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REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

**THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS**  
**AND**  
**THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION**

**SAIGON**  
**1969**

WAR  
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*... « Against the aggression waged by  
the communists with so much violence  
and relentless, our people are at the  
forefront of the fight to halt the Red  
wave from spreading all over Southeast  
Asia and also to contain its expansion  
throughout the world... ».*

Message of the President of the  
Republic of Vietnam  
International Freedom Day.  
January 23, 1969.

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## INTRODUCTION

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*While the world's attention is focussed on South Vietnam where has been raging for so many years an unjust and unjustified war with its train of miseries and mournings, and while the entire world wishes the cessation of hostilities and the quick restoration of peace, any progress has not been recorded in the talks which started more than a year ago in Paris.*

*The little results if not the complete lack of productive results of these reunions as well as the intensification of the war in South Vietnam only inspire deception and anxiety to the world.*

*In order to bring about a better comprehension of the Vietnamese problem, this booklet intends to expose the classical tactic of the communists which consists of intensifying war during peace talks, accordingly we propose to consider two basic questions :*

- Who wants peace ?*
- Who is in favor of war ?*

atmosphere for the opening of the preliminary talks in Paris between the United States and the Hanoi authorities.

A new step was made in November 1968 with the sending without any condition of an official delegation of the Republic of Vietnam to participate in the meetings in Paris.

Logically, by virtue of its right of legitimate defense, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam could have insisted upon the respect of the fundamental principles of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 and made its participation in the reunions conditional to the cessation of the aggression and to the withdrawal of all the regular and auxiliary forces of North Vietnam operating in the South.

However, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and its allies have simply proposed the mutual and simultaneous withdrawal of all the outside forces so as to reduce the level of hostilities. In the same vein and in accord with its allies, this government also proposed the exchange of the war prisoners detained by the two sides.

The principle of mutual withdrawal of all outside forces was accepted in 1966 at the Manila Summit Conference. This fact shows retrospectively that the presence of the allied troops in South Vietnam is only temporary and imposed by the military situation created by the aggression of the Northern communists.

On the other hand, the Republic of Vietnam manifested its goodwill by adopting a policy of national reconciliation. Indeed she has proposed a political solution based on the free choice of the people as expressed during general elections organized under international supervision and free from all internal or external coercion.

Anxious to see peace promptly re-established, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam allowed all who had taken up arms against her, to be heard at the Conference table, whereas juridically they should have been considered as rebels and summoned before the courts so as to be judged according to the law in force. Furthermore, our Government also accepted that those be integrated in the national community as soon as they lay down their arms.

## WHO WANTS PEACE ?

Since the opening of the Paris negotiations on Vietnam, the question naturally arises why, after months and months of discussions, no outline of an agreement has yet emerged.

To elucidate the national and international opinion about this question it is necessary to find the real reasons of the stagnation of these reunions.

Is the Vietnamese problem insoluble? Certainly not. People can always find an adequate settlement to any problem if they sincerely seek a true and genuine agreement.

Is the excruciatingly slow progress of the sessions due to the absence of basic points of agreement to start with the discussions? Surely not. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has already put forward concrete proposals based on the fundamental principles of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and most likely to lead toward peace.

The will of peace of the Republic of Vietnam is undisputed. The paralysis of the meetings in Paris proceeds exclusively from the ill will of the Hanoi communist regime in the settlement of the conflict through negotiations.

A simple study of the evolution of the negotiations and of the attitude of the parties in presence during the past months is enough to determine who is responsible for the negative results of the pourparlers.

As far as the Republic of Vietnam is concerned the extreme goodwill of its government was translated into real efforts for the world opinion to take note at all times.

A year ago, the Republic of Vietnam, in accord with its allies, first manifested its desire for peace by acceptance of a partial bombing halt and subsequently total cessation of all bombing on the territory of North Vietnam so as to create a favorable

No proof is more convincing of its patience and its will of peace than the fact that the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has for more than a decade, limited itself to a purely defensive tactic within its territory even though the rules of war authorized it to raid the sanctuary of North Vietnam where, as everyone knew, originated the attacks against the South.

