GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM

VIOLATIONS
OF THE
GENEVA AGREEMENTS
BY THE
VIET-MINH COMMUNISTS

From July 1959 to June 1960

Saigon, July 1960
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In a recent declaration to the press, the Communist authorities of Hanoi have once more falsely claimed that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has violated the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

Contrary to these slanderous accusations to which the Viet-Minh are accustomed to making, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, though not a signatory to the Geneva Agreements, has always observed a policy of peace and has given the International Commission an effective cooperation in order to facilitate the fulfilment of its mission.

The authorities of Hanoi on the other hand, ignoring the fact that they are signatories to Geneva Agreements, have systematically violated them in both the spirit and the letter.

In order to inform the world of these deeds, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam published, in July 1959, a White Paper on the «Violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh Communists». During the period between that date and the month of June 1960, while the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam followed its policy of peace and economic reconstruction, and continued to respect the implementation of the Geneva Agreements in accordance with its declaration of April 6, 1956, the Viet-Minh communists have incessantly perpetrated new and serious violations of the said Agreements in pursuit of their policy of expansion and aggression.

It seems, then, fitting to examine anew the subjects which were dealt with in the White Paper of 1959, taking as the starting point July 1959.
TITLE I

VIOLATIONS OF PROVISIONS
OF MILITARY ORDER
CHAPTER I

TRANSFER AND REGROUPING OF FORCES

In defiance of the Geneva Agreements, the Viet-Minh have continued to send into and maintain in South Vietnam important armed agents. Their mission is to attack our isolated military posts and to engage in terrorist activities of all kinds among the population and against the national administration.

These activities — assassinations, kidnappings, attacks under arms, extortion of funds and threats, — have been brought to the attention of the International Commission as have many other violations of Articles 1, 10 and 24 of the Geneva Agreements. However, because these activities involve much more than simple violations of the military provisions of the Geneva Agreements and have become a part of a general policy of aggression sponsored by International Communism for whom the Viet-Minh became the agents, they will be treated with much more detail in Title III entitled: « the problem of subversion ». 
CHAPTER II

WAR POTENTIAL

The Viet-Minh communists have lately launched a violent propaganda campaign against a so-called increase of war potential in South Vietnam and protested against the presence and the activities of the MAAG and TERM missions. In order to have an accurate idea about the situation, it is fitting, then, to provide some explanations on the questions relative to the MAAG and TERM missions before approaching the violations of Articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 perpetrated by the Viet-Minh.

1. — MAAG mission
(Military Assistance Advisory Group)

By the memorandum of February 23, 1960, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam officially informed the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam that, in order to replace a certain number of French military instructors who had been sent home at the time of the withdrawal of the French expeditionary Corps in 1956, « steps have been taken by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam with the Government of the United States of America in order to increase American military instructors of MAAG from the actual number of 342 to 685 ».

This memorandum throws into relief the sort of rotation of personnel provided for and allowed by article 16 of the Geneva Agreements. It affects in no wise the policy of peace of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, in its letter of April 29, 1960, replied that it had taken note of the steps made by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam regarding this increase. It added that it agreed, nevertheless, that the American additional military instructors would
be introduced only in conformity with the procedure provided for in article 16 (f) and (g) of the Geneva Agreements.

The Communist authorities, through their message of April 25, 1960, addressed to the Chairman of the International Commission, have protested against the so-called illegal introduction of American military personnel in Viet-Nam as a replacement for the French military instructors. They have also insisted that the Commission should disregard the request of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

On May 5, 1960, the Commission answered them that it had not received from the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam any request for bringing in armament or American military personnel into Viet-Nam, as a replacement for the French expeditionary Corps.

Thus, the International Commission for Supervision and Control has conceded the well-grounded request of the Vietnamese Government, for, even brought to 685, the effective of MAAG — organism functioning since 1950, i.e. long before the Geneva Agreements — remained inferior to its initial limit which was increased, at the time of the armistice, to 888 foreign military instructors, 342 of whom belonged to MAAG and the rest to the former French Military Mission.

The Viet-Minh have persisted, however, to lead a violent and injurious campaign of protestation against the decision of the International Commission for Supervision and Control. The Hanoi press openly criticized the International Commission, accusing it of connivence with the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam (The people, No 2274 of June 10, 1960).

2. — TERM Mission

(Temporary Equipment Recovery Mission)

It is appropriate to recall that this organism is only in charge of recovering the military material which had been handed over as aid by the United States to the French Expeditionary Corps, prior to the signing of the Geneva Agreements.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control has estimated that this organism would not be able to fulfil its mission before December 31, 1960.

Being faithful to its policy of cooperation with the International Commission for Supervision and Control, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has made all arrangements so that the TERM Mission may leave Viet-Nam at that date.
3. — Increase of Viet-Minh war potential

Since July 1959, the Mission in charge of relations with the International Commission for Supervision and Control has repeatedly protested against the repeated violations of Articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh. These violations have assumed the following forms:

a) the Viet-Minh continued to receive a steadily growing number of Russian and Chinese military advisors. Their presence has been attested in many places and in particular in the demilitarized zone.

b) the Viet-Minh have illegally brought into North Vietnam:
- Trener fighter-planes
- MIG-15's
- Ilyouchines, Antonovs
- helicopters
- anti-tank and anti-aircraft arms
- tractors
- gun-boats

c) the Viet-Minh have established after the cease-fire:
- units of marines which did not exist at the time of the Geneva Accords;
- forces of self-defence of the enterprises;
- the Popular Security Army.

d) the Viet-Minh have negotiated military agreements in violation of Article 19 of the Geneva Accord. The Times, published in Hongkong on October 10, 1959, reported that, according to the Chinese-Russian agency, a treaty of military alliance among Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam was being negotiated.

The military delegation of North Korea and North Vietnam, while visiting Peking on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Popular Republic of China, took advantage of this trip to enter into conversation on this subject with the military authorities of Communist China.

