

✓ VIETNAM - N.L.F.
PARTY

**DECLARATION
OF THE
FIRST CONGRESS
OF THE
SOUTH VIET NAM
NATIONAL FRONT
FOR LIBERATION**

**CENTER FOR SOUTH/SOUTHEAST ASIA STUDIES
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As provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, the free general elections for Viet Nam's reunification should have been held on July 20, 1956.

Six years have passed since then, and our country still remains partitioned. To the repeated proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Ngo Dinh Diem has put forward a refusal which is all the more categorical as he relies on U.S. guns. To blur the Geneva Agreements from the memory of the Vietnamese, Ngo Dinh Diem, backed by Washington, has desperately resorted to militarization and fascist terror. The U.S.A. has gone so far as to openly land its troops in Saigon to fight against the population, in a clear attempt to settle themselves in South Viet Nam for good and kindle a new war in Indo-China.

To defend themselves, the South Viet Nam people, who have never yielded to foreign aggression and Diem's oppression, were forced to establish in December 1960, a National Front for Liberation including all political parties, mass organizations and patriotic personalities in South Viet Nam, regardless of creed and nationality. This Front, with which rests the direction of the present struggle for freedom, independence, and peace, enjoys widespread credit among the 14 million Vietnamese in the South and an ever broader support throughout the world.

Its programme is in line with the national interests of the South Viet Nam people and the aspirations of all

upholders of peace and peaceful co-existence between nations. This programme is re-affirmed in the Declaration of its first Congress, which the reader will find in the following pages.

The establishment of the National Front and its growing prestige, have thrown the American interventionists into a panic and have shaken the rotten U.S. made Saigon regime to its very foundations. The programme of the Front has made short work of the false allegations by Washington on the subversive manoeuvres on the part of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in an obvious attempt to hide the unjustifiable deeds perpetrated by the Americans in South Viet Nam.

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**DECLARATION
OF THE FIRST CONGRESS
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FRONT FOR LIBERATION**

The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was held in South Viet Nam from February 16 to March 3, 1962. Besides the members of the Provisional Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation the Congress was attended by the delegation of the National Front of Saigon - Cholon - Gia Dinh area, the delegation of the movement for national autonomy in the Western High Plateaus, the delegations of the Committees of the National Front for Eastern, Central and Western Nam Bo (*), the delegates of the various provincial Committees of the National Front for Southern Trung Bo (**), the delegates of the Radical Socialist Party, the South Viet Nam Democratic Party, the Viet Nam People's Revolutionary Party, the Students and Pupils' Union for Liberation, the Women's Union for Liberation, the Labour Union for Liberation, the Peasants' Union for Liberation, the Youth Union for Liberation, the People's Revolutionary Youth Union, the Association of Patriotic and Democratic Journalists, the Writers and Artists' Association for Liberation, the delegates of the Vietnamese nationals of Chinese origin, the delegates of the people's self-defence armed

* South Viet Nam proper

* * South Central Viet Nam

forces, the delegates of overseas Vietnamese and many personalities. In addition, delegates of the South Viet Nam Committee for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, of the South Viet Nam Peace Committee and the Saigon-Cholon Peace Committee were also invited to attend the Congress.

The delegates belong to all social strata, religious creeds, nationalities and political beliefs. There are lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, professors, Catholic dignitaries, priests and believers, industrialists, traders, workers, peasants labouring people, national minorities of the Western High Plateaus, people of Kmer origin, etc.

The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is held at a time when South Viet Nam is being faced with the danger of a war of aggression initiated by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and when its dauntless people are resolutely rising up by the million to struggle in all forms to check this dark military adventure, and to save their country and themselves.

Under circumstances extremely pressing but also full of confidence and enthusiasm, the holding of the first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is of paramount importance and tremendous emergency. The future of the nation and of the Fatherland is spurring every South Vietnamese citizen of good will, including those in the South Viet Nam army and administration, to rally urgently into a broad and powerful force and to act resolutely.

To appraise the overall situation and the situation in South Viet Nam, to review our forces to

determine our line, policies and directions to march forward, to determine our immediate tasks and work, to elect the official Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, such are the key-questions which Congress has actively discussed and solved.

On the whole, Congress is of the view that over the past eight years, the patriotic struggle of the people of South Viet Nam against the U. S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, against the U.S.-dominated nepotic dictatorial rule of the traitor Ngo Dinh Diem, for the liberation of South Viet Nam and the peaceful reunification of the country has been maintained and has made steady progress in spite of extremely barbarous repression. In the meantime, the national and international situation has shown many important changes very beneficial to the revolution in South Viet Nam.

