VIET-NAM DOCUMENTS & RESEARCH NOTES is issued as a research service by the United States Mission in Vietnam. It presents a selection of significant materials on Southern Viet Cong and North Vietnamese affairs. Copies of all captured documents used and full texts of any translations abridged may be obtained on request from the Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs, American Embassy, Saigon, Vietnam.
THE "PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM"

PART II. THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE PRG
II. THE FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE
PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

The "consultative conference on May 23 [1969] between
a delegation of the Central Committee of the South Viet-Nam
National Front for Liberation [NLF] and a delegation of the
Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Alliance of National,
Democratic and Peace Forces [VANDPF]...[was] unanimous
in their assessment of the development of the situation and
of the very great, all-round victories of the South Vietnamese
people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salva-
tion. The two delegations were unanimous in their views about
the favorable opportunity and the necessity for the establishment
of a Provisional Revolutionary Government in accordance with
the urgent desire of the people of all strata in South Viet-Nam
and with the need to push up the South Vietnamese people's
struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation toward
complete victory." So said a Liberation Radio broadcast on
June 10.

That same day Liberation Radio announced that a
Provisional Revolutionary Government had in fact been formed
at a "Congress of National Delegates of South Viet-Nam" on
June 6, 7, and 8 "in a locality in the liberated areas." (1)

It was attended, the broadcast continued, by 88 delegates
and 72 guests, "representatives of political parties, nationalities,
religions, people's groups, various strata, the PLAF and the
shock youth group, coming from the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh
area, Huế, Đà Nẵng, the highlands, the Quảng Trị-Thừa Thiên
area, Central Trung Bộ, Eastern Nam Bộ, Western Nam Bộ,
My Tho, Bến Tre, Trà Vinh, Cần Thơ, and other places, that
is from the bank of the Ben Hai River down to the point of
Ca Mau."

Two Saigon Lawyers, Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, aged 59, and
Trịnh Đình Thảo, three years his senior, spoke at the opening
session. Tho gave the "political report". He had been Chairman
of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the NLF since

(1) Liberation Radio in Vietnamese, 1000 GMT, 10 June 1969.
Chairman Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, Chairman Trịnh Đình Thảo together with other delegates during a ceremony of salute to the colors -- PRG caption.

1962, living the intervening years in the "liberated areas". Thảo joined him there after Tết 1968, to become Chairman of the VANDPF. Both stressed their organizations' "unanimous view" that the time had come to form a Provisional Revolutionary Government. Said Thọ: "This Provisional Revolutionary Government will be a resistance government fighting for the fatherland."

On the afternoon of June 6, the broadcast report continued, all day June 7, and the morning of June 8 the Congress listened to speeches from "representatives" of religious organizations, the Montagnard Autonomy Movement, the Liberation Trade Union Federation, the Liberation Peasants' Association, the Chinese Residents' Association, the Liberation Women's Association, and the Chairman of the Saigon Students' Federation, a "representative of intellectuals" and another of "patriotic
officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers", Mme Nguyễn Thị Dinh, Vice Commander of the PLAF, the spokesmen of two small political parties long affiliated with the NLF, and "Mr. Nguyễn Văn Linh, representative of the People's Revolutionary Party", and others. There was no intimation that any debate had taken place.

Later, on the 8th, the Congress "unanimously adopted its fundamental resolutions submitted by Dr. Phùng Văn Cung, Vice President of the NLF Presidium on behalf of the presidium [of the Congress] on the establishment of a republican regime in South Viet-Nam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and an Advisory Council to the Government."

Then Thọ "on behalf of the preparatory committee" which, as announced, consisted entirely of NLF and VANDPF representatives, "introduced the list of those who were recommended into [sic] the Provisional Revolutionary Government amidst enthusiastic applause. All the Congress unanimously voted for the list of the government."

Next, another member of the preparatory committee read the names of nominees for the Advisory Council to the PRG and they too were accepted amidst "thunderous applause." As the lists were read out those named "appeared and took their oath before the Congress."

Finally, "after the representatives had unanimously adopted the appeal of the Congress presented by Architect Huỳnh Tấn Phát [who had been named President, or Chairman, of the PRG], Lawyer Trịnh Đình Thào delivered a statement concluding the historic Congress."

Before the end of June, Communist and NLF clandestine printing plants were reproducing the documents of the Congress and the names of the members of the PRG and its Advisory Council. The version reproduced here is the text of a pamphlet "printed at the Lý Từ Trọng Printing House, Central Nam Bộ - Circulation 2,500 copies - June 1969." [Lý Từ Trọng, at 16 a foundation member of the Indochinese Communist Party in
Hong Kong, returned to Saigon in 1930, where in 1931 he was executed for the murder of a French police inspector.]

The pamphlet contained the "Basic Resolution" as presented by the preparatory committee to the delegates and unanimously adopted by them. It is, in effect, the PRG's 'constitution'. The names of PRG and Advisory Council members, the "Action Program" issued by the PRG itself over Huỳnh Tấn Phát's signature on June 10 and the Congress' Appeal, dated June 8, were also included. There was much repetition of the NLF's customary rhetoric in the "Basic Resolution", the "Action Program" and the "Appeal" but emphases differ slightly between the three.

The "Basic Resolution" asserted that the PRG was the government of South Viet-Nam. Article 3 declared that it would establish diplomatic relations "with all countries" and emphasized its intention of implementing "a good neighbor policy" with the Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos. Article 4 insisted that "Viet-Nam is one, the Vietnamese people are one", and that "after the liberation of South Viet-Nam, the unification of Viet-Nam will be achieved step by step peacefully on the basis of agreement between the two zones, without foreign interference."

Part II of the "constitution" was titled "The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the People's Revolutionary Committees at All Levels."

Article 5, in one long sentence, asserted that the PRG was "an organization possessing the most concentrated power and representing the will and aspirations of all the South Vietnamese people", and that it was leading the resistance to "create conditions for the formation of a provisional coalition government in order to organize free elections, elect the National Assembly, promulgate the constitution, and designate the South Viet-Nam official government."

(2) A profile of Party hero Lý Tự Trong appeared in Nhân Dân, Hanoi, 16 January 1970. The above characterization of him is based upon it.
Thus it was indicated in the "Basic Resolution" that the PRG was not expected to take power in South Viet-Nam itself but was to replace the NLF as the "core" around which a provisional coalition government would be organized.

Meanwhile, said Article 6, the PRG would "mobilize and lead all people and armed forces...[and] the People's Revolutionary Committees of all echelons and ministries... to step up the general offensive and uprising movements in coordination with diplomatic struggle..."