Furthermore, a Viet-Minh delegation led by TRUONG-CINH, a member of the Central committee of the Viet-Minh Communist party, arrived in Moscow on February 3, 1960, to take part as observers in the meeting of the political advisory committee of
the Warsaw Treaty held in that city on February 4, 1960. An increasingly intimate military collusion between the authorities of North Vietnam and the military block of the Warsaw Treaty organization was thereby established and the TASS agency announced that a Russian military mission was designated to supervise the reinforcement of the Viet-Minh military bases.

e) The Viet-Minh have maintained and strengthened the strategic value of the airports of Gia-Lam, Cat-Bi, Huu-Cung, Vinh, Ha-Co, Na-San, Muong-Thanh, Thai-Nguyen, Lang-Son, Phu-Tho, Lao-Kay. In spite of the repeated complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam against these war efforts, the P.A.V.N. (1) has always opposed the control of these airports by the International Commission.

f) The Viet-Minh have reinforced the armaments of Do-Son port with a great many modern devices, including rockets. They have installed anti-aircraft weapons at Hoi-Xuan (Thanh-Hoa) and along the following roads: Hanoi-Haiphong, Hoi-Xuan — Son-Tay, at the rate of one for every 5 or 10 kilometers.

The fire-power of regiment 270, stationed near the demilitarized zone, has been reinforced with batteries of anti-aircraft weapons established on the mountains of Linh-Son, Du-Linh, and Cap-Lay. These weapons are placed under the direction of Chinese Communist advisors.

g) The Viet-Minh have systematically refused to let the International Commission for Supervision and Control install a team of control at Phuoc-Hoa, situated on the Chinese-Vietnamese border in the North. They have, on the other hand, persistently refused to provide the means of transportation asked by the Commission for the control of the coastal islands, of the region of Moncay and of the South coast of Haiphong.

h) Finally, important military installations were established a year ago by the Viet-Minh on the island of Con-Co (Tiger Island), situated adjacent to the demilitarized zone, aimed at making it a military base. This island overlooks the mouth of the Ben-Hai River and directly threatens the demilitarized zone. A great number of movements of battleships between this island and the coast of North Vietnam have been noted and brought to the attention of the I.C.C.

The clandestine importation of war material, the establishment of new military units and bases, the strengthening of airports, the negotiation of military alliances leave no doubt as to the

(1) Popular Army of Viet-Nam (P.A.V.N.) : Name given by the Viet-Minh to their army.
aggressive intentions of the Viet-Minh. The latter have openly pursued their war efforts, in spite of the Geneva Accords and regardless of the presence of the I.C.C.

It is, however, fitting to stress that in spite of the complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam concerning the reinforcing of war potential of the P.A.V.N., the I.C.C. has not, up to the present moment, been able to undertake any action or inquiry on this subject, because of all sorts of impediments and the bad faith shown by the Hanoi authorities.

It must be believed that these very difficulties have led the I.C.C. to ignore these problems in its 10th interim report, though they are crucial to the maintenance of peace in Viet-Nam.
CHAPTER III

WAR PRISONERS

No progress could be realized last year concerning the numerous complaints of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam which requested the release of war prisoners illegally detained by the P.A.V.N. in North Viet-Nam, 5 years after the cease-fire.

By its letter No 5686/PDVN/CT/TD/3 on October 21, 1959, the Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. again brought to the attention of the Commission this important question and requested the beginning of an inquiry in order:

- to force the P.A.V.N. to produce before the I.C.C. all the claimed prisoners whose addresses were known and had been communicated;

- to force the P.A.V.N. to submit to a hearing of the I.C.C. all the so-called converted prisoners freed before the cease-fire;

- to perform investigations in the camps and penitentiaries of North-Vietnam, a list of which had been furnished;

- to request the P.A.V.N. to bring forth the 89 war prisoners whose right of choosing the zone of their residence had been recognized by team 80 and particularly to allow Lieutenant Nguyen-van-Phong and Captain Huynh-ba-Xuan to go South.

No decision has yet been reached for these claims and it is astounding that, in its 10th interim report, the Commission saw fit only to stress a minor case in which the P.A.V.N. falsely claimed groundlessly the handing over of 5 of our military veterans condemned for treason.
CHAPTER IV

DEMILITARIZED ZONE

The Viet-Minh pursued its policy of provocation in the demilitarized zone. In addition to a campaign of mendacious propaganda against the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, conducted daily on the other side of the Ben Hai River, the Viet-Minh continued to send a great number of clandestine agents across the demarcation line and established armed elements in the Demilitarized zone in violation of articles 5 and 7 of the Geneva Accord and of § 2 of Decision No 11.

Here are, for example, some evident facts:

1. A part of engineering battalion 22, billeted in the village of Tan-Yen-Ha, has been installed at So-Cu (YD. 127-774) while an other part has been stationed at Ben-Than.

2. The company 193 had for its zone of action North of the demilitarized zone and for its mission the control of Catholics.

3. The regional company called Trieu-Phong was established in the hamlet of A-Choc (South demilitarized zone) with battalion III of newly enlisted men.

4. The regional company of Gio-Linh was stationed at Ben-Than.

The Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. has energetically protested against this policy of provocation and especially against the presence of Viet-Minh armed units in the demilitarized zone. It has requested that the Commission lead an investigation on the spot. The Commission, arguing on the fact that there had been reciprocal complaints, agreed that an inquiry would be made by Team 76 in the localities of A-Choc (South demilitarized zone)
and Tchepone (North demilitarized zone), in the presence of liaison officers of both zones. The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam gave its agreement to the request of the I.C.C. to prove its desire of cooperation and not because of the reciprocity of claims, for it had been shown to the I.C.C. that the Viet-Cong complaint was groundless.

But, the authorities of the North have, under false pretexts, blocked the investigation agreed upon by the I.C.C., fearing the discovery of the violations they had perpetrated in demilitarized zone.
TITLE II

VIOLATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS OF CIVIL ORDER
A year has passed without having reached any solution to the numerous claims set forth by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam since 1955, concerning the residual cases of Article 14-d, the problem of rapatriation of the victims of the forced evacuation as well as the proposal for exchanging families between the 2 zones.

By its letter No 1807/PDVN/CT/TD/5 on April 18, 1960, the Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. has again brought to the attention of the Commission these serious problems which concern the fate of more than 100,000 persons.

It is regrettable that the Commission has consistently refused to examine the petitions of close relatives or members of the victims' families under the pretext that they are third-parties. This attitude seems to be all the more contrary to the principles of law, as the Commission unquestionably knows that it is impossible for the victims of the Viet Minh shackles to express their wishes themselves, as long as they live under Communist domination.