The colonial system of imperialism is heading for total disintegration, 16 years after World War Two 40 more sovereign states have been founded, and over 1,500 million people freed from colonial yoke. To safeguard and consolidate their independence, most of these young states have embarked on a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, have perseveringly struggled against the new subjugating manoeuvres of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, and have, at the same time, sought for economic and other aid from all countries, regardless of social systems. And the United Nations' General Assembly in its 15th session unanimously condemned colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

The movement for the defence of peace has broadly rallied the peoples and governments of various countries, among them, newly independent, peaceful and neutral countries are playing an active role. At present, war with its immeasurable disastrous consequences is not in the interests of building up prosperous countries, especially in regard to small, weak and still backward countries. Moreover, war is an opportunity which the colonialists and the imperialists are ready to turn to account for the purpose of restoring their power and interests, and for aggression against or interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

The socialist camp including 12 countries and 1,000 million people, with the Soviet Union as the centre, is obviously a historic reality and constitutes very mighty forces. It is the principal opponent of the aggressive bellicose colonialist forces. The existence and the growth of the socialist forces are factors of paramount importance and most beneficial to the movement for national liberation, independence, democracy and peace in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America and in all other parts of the world.

The imperialist and colonialist countries headed by the U.S. have unmasked themselves as warmongers and aggressors, oppressors and exploiters of the peoples. They have to a great extent lost their power in the world, and are being forcibly driven out of one place after another.

In North Viet Nam, over the past eight years, since the complete withdrawal of the French colonialist troops, the people and the government have recorded many undeniable achievements in peaceful

construction, in the agricultural and industrial fields as well as in the field of culture and social welfare. The 16 million compatriots in the North have incessantly struggled against the U.S. imperialists' aggressive manoeuvres in South Viet Nam, and the nepotistic dictatorial regime of their hanger-on, Ngo Dinh Diem, and for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation considers that, at present, in the overall situation described above, it is clear that the patriotic movement of the people in South Viet Nam has the most powerful inspiring factors and immense supporting forces which are sure guarantees of its final victory. The path to liberation and prosperity of the peoples is already wide open.

However, Congress does not fail to note that so long as the U. S. imperialists and their hangers-on, although weakened, have not yet totally collapsed, the danger of an aggressive war still exists. To stick to their remaining positions, and to restore their old power, they will not hesitate to launch a brutal military adventure, if the various strata of our people and the peoples of other countries do not intensify their struggle to pin down their bloody hands.

Reviewing the situation in South Viet Nam, Congress confirms that the southern part of our country has actually become a new-type colony and a military base of the U.S. imperialists. This has long been an un concealable fact, no matter how the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet administration has been labelled "independent", "nationalist", etc. In face of the national

liberation upsurge in the world and in South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists cannot directly rule over South Viet Nam as the French colonialists did, but have to use as screen a clique of willing traitors — the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of die-hard feudals and bureaucratic comprador capitalists. At the same time, they carry out a policy and set up a system of advisers and control bodies under the deceitful signboard of "aid" aimed at dominating South Viet Nam in the economic and cultural, as well as military and political fields.

Over the past eight years, under the pretext of "anti-communism", the U.S. imperialists and their agents have persecuted, murdered indiscriminately, regardless of social position, religious creed, nationality or political tendency, even those army men and officials of the southern administration who only ask for minor reforms, and even ordinary citizens.

Of late, carrying out the Staley, Taylor and Nolting plans for the so-called "pacification of South Viet Nam", the U.S. imperialists and their agents have thrown away the last fig-leaf covering the colonial nature of the so-called "Republic of Viet Nam". They have openly started a war of aggression in South Viet Nam, a perfidious war labelled "undeclared limited war". They have brazenly increased the number of U.S. advisers, officers and army men in South Viet Nam to nearly 5,000, sent there combat units of the U.S. Army including many companies of air force, commandos, marines, hundreds of military planes of various types, and tons of warships. They have introduced into South Viet Nam hundreds of thousands of tons of arms, war material, military equipment,

including new weapons such as rockets, noxious gas and chemicals, poison-bombs and bullets, flamethrower tanks, etc. Recently, they set up in Saigon a Supreme Command, camouflaged as a "U.S. Military Aid Command". The traitor Ngo Dinh Diem has once again knelt down before the U. S. imperialists' orders, obediently handing over the entire South Viet Nam Army, the General Staff, and all the military bases in South Viet Nam to this new command. From now on, through this new command, the U.S. Defence Department and U.S. brass hats commanding the U. S. Forces in the Pacific will have under their direct authority the entire war machinery in South Viet Nam.