Article 7 declared that "in the present critical situation" the PRG had been "entrusted by the delegates' congress with full power to direct and solve all domestic and foreign problems of the country", and that the PRG was adopting the NLF's "Ten-point Overall Solution" as its own.

Article 8 listed the offices in the government, and Article 9 added: "The Revolutionary Administration in South Viet-Nam is organized according to the principle of centralized democracy from central level to basic units." This was spelled out in Article 11 which authorized Congresses of People's Representatives to designate People's Revolutionary Committees, as had COSVN Directive 27, and empowered the PRG "to determine the duties and powers of and organize People's Revolutionary Councils and People's Revolutionary Committees at all levels."

Part III of the "Basic Resolution" was devoted to the Advisory Council, which, it said, was to be composed of representatives of the NLF, the VANDPF, political parties and other organizations "and notables and intellectuals." The Advisory Council was to "base itself" on the resolutions of the Congress and on the political programs of the NLF and the VANDPF. However, Article 14 limited its role to that of "holding joint conferences" with the PRG when "it is necessary to take great decisions on important problems of the country."

When, a few days later, the PRG released its "Action Program" it elaborated on some of the "Basic Resolution's" statements. After avowing that it is intended "to topple the whole puppet administration organization", and its constitution, the PRG declared that:
"With a broad national concord spirit and for the sake of the supreme interests of the nation and people, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is ready to consult with the political forces representing the various people's strata and political tendencies in South Viet-Nam, including people who, for political reasons, have to live abroad, who sympathize with peace, independence, and neutrality, for the formation of a provisional coalition government based on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect. The provisional coalition government will organize general elections to elect a national assembly, to build a democratic constitution fully reflecting the interests and aspirations of all people, and to form a coalition government reflecting national concord and the broad unity of people of all walks of life."
In its penultimate paragraphs, the "Action Program" expressed "its profound gratitude to the DRV government and compatriots of kith-and-kin North Viet-Nam for fulfilling wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability the duties of the great rear toward the great frontline" and "its profound gratitude to socialist and peace-loving countries, world progressives and Americans for their sympathy for the South Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle."

The Congress' "Appeal" declared that "the people of South Viet-Nam are in a victorious position, in an offensive position...a phase of decisive, complicated, but certainly victorious struggle." "Faced with the new requirements of the situation", the text continued, "the NLF and Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, along with all parties and organizations, including the People's Revolutionary Party, the Democratic Party of South Viet-Nam, the Radical Socialist Party of South Viet-Nam, the Liberation Confederation of Labor Unions, the Liberation Farmers Association of South Viet-Nam, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Youth's Association, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Student's Association, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Women's Association, the South Viet-Nam Arts and Letters Association, the South Viet-Nam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association, the Patriotic Teachers' Association, the Western Highlands Autonomous People's Movement, the Khmer Representatives in South Viet-Nam, representatives of religions such as Buddhist, Catholic, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao and patriotic notables have convened a Congress of South Viet-Nam People's Representatives to discuss and make decisions on major problems of the resistance against Americans for national salvation in the new phase."

This is the only claim in the record that any groups other than the NLF Central Committee and the VANDPF were involved in organizing the conference. [Most of those listed by name were NLF affiliates and had allegedly been represented at its first full conference in February 1962.]

The "Appeal," like the PRG's "Action Program", endorsed the NLF's "Ten-Point Overall Solution to the South
Viet-Nam problem", and declared that the Congress had set up the PRG. "During the course of development of the resistance the Provisional Revolutionary Government will be broadened to include representatives of other patriotic forces," it promised. The PRG also "will enter into consultations with the political forces representing broad sections of the population and various political tendencies in South Viet-Nam that stand for peace, independence, neutrality with a view to setting up a Provisional Coalition Government..."

"The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives warmly hails, and formally takes note of, the solemn declaration of the Central Committee of the South Viet-Nam NLF to transfer to the People's Revolutionary Government the state functions, both internal and external -- including the capacity as authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people at the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam -- which thus far has been gloriously discharged by the Front." The "Appeal" praised the NLF as "leader and organizer of the resistance against U.S. aggression" and applauded the VANDPF's work for "a broad rally of the democratic, patriotic and peace-loving forces in South Viet-Nam towns and cities."

"President Hồ Chí Minh" was thanked for his "constant solicitude," and the "extremely great help of our dear compatriots in North Viet-Nam" was fulsomely acknowledged.

Exhortations were directed to the People's Liberation Armed Forces, "valiant compatriots in rural areas," in towns and cities, religious communities, and "various nationalities to intensify their struggles against the GVN and the U.S. aggressors." "Patriotic organizations and individuals whatever your political tendency and past" were urged to cooperate with the PRG, as were "officers, soldiers, policemen and functionaries in the puppet administration."

The "Appeal" omitted the assurances to the South Vietnamese business community which frequently appeared in NLF and VANDPF output. However, the PRG's "Action Program" issued two days later corrected the omission. "Industrialists and businessmen are entitled to freedom of business," it declared. "Oppose oppression by foreign capitalist monopolists."
Mr. Cùu Long, representative of the Federation of Trade Unions for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam making his presentation — PRG caption.

So far as reports indicate, there were only two avowedly communist speakers at the Congress: "Mr. Cùu Long, (3) Representative of the South Viet-Nam Liberation Trade Union Federation" and the speaker who made the "Statement by the delegate of the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnamese People's Revolutionary Party." In Liberation Radio's report of the Congress the PRP delegate was named as "Mr. Nguyễn Văn Linh." These two speeches asserted the communists' 

(3) Cùu Long is a common pseudonym of communist functionaries. It literally means "nine dragons" and is a colloquial name for the Mekong River; it is considered a lucky name. The Cùu Long mentioned here is not the same Cùu Long who has from time to time been named as author of major VC policy statements and military commentaries.
complete acceptance of the PRG's perspectives on the "national democratic revolution", and their willingness to avoid the class struggle rhetoric of "the later advance to socialism" as explained in COSVN Directive 27. The two speech texts are reprinted in full.

Cũu Long spoke of the supposed grievances of urban workers, but ascribed all of them to the war, the GVN and U.S. imperialism. No intimation of an internal South Vietnamese class confrontation was voiced. He called attention to the allegedly "improved material and spiritual life of workers and laborers in the entirely liberated northern part of our country, thus showing the necessity to follow the path mapped out by the People's Revolutionary Party -- the vanguard Party of the Vietnamese working class..." But, Cuu Long emphasized, the workers are "a component of the Vietnamese nation" who "solemnly pledge to the congress that, "if formerly we workers and laborers were the ones to fire the initial shots starting the resistance against French colonialism we are now worthy to be the assault forces cooperating with the urban compatriots.
in their uprising, and we will fire the last shots to mark the very glorious end of our resistance against U.S. aggression and to regain administrative power for the people."