The Vietnamese Mission has referred to article 37 of the Geneva Accords which gives it the right to demand investigations on the residual cases and the forced evacuations. The Commission admitted the legitimacy of this right (10th interim report, chapter III) but has contented itself to reply that it is its duty to consider each petition on its own merits.

Furthermore, one notes regretfully that the 985 petitions which had been handed over to the Commission by the people of Quynh Luu after the upheaval of 1956 are still to this day under consideration, a fact recognized by the Commission itself in its 10th interim report. Other specific cases of obstacles to evacuation have equally been raised by the Vietnamese Mission in its above-said letter n° 1807.

It is to be hoped that these cases will command the attention of the International Commission for Supervision and Control and will receive a definite answer.
POSTAL AGREEMENT

In order to satisfy the desires of the people and while waiting for settlement of the cases of hundreds of thousands of people who are detained against their will in North Vietnam, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has, on October 17, 1959, informed the I.C.C. that, for humanitarian concern and according to the intention of its declaration of April 26, 1956, it was ready to present the following extension of the current regulation of the exchange of postal cards:

1. The new family postcards will no longer be limited to 5 line-correspondence, provided that the size of the postcard remains the same;
2. The sender can join to each postcard a family picture no larger than the size of the postcard. In this last case, the postcard and the picture should be put together in a single open envelope on which will be written nothing except the address of the addressee.

In order that these family postcards may serve their purpose, the following regulations should be observed:
- the news and the pictures must specifically be of family interest;
- no extra writing or slogan-affixing of any kinds will be allowed on the family postcards;
- the family postcards will not have any stamps, but will be prepaid by the fixing of a seal showing simply the value of the postage.

Since the above modalities do not modify the spirit of the Postal Accord of April 12, 1955, a meeting between the postal authorities of both zones should not be necessary. They could be put into operation as soon as the Commission will have informed the Vietnamese Mission of the agreement of the Northern authorities.

Up to now, the Viet Minh have not yet replied to the concrete proposals of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam. For propaganda purposes, they have only proposed a meeting between the representatives of the North and the South.
CHAPTER IX

REPRISALS AND DISCRIMINATION

The law No 10/59 of May 6, 1959, has not been mentioned in the White Paper, for it does not concern the Geneva Agreements. But on July 27, 1959, on account of the P.A.V.N.'s complaint, the I.C.C. asked for the communication of this law:

The law 10/59:
1. provides penalties against crimes of sabotage, attack upon the security of the State, upon the properties and lives of the inhabitants;
2. establishes 3 special military tribunals in the following places: Saigon, Banmethuot and Hue.

There is no question about reprisals against the old Viet-Minh resistance members in any of the 21 Articles of this law. Still the Viet-Minh appealed to the International Commission for Supervision and Control with petition after petition protesting against this law which they consider as an extremely grave violation of Article 14-c of the Geneva Agreements.

The Mission in charge of relations with the I.C.C. specified to the I.C. that the law No 10/59 does not fall within the competence of the I.C.C. since it does not conflict with any article of the Geneva Agreements. Falling within the purview of its provisions — which have no retroactive effect — are only those crimes of sabotage, attack upon the security of the State, the properties and lives of the people, committed posterior to its promulgation.

On April 30, 1960, the International Commission replies to the protestations dated on April 4, 1960, of Vo-nguyen-Giap that «after a careful study of the text of the law in both the Legal Committee of the Commission and the Commission itself, the Commission has decided that the law does not contain any provision specifically designed to discriminate against, or subject to reprisals, persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities, and therefore law 10/59 as such does not attract Article 14-c or any other article of the Geneva Agreement». 
The decision of the International Commission incited the resentment of the P.A.V.N. which declared the I.C.C.’s conclusion on the law 10/59 « unacceptable and requests the Commission to reconsider it, in the light of the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Agreements ». Meetings of protestation have been organized in North Vietnam and motions addressed to the I.C.C. demanding the condemnation of the law 10/59.

This attitude of the Viet-Minh against the I.C. is explained by the fact that a great majority of individuals, recognized as guilty of sabotage or terrorism in South Vietnam and liable to the law 10/59, are Viet-Minh agents acting under their instigation. In recognizing the legitimacy of the law 10/59, the Commission has, consequently, prevented the Viet-Minh from abusing the Geneva Accord to conceal the guilt of their subversive agents who are working in the national zone.

The vehement protestation of the Viet-Minh against this decision only makes more evident the complicity of the communist authorities of the North with groups and individuals guilty of subversive activities in the national zone since the cease-fire.

Speaking of Article 14-c, it is appropriate to point out that in the 10th interim report, the I.C.C. recognized that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam had given all the necessary information to prove the falsity of the Viet-Minh assertions of so-called reprisals (TRAN-THI-ly’s case, Phu-Loi case).

On the other hand, the Commission recalled, in its report, the case of 8 civil internees that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam had refused to let go North after the Duy-Xuyen investigation. By the letter of March 15, 1960, the Vietnamese Mission made known that these individuals had been arrested for subversive activities perpetrated after the cease-fire and, besides, their case which is subject to the laws in force could not surpass the cases of the 95,000 men that the Viet-Minh have still kept in the North since 1955 in spite of their express request to go South, made during the period of option.

The Commission finally mentioned the case of the so-called reprisals used against HOANG-LE-KHA and NGUYEN-VAN-LEP who were condemned by virtue of the law 10/59. It is necessary to specify that in this case, the Commission finally recognized that these individuals had been condemned for crimes committed after the cease-fire, crimes admitted by the culprits themselves, and that there were no reprisals as the Viet-Minh had alleged.

Speaking of reprisals, it is fitting to note that on May 18, 1960, by letter No 2261/PDVN/CT/TD/9, the Vietnamese Mission presented to the International Commission a specific case of reprisals committed by the Viet-Minh against a former resistant,
the student Vo-thanh-Tong. The latter, native of South Vietnam, had been forcibly taken to North Vietnam after the Geneva Accord. Intolerable, vexatious proceedings and reprisals on the part of the Viet-Minh had pushed him to claim the protection of the I.C.C. in Hanoi, while presenting to the latter, at the risk of his life, an important file accusing the authorities of the North of numerous crimes against the democratic liberties, human dignity, the lives and properties of the people. Vo-thanh-Tong was shortly afterwards arrested by the Viet-Minh and God only knows the fate which has been reserved for him.