To ensure the implementation of their military plans, the U. S. imperialists have further tightened their grip on the administrative, economic, cultural and social structures of South Viet Nam. In execution of the Staley, Taylor and Nolting plans, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are feverishly preparing for a farcical "government reshuffle", putting forward so-called "economic and social programmes", "economic councils", etc., in fact, they are surrendering the entire sovereignty and independence of the nation to the U.S. imperialists. The South Viet Nam administration has thus unmasked itself as a ruling machine of colonialism.

The southern part of our country is being trampled underfoot by U.S. advisers and army men. In the daily raids and terrorist commando operations, our villages are being razed to the ground and our compatriots blood is being shed.

To maintain the rotten colonial regime in South Viet Nam, the U. S. imperialists have waged a crude aggressive war the disastrous consequences of which will be immeasurable. The life of the people of South Viet Nam, including those in the Ngo Dinh Diem army and administration, is being directly threatened most seriously.

The security and independence of the peoples in the Southeast Asia area are being seriously endangered.

The Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam are being scrapped.

However, the people of South Viet Nam will never be vanquished. The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation asserts this. The people in South Viet Nam, together with our compatriots throughout the country, once defeated the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists. And the last eight years were eight years of persevering, hard and heroic struggle of 14 million people irrespective of social position, religious creed, nationality or political tendency against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, and against the U.S. - dominated brutal diotatorial regime. The attempted *coup d'etat* of late 1960 testified to the wave of indignation spreading from the people into the ranks of the army of the South Viet Nam administration.

Unwilling to live again the miserable and humiliating life of slaves, to save themselves and South Viet Nam, defend their legitimate right to live, and check a devastating aggressive and internecine war, the people of South Viet Nam have resolutely risen up

to carry out all forms of struggle against the cruel colonial policy of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The Bandung Conference and the rich experiences of the national independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and especially in the neighbouring Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos, have enlightened the South Vietnamese people on their path of struggle for peace, independence, democracy and prosperity.

On December 20, 1960, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was founded as a centre for rallying various mass organizations, parties, political groups, and patriotic personalities belonging to various tendencies and social strata, believers of all religions, compatriots of various nationalities, forced evacuees and local people, and even army men and officials of the South Viet Nam administration. The programme of action of the Front aims at setting up a broad national democratic coalition administration, realizing independence, peace and neutrality, guaranteeing democratic liberties and improving the living conditions of the entire people.

The patriotic movement of the people of South Viet Nam and the National Front for Liberation have developed powerfully; they have enjoyed and are enjoying warm and active support from the people and many peace-loving and democratic organizations and personalities throughout the world, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. On July 20, 1961, to mark the anniversary of the Vietnamese people's victory over the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists, all progressive mankind mobilized its forces and demonstrated its solidarity with the 14 million

South Vietnamese in their just struggle against the enslaving and dictatorial rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Viet Nam.

The World Peace Council and the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity organization have given active support to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the South Viet Nam Peace Committee and the South Viet Nam Committee for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity. Many international organizations and conferences have invited the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to attend their meetings. Recently, the Front sent a number of delegates for activities abroad, and to attend the World Trade Unions' Congress.

Big numbers of overseas Vietnamese unreservedly support the patriotic movement of our South Vietnamese compatriots and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

Our compatriots in North Viet Nam are giving wholehearted support to the objectives which our compatriots in South Viet Nam and the National Front for Liberation are fighting for, namely, to achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Viet Nam, advancing to the reunification of the Fatherland.

Faced with the people's hatred and indignation and with their broad and powerful patriotic movement, the South Viet Nam U.S. - dominated administration not only has used fraudulent means to legally maintain its existence, but it has actually lost its authority and effectiveness with regard to a considerable part of the people of South Viet Nam and over a

vast territory, in South Viet Nam proper as well as in the Western High Plateaus and South Central Viet Nam as a whole. Thousands of army men and officials of the South Viet Nam administration at the basic and other levels have resigned or deserted, or have joined the South Viet Nam National front for Liberation.

The U. S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Viet Nam have lost mutual confidence, they are divided by acute contradictions and profound divergences although they have striven to find some kind of arrangement with a view to repressing the people so as to save their rapidly collapsing rotten rule.