Nguyễn Văn Linh, speaking for the People's Revolutionary Party, was equally satisfied with the first phase revolutionary outlook of the infant PRG. After hailing the formation of the VANDPF as "a great victory for the great national unity front", he said that the "patriotic urban forces" were uniting to overthrow the GVN and for a "peace cabinet which will seriously talk with the NFLSV in order to reestablish peace." This could be interpreted as inserting another step between the new PRG and its actual participation in a provisional coalition government as provided for in the "Ten-Point Overall Solution." While preferring the route mapped in that proposal, which Linh endorsed, the Party was, apparently, willing to consider another approach should it become the better tactic.

The main thrust of his speech, however, was that "our Party...absolutely approves the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Administration" which the NLF and the VANDPF "have in the name of the preparatory committee presented before the people's delegate congress today."

Linh explained that this development followed Party policy. "Our Party always maintains that the revolution is the undertaking of all our people and that the strength of the all-people great unity bloc in the steady and broad unified national front is one of various factors for guaranteeing final victory for the present national liberation struggle as well as the future national construction task. Therefore, the all-people great unity policy is a major policy of our Party. This is the policy of unity and permanent cooperation."
While available biographic data about the 38 members of the PRG and its advisory council is less than adequate, some conclusions about its composition and that of "the all people great unity bloc" can be made. (4) Of the 25 members of the PRG, including the Vice Ministers, 14 had been NLF officers or Central Committeemen, while seven were drawn from the VANDPF. On the 13-member Advisory Council the ratio changes, with six members coming from each of the two founding groups. Both government and council contained one or two people with religious but no ascertainable political affiliation.

While the NLF's women's organization could be said to be represented by Foreign Minister Nguyễn Thị Bình, once its president, there was no one identified with either peasants' or workers' movements. There were, however, several former student leaders.

The average age of PRG members in 1969 was 50.9 years, of Advisory Council members 60.8 years. While NLF leaders were preferred to VANDPF members for PRG posts there was a tendency to put the older NLF luminaries into the advisory body and assign some of the younger of the VANDPF personalities to PRG posts.

The political life patterns of leaders of the two organizations, the NLF and the VANDPF, who became PRG members or advisors differed noticeably. The overwhelming majority of the NLF contingent had been living in "liberated areas" since 1960 or at the latest 1963, while the VANDPF members, almost without exception, had resided in Saigon or other cities until Tết 1968. Less complete data suggests that while a majority of the NLF figures were cooperating with the communists as early as 1945 in the Viet Minh resistance to the reestablishment of French rule in Viet-Nam, there is little indication of active association with communists-controlled

---

(4) With the exception of the reference to "Tran Nam Trung" the categorizations and biographical data which follow are based upon the biographies broadcast by the PRG's Liberation Radio in Vietnamese at 1400 hours GMT, 17 and 20 June 1969, and Appendix D, "Biographical Notes" pp 421 to 436 of Douglas Pike's Viet-Cong, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge 1966.
organizations on the part of most VANDPF personnel before 1960. A number of them had, however, been critical of the Diệm government before 1960.

Most PRG and Advisory Council members of both NLF and VANDPF backgrounds had experienced at least brief arrest, with the arrests coming later in the lives of the VANDPF members than with the NLF men.

Occupational backgrounds are easily ascertainable for VANDPF leaders. They came almost exclusively from business and professional backgrounds, with lawyers and teachers predominating. These professions were heavily represented in the NLF too, but at least five of the people it contributed to the PRG can only be categorized as "student leaders" or full time revolutionaries prior to their going to the "liberated areas." At least eight of the 38 had some schooling in France, with all but one of these, Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, coming to the PRG from the VANDPF.

These are perhaps some of the factors accounting for the preponderance of NLF veterans in the PRG itself. At least three of its most important members, however, are not accounted for in the above occupational and organizational categorizations. These are "Trần Nam Trung, Minister of Defense" and his two Vice Ministers Nguyễn Chánh and Đặng Văn Công.

Some Viet Cong ralliers have asserted that "Trần Nam Trung" is in fact a senior officer of the North Vietnamese People's Army, and an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party. The PRG's biography of "Trần Nam Trung" said that he had been Chairman of the NLF's Military Committee. "Trần Nam Trung," it continued, was born in southern Trung Bo in 1913 and "actively participated in the August 1945 uprising and the anti-French resistance war until victory." Prior to that period he had, as early as 1930, been "a cadre who stalwartly struggled against feudalism, imperialism and fascism and was therefore arrested and imprisoned many times by the French." In short he was a veteran communist.
Nguyễn Chánh was said to have been "Chief of Staff of the Nam Bồ command during the resistance against the French colonialists" and more recently Commander of the Central Trung Bồ PLAF. Đỗng Văn Công also fought the French in Nam Bồ and in 1969 was "Commander of the Western Nam Bồ Military Zone and Deputy Commander of the South Việt-Nam PLAF."

There was more information available on the political leaders of the PRG. President Huỳnh Tấn Phát was Vice Chairman of the NLF Presidium, Secretary General of its Central Committee, and Chairman of the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Định NLF Committee. Although born in Mỹ Tho in South Việt-Nam he was trained as an architect at the University of Hanoi, participating there in the "Democratic movement against Fascism and Colonialism under the French rule." In 1945 he was one of the leaders of the Vanguard Youth Movement in Saigon, which worked with the Việt Minh, and became part of the "resistance." Phát subsequently was Secretary General of the Democratic Party which collaborated closely with the Việt Minh until 1954. He continued as its general secretary, moved to the "liberated areas" in 1959 and participated in the organizing conference of the NLF in 1960.

Phát's deputy secretary general in the Democratic Party had been Trần Buội Kiểm, born in Cần Thơ, who like Phát was educated at the University of Hanoi. Kiểm had briefly been secretary general of the NLF. He was chief of the NLF delegation at the Paris talks when the PRG was formed, but was quickly summoned back to be "Minister in the President's Office." Another native of Cần Thơ, and one-time editor of the Democratic Party's publications, Ứng Ngọc Kỳ, was named as Kiểm's Vice Minister in Phát's office.