The Vietnamese Mission requested the energetic intervention of the I.C.C. to save this courageous student. It took advantage of this occasion to attract the special attention of the I.C.C. upon thousands of other similar cases of reprisals against the people of the North perpetrated by the communist authorities in violation of Article 14-c of the Geneva Accord.
THE PROBLEM OF SUBVERSION
THE PROBLEM OF SUBVERSION

Since July 1959, the Viet-Minh's subversive activities South of the 17th parallel have intensified.

A. — Political subversion

The Viet-Minh agents scattered numerous tracts in all the provinces of the South, which proves in an irrefutable way that:
- the communist leaders of North Vietnam have established in South Vietnam clandestine organizations aimed at sabotaging, by all means, the works of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, and at sowing disorder and creating hatred;
- these organizations incite the people to revolt against the Government.

Speaking of proof, a certain number of tracts distributed by the Viet-Minh have been handed over to the I.C.C., proving the interference of the Viet-Minh authorities in the administration of the South:
- tracts entitled «Letter of the Central executive committee of the Viet-Nam Labor Party addressed to its comrades, members of the said party residing in South Vietnam, on the occasion of the New Year of 1960»;
- tracts dated January 6, 1960, and entitled «The appeal of the executive committee of the South zone of the Viet-Nam Labor Party to the country men in the South, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Viet-Nam Labor Party»;
- tracts entitled «Letter of the provincial committee of the Labor Party at Long-An, addressed to the peasant compatriots» — «30th anniversary of the foundation of the Party». The latter tract has, on the left top corner, a red flag with hammer and sickle;
- tracts drawn up by the «Viet-Nam Labor Party» — provincial committee of Dinh-Tuong, Vinh-Long, Gia-Dinh, Bien-Hoa, — urging the people to overthrow the National Government;
tract with the seal of Battalion 512 of the «Liberation Forces of the South»;

tract entitled «Appeal of the provincial section of An-Giang of the Viet-Nam Labor Party to the countryfolks of the province, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Party»;

a tract carrying the framed picture of Ho-chi-Minh with the annotation «Anniversary of May 19, President Ho’s birthday»;

mimeographed letter addressed by Ho-chi-Minh to all the Vietnamese women of the South on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Women’s International Day.

B. — Armed subversion

The attention of the Commission has been drawn many times to the renewal of Viet-Minh terrorist activities, especially to those of the so-called «Liberation Forces of the South». The Vietcong activities do not only stop at terrorism, but they extend to a specific military plan. The presence of Viet-Minh armed agents South of the 17th parallel after the cease-fire constitutes a serious violation of Articles 1, 10 and 24 of the Geneva Accord. The duty of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam is to proceed by means of policing operations to maintain order and protect the people against Viet-Minh terrorism. The authorities of North Vietnam have not found any basis for protesting except the fallacious contention that these operations, as well as the law 10/59, constituted reprisals against the former resisters.

The Vietnamese Mission has not failed to stress before the I.C.C. that these operations are not in contradiction to any article of the Geneva Accord. And that if certain troubled zones coincide with the former Viet-Minh resistance centers, it only proves the existence of Viet-Minh armed agents in those zones. The latter indulge in banditry and terrorism. Furthermore, the official intervention of the authorities of Hanoi in favor of the perpetrators of criminal attacks provides the formal proof that they are the real instigators of these acts of terrorism perpetrated in South Vietnam.

Many other proofs have been conveyed to the I.C.C. Thus, on January 31, 1960, five agents of Viet-Minh Battalion No 603 and a guide were arrested on a 5-ton junk drifting near the coast of Ly-Son island, province of Quang-Nam. The cargo of this junk was composed of nylon material, black cotton, white paper, drugs,
electric wires, electric lamps, dry cells, electric generating sets, duplicators, printing ink, rice seeds, woolen underwear. The cargo weighed about 4 tons.

According to the confession of the arrested agents, these supplies were intended for Viet-Minh regiment No 108, established in a Viet-Minh combat sector of the province of Tourane.

1. — Terrorism

The Viet-Minh agents do not content themselves with killing their victims; in a great many cases, they inflict atrocious mutilations.

Thus, on the night of April 21 to April 22, 1960, 20 Viet-Minh well-armed agents surrounded the village of My-Chanh-Hoa, province of Ben-Tre, then 5 persons were savagely beheaded:

Messrs. NGUYEN-VAN-CAT, chief of hamlet No 4;
NGUYEN-VAN-TRAN, member of the Republican youth;
LE-VAN-THANH, alias Ngot;
NGUYEN-VAN-SAN, farmer;
VO-VAN-DONG.

On July 8, 1959, at about 7 p.m., a group of 5 to 10 Vietcong, armed with explosives and automatic arms, attacked the officers' Mess at Bien-Hoa, killing 2 Americans and gravely wounding a third. A Vietnamese civilian as well as a policeman, who tried to catch the terrorists, were killed. Searches resulted in the arrest of 6 men who confessed their crime. They were condemned by the special military tribunal of Saigon.

On December 5, 1959, 10 Vietcong agents, armed with rifles and small machine-guns, kidnapped Mr. NGUYEN-NGOC-DANG, 54 years old, deputy of the village of Phuoc-Chau, Can-Giuoc district, province of Long-An. On December 8, 1959, the local authorities found the disemboweled corpse of Mr. DANG floating in the Doi-Ma river near Long-Son village.

On the night of December 16, 1959, 10 armed Vietcong murdered Mr. NGUYEN-VAN-DAO, assistant-chief of Ho-Thung hamlet, Long-Toan district, province of Vinh-Binh. On December 17, 1959, at the time of the funeral of the victim, the above-mentioned Vietcong fired on the burial procession. They killed one village guard and gravely wounded 5 other persons who were a part of the funeral procession.

On the night of January 22 to January 23, 1960, five armed Vietcong killed Mr. NGUYEN-VAN-TRONG, 77 years old, chief of Phu-Thuan hamlet, Cu-Chi district, province of Binh-Duong.
On February 12, 1960, the motor launch Minh-Cuong with 20 passengers on board went from Tan-Bang wharf (province of Kien-Giang) to Rach-Gia. Near canal No 10, the launch was machine-gunned by the Vietcong in ambush on the bank. Concerning the fate of the passengers, there were:

- 13 dead of which 2 were pupils under 14 years of age;
- 6 gravely wounded of which 2 were pupils of 12 and 19 years old.