The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is of the view that with the foundation of the Front, the patriotic movement of the South Viet Nam people of all strata has united its forces under the banner of the great cause of the Fatherland. This movement, on the upsurge, is broader and stronger than ever, and has the possibility of achieving and defending many pressing interests of all social strata.

The South Viet Nam administration which relies entirely on violence is being faced with a serious crisis and has been considerably weakened.

Congress stresses that the dollars, the guillotines and the bombs of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen cannot and never can curb the patriotism and the fighting will of the indomitable people in South Viet Nam. The policy of bloody terror and repression cannot and never can maintain indefinitely in existence an out-of-date dictatorial colonial regime.

On the basis of an all-sided analysis and appraisal of the national and international situation, Congress has drawn appropriate conclusions.

Congress has, in particular, reached the unanimous view that although the people of South Viet Nam have won many great and fundamental victories and gone through eight years of complex and hard struggle, they must not indulge in subjectivism and complacency, nor show weariness or lose sight of the orientation and objectives of struggle. So long as the U.S. imperialists — ring-leaders of colonialism — have not quitted South Viet Nam, and their puppet administration has not totally collapsed, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are expected to do their best to rally all traitorous and anti-revolutionary forces, and to use the crudest and most wicked manoeuvres to divide and repress the people in South Viet Nam so as to maintain their rule. In the forthcoming period, on their path forward, the people of South Viet Nam should unremittingly strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance, show constant clear-sightedness, and strive resolutely and perseveringly to overcome many difficulties and hardships. However, Congress is fully confident that, under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the just struggle of the people in South Viet Nam will win decisive victories, will hold back the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen along with all their "Staley", "Taylor" and "Nutting" plans. The patriotic upsurge in South Viet Nam will continue its steady and powerful progress, and final victory will certainly be for the people of South Viet Nam. The new-type colonial and dictatorial regime of

the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen is an unpopular, unjust and out-of-date regime with an extremely frail social basis; it has to rely entirely on violence, aggressive war, and repression so as to remain in existence, but its instruments of violence and its war machine are full of fundamental weaknesses which they cannot overcome, and it is corroded by the most desperate defeatism. It is crystal clear that such a regime cannot prolong its declining days, no matter how the U.S. imperialists initiate general or limited, declared or undeclared war, apply old or new tactics. The South Vietnamese people, with their most earnest legitimate aspirations, their indomitable spirit and their brilliant traditions of patriotism and valiant fighting, have a firm, clear-sighted uniting and leading centre, and are an integral part of a 30-million heroic Vietnamese people enjoying warm support from the whole of mankind, The South Vietnamese people are invincible, and their just struggle will certainly be victorious.

At present, the threat of a devastating war of aggression started by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys is directly and seriously menacing every South Vietnamese citizen. The Fatherland is in danger. More than ever, the line and policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation prove to be entirely correct, and show the only path for all strata of the people of South Viet Nam, including those in the South Viet Nam army and administration, to save themselves and South Viet Nam.

However, to make this line and policy even clearer, to rally further forces, and to achieve the

broadest unity of action with all people of good will, irrespective of social position, nationality, political tendency or religious creed, the first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has solemnly re-asserted its programme of action. It has discussed in a clear manner a number of necessary points in this programme and made them more concrete.

Congress asserts that the general task of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to unite the entire people of South Viet Nam, resolutely struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and war provocateurs, overthrow the Ngo Dinh Diem ruling clique — lackey of U.S. imperialism —, form a broad national democratic coalition administration in South Viet Nam, realize national independence and democratic freedoms, improve the people's living conditions, defend peace, carry out the policy of neutrality, advancing to peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, actively contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

Congress stresses that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to unite people of all strata, classes, nationalities, political parties, mass organizations, religious sects and patriotic personalities in South Viet Nam, irrespective of political tendency. It warmly welcomes all organizations and individuals joining of their own free will the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to become its active members.

Congress highly values joint action between the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and

all organizations and individuals of good will outside its ranks with a view to struggling for a number of definite claims. It attaches much importance to all stands and pronouncements in support of the line and policy of the Front, against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and war provocateurs, against the U.S.-dominated dictatorial regime of the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

Although we have more or less divergent views, we certainly can, through sincere talks, achieve unity in struggle against our common enemy, namely the U.S. imperialist aggressors and war provocateurs and their henchmen. Each organization, each individual may defend and maintain its own views, which, of course, should not run counter to the interests of the Fatherland and the people.