Another pre-NLF center of association between PRG members was the 1954-1955 Saigon-Cholon Peace Committee. Its chief organizer was Dr. Phùng Văn Cung who led the March 1969 NLF delegation to Hanoi. He was named first Vice President and Minister of Interior of the PRG. Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, NLF and PRG Advisory Council Chairman, had been that Committee's Vice Chairman. Phát and Lê Văn Tha, PRG Vice Minister of Justice, had also been active in the peace committee.
Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, though passed over for the PRG presidency, remained a prominent figure in the VC political configuration. He continued to head the NLF. Although briefly de-emphasized while propaganda was centered on the new PRG, the NLF thereafter was bracketed with the PRG in greetings within the communist world, and in Hanoi and Liberation Radio broadcasts to the people of South Viet-Nam. The NLF also remained nominally the coordinating center for the network of "mass organizations" which, along with the PRG-led People's Revolutionary Committees, were to serve as links with the masses.

Tho was named Chairman of the PRG's Advisory Council, and has been a frequent co-signer of PRG policy statements with Phất. A Paris-educated lawyer, Tho's first political act seems to have been to lead an anti-French demonstration in Saigon in 1949, which he followed up with a protest in 1950 against the peaceful visit of three American naval vessels to Saigon. On the latter occasion he was arrested. He has claimed not to have been siding with the Việt Minh at the time but simply working for a negotiated end to the "resistance" war. Four years later he was active in the Saigon Peace Committee, being arrested again in 1958. He escaped to the "liberated areas" in 1961 when under house arrest in Phú Yên, and became NLF Chairman at its 1962 conference.

The VANDPF's chairman, Trịnh Đình Thảo, like Tho, a French-educated lawyer, had been Minister of Justice in the short-lived Japanese-sponsored regime in Viet-Nam in 1945. He refused to work with the French; however, and in 1954 was Honorary Chairman of the Peace Movement, and was jailed by the Diệm government. Along with Trương Như Tăng, also of the VANDPF, who was named Minister of Justice in the PRG, Thảo was next identified with a 1964-1965 "Peace-Promoting Committee" in Saigon. The two were briefly jailed by the GVN in 1965 and again in 1967, but were released in time to help organize the precursors of the VANDPF in Tết 1968.

To what degree and precisely when each individual and committee in the PRG spectrum adopted a working relationship with the communist movement before 1968 one cannot say.
In the case of the Democratic Party of Phát, Kiêm and Kỳ there is ample indication that it was from its inception an ally if not a creation of the communists. The PRG's "core" was the NLF, the Front organized in 1960-1962 in response to a North Viet-Nam Workers' Party decision. (5)

The Viet-Nam Workers' Party unreservedly endorsed COSVN's creation of the PRG. Hồ Chí Minh, President of the DRV, Chairman of the Party Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and Phạm Văn Đông, Prime Minister of the DRV, on June 11 sent greetings to the PRG, which were promptly acknowledged with equal cordiality. (6) The June issues of Học Tạp, the Party's principal theoretical journal, and the historical magazine Nghiên Cứu Lịch Sử carried, respectively, an official statement of the DRV on its future relations with the PRG, and a "Marxist" analysis of the historical setting within which the PRG was formed. Both texts are reprinted in this research note.

The persons named to the PRG reportedly met after the Congress adjourned. It was announced that the NLF's delegation to the Paris Peace Talks would in the future be styled the PRG's. The text of this order is also reprinted. Trần Buu Kiêm, who had headed the delegation, was called home to be Minister in the President's Office. Mme Nguyễn Thị Bình, his deputy was designed to succeed him. The Congress had already named her Foreign Minister of the PRG. En route home Kiêm stopped over in Moscow and Peking. (7)

On June 11, said an Hanoi broadcast, the PRG's President and Minister of Information and Culture met the press. They claimed that revolutionary administrations existed in all the provinces of South Viet-Nam. President Phát himself, however, emphasized the self-liquidating task which had been imposed upon his government:

---

(5) For the VWP decision to set-up the Front, see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 98, "World Situation and our Party's International Mission", pp 7 ff.
"The Provisional Revolutionary Government will be expanded so that representatives of other patriotic forces may join it. It is ready to hold consultations with the political forces and political tendencies in South Viet-Nam which stand for peace, independence, and neutrality with a view to forming a Provisional Coalition Government as stipulated by the 10-Point Overall Solution of the NFLSV. This government will organize the free general elections to elect a national assembly and adopt the constitution, and appoint the coalition government of South Viet-Nam."

Then he attacked United States President Nixon and GVN President Thieu who, meeting at Midway, on June 8 announced a major withdrawal of American troops from Viet-Nam, but did not respond to the "Ten-Point Overall Solution." The "transcript" of the press conference is reprinted.

Delegates of the People's Liberation Armed Security Forces of South Viet-Nam — PRG caption.
[See text on following page.]
The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government was announced on June 10, 1969, the day it took title to the NLF's Paris delegation. An interesting aspect of the PRG was not mentioned at the Congress. Liberation Radio on June 28 noted that it was to have the support of an "armed security force". The text of the broadcast is reprinted.

"Under the NLF's ever-glorious banner, the armed security force, which was created and has matured in the anti-U.S. national salvation high tide, the revolutionary storm, and our people's offensive and concerted uprisings, has inherited the people's armed forces traditions and armed security traditions and received extremely precious experiences from 24 years of building security forces nationwide... Greeting the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, let us enthusiastically surge forward and score greater feats of arms for the sake of the fatherland's glorious undertaking." (8)

(8) On "24 years of building security forces nationwide", see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 90, "Communist Security Forces in Viet-Nam", and for a portion of their work in the South, No. 97, "Communist 'Repression' in South Viet-Nam."
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF PEOPLE'S DELEGATES OF
SOUTH VIET-NAM
BASIC RESOLUTION
OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DELEGATES
OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

Independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity are the sacred, inviolable basic national rights of all people of every country.

The U.S. imperialists have trampled upon human rights, self-determination and the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Viet-Nam by sending half-a-million troops to invade South Viet-Nam and to wage the most atrocious war of aggression in mankind's history. The U.S. imperialists want to turn South Viet-Nam into a neocolony and a military base, plotting to partition and occupy our entire country forever, thereby seriously threatening the security of Indo-China and peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

With the indomitable, historic tradition and the uprising spirit of a people who have for 4,000 years constructed and protected their country and continued the anti-colonialist struggle from one generation to another over a century, we have sacrificed everything, determined not to live as slaves. Our sacred, strong, just resistance against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys has been riding a continuous high tide, scoring repeated successes.

The more the U.S. imperialists escalate the war, the more heavily they are defeated. The more our armed forces and people fight, the stronger they become and the greater their victories. In the 1968 Mậu Thân Spring the strong and continuous general offensive and uprisings of our armed forces and people throughout the South have scored great, comprehensive achievements, thus leading our anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking to an extremely glorious era of new development.