In search of a solution to the Vietnamese problem, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam agreed to show its will of peace once again by proposing without any preconditions to meet with the representatives of the opposite side in private talks and secret conversations, so as to discuss the problems insusceptible to be brought up at the Conference table and come quickly to an agreement acceptable to both sides.

The position of the Republic of Vietnam has been clearly defined in a program for peace that proposes a rational six-point settlement :

- The communists must cease their aggression.
- They must withdraw their regular and auxiliary forces and their cadres from South Vietnam.
- They must not violate the territories of neighbouring countries.
- The Republic of Vietnam will put into effect a policy of national reconciliation and harmony, and will not use any reprisals against the followers of the other side.
- The reunification of Vietnam will be decided freely by the Vietnamese people themselves.
- The establishment of an international control system and the setting up of international guarantees effective enough to prevent a new communist aggression.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam has also given evidence of its goodwill in assuring the relief of the first contingent of American forces upon its withdrawal.

The Government of the Republic of Vietnam is ready, once peace is restored, to normalize relations between the two zones and to discuss the possibilities of economic, cultural and family

The spirit of conciliation of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam was equally revealed in its attitude towards Laos and Cambodia. Indeed, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, as member of the Geneva Conference of 1962, could legitimately ask that appropriate measures be taken to force the communist authorities of Hanoi to cease using the territory of Laos not only as a corridor for infiltration but also as a sanctuary, a supply route and a logistics base for their regular troops.

The North Vietnamese communist infiltration in Laotian and Cambodian territories has been denounced by the competent authorities of Cambodia and Laos as well. For instance, in a press conference held on March 6, 1969 in Phnom-Penh, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has produced proof of the presence of North Vietnamese units in the Cambodian provinces of Ratanakiri and Mondolkiri.

On March 2, 1969, the Chief of Staff of the Laotian Royal Armed Forces denounced the simultaneous attack launched by the North Vietnamese communists against 15 posts of the Laotian army in the region of Ban-na-Khang.

At the very same time, in a letter sent to the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Government of Her Majesty, Co-chairman of the Geneva Conference of 1962 on Laos, the President of the Council of the Laotian provisional Government of National Union, Prince Souvanna Phouma established that North Vietnam was using Laotian territory to dispatch troops to the various fronts opened in South Vietnam, that more than 40,000 North Vietnamese soldiers spread warfare and destruction in Laos, and that for more than a year, now North Vietnamese forces were supporting the Pathet Lao in attacking Laongan and Thatong in besieging Savanane and Attapeu, and this in violation of all international rules, and more precisely in violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962.

Contrary to these deliberate violations of international law, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has made a point of respecting the neutrality of Laos, the sovereignty and the integrity of Cambodia, while unflaggingly seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict by means of negotiations.



adopted an intransigent attitude: it has demanded that the political problems be settled according to its own conditions, that the people of South Vietnam adhere to their prefabricated « four-point and five-point proposals » designed to force upon the South Vietnamese people the recognition of the very instrument of aggression of the North as the « authentic representative of the people of the South. »

One has only to analyse the reports of the meetings in Paris to discover that meeting after meeting, the communists do nothing but use their usual dilatory manoeuvres, setting their speeches with injurious and absolutely unworthy terms and repeating shamelessly their same themes of mere propaganda. Their concepts of overall solution and provisional revolutionary government are only smoke-screens to mislead the international public opinion and to camouflage the intensification of their activities of war in order to achieve ultimately a military victory.

Moreover, the communists of Hanoi insist on the formation of a « peace cabinet », or « government of coalition » as a preliminary condition for negotiation. Everyone knows that such a formation would conceal subversive organizations whose aims are to destroy all those who do not share the same political views and gradually seize power.

The communist authorities of Hanoi chose to reject the six-point proposal of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and the eight-point proposal of the President of the United States, instead of looking into the similarities between the respective proposals of both sides and using them to find a peaceful solution, for instance the withdrawal of the outside forces and the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. The confrontation of these various proposals brings out several common points that could be used as a basis for the discussions, those are the re-establishment of the demilitarized zone, the creation of an international supervisory organization, the liberation of the prisoners of war.