Congress earnestly calls for the broadest rally of all the forces, all the elements of good will of the nation so as to concentrate strength to check the cruel enemy. It emphasizes the need to smash all plots by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to divide our people, weaken our unity in face of their cruel war of aggression and repression.

Congress asserts that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to realize a broad democratic regime, guarantee democratic liberties and unconditionally release all political prisoners. All mass organizations and political parties regardless of political tendency or religious creed are guaranteed freedom of organization and action as well as freedom of presenting candidates to the National Assembly and to other elected bodies. The Front undertakes to carry

out freedom of opinion and press, abrogate the present constitution and all anti-democratic laws, dissolve the present "National Assembly" and hold another parliamentary election in a genuinely democratic and honest way. The new National Assembly must have adequate powers in a democratic spirit. The new Constituent Assembly will work out a new constitution genuinely democratic, which will decide on the nature and form of the regime.

In the economic field, the Front undertakes to eliminate all economic monopolies of the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique, build an independent industry, develop agriculture, expand trade with foreign countries, and accept economic and technical aid from all countries regardless of political regime, on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

In the cultural field, the Front undertakes to build a national, democratic and progressive culture and education, learning from the good points in culture and education of all countries without distinction of political regime.

In particular, Congress has had deep discussions on the foreign policy of peace and neutrality of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. The Congress solemnly asserts that after recovering its independence, South Viet Nam will establish diplomatic relations with all countries without distinction of political system, in conformity with the principles of the Bandung Conference. It will not enter into military alliance with any country whatever, and will accept aid, economic and otherwise, from any country willing

to provide such assistance without political conditions attached.

Concerning France in particular, if France lives up to her responsibilities towards the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and in view of the long-standing economic and cultural relations existing between South Viet Nam and France, we will have appropriate regard for that country.

With regard to North Viet Nam, we shall also conform to the spirit of the foreign policy of peace and neutrality. The reunification of the Fatherland will be solved step by step on the basis of the aspirations and interests of all sections of the people of South Viet Nam as well as the people of North Viet Nam, on the principles of freedom and democracy, negotiations and agreement between the two sides.

In the unanimous view of Congress, a feature of our country is that it is still temporarily divided into two zones, and that basic differences have arisen in the social and economic character of each zone. South Viet Nam is at present living in a world divided into two camps acutely opposed to each other: on the one hand, the imperialist countries headed by the U.S.A., and on the other, the socialist countries with the Soviet Union as their centre. The U. S. imperialists and their agents are waging a war of aggression in South Viet Nam in the hope of maintaining their dictatorial rule. The people of South Viet Nam have no other alternative than to struggle to a finish by all means against the U.S. imperialists and their agents, in order to save themselves and their country. The war of aggression launched by the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen

is obviously hitting the entire Vietnamese people, jeopardizing the sovereignty and independence of the whole of Viet Nam, and, at the same time, threatening other countries in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. In a war of aggression the disastrous consequences of which are beyond all calculation, the life of each and every inhabitant of South Viet Nam, and even the life of each and every member of the armed forces and the administration of South Viet Nam will be subject to gross injuries. The sovereignty, independence, democracy and freedom of the Vietnamese people cannot escape being trampled underfoot. Our Fatherland will be subject to appalling devastation.

The dark and extremely dangerous adventure started by the U.S. imperialists and their agents will spare no one. Whether we be an ordinary inhabitant or a member of the armed forces or the administration of South Viet Nam, a believer of Catholicism, Caodaism, Hoa Hao, Buddhism, or Protestantism, a fellow-countryman of the Highlands minorities, of the Kmer minority or of the Kinh nationality, an evacuee fellow-countryman, a patriot, a person who desires reforms, a former resistance member, a communist, a pro-French, or a pro-U.S. element, a person of this political tendency or of the other, all shall be victims. Not only during the last eight years, but particularly now, all are confronted with a threat which is more serious than ever. The rule of the U.S. imperialists and their agent, the dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, cannot but drive the people of South Viet Nam to the brink of this abyss. It cannot be otherwise.

At present, we are on the brink of the abyss, and each must urgently find a way out and take immediate action.

The first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation asserts that the path to salvation for all, the only correct path to save themselves and South Viet Nam, is to unite broadly and struggle to hold back the devastating aggressive war waged by the U. S. imperialists and their hangers-on in South Viet Nam so as to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, to ensure respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of everybody without discrimination, and to guarantee the security and happiness of all.

