres U.S. imperialism and its lackeys may resort to, the militant solidarity of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, each rallying within the National United Front of their country, will enable them to win complete victory. Our three peoples will surely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkies, and will succeed in safeguarding the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, and ensuring the exercise of the sacred national rights of each people. Our three peoples have always shown high vigilance and a firm determination to crush all attempts of the U.S. imperialist aggressors to put into effect the so-called Nixon doctrine. They are at the same time resolved to smash all manoeuvres of other imperialists and other reactionary organizations and forces in Asia and the world such as the so-called "Asian conference on the Cambodian problem" being hatched by the Indonesian reactionaries. Such manoeuvres are intended to destroy our solidarity and our just fight which is bound to be victorious.

For their part, the Vietnamese people are more than ever before resolved to carry on perseveringly and promote their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to build up their forces and win ever bigger victories as they fight, and to develop their struggle on the three fronts — military, political and diplomatic, 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 brother 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, and being 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 neighbours in Indo-China as well as any other country.

We Vietnamese will forever be deeply grateful to the leaders and brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos for their generous support and assistance to our struggle against U.S. aggression and 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 among our three countries and we will always remain worthy of the noble sentiments you reserve for us. For generations to come, the relations among our three peoples will be relations of mutual affection and esteem, of militant solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy, and of lasting co-operation and mutual assistance with a view to building our countries according to the roads and abilities of our own peoples.

All problems concerning the relations between our three countries can be settled through negotiations in the

spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

Let our enemy be careful!

The Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese 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 Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples will certainly be crowned with complete victory.

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

## **At the Closing Session of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples**

(April 25, 1970)

Your Highness and Your Excellencies Heads of Delegation,

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Contrary to so many other international conferences, the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples has not dragged on in spite of the fact that it aims at attaining extremely important objectives for the present and the future of these peoples.

The brevity of our conference and its complete success demonstrate to the world the perfect unity, absolute solidarity and complete unanimity of views, aspirations and determination of our three peoples and their leaders.

French colonialism had in its time (and involuntarily) brought us closer and roused our sentiment of solidarity.

But, to "render to Caesar that which is Caesar's", it is the U.S. imperialists' aggression and the anti-popular regimes in their service that should be imputed the "merit" of forging our present and lasting unity which is related to the emergence of "Indo-Chinese consciousness" and to

our militant solidarity and our co-operation for progress, and which does not exclude scrupulous respect for the national independence, sovereignty, frontiers and the regime or ideology of each of our three nations.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," as the proverb goes. The U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and the setting-up of anti-popular regimes in some of our capitals by the "special services" of the U.S. imperialists have greatly accelerated the process of unification of the hearts and spirit of our three peoples and consequently the process of the forthcoming and irreversible peaceful alliance of our three countries.

This process of unity and co-operation is in perfect harmony with the current of history, so is that of decolonization, or rather liberation, of the oppressed peoples in the third world.

"Yesterday", the colonialist powers divided these peoples in order to "rule" them and they agree to "decolonize" them only after having been defeated by force of arms.

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

One must not hope to stave off, by means of diplomacy, negotiations, conferences or even friendly neutrality, the deadly danger they represent.

Armed struggle alone is and will be able to eliminate this danger wherever it exists.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements recognized the right of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam to live in peace, national unity and complete independence.

Of all the powers which have to assume the responsibility for international order, only the United States refused to sign these agreements.

It lost no time in violating the agreements by launching aggression against Viet Nam and then Laos and by forcibly impeding the reunification of Viet Nam explicitly stipulated to be realized in 1956.

The United States is also responsible for the fascist terror in Indo-China which reigned in south Viet Nam, particularly under the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu, and which reigns at present in Cambodia under the rule of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak.

The revival of the practice of the defunct Hitlerite regime of mass murder and genocide is the very work of the "special" forces of the U.S. imperialists. The list of martyrs of Ben Suc, Son My, Balang An, Khanh Lam, etc., bears witness to this. The list of martyrs of Prasaut, Takeo, Kompong Cham, Angtassom and the "Catholic" villages, a list "signed" by Lon Nol, is of the same style but enlarged.

My country Cambodia believed for too long a time in the possibility of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism and thus it is today going through the darkest and most disgraceful period in its history of nearly 2,000 years, spotless until March 1970.

The Khmer people certainly feel regret at losing their "peace" and "joy of life" today. But they know that they have to undergo all the sacrifices and endure all the hardships so as to be able to restore a life of dignity in security, social justice, democracy and progress.

It is in this firm belief that the Khmer people have enthusiastically joined the camp of militant and revolutionary peoples and will fight shoulder to shoulder in a united front with the brother peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, all the three peoples being benefited from the complete, constant and extremely strong support of the glorious

and invincible Chinese people under the leadership of their great and very brilliant leader Chairman Mao Tsetung.