The Administration of Hanoi has rejected off-hand all these proposals and demanded acceptance of the ten-point proposal put

exchanges with North Vietnam, in order to create favorable conditions for the reunification of the country by truly free and democratic elections.

On July 11, 1969, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam put forward a new six-point proposal as a basis for the organization of free elections and its principles are as following:

1° All political parties and groups, including the « National Liberation Front » which is now bearing arms against us, will be able to participate in the elections if they renounce violence and pledge to accept the results of the elections.

2° To guarantee the honesty of the elections, an Electoral Commission will be set up, in which all political parties and groups, including the « National Liberation Front », will be represented.

Equal opportunities will be granted to all candidates.

All political parties and groups will be able to supervise the balloting of the elections in view of an honest counting of the votes.

3° An international body will be established to supervise the elections and to make sure that they are held under conditions fair to all.

4° The Government of the Republic of Vietnam is prepared to discuss with the other side the time-table and the modalities under which the elections will be held.

5° There should be no reprisals or discrimination after the elections.

6° The Government of the Republic of Vietnam declares that it will abide by the results of the elections, whatever these may be and challenges the other side to a similar declaration.

This show of goodwill by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam should not be considered as a sign of weakness.

The communist regime of Hanoi, in answer to these constructive proposals and this conciliatory position, has until now,

forward at the beginning of May 1969 by the communist side. It also opposed the new extremely realist and logical formula of July 11, 1969.

*This continuous intransigence proves the ill will of the North Vietnamese communist regime.*

*To sum up, every logical and reasonable proposal offered by the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has been rejected without any kind of serious consideration by the communist authorities of the North. Instead of preparing for peace, they have intensified war. They only keep making use of the Paris meetings as a screen destined to cover an unchanged policy aiming to annex the South by force which is the only language the communists can understand.*



*On February 23, 1969, 210 acts of indiscriminate shelling have been recorded, 85 of which against municipalities, chief-towns of provinces and districts having no military installations whatsoever, these shellings killed 205 persons and wounded another 540 among the civilian population. Besides, it did great damage to civilian buildings, hospitals, churches, pagodas and also charitable institutions such as orphanages.*

*The capital city of Saigon has been shelled on several occasions. The rocket bombing of February 23, 1969, killed 6 persons and wounded 20 others among the civilian population. The highly populated quarter of Khanh-Hoi was hit by a rocket round of 122 m/m which killed an entire family of 9 persons and destroyed 31 houses.*

*Shelled a third time on March 6, 1969, the capital had 22 dead and 47 wounded most of them women and children. The fourth shelling on March 16, 1969, miraculously caused no human loss.*

*The Chief-towns of Tay-Ninh and Vinh-Long were hit by nearly 200 rockets and mortar shells on April 11, 1969. The total number of victims rose to 219 dead and wounded, while over 200 houses were destroyed or damaged.*

*The population of South-Vietnam victim of the communist aggression, is continuously subject to terrorist assaults and massacres of boundless cruelty and ferocity.*

*On February 23, 1969, a shelling followed by an attack launched against a hamlet inhabited by 7,000 highlanders resettled in Kon-Horing village, Kontum province, caused the death of 78 inhabitants, 27 of whom of a same family were burnt alive, wounded 100 others and set fire to 125 dwellings.*

*On February 28, 1969, the communist forces broke into the village of Phuoc-My, Binh-Phuoc district, Quang-Tin province and murdered 50 persons, 20 of whom were children.*

*On March 17, 1969, mines installed by communist terrorists exploded in a parking lot reserved to pupils, at 1 km South of Dat-Do in the Phuoc-Tuy province, causing 34 casualties among the young pupils.*

## WHO IS IN FAVOR OF WAR ?

*Immediately after the total bombing halt over the territory of North Vietnam, North Vietnamese regulars and massive quantities of armaments and munitions of communist origin started to flow in always increasing numbers and quantities from North to South through the demilitarized zone as well as through the borders of Laos and Cambodia.*