2. — Attacks of military posts, public buildings and concessions

In other cases, the Viet-Minh armed agents were so bold to openly attack military posts or other public and private installations.

Here are some examples:

— On the night of January 25 to January 26, 1960, the so-called «Liberation Forces of the South» attacked regiment Lam-Son, stationed in the province of Tay-Ninh.

Immediately afterwards, the Hanoi radio, in its broadcast of February 5, 1960, made a report of the successful attack: «Our attack has inflicted serious losses on the enemy... On our part, thanks to the skilfulness of our commander and to the good will of our soldiers, we completely destroyed the enemy... ».

The terms «our attack», «on our part», «our soldiers» show that the authorities of Hanoi had taken up the cudgels for the «Liberation Forces of the South».

— On the night of the 6th to the 7th of March, 1960, some one hundred Vietcong, in combat uniform with steel helmets, made an attack upon the leprosarian of Ben-San, situated in the territory of Tan-Uyen district, province of Phuoc-Thanh. After tying up Father Berxer and assembling all of the nuns, they indulged in a methodical pillage of this center of charity. They seized almost all of the drugs intended for the lepers, sanitary equipment, a sum of more than 100,000 V.N. $, as well as a stock of food supplies for the boarders.

— On March 29, 1960, at about 6 p.m., a strong gang of armed Vietcong attacked an isolated post of national gendarmes at Co-Do, in the province of Phong-Dinh. Two gendarmes were gravely wounded. The assailants seized the arms then burnt the records and office material.
Viet-Minh terrorists attack even charity centers with a view to making a clean sweep of money, medicines and victuals of the sick.

This photograph shows a nun in the leper-hospital of Ben San (Tan Uyen district, Phuoc Thanh province) pointing out to the pressmen the marks of bullets left by Viet-Minh after their attack on this center on March 17, 1960.
In the course of the attack on the Ben San leper-hospital, the Viet-Minh terrorists wrenched the statue of Christ and the holy-water basin off the walls and threw them down.

These blasphemous acts have aroused an unspeakable indignation.
Viet-Minh terrorist agents in South-Vietnam are not satisfied with killing, they stamp their crimes with atrocity.

This photograph shows one of their innocent victims, Mr. Luong-van-Sanh, who was assassinated on June 1950, in the village of Binh Phu (Cang Long district, Vinh Binh province) by Viet-Minh slayers who savagely disembowelled him.
With a view to spreading terror among the innocent population in South-Vietnam, Viet-Minh terrorist agents, after shooting down or stabbing their victims, behead them.

The photograph above shows the beheaded corpse of Mr. Nguyen-dinh-Ngu, who was killed by Viet-Minh agents on May, 9, 1960, at Kiên Giang.
Another victim of Viet-Minh atrocities: Mr. Nguyen-van-Bu of the village of Long Thuan (Hong Ngu district, Kien Phong province) was killed in an act of utmost savagery on August 31, 1960, by Viet-Minh terrorists who struck him in the neck with a sword.
A view of the show-room with a display of various appliances of sabotage and destruction, leaflets, documents, seized by Security Services, at the time of the arrest of Viet-Minh terrorist agents in Saigon area.

Grenades and daggers.
Explosives and firecrackers.
CONCLUSION

From what has been said, one can conclude that during the period from July, 1959, date of publication of the White Paper on «The violations of the Geneva Agreement by the Viet-Minh communists», until the end of June, 1960, the policy of aggression of the Northern authorities has manifested itself notably by:

1° a noticeable increase of Viet-Minh war potential North of the 17th parallel and

2° an augmentation of Viet-Minh subversive and terrorist activities South of the 17th parallel.

These innumerable violations of the Geneva Agreements, perpetrated in the space of only one year, bring forth, once more, evident proof that the communists, far from respecting the provisions they had agreed upon, trample them deliberately under foot in order to pursue a policy of subversion and unceasing expansion which constitutes a constant menace to Peace and Liberty.
Later, they attacked the seat of the communal council of Thoi-Dong to which they set fire after assassinating two village guards and gravely wounding a third. In pursuing their series of misdeeds, the Vietcong went to the Gressier Concession. After savagely killing the second-lieutenant DANH-RUM and setting fire to 3 cars, an electric generating set and a machine-drill, the Vietcong seized the radio-broadcasting post, the arms of the Concession and attacked the farmers' houses and the maternity-hospital.

Although no Article of the Geneva Accord aims explicitly at subversion, it is indisputable that the Viet-Minh subversive activities in the national zone constitute a serious violation of this Accord. In fact, the Geneva Accord has for its purpose the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. By threatening this peace, the Viet-Minh has injured the spirit of the said Accord.

Furthermore, in introducing cadres and armed agents into South Vietnam after the cease-fire with the aims of subversion and terrorism, the Viet-Minh has violated Articles 1, 10 and 24 of the Geneva Accord which stipulate that the armed forces of the two parties should re-group entirely at designated points along the temporary military demarcation line; both parties must respect the demilitarized zone and the territory which is placed under the military control of the other party; they must not undertake any act or operation against the other party.

The Viet-Minh subversion is also contrary to Article 15-d of the Geneva Accord which stipulates that « both parties shall agree not to attack the life and property of the civilian population. They shall permit no interference in local civil administration ». The assassinations, the kidnappings of communal civil servants and of peace-loving inhabitants, the distribution of Viet-Minh tracts urging the people to revolt, the installation in South Vietnam of a hierarchical Viet-Minh organization constitute a flagrant violation of the previously mentioned Article 15-d.
MEMORANDUM

Addressed to the Governments of the countries taking part in the Bandoeng Conference of 1955

In a note dated July 16, 1960, and addressed to 21 Asian and African countries which had taken part in the Bandoeng, Cairo, Accra and Conakry conferences, the Viet-Minh communist authorities of Hanoi (North Vietnam), made an appeal to the governments of these countries asking them to «support the Vietnamese people’s struggle for the reunification of Viet-Nam ».