The U.S. aggressors are obviously defeated; but they remain very stubborn, continuing to oppose the legitimate demands of our people, the U.S. people, and the peace-loving people worldwide. These demands are: end the aggressive war and withdraw all U.S. troops.
During these very important hours of our country's history, the Congress of South Vietnamese People's Delegates, representing the entire people's desire, solemnly asserts that the South Vietnamese people's basic objectives are independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and the peaceful reunification of the country, for which our 14 million compatriots are determined to sacrifice and struggle to the end.

The present important tasks for all our troops and people in South Viet-Nam are to strengthen their militant solidarity and concentrate all their spirit and energy to defeat the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, to overthrow the reactionary U.S. puppet administration, to liberate the South, to protect the North, to achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful, and neutral South Viet-Nam, and to proceed toward national reunification.

To manifest the unsubmissive desire for independence and freedom of a nation which is winning; to gather, consolidate, and develop the brilliant achievements and great victories of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance; to comply with the democratic, revolutionary desires of all strata of people; to meet the urgent requirements of the local situation, and to strongly advance the inevitably victorious resistance toward complete victory, the Congress of South Vietnamese Delegates solemnly establishes the Republic of South Viet-Nam Regime and outlines its great organizational structure as follows:

PART I

THE REGIME OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

Article 1: The Political Regime of South Viet-Nam is the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

a)--National Flag: The Congress of South Vietnamese Delegates decides to take the NLF flag, representing the all-people solidarity bloc and the South Vietnamese People's stalwart, unsubmissive fighting spirit, as the National Flag of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

b)--National Anthem: The Congress of South Vietnamese People's Delegates decides to take the hymn 'Liberate The
South', representing the South Vietnamese People's determination to fight and win, as the National Anthem of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

c)--Motto: The motto of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is Independence-Democracy-Peace-Neutrality.

Article 2: The Republic of South Viet-Nam's domestic policy is aimed at uniting all people, irrespective of social strata, religion, nationality, political tendencies, or their past provided that they approve peace, independence, and neutrality.

The Republic of South Viet-Nam is resolved to protect the national sovereignty, to insure democratic freedoms, to respect the freedom of faith, to achieve equality among nationalities, to implement agrarian policies, to develop production and industrial and commercial activities, to accelerate the educational, medical, cultural, and social tasks in order to constantly improve the material and spiritual life of the people, especially laborers, and to mobilize human and material resources in accordance with the slogan "all for the frontline, all for victory."

Article 3: The Republic of South Viet-Nam will implement a peaceful and neutral foreign policy, establish diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations with all countries, regardless of political and social regimes, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and implement a good neighbor policy with the Cambodian Kingdom on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia in conformity with the present borders. The Republic of South Viet-Nam will implement a good neighbor policy with the Laotian Kingdom on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and will continue to support the movement of struggle for national independence, against imperialism, old colonialism, and neocolonialism, and for the protection of peace in South-east Asia and the world.

Article 4: Viet-Nam is one, the Vietnamese People are one. The Vietnamese People's right to fight for the protection of their fatherland is the sacred, inviolable self-defense right.
After the liberation of South Viet-Nam, the unification of Viet-Nam will be achieved step by step peacefully on the basis of agreement between the two zones, without foreign interference.

PART II

THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM AND THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AT ALL LEVELS.

Article 5: The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is an organization possessing the most concentrated power and representing the will and aspirations of all the South Vietnamese people to vigorously lead the resistance toward victory and create conditions for the formation of a provisional coalition government in order to organize free general elections, elect the National Assembly, promulgate the constitution, and designate the South Viet-Nam official government.

Article 6: The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has the duty to mobilize and lead all people and armed forces, to lead the People's Revolutionary Committees of all echelons and ministries, to strive to develop the victories obtained, to step up the general offensive and uprising movements in coordination with diplomatic struggle, and to continuously develop the resistance forces in all aspects to defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy, topple the reactionary puppet administration, force the Americans to end the aggressive war and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet-Nam, and to achieve the objectives: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality proceeding toward national reunification.

Article 7: In the present critical situation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has been entrusted by the delegates' congress with full power to direct and solve all domestic and foreign problems of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam will rely on the resolution of
the People Delegates' Congress, the National Liberation Front's political program, and the political program of the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces to promulgate laws, decrees, instructions, and circulars aimed at accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, building the country, and unifying the leadership of People's Revolutionary Committees of all echelons.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is an organ endowed with the right to deal with foreign relations problems, to establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with foreign countries, and to solve the South Viet-Nam issue in accordance with the principles and main content of the Ten-Point Overall Solution set forth by the National Liberation Front Representative at the Paris Conference.

Article 8: The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam comprises a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, and the following Ministries: Defense, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Economic and Financial, Information and Culture, Education and Youth, Public Health, Social Action and Disabled Soldiers, and Justice.

The Secretariat of the Chairman's Office has a Minister and a Deputy Minister.

In the future, to meet the increasing demands of the situation the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam may create new and necessary ministries and appoint more personnel.

Article 9: The Revolutionary Administration in South Viet-Nam is organized according to the principle of centralized democracy from central level to basic units.

Article 10: The administrative system of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is divided into:

- Central.

- City, province or equivalent.

- District or equivalent.
Article 11: The establishment of administrations at city, provincial, district, and village levels or equivalent will be carried out according to the people-elected principle: through universal suffrage by the people. People's Revolutionary Councils will be elected which will designate People's Revolutionary Committees.

Under the war of resistance conditions, in areas where conditions have not yet allowed universal suffrage, Congresses of People's Representatives will be held to designate People's Revolutionary Committees.

The Congress of National Delegates entrusts the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam with the task of basing itself on its resolution and on the real situation in localities to determine the duties and powers of and organize People's Revolutionary Councils and People's Revolutionary Committees at all levels.

PART III

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Article 12: To help the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam reflect the entire people's aspirations in its works, the Congress of National Delegates unanimously decided to set up, in addition, an Advisory Council.

This Advisory Council composed of representatives of the NLFSVN, the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces, political parties, people's organizations, religious communities, ethnic minorities, political forces, and notables and intellectuals struggling for peace, independence, and neutrality in South Viet-Nam. It consists of a Chairman, Vice Chairman, and members.

Article 13: The Advisory Council will base itself on the resolution of the Congress of National Delegates, the NLFSVN's political program, the Viet-Nam Alliance
of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces' political program, and the aspirations of various strata of people to join ideas with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam in setting forth stands and domestic and foreign policies, and in promulgating, completing, and revising laws, decrees, instruction and circulars of the government.