Of course, the people of South Viet Nam as well as the indomitable Vietnamese people as a whole, is always ready to undergo sacrifices and fight to a finish in order to drive out the aggressors. Even though the enemies of our nation are the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of colonialists, the people of South Viet Nam, the Vietnamese nation will certainly be the ultimate victor.

However, we want to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and hardship, to alleviate suffering, and to lessen the amount of devastation.

Having taken into consideration every aspect of the problem, the first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is of the view that with a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, South Viet Nam will be able to get unconditional aid, — economic, technical, cultural and social —, from many countries.

With different political systems, in order to build up a prosperous and advanced South Viet Nam.

The experiences of peaceful and neutral Cambodia, which borders on our country, and of several other countries in Southeast Asia have testified to this possibility.

Congress has also dealt with another plot of the imperialists and their agents. Faced with the aspirations of the people for peace and neutrality, the imperialists and their agents pay lip service to the policy of peace and neutrality, whereas they actually consider peace and neutrality as a good signboard to cover up their dark colonialist intentions, to mislead the people, to break their unity and divide their patriotic movement, and this with the aim of carrying out their policy of neo-colonialism. Congress stresses that the policy of peace and neutrality worked out by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is based on the guarantee of national sovereignty, independence, democracy and freedom, and will never be subject to the influence of any imperialist or colonialist clique.

In particular, Congress solemnly confirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, and the policy of peace and neutrality of the neighbouring Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos led respectively by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister. The Front fully supports those two Kingdoms in their opposition to all schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression by the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen. The Front and its armed forces

solemnly undertake not to encroach upon an inch of the territories of Cambodia or Laos. If the U.S. imperialists and their agents attack Cambodia and Laos with troops based in South Viet Nam or via the territory of South Viet Nam, the Front and its armed forces will resolutely fight to oppose and check them.

Congress vehemently protests against the plot of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to revise the border between South Viet Nam and Cambodia by force or any other coercive measure. Congress energetically denounces to the world the scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their agents who pour out fabrications about the so-called "presence of foreign communist troops on the territory of Cambodia and Laos" for purposes of slander and to seek a pretext to threaten, and commit aggression against those two Kingdoms.

At the same time, Congress solemnly affirms that it is the intention of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to struggle for the formation of a peace and neutrality zone comprising Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam.

Congress is of the view that it is, at present, very necessary to take such a step in order to effectively check the manoeuvres of sabotage, war and aggression carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their agents in this region, and to ensure a lasting peace in the Indo-China peninsula, in Southeast Asia and in the world. Congress warmly welcomes the positive initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk concerning the formation of such a peace and neutrality zone.

With regard to French nationals in South Viet Nam, Congress affirms that the policy of the South

Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is, to respect the life and property, and to protect the legitimate interests of all French nationals who do not collaborate with the U.S. imperialists and their agents against the patriotic movement of the people of South Viet Nam. The South Viet Nam Front for Liberation welcomes any French national who opposes the U.S. imperialists and their agents, respects the sovereignty and independence of Viet Nam, and supports the correct implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

Concerning the Vietnamese who have collaborated with France, as well as all parties, groups and individuals standing in opposition to the U. S. imperialists and the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique, Congress confirms that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is ready to join hands with them if they also desire to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents, for national independence, freedom and democracy, peace and neutrality, notwithstanding the fact that they belong to different political tendencies.

With regard to religion, Congress is of the view that the U.S. imperialists and their agents are striving to misuse religion in order to divide the people of South Viet Nam, to divide the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to drive a wedge between the people and the National Front for Liberation. They have set up armed units which claim to act in the name of religion with a view to carrying out the perfidious scheme of "using religion to destroy religion."

Congress solemnly affirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to

guarantee the full implementation of the freedom of belief and religious practice, without discrimination between the various religious communities, without distinction of religious belief, and to achieve solidarity between believers of various religions and solidarity of the whole people against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. Concerning the religious leaders who uphold different political tendencies, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is ready to co-operate with them in order to oppose the U.S. imperialists and their agents to struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, to defend freedom of belief and the legitimate interests of the believers.

Regarding the fellow-countrymen of various nationalities in South Viet Nam, Congress affirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to promote close unity among fellow-countrymen belonging to all nationalities in the Vietnamese Fatherland, in order to oppose the policy of repression, contempt and division carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their agents concerning the nationalities of Viet Nam. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation undertakes to achieve equality among the fellow-countrymen of various nationalities in South Viet Nam, in every field, political, economic, cultural and social. It undertakes to respect and safeguard the culture, art, beliefs, customs and habits of the fellow-countrymen of all nationalities, and to develop their good traditions.