This note which aims only at propaganda tries to throw back upon the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam the responsibility for the actual partition of the national territory. It also tries to make other people believe in the so-called peace policy of the Viet-Minh communist regime and in its ostensibly sincere desire to reunify the country.

The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam is convinced that the governments to which the letter from the Hanoi authorities was addressed have realized the false character of the assertions contained in this note.

It would be helpful, however, to recall briefly the circumstances under which the partition of Viet-Nam was agreed upon as well as the respective attitudes of the authorities of Hanoi and that of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam concerning the Geneva Agreements and, more particularly, with respect to the problem of reunification of the country.

I. — The Viet-Minh are responsible for the partition of Viet-Nam

No one is ignorant of the fact that at the Geneva Conference in 1954, it was the Viet-Minh communist authorities themselves who, with the support of Communist China and the USSR, had arranged for the partition of Viet-Nam.
On the other hand, the delegation of the National Government of Viet-Nam raised an energetic protest against the communist proposal relative to the partition of the national territory. In order to reach a stable peace without damaging national unity, it has put forward, in vain, its proposals aimed at obtaining « an armistice without any partition, even temporary, of Viet-Nam, by means of the disarmament of all the belligerent forces after their withdrawal into assembly area as restricted as possible, and by the establishment of temporary control by the United Nations Organization over the whole of the territory until such time as the restoration of order and peace permits the Vietnamese people, to decide its future by free elections ».

The Viet-Minh authorities are then entirely responsible before History for the territorial partition of Viet-Nam, thus, concluded against the will of the Vietnamese people. They are also responsible for the situation which has resulted from it in Viet-Nam.

Although it did not sign the Geneva Agreements, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has always given effective cooperation to the I.C.C. in order to help the latter fulfill its mission of peace in Viet-Nam.

On the contrary, the authorities of Hanoi, who pretend to have carried out correctly the provisions of these Accords, have systematically violated them soon after they had affixed their signature.

In order to enlighten world opinion, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has recently published a White Paper on the innumerable violations of the Geneva Agreements by the authorities of Hanoi. The reading of this document is particularly edifying.

It should be sufficient to stress the fact that, since their installation in Hanoi, the day after the signing of the Geneva Accord, the Viet-Minh communists began to set up a regime of dictatorship which increasingly limited democratic freedoms day by day.

Popular upheavals took place but they were savagely suppressed, such as the revolt of the people at Quynh-Luu in 1956 which recalled the sad events in Hungary. World opinion has recently been deeply moved by the « Nhan-Van » affair: some famous writers were unsparring condemned for having uttered criticism against the regime, criticism which the communists themselves tried to incite in the liberation movement known under the unfortunate name of « Movement of the hundred-flowers ».

Not only had religious freedom undergone the most rigorous attacks, but the authorities of the Catholic Church have been reduced to silence and the faithful persecuted as during the first centuries of Christianity.
While the communist machine controls all activities of the people, the regime of the North increases its military preparations and, through its agents who were deliberately left or introduced into South Vietnam, it indulges in activities aimed at spreading communist rule over the whole country. It is clear that proposals for the normalization of relations between the two zones emanating from the communists of North Vietnam were only aimed at pure propaganda, since the communists' aim has always been and still is to take over the power not by legal ways but by the use of force. The policy of the Republic of Viet-Nam is quite the opposite.

II. — The problem of the reunification of Viet-Nam

The problem of the territorial reunification constitutes the main concern of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

In a radio-broadcast declaration, President Ngo-dinh-Diem has clearly affirmed, since 1955, the wish of the National Government to reunify the country:

«No maneuver from whatever origin shall divert us from our goal, the unity of our country, but a unity in freedom and not in slavery. In service of the national cause, we are fighting more than ever for the territorial reunification.

«We do not reject the principle of elections as peaceful and democratic means appropriate to achieving this unity. However, if elections constitute one of the bases of true democracy, they shall have their «raison d’etre» only on condition of being absolutely free.

«We shall not overlook any opportunity which would permit the unification of our homeland in liberty. But it is out of the question for us to consider any proposal from the Viet-Minh, if no proof is given us that they place the higher interests of the national community above those of Communism, if they do not give up terrorism and totalitarian methods, if they do not cease to violate their obligations as they have done in the past... ».

The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has repeatedly reaffirmed its position. It has even set forth in its declaration of April 26, 1958, concrete measures that the Viet-Minh communist authorities were asked to carry out in order to provide sine qua non conditions for a really free election:

1) They must allow the departure of 92,319 individuals and the 1,955 families who wish to go to the South and whose applications were filed with the International Commission for Supervision and Control;
2) They must reduce their military personnel to the same level existing in the South; it is only after they have done this, and after it has been verified by an appropriate international organization, that the problem of reduction of military strength in the two zones can be usefully approached;

3) They must abolish what they term «revolutionary acceleration of the liberation of the South» by renouncing their methods of terrorism and murder in remote villages, and their sabotage of the work undertaken by the government to improve the living conditions of the people, particularly in the domains of land reform and agricultural resettlement;

4) They must put an end to the Communist Party's economic monopoly in order that the people in the North may be permitted to work freely and thus improve their living standard, which has fallen to an unprecedented level;

5) They must not force the people to praise their regime in postcards; they must disband their postcard writing committees created for propaganda purposes; they must cease reprisals against the people because of the substance of postcards written or received;

6) They must assure the same democratic liberties in their zone as those existing in the South and raise the living standard of the people in the North at least to the same level as that in the South; they must stop imposing an inhuman regime designed to enlarge the gap between the two zones.

Unfortunately, this appeal has received no answer on the part of the communist authorities.

On July 17, 1959, in a new declaration, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam defied the Viet-Minh communist authorities to reply to the proposals it had formulated in September 1957, regarding the exchange, on a purely humanitarian basis, of the members of the 500 families separated as a result of the Geneva Accords. This new declaration recalls, at the same time, the 6 points enumerated in the declaration of April 26, 1958, which remain unanswered.

The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has not been content to merely reaffirm its desire to unify the country. Since the painful territorial partition imposed upon Viet-Nam by the Geneva Accords, all the efforts of the National Government have been directed toward an overriding purpose: that of providing favorable conditions which would allow the reunification of the country in liberty rather than in slavery, in prosperity rather than in misery; to build up a nation in which each citizen will share his part of the responsibility instead of being reduced to passi-
veness as in the communist societies. It is with this aim that a
Constitution was promulgated in 1956, based on the respect for
fundamental freedoms and human dignity. This Constitution
directly connects the people with the direction of the affairs in the
country, and promotes the collective growth of the whole nation.