Article 14: In case it is necessary to take great decisions on important problems of the country, joint conferences between the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Advisory Council will be held.

South Viet-Nam
8 June 1969

The National Congress of People's Delegates of South Viet-Nam
COMPOSITION OF
THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

- Chairman: Architect Huỳnh Tấn Phát.

- Vice Chairman and Minister of Interior:
  Dr. Phùng Văn Cung.

- Vice Chairman and Minister of Education and Youth:
  Professor Nguyễn Văn Kiệt.

- Vice Chairman: Old-aged Mr. Nguyễn Đoá.

- Minister to the Chairman's Office:
  Mr. Trần Bửu Kiem.

- Minister of Defense: Mr. Trần Nam Trung.

- Minister of Foreign Affairs: Mrs. Nguyễn Thị Bình.

- Minister of Interior: Dr. Phùng Văn Cung.

- Minister of Economy and Finance: Engineer Cao Văn Bồn.

- Minister of Information and Culture:
  Composer Lưu Hữu Phước.

- Minister of Education and Youth:
  Professor Nguyễn Văn Kiệt.

- Minister of Health, Social Action, and Disabled Soldiers:
  Female Dr. Dương Huỳnh Hoa.

- Minister of Justice: Mr. Trương Như Tăng.

- Vice Minister to the Chairman's Office:
  Mr. Ung Ngọc Kỳ.

- Vice Ministers of Defense: Mr. Đỗng Văn Công and
  Mr. Nguyễn Chánh.
- Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs: Mr. Lê Văn Chánh and Mr. Hoàng Bích Sơn.

- Vice Minister of Interior: Professor Nguyễn Ngọc Thượng.

- Vice Minister of Economy and Finance: Mr. Nguyễn Văn Triệu.

- Vice Ministers of Information and Culture: Writer Hoàng Trọng Quỳ, Pen Name Thanh Nghĩ, and Writer Lưu Phương.

- Vice Ministers of Education and Youth: Professor Lê Văn Chí and Mr. Hồ Hữu Như.

- Vice Ministers of Health, Social Action, and Disabled Soldiers: Dr. Hồ Văn Huê and Female Professor Bùi Thị Ме.

- Vice Minister of Justice: Professor Lê Văn Thẹ.
COMPOSITION OF
THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF
THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

- Chairman: Lawyer Nguyễn Hữu Thọ, Chairman of the
  NLFSVN Central Committee Presidium.

- Vice-Chairman: Lawyer Trịnh Đình Thảo, Chairman of
  the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Alliance of
  National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

- Member: Mr. Ibih Aleo, Chairman of the High Plateau
  Autonomy Movement and Vice Chairman of the
  NLFSVN Central Committee Presidium.

- Member: Venerable Thích Đôn Hậu, Former Principal
  Delegate of the Viet-Nam United Buddhist Church in
  the Văn Hạnh Region and Vice Chairman of the Central
  Committee of the Viet-Nam Alliance of National,
  Democratic, and Peace Forces.

- Member: Mr. Huỳnh Cường, Delegate of the Khmer
  Compatriots in South Viet-Nam and member of the
  NLFSVN.

- Member: Bonze Huỳnh Văn Trị representing the Hòa Hảo
  Buddhist Church.

- Member: Mr. Nguyễn Công Phương, Old Revolutionist
  from Central Trung Bộ.

- Member: Engineer Lâm Văn Tệt, Patriotic Notable,
  Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet-
  Nam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace
  Forces.

- Member: Mr. Võ Oanh, Patriotic Notable, Member of
  the NLFSVN Central Committee.

- Member: Professor Lê Văn Giáp, Chairman of the
  Sài-gòn-Chợ Lớn-Gia Định Committee of the Alliance
  of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces.
- Member: Major Huỳnh Thanh Mừng, Vice Chairman of the Tây Ninh Caodaist Committee for Consolidating Peaceful Coexistence.

- Member: Mr. Lucien Phạm Ngọc Hùng, Delegate of the South Vietnamese Patriotic Catholics and Member of the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Định Standing Committee of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces.

- Member: Female Professor Nguyễn Đình Chi, Vice Chairman of the Thừa Thiên - Huế People's Revolutionary Committee and Vice Chairman of the Hue Committee of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces.
DECLARATION
ON THE ACTION PROGRAM OF
THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

Faced with the urgent demands of the new situation and tasks and in accordance with the deep aspirations of the majority of people's strata, the historic South Vietnamese People's Delegate Congress on 6, 7, and 8 June 1969 set up the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has solemnly announced assumption of its heavy responsibility to the compatriots and the world. All government members have solemnly announced their efforts to fulfill the heavy and glorious mission entrusted them by the Congress. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has pledged to mobilize all South Vietnamese people and combatants to step up the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking until complete victory and successfully fulfill the noble duties set forth by the People's Delegate Congress.

For the sake of the supreme interests of the fatherland and people,

Faced with sacred moments of our history,

And in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted by the Congress to the Government, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam has made public the following twelve-point action program:

1. To lead all people and armed forces who are united and of the same mind; to intensify military and political struggle to defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war, to frustrate their scheme of Vietnamizing the war and to demand that the United States seriously talk with the Provisional Revolutionary Government at the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam on the basis of the ten-point overall solution of the NLF SVN; to force the U.S. Administration to unconditionally withdraw all U.S. troops and the troops of the countries of the U.S. camp from South Viet-Nam in order
to quickly end the war, to reestablish peace and to achieve the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights -- that is, independence, national sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity which are recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam.

2 - To eradicate the camouflaged neocolonialist regime set up by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet-Nam; to topple the whole puppet administration organization; to abolish the constitution and all anti-people and anti-democratic laws of the puppet administration which encroach on the lives, properties, prestiges and other interests of the people.

To build a truly democratic and free republican regime; to organize elections in accordance with the principles of equality, freedom and democracy and without intervention of foreign countries.

3 - With a broad national concord spirit and for the sake of the supreme interests of the nation and people, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is ready to consult with the political forces representing the various people's strata and political tendencies in South Viet-Nam, including people who, for political reasons, have to live abroad, which sympathize with peace, independence, and neutrality, for the formation of a provisional coalition government based on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect. The provisional coalition government will organize general elections to elect a national assembly, to build a democratic constitution fully reflecting the interests and aspirations of all people, and to form a coalition government reflecting national concord and the broad unity of people of all walks of life.

4 - Strengthen the people's resistance force in all respects.