With regard to the persons in the armed forces and the administration of South Viet Nam, Congress affirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam

National Front for Liberation is to welcome and take joint action with them regardless of their political tendency, in order to oppose the U. S. imperialists and their faithful agents. Regarding those who are guilty of crimes against the people but who now repent, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will forgive them, will not consider them as enemies, and will be ready to co-operate with them against the common foe. As for the soldiers and officers of the South Viet Nam Army who, during encounters with the Liberation Army and the people's self-defence armed forces, do not attack or resist, they will be immediately released after the battle, and given assistance in accordance with their aspirations. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and its armed organizations will give good, humanitarian and lenient treatment to all prisoners of war and army-men who cross over to its side. Regarding the army units and officials in the administration of South Viet Nam who rise up in mutiny or to attempt *coup d'etat* directed against the U.S. imperialists and their faithful agents, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will give them active support and will be ready to help them continue the struggle against the enemy.

Congress confirms that, with regard to the manufacturers, industrialists and traders in South Viet Nam, the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to protect them, to encourage them to develop their enterprises in the interests of the nation, and to carry out a policy of appropriate mutual benefit between the employer and the workers.

Congress confirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to recognize the right to land ownership to all landlords who at present do not work as cruel agents for the U.S. imperialists and their faithful henchmen, but those landlords must carry out the present land policy of the Front which provides for the reduction of land rents and the guarantee of the tenant right to the farmers. The future national democratic coalition administration will, through negotiations and at fair prices, purchase part of the land of these landlords for distribution to the peasants. Help will be given to these landlords to open enterprises in industry and trade. As regards the patriotic landlords, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is ready to admit them into its ranks.

With regard to the intellectuals, writers and artists, Congress confirms that the policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is to help them and to ensure them freedom to develop their talents in the service of the Fatherland and the people.

IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

In discussing the immediate tasks, Congress has unanimously approved the ten policies of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation made public

on January 17, 1962. Congress stresses that these are the most urgent claims of the people of South Viet Nam who are demanding that an immediate end be put to the policy of terroristic raids and repression, to the policy of pressganging of troops and militarization of women, to the policy of concentrating the population and destroying villages, gardens and fields by means of noxious chemicals, that the Staley-Taylor-Nolting plans be abrogated, that the state of emergency be abolished, that the so-called "U.S. Military Aid Command" be disbanded, that U.S. advisers, troops and arms be withdrawn from South Viet Nam, that new balloting to elect the National Assembly and the President of the Republic be held in a democratic and honest way.

Congress stresses that if the imperative and legitimate aspirations of the people in South Viet Nam are not heeded, and if the U.S. imperialists and their agents obdurately go further and further into a bloody military adventure of aggression in South Viet Nam, the people of South Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will use all forms of struggle and take all measures to fight resolutely to a finish, in order to save themselves and their country, to liberate South Viet Nam, to defend independence and democracy, definitively drive the U.S. imperialists out of Viet Nam, and completely overthrow the traitorous dictators. In case of necessity, the people of South Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will use their legitimate and effective right to appeal to the people and Government of North Viet Nam, to peace- and democracy-loving peoples and governments the world over, irrespective of political system,

requesting that active support, including material and manpower support be afforded to the just struggle of the people of South Viet Nam. The U. S. imperialists and their agents must bear full responsibility for all eventual disastrous consequences the extent of which is now beyond prediction.

The more barbarous the repression carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, the more united the people of South Viet Nam, and the more resolute and stronger their struggle. Whatever perfidious war methods and patterns the U. S. imperialists and their agents may resort to in the future, they will not escape ignominious defeat. Final victory will certainly be with the people of South Viet Nam.

Of course, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in keeping with the peaceful aspirations of the people of South Viet Nam, will not miss any favourable opportunity to strive to improve the now dangerous situation obtaining in South Viet Nam, thus contributing to the relaxation of tension in international relations.

After making an overall appraisal of the situation, confirming the programme of action of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and passing resolutions on the tasks and policies for the period ahead, the first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has reviewed and assessed the leadership of the Provisional Central Committee of the Front. In a unanimous vote, Congress has expressed its complete confidence in the Provisional Central Committee and praised the contribution made by the

latter to the patriotic struggle of the people of South Viet Nam.