*In the last months of 1968 and in the early months of 1969, according to circumstantial avowals of prisoners captured on various fronts in South Vietnam, entire units of North Vietnamese regular forces had infiltrated into South Vietnam. The military operations evolved more and more towards open-war with the appearance on the battlefields of the troops of North Vietnam's regular army equipped with great fire power and modern armaments consisting of heavy artillery and anti-aircraft batteries.*

*In the case of armaments, the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam have uncovered, since the opening of Paris talks hundreds of arms caches and munitions hidden all over the territory of the Republic of Vietnam in anticipation of future combats. During various operations and according to informations provided by communist soldiers who have rallied to the national cause, the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam have found in the vicinity of Tay-Ninh, Quang-Tri (A Shau valley), Huê, Giadinh (Phu-Tho-Hoa cemetery), arms caches important enough to equip entire divisions of communist forces.*

*Their preparations completed the communists launched their «general offensive of Ky-Dau Spring» by shelling without discrimination towns and other urban agglomerations, while proceeding to simultaneous attacks against the military positions of the Armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam and perpetrating terrorist assaults against the defenseless civilian population.*

order to assist the people of South Vietnam in checking the aggression perpetrated by North-Vietnam with the support of the international communist bloc.

Subsequently the ever-increasing rate of North Vietnamese armed infiltrations and the progressive extension of hostilities conducted to the proportional reinforcement of American and allied forces to cope with the changing situation and to hold back the Red wave which tries to invade this South-East Asian peninsula.

Thus, the armed aggression of North Vietnam constitutes the cause of the war in Vietnam ; the presence of the allied forces in South Vietnam is only its effect.

Everyone realizes who is the aggressor, who is the victim, who is bellicose and who is up for peace.



*Simultaneously with these indiscriminate shellings and these terrorist attempts, the communists multiplied their acts of sabotage on bridges, transformer stations and other public utilities.*

*The Army and the population of the Republic of Vietnam recently uncovered near the ancient capital of Hue several mass graves containing thousands of dead bodies of civilians, in majority old men, women and children, buried alive, hands tied up behind their back during the events of the Mau-Than Lunar New Year.*

*The North Vietnamese communists have also taken advantage of the total bombing halt on their territory to intensify their aggressive activities in the demilitarized zone. Indeed, the communist troops have installed in this buffer zone rocket launchers, nests of anti-aircraft machineguns, works for combat, in flagrant violation of the status of this zone.*

*Northern communists, insensible to the sufferings of the innocent population of the South, have not renounced their dream of military victory and conquest. They keep on extending miseries and mournings to the Vietnamese people.*

*Let us remind that at the very moment of the signature of the Geneva Accords of 1954, the Hanoi Administration was getting ready to send its troops to South Vietnam to seize it by force, with the purpose of putting the whole of Vietnam under communist domination, thus paving the way for the communisation of all South-East Asia.*

*There was no American soldier on the territory of South Vietnam in 1955, meanwhile, the Hanoi Administration, in violation of the engagements subscribed at Geneva, had taken it upon itself to leave behind thousands of arms caches, tens of thousands of agents, camouflaged soldiers and to send to the South numerous cadres and troops formerly regrouped in the North, in order to use them as the nucleus for its aggressive forces.*

*The American forces, responding to the appeal of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam in the exercise of its right of legitimate defense, only began to arrive in Vietnam in 1965, in*

## CONCLUSION

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*The Government of the Republic of Vietnam in this struggle, which is forced upon the people of Vietnam and which jeopardizes the very existence and the freedom of the Vietnamese people, is determined to reject all false solutions aiming immediately or gradually to the communisation of the country, and to fight until the final victory.*

*The Vietnamese people are strongly convinced that the free world is fully aware of the full meaning and wide scope of its struggle and that, with the support of friendly nations, the just cause will ultimately triumph over the imperialistic aims of international communism for the maintenance of Peace and Freedom in the world.*

*Consequently, it is up to the communist regime of Hanoi to put an end to its aggression in order that the Vietnamese people realize its destiny, that of a people yearning for peace, freedom, justice and progress.*