Likewise, structural reforms, such as agrarian reform, the
protection of the family, the programs of economical and agricul-
tural development, have been realized. They are designed to
improve the living conditions of the individual and to free him
from subjection to the material as well as to the social order.
These subjections constitute impediments to the full development
of human personality.

In a word, since the implementation of the Geneva Accords,
the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam has not ceased, as
far as it is concerned, to work for the reunification and for the
reconstruction of the country with the prospect of a Viet-Nam
which will recover its peace, freedom and prosperity, its national
unity and its territorial unity.

The Vietnamese National Assembly itself has taken an
interest in the problem of reunification of the country. A special
committee was appointed on April 7, 1960, during its regular
session, in order to study and to examine thoroughly all aspects
of this problem. This Committee revealed, in two documents here-
with appended (Appendices 1 and 2), its well-grounded conclusions
on the problem of the reunification of Viet-Nam, after having
consulted more than 60 political, cultural, professional and
syndicate groups as well as political personages from all over the
country and abroad. It recommends the reunification of the country
in peace and liberty, and in the safeguarding of its national
traditions and the respect for the will of the people.

The parliamentary Committee announced that the unification
of Viet-Nam under such conditions could not be expected so long
as, North of the 17th parallel, the Viet-Minh continue to maintain
their totalitarian regime, reduce the masses to poverty, suppress
any faint show of resistance, keep up and increase military forces
as tools of invasion and maintain a puppet national assembly for
the sole purpose of propaganda.

At the same time, neither the Vietnamese people nor world
opinion could lend an obliging ear to the fallacious propaganda
of the communist authorities of North Vietnam for they were
affirming their desire for peace while they busied themselves with
sabotaging this peace in South Vietnam by continuing to use all
the means possible to permit communist militants to infiltrate
into the South. They also kept indulging themselves in acts of
terrorism, pillage, sabotage and assassination aimed at destroying
the cultural, economical, political and social life of the people, stopping the reconstruction, rousing hatred, dividing the people into classes, thus facilitating the transformation of Viet-Nam into an advanced bastion of totalitarian imperialism.

All the efforts of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Vietnamese people to achieve their national objectives, especially to gain the reunification of the people through peace and freedom, are being frustrated at the same time by the Communist propaganda and by the subversive activities of Hanoi directed against South Vietnam.

The communists have refused to carry out in North Viet-Nam the sine qua non conditions of free elections, and have sabotaged the work of national reconstruction and the economical and social progress of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Vietnamese people. The authorities of Hanoi must bear before History the whole responsibility for the slowness in the reunification of the country just as they were alone responsible for the partition of the country.
DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE UNIFICATION
OF THE COUNTRY AND THE LIBERATION
OF THE NORTH AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Ben Hai River by terms of the Geneva Accord has become the line which divides our country. It authorizes the division of our people who have been united over a period of four thousand years of national history. It was a division perpetrated by imperialism in concert with the communists who are Vietnamese in name only.

The Vietnamese people, after having gone through many historical events, have shown the incontestable proof of their profound attachment for national unity and their fierce determination to defend it, starting from the revolt of Dinh Tien Hoang to repress the warlords, the North-South struggle of Trinh and Nguyen up to the destruction of the colonialists' plot which aimed at dividing the people in order to rule easily and to form the autonomous government of Cochinchina.

The sacred voice of a nation, calling the people to the struggle for territorial integrity, is raised as imperiously today as it was in earlier times because across time and space, under an open or disguised form, independent of all strategy, the forces of national destruction always wear the same visage and involve, inevitably, the same dangers.

In the past, the struggle for power between emperors could not divide people who, from North to South, had donated their blood to fill up the hatred of the Gianh River. So it is illusory today to use the Ben Hai River as a stage in the final division of Viet-Nam; for our people, firmly attached to national unity, will again know how to make the river disappear.

There are those who yesterday conspired with the imperialists and colonialists to sign the partition of the people and today claim to seek unification.

But under what conditions should unification be achieved?

* *

The Parliamentary Committee on the Unification of the Country loudly denounces:

- The Communist plot aiming to transform the struggle for national independence into a class struggle and into an ideological
conflict between International Capitalism and International Communism.

— Their plots to convert into communists the whole of Vietnam in the name of «Revolution to Liberate the South»; «struggle for unification by peaceful means» in order to better carry out their strategy of total destruction of all social, economic, cultural and political ability, wiping out the spirit of unity and the power of the people to resist.

The people of the South, through the voice of the Committee on the Unification of the Country, determine to fight against:

— The totalitarian policy of Communism and the absolute dictatorship of the party in North Vietnam who tend to alienate all the fundamental democratic freedoms and all the traditional values of the nation.

— The use of force by the Viet-Cong who have changed North Vietnam into an advance guard for the spread of communism throughout Southeast Asia.

The Committee on the Unification of the Country advocates:

— Unification in peace which is the essential condition to build a humane and just society, to secure the welfare of all and to create a democracy based on respect for the transcendent value of human personality.

— Unification in freedom, banishing all forms of oppression from wherever they may come, and every material and spiritual pressure which may undermine the free right of the people to decide freely their own destiny and the determination of their economic, social and political regime.

— Unification based on faithfulness to the national spirit; the unification campaign must go hand in hand with the rebirth of traditional spiritual values and must preserve the national character against all abstract and false foreign ideologies.

The Committee on the Unification of the Country eagerly calls for the unity of the entire Vietnamese people of the two zones to oppose all plots which attempt to confuse or exploit the people. Viet-Nam will be reunified territorially only by the joining of hearts and spirits in faithfulness to the soul of the nation and in respect for the will of the people.

The Committee on the Unification of the Country has confidence in the future of the Fatherland and in the bright future of the people in «an independent, unified and undivided land».