To consolidate and develop revolutionary administrations at all echelons, to build and consolidate revolutionary armed forces, unify patriotic armed forces, and consolidate and broaden liberated areas.

5 - Realize broad democratic freedoms.

Release all persons detained by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration because of their patriotic activities.
Prohibit every terrorist and revenging act and any discriminatory treatment of those who have collaborated with this side or the other side living at home or abroad.

Realize the equality of sexes in every respect.

Implement a policy of solidarity and equality among nationalities; ethnic minorities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages to develop their national culture and art and to maintain or to change their customs and habits. Respect freedom of faith and freedom of worship, practice equality among religious communities. Protect interests of Vietnamese residents abroad and just interests of foreigners living in South Viet-Nam.

6 - Pay great attention to the interests of urbanites of all strata, especially the right to a decent life and democratic rights.

Improve the living conditions of workers and laborers. Revise the labor law and set up a system of minimum wages; oppose mistreatment, fines, and dismissal of workers and laborers. Workers are entitled to participate in managing enterprises and are free to join trade unions.

Oppose the forcible recruitment of youths and students into the puppet army, guarantee studies of youths and students.

Personalities, intellectuals, professors, writers and artists, and journalists are entitled to freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of press.

Industrialists and businessmen are entitled to freedom of business. Oppose oppression by foreign capitalist monopolists. Urbanites of all strata are entitled to participate in political activities and in all struggles for peace, independence, sovereignty, and the right to live. Oppose all repressive and terrorist U.S.-puppet activities.

7 - Accelerate production to provide supplies for the frontline and improve the people's strength, creating conditions for advancing toward the building of an independent and self-supporting economy. Take care of the laboring
people's lives. Give due consideration to the interests of other strata.

Implement an agrarian policy in consonance with the practical circumstances in South Viet-Nam.

Improve the peasants' living standards, restore and develop agricultural and industrial production.

Encourage bourgeois industrialists and businessmen to contribute to developing industry, small industries, and handicrafts.

Guarantee the right to ownership of production means and other property of citizens according to state law.

8 - Eliminate the U.S.-type enslaving and depraved culture and education now adversely affecting our people's fine, long-standing cultural traditions.

Build a national democratic culture and develop science and technology.

Improve the people's cultural standards, eradicate illiteracy, promote complementary education, and open more general education schools.

Develop medical, hygienic, and prophylactic activities.

9 - Encourage, welcome, and appropriately commend and reward puppet officers and enlisted men, police agents, and civil servants who render services and return to the people; in particular, encourage and commend and reward puppet army or police units who return to the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Those who have committed crimes but are now repentant and sincerely return to the people will be pardoned and enjoy equal treatment. They will be rewarded accordingly for their meritorious deeds.

10 - Positively solve the problems left by the aggressive U.S. war and the puppet administration regime, heal the war wounds and stabilize the people's normal life.
Wholeheartedly care for and help wounded soldiers and families of war heroes.

Provide the people with jobs, positively solving unemployment.

Concerning the compatriots who were herded by the enemy into concentration camps or strategic hamlets, those who want to stay there will be entitled to the right of mastership of land and ricefields and will be assisted in carrying on business activities on the spot; and those who want to return to their native places will be also aided.

Give relief to the victimized compatriots and care for young orphans, debilitated and lame oldsters.

The wounded and crippled puppet troops and policemen and the poor and helpless families of killed-in-action puppet troops and policemen will also be taken care of.

Help those who were driven by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys into debauchery to rebuild their life.

11 - Re-establish normal relations between the South and North, guarantee the freedom of movement, correspondence, and residence, establish economic and cultural relations in accordance with the principle both zones have interests, help each other, agree on the demilitarized zone statute, and prescribe procedures for crossing the temporary military demarcation line.

The unification of the country will be achieved step by step through peaceful methods and on the basis of discussions and agreement between both zones, without coercion by either side.

12 - Struggle for the sympathy, support and aid of various countries and progressives worldwide, including the American people, for the South Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking.

Positively support the national independence movements of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples opposing imperialism and old and neocolonialism.
Positively coordinate with the American people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war in Viet-Nam. Positively support the U.S. Negroes' just struggle for fundamental national rights.

Implement a peaceful, neutral foreign policy.

Establish friendly relations and a good-neighbor policy toward the Cambodian Kingdom on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, and neutrality of Cambodia, recognize and pledge to respect the territorial integrity of the Cambodian Kingdom according to the present borders.

Implement a good-neighbor policy toward the Laotian Kingdom on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

Establish diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations with all countries, the United States included, regardless of the political and social systems, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, without infringement upon each other, without interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefits, and peaceful coexistence. Accept aid in capital, technique, and experts from any country without political conditions attached.

Join no military alliance, accept no military bases, troops, or military personnel of foreign countries on South Viet-Nam territory. Accept no foreign protection or military alliance.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam earnestly appeals to all the armed forces and people to closely unite, millions as one, around the government to achieve the program of action, to advance the General Offensive and Uprisings movement toward greater victories, to defeat all dark schemes and cunning maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and to create new changes in our people's sacred resistance.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government warmly welcomes and praises the absolutely brave, self-sacrificing spirit of our armed forces and people who are always
worthy to be the children of a heroic nation in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle for independence and freedom.

The provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam expresses its profound gratitude to the DRV government and compatriots of kith-and-kin North Viet-Nam for fulfilling wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability the duties of the great rear toward the great frontline.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam expresses its profound gratitude to socialist and peace-loving countries, world progressives, and Americans for their sympathy and great support for the South Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

Let all our armed forces and people rush forward bravely, overcome all obstacles, struggle persistently, heighten vigilance, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war, overthrow the lackey puppet administration, force the U.S. government to unconditionally withdraw all U.S. and allied troops and to let the South Vietnamese people achieve their real right to self-determination, gloriously complete the national liberation task, and create basic conditions for building an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous South Viet-Nam and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Let our southern compatriots advance valiantly!

Glorious victories are waiting for us.

The South Vietnamese people will surely win!

South Viet-Nam
10 June 1969
Provisional Revolutionary Government of The Republic of South Viet-Nam
Chairman

Architect: Huynh Tan Phat
APPEAL
BY
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES
OF SOUTH VIET-NAM

In the past 15 years, the U.S. imperialists, through an extremely cruel regime of henchmen, have unceasingly sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam. They have pursued the war of aggression against Viet-Nam and have intervened in Viet-Nam affairs in an attempt to turn South Viet-Nam into a neo-colony and military base, and to permanently split our country.