It is in the same firm belief that the Khmer people resolutely condemn the diplomatic and other manoeuvres which, under the guise of false pacifism, aimed at saving U.S. imperialism from inevitable defeat in Indo-China and at safeguarding in south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia the tottering position of this imperialism and the puppet governments trailing behind it.

In fact, what could a new "Geneva conference" mean if it does not lead to a unanimous condemnation of the United States, the only violator of the 1954 basic agreements concerning our three countries?

Certain big powers wish to initiate through a new international conference a new partition of our Indo-China and a first partition of Cambodia into "areas of influence" while allowing the United States and its puppets to remain unduly in power in certain Indo-Chinese capitals, thus scorning the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

The world should know that the problem of Indo-China is very simple. The 1954 Geneva Agreements have guaranteed us peace, unity and independence.

Only the United States has violated and is violating them. Therefore, it is purely and simply a question of compelling the United States to withdraw without delay or condition all its troops and those of its "allies", and the problem will be solved *ipso facto*.

As for the problems of the reunification of Viet Nam and of Laos and the problems of the kind of regime which the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians respectively would prefer, they concern no other countries than Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia respectively.

In the name of People's Cambodia, I declare in advance that the UNO and foreign powers have no right to interfere in our affairs and to aid, by whatever means, U.S. imperialism and the puppet regime in its service in order to maintain them in our country.

In this regard, the Khmer people denounce the treacherous manoeuvres of the hired valets of U.S. imperialism, that is, the de-Asianized Asians who propose to call a so-called "Asian" conference for the so-called purpose of saving Cambodia and peace.

What countries have been approached for participation in this conference?

It can only be those anti-popular and anti-socialist "non-aligneds" which are obviously aligned with the United States on the one hand, and the members of SEATO and the official allies of the United States on the other, and also . . . two countries which are more West European than Asian by their habitation and their political-ideological orientation, not to mention that they are also subservient to the United States and are aggressors together with the United States in south Viet Nam!

A conference composed of such participants would have nothing to do with Asia and still less with peace.

It could only be a despicable and ridiculous masquerade behind which is concealed with great pain the dishonourable Uncle Sam.

This "Uncle Sam", since its incarnation in the person of President Nixon, "excels" in the art of camouflaging the intolerable interference in the internal and national affairs of the Indo-Chinese peoples and the criminal aggression against them perpetrated by U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism under the cloak of false inno-

cence, false pacifism and false respect for the sovereignty of our three countries.

In this regard, the television speech made by the U.S. chief executive on April 20 is very typical of this "art".

When speaking only of my country, Cambodia, we can cite some flagrant and intolerable falsehoods.

Thus, the assault of the fascist reactionaries in the pay of the C.I.A. on their own people has become in Nixon's mouth communist aggression against Cambodia and its neutrality.

Thus, the escalation of the war in Cambodia and in Laos has become in the same mouth something done by the leaders of north Viet Nam, and "Hanoi, and Hanoi alone, that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for the peoples of Southeast Asia" (*sic*).

It was the height of impudence when Nixon advised the D.R.V.N. to "permit (our) peoples to determine their future without external interference" (*sic*), affirmed that the Americans (want to end this war and achieve a just peace), demanded that the Indo-Chinese people's liberation forces withdraw from Indo-China, and threatened to delay the withdrawal of the U.S. troops in case our peoples should continue to struggle against U.S. neo-colonialism and the puppet regimes.

The Khmer people were and are confronted with one aggressor only: U.S. imperialism, which has sent and is steadily sending aeroplanes and helicopters to bomb and strafe our country and its inhabitants indiscriminately. It has directed and is directing its armoured cars and infantry and those of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem traitors to intrude deep into our territory to sow death and destruction. It now instructs the Saigon puppet government



and the Indonesian traitor Adam Malik to transport arms and munitions to Phnom Penh so as to enable its other valets by the name of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak to better massacre their own people and the peaceable Vietnamese residents, first of all, women, old people and children, who were described as "Vietcong soldiers" by the despicable and so-called brigadier-general Srey Saman at a recent press conference in Paris!

The cynicism of the U.S. executive reached its peak when he demanded that the resistance forces of our three peoples evacuate their own countries in response to the withdrawal of a part of the U.S. forces, and especially when our resistance has become a "foreign interference" on our own soil.

Where should our liberation armies go then? To the United States of America?

And would the U.S. aggressor troops in our Indo-China thus become — by what magic of Holy Spirit — "pure-blooded Indo-Chinese"?

Who has escalated the war in Laos and Cambodia?

Could it be that the air raids of 1,000 sorties daily by the U.S. air force over Laos are launched from the Gia-Lam air base?

Could it be that the *Columbia Eagle* and "Caribou" transports carrying a new arsenal of arms to the criminals Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and their mercenaries by any chance belong to General Vo Nguyen Giap?

Could it be that the hundreds of "special advisers" of the C.I.A. landed in Vientiane and the dozens of "special advisers" of this same C.I.A. landed from U.S. helicopters recently in the city of Svay Rieng are a "gift" from Premier Pham Van Dong?

Who blocks the path to peace in Indo-China?