Saigon, June 30, 1960
For the Committee on the Unification of the Country,
The Chairman,
Dr. TRAN-VAN-TMÔ
SPEECH OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE
ON THE UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE
LIBERATION OF THE NORTH AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE
ON JULY 1st, 1960

Gentlemen,

From the revolt of Dinh Tien Hoang against the twelve feudal lords to the establishment of a separatist puppet government in South Vietnam, in passing through the internal struggle of the Northern Trinh against the Southern Nguyen, in a word, across all the vicissitudes of their history, the people of Viet-Nam have shown their fierce determination to defend the unity of the nation.

Meanwhile, along the road of the struggle for independence and the national revolution, the Viet-Cong dared to sign the Geneva Accord sanctioning the division of our country.

Exploiting the spirit of union of the resistance movement and the vital forces of the nation for partisan ends, the Viet-Cong traitors have oriented the struggle for independence to a struggle of classes and an ideological conflict between world capitalism and International Communism, trampling under foot all the traditional values of the nation.

Today, they still have the audacity to flaunt the slogans « Revolution for the Liberation of South Vietnam », « struggle for the reunification by peaceful means ».

No one is ignorant of the fact, however, that « the liberation » of South Vietnam by the Viet-Cong is only one phase of the revolution of Vietnamese Communism. This Vietnamese revolutionary Communist movement is part of International Revolutionary Communism with the assistance of Russia and Red China. Under the cover of « liberation » and « revolution », they have a single aim: to extend communism over all Viet-Nam.

The Viet-Cong's policy of reunification, using the people as a screen, and the Marxist Doctrine as a foundation, is thus, in reality, only a disguised form of communist expansion. In other terms the Viet-Cong do not seek to reunify in the interests of the people but with the design of putting the nation under the yoke of communist slavery.

Hence, the struggle for unification by peaceful means by the communists has no other aim than usurping the power, destroying the vital forces of the people, the cultural, political and social
traditions and the national and historical consciousness that according to communist principles are obstacles to the realization of the materialist ideology.

Peace as advocated by the communists signifies in reality the release of groundless accusations, undermining the economy, infiltrating in politics with the clear intention of «dividing, isolating and opposing» in order to create confusion, hunger and dissatisfaction among the people which will finally end up in revolt.

North of the 17th parallel, the Viet-Cong consolidated the totalitarian system of the party, reduced the masses to poverty, snuffed out all desire of resistance, maintained and increased the armed forces as an instrument of invasion and created, for the purpose of propaganda, a puppet National Assembly.

Communist agents infiltrated into the South and by means of terrorism, pillage, sabotage, and murder sought to destroy the cultural, economic, political and social life of the people, to delay reconstruction, to divide the classes, thus facilitating the transformation of Viet-Nam into an advanced bastion of totalitarian imperialism.

This is the Viet-Cong concept of the subject of reunification by peaceful means.

In the meantime, the people and the Republican Government of Viet-Nam have loudly protested against the partition of the country at the Geneva Conference. Of course, the voice of the people was not noticed by these uprooted people, but right after the Geneva Agreement, the people and the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam started the work of mending the open wound caused by the Geneva Accord. They undertook the reunification through Freedom and Peace.

The creation of a Committee on the Unification of the Country at the National Assembly does not mean that the Republic of Viet-Nam just thinks of the unification of the country, but it aims at the creation of a continuous policy which has existed since the birth of the Republican regime based on the respect of human dignity. The essential objective of this policy aims at freeing more than 13 million of people who are now living under the yoke of slavery in the North, to obtain the restoration of lost freedom, the safeguarding of a civilization more than 4,000 years old and the defence of the spiritual values of the people against the threat of International Communism. The Republic of Viet-Nam has undertaken a vast program of national rebuilding taking into account the means and possibilities of the people.

The Committee on the Unification of the Country was created on April 7, 1960, within the framework of the National Assembly.
Being conscious of its duties, the Committee on Unification of the Country set out to work by starting with a public opinion poll, either by direct contact with or by sending mail concerning the Unification problem to more than 60 political, cultural and religious groups and syndicates; discussions were held with representatives of labor and intellectual groups of all shades of opinions. Furthermore, many notable and distinguished personalities from all over the country and abroad, on a personal basis, have sent their opinions to the Committee to indicate their interest in a problem which influences the very survival of the nation.

Today, the Committee on the Unification of the Country has the honor to present to you its point of view which is not different from the ideas of the Republican Government already expressed in the Declaration of April 26, 1958.

The position of our Commission is clear and distinct.

PEACE DOES NOT MEAN DESTRUCTION, FALSE PROPAGANDA NOR SABOTAGE. PEACE IS NEITHER PASSIVENESS NOR WEAKNESS AND SUBMISSION BUT POSITIVE RECONSTRUCTION AND CREATION.

It envisages the building of a new society which offers equal opportunities to everyone. The building of real democracy in the South will bring freedom and prosperity and progress to the people.

If the material and spiritual life of the people is guaranteed and supported, then the will and wish for the unification of the people will remain steadfast and intact before the forces of oppression. Only the democratic freedoms permit the people to choose with clear vision and objectivity their own destiny. Therefore, the minimum principles required for the unification of the people must be:

— to abandon absolutely every political plot.

— to reject absolutely every spiritual or material pressure with the intention of placing people opposite an accomplished fact.

— to respect absolutely the people's will to decide their own fate and their right to choose their own political, social and economic regime.

Our attitude toward the problem of unification is well-defined. We have undertaken the task of reunifying the country ever since the Geneva Accord.

To speak of reunification of the country means to speak of reunification of the people. To unify the people in the present situation means to permit them to choose between the Communist system and that of democratic personalism. To overcome Com-
munism it is necessary to help the people discover the just cause. In every domain, the democratic regime must prove its superiority over Communism. It must make people conscious of Personalism which is the only outlet for the survival of people.

For that reason, the essential problem of reunification is the unifying of the spirits and hearts of men in the bosom of the national soul.

If the people of the South are of one mind and if their sentiments are unanimous then the rampart of the Republic of the South will give strong support to the development of the Personalist revolution in North Vietnam.

This revolution is a necessary condition to achieve the ultimate unification of Viet-Nam which is a portion of the vaster problem of the personalist revolution in the Free World.

Once people’s sentiments and will are already unified, the day will soon come when reunification will be achieved in freedom and peace.

Even the most perfect weapons will never triumph over the will of a united people.

Saigon, July 1st, 1960
Dr. TRAN-VAN-THO