Congress has decided to elect a 52-member official Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in order to achieve a broader and more massive rally of all the forces of the nation, of all mass organizations, parties, political groups and personalities animated with good will and patriotism in South Viet Nam, thereby enhancing the prestige and the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and ensuring the most successful implementation of the programme of action of the Front and of the resolutions of the Congress in the present extremely serious and complicated period.

However, Congress has decided to elect only 31 members of the official Central Committee, leaving the remaining 21 members to be chosen by the official Central Committee at a later date. The Congress is of the view that at present a number of mass organizations, parties, political groups and personalities of good will, at home and abroad for one reason or another, have not yet favourable conditions to contact and join the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and attend the present Congress. Congress highly values the presence, in the future, of such mass organizations, parties, political groups and personalities in the ranks of the Front. Congress has decided not to elect as yet the remaining 21 members of the official Central Committee of the Front, and it sincerely calls upon all mass organizations, parties, political groups and personalities of good will, at home and abroad, still standing outside the Front, to seize the

earliest opportunity to actively share the responsibility of paramount importance which the people in South Viet Nam have entrusted to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

Finally, the first Congress of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation calls upon all fellow-countrymen and women, the dignitaries and believers of all religious communities, all mass organizations, parties, political groups and personalities inside and outside the Front, all local Committees of the Front, all local national autonomy Committees, all cadres and members of the Front, all fighters and cadres of the people's self-defence armed forces, all army-men and officials of the South Viet Nam Administration and all overseas compatriots to give unre-served support to the resolutions of Congress, the programme of action and the policies of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and to strive resolutely to implement them so as to hold back and foil the aggressive war started by the U.S. imperial-ists and their lackeys against the people in South Viet Nam, to demand that the Staley-Taylor-Nolting plans be abrogated, that the emergency laws and regulations be abolished, that the so-called "U.S. Military Aid Command" be disbanded, that the U.S. advisers, troops and arms be withdrawn from South Viet Nam, and that the spraying from the air of noxious chemicals to destroy villages, gardens and fields be stopped forthwith.

Congress earnestly calls upon all South Vietnam-ese mothers and women to struggle resolutely to

defend their husbands and children and the happiness of their families.

Congress calls upon all young men and women to fight energetically against the policy of pressganging and militarization carried out by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and to join the heroic ranks of the people's self-defence armed forces in order to save themselves and the country, and to struggle for the brilliant future of the youth and the nation.

Congress calls upon all army men and officials in the South Viet Nam Administration to rise up to save themselves and the country, to bring their good will and courage into play with a view to checking the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists and their agents, defend the sovereignty and independence of the nation, oppose the orders to carry out terrorist raids, strafings and bombings, to spray noxious chemicals, to massacre their fellow-countrymen, to destroy crops and gardens, and demand that the so-called "U.S. Military Aid Command" be disbanded and all U.S. advisers, troops and arms withdrawn from South Viet Nam.

Congress highly values the patriotism shown during the past period by the overseas Vietnamese, and calls upon all of them to turn their eyes to the Fatherland, and to give their unreserved support to the South Vietnamese compatriots and to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in the struggle for national salvation.

Congress warmly voices its gratitude to the 16 million kith-and-kin compatriots of North Viet Nam for their powerful support, and calls upon all of them

to carry on, shoulder to shoulder with the South Vietnamese compatriots, their energetic struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys so as to check the war of aggression against South Viet Nam and to defend the independence and unity of the Fatherland.

Congress earnestly calls upon justice, peace- and democracy-loving people and governments, mass organizations and personalities the world over to continue to extend active support to the people of South Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in the just struggle to demand that the U.S. imperialists and their agents put an end to the brutal war of aggression started by them, and to their barbarous dictatorial policy, that an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Viet Nam be achieved, that a peace and neutrality zone comprising Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam be formed in the Indo-China peninsula. The whole-hearted support from the peoples and governments, international organizations, and personalities of all countries have been a practical aid to the people of South Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation during the past period. Congress takes this opportunity to voice its deep gratitude for this precious support.

Congress earnestly calls upon the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference and the International Committee for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam to make use of all their prestige and authority in order to fulfil their responsibilities and obligations, and to formulate firm conclusions and take urgent and

firm steps so as to impose upon the U.S. and South Viet Nam authorities respect for the Geneva Agreements, the ending of their war of aggression and repression, the disbanding of the so-called "U.S. Military Aid Command", and the withdrawal of all U.S. advisers, troops and arms from South Viet Nam.

South Viet Nam, March 3, 1968

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