Faced with the danger of complete defeat, since 1965 the U.S. imperialists have been using over a half-million American expeditionary troops, together with troops of a number of countries in the American camp and more than a half-million puppet troops to directly wage a war of aggression against South Viet-Nam. At the same time, they carried out a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, committing incalculable crimes against the entire people of Viet-Nam. They have expanded the special war in Laos, increased territorial violations and threatened the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

Unwilling to live in slavery, the South Viet-Nam people have united themselves to heroically fight the enemy and have won victory after victory, especially after the foundation of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam which has held high the banner of national unity to carry on the fight for national salvation. Since the spring of 1968, the South Viet-Nam army and people have continuously staged simultaneous offensive and uprisings, and scored unprecedented victories. These victories have changed the war situation and have driven the U.S. and puppet troops further into a passive and defeated position. The front of national union against the Americans for national salvation has been broadened with the establishment of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and other patriotic organizations.

Our heroic people and army in the North, bravely fighting and producing, have defeated the most savage
war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists and are giving wholehearted support and assistance to the liberation of South Viet-Nam.

The unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing and shelling over the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a great victory of the Vietnamese people in both zones. It is also a victory for the socialist countries and national liberation and peace movements of the people throughout the world, including the progressive U.S. people.

However, the U.S. imperialists have not yet given up their wild intention of aggression against South Viet-Nam. The Nixon government, with its illusion of gaining a "position of superiority" has stepped up its aggressive war against South Viet-Nam, continued to commit barbarous crimes against the South Vietnamese people, and successively infringed upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. At the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam, the U.S. delegates have dodged the principal matter dealing with the unconditional withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of U.S. troops and alien troops on the American side.

Vis-a-vis the Ten-Point Overall Solution of the NFLSVN, an important initiative representing the iron-like will of our people throughout the country which is warmly accepted and supported by world opinion and the progressive American opinion, the Nixon government has had no correct responsive attitude. In its so-called "Eight-Point Peace Program," the Nixon Government continued to ask for simultaneous troop withdrawal by both sides, exposed its intention of delaying the withdrawal of U.S. troops out of South Viet-Nam, tried to maintain the puppet clique of Thieu-Ky-Huong which is being opposed by our people. It refused to establish a provisional coalition government in South Viet-Nam but tried to consolidate the puppet government and strengthen the puppet army, hoping to hang on to South Viet-Nam. Although forced to participate in the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam, the Thieu-Ky- Huong government stubbornly asked for troop withdrawal in accordance with the "Manila Formula", and frenziedly opposed the establishment of a coalition government, brazenly repressed the forces and personalities supporting peace, independence and neutrality, and brazenly repressed the religious followers and all those who want
a serious political solution for the problem of South Viet-Nam. This clique has exposed its plot to hang on to the disguised colonialist regime of the Americans, which it is doing for the sake of its own selfish interests.

The more stubborn the U.S. imperialists are, the more ignominious their defeats become. They are doomed to total failure.

The people of South Viet-Nam are in a victorious position, in an offensive position. The political and military forces of the South Viet-Nam people have developed considerably. Our people are in a phase of decisive, complicated but certainly victorious struggle which has a decisive bearing on the liberation of South Viet-Nam.

Faced with the new requirement of the situation, the NFLSVN and Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces, along with all parties and organizations including the People's Revolutionary Party of Viet-Nam, the Democratic Party of South Viet-Nam, the Radical Socialist Party of South Viet-Nam, the Liberation Confederation of Labor Unions, the Liberation Farmers' Association of South Viet-Nam, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Youths' Association, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Students' Association, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Women's Association, the South Viet-Nam Liberation Arts and Letters Association, the South Viet-Nam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association, the Patriotic Teachers' Association, the Western Highlands Autonomous People's Movement, the Khmer Representatives in South Viet-Nam, representatives of all religions such as Buddhist, Catholic, Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao, and patriotic notables, have convened a Congress of South Viet-Nam People's Representatives to discuss and make decisions on major problems of the resistance against Americans for national salvation in the new phase.

The summoning of the Congress of People's Representatives with the presence of all representatives of resistance forces in South Viet-Nam marks a step forward for the front of national union. It also reflects the will of our entire people to resolutely intensify the struggle against Americans for national salvation until the achievement of a complete victory.
The Congress of the South Viet-Nam People's Representatives asserts that the historical mission of the revolution in South Viet-Nam in the immediate phase is to strengthen national solidarity among all forces which advocate independence, peace, and neutrality, to perseveringly step up the fight against Americans for national salvation, defeat the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists, overthrow the puppet reactionary government, achieve the liberation of South Viet-Nam, create the basic conditions for the advancement of South Viet-Nam in independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity, and march toward peace and unification of the country.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives unanimously holds that the ten-point overall solution to the South Viet-Nam problem put forward by the National Front for Liberation is a correct, reasonable and logical basis to end the U.S. aggressive war, resolve the South Viet-Nam problem and contribute to the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam. To assume the historic responsibility of leading the entire armed forces and people in achieving the urgent objectives of the revolution, the South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives has decided to set up the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Advisory Council to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam is the highest executive body expressing the will and aspirations of the entire people, and having as its tasks to lead the various branches of activity and the various echelons, to mobilize the entire people to step up the resistance and to liberate South Viet-Nam.

During the course of development of the resistance, the Provisional Revolutionary Government will be broadened to include representatives of other patriotic forces.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government will enter into consultations with the political forces representing broad sections of the population and various political tendencies in South Viet-Nam, that stand for peace, independence,
neutrality with a view to setting up a Provisional Coalition Government, on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect.

The Advisory Council is composed of representatives of the Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, of the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, of political parties, mass organizations, religious communities, nationalities, political forces, personalities and intellectuals struggling for peace, independence, neutrality in South Viet-Nam. The Council has as its task to give, on the basis of the decisions of the Congress and the People's aspirations, suggestions and advice to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam on the internal and external policies of South Viet-Nam.

The decision of the South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives to set up a Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Advisory Council is fully in keeping with the requirements of the situation, it meets the deep aspirations of the various social strata, it creates favorable conditions for patriotic forces to participate in the apparatus of power, it broadens and enhances the right of the people to manage their own affairs as masters, it completes the revolutionary power which has been already established in the major part of the South Vietnamese territory, it develops to the highest degree the great and all-round victories already recorded with a view to achieving total victory. This is a great success which shows that the South Vietnamese people are effectively exercising their right of self-determination, and lays bare, once again, the so-called "legality and constitutionality" of the Thiệu-Ky-Hường puppet Administration, the latter, will be driven into still greater isolation, and will head more rapidly for a total collapse.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives warmly hails, and formally takes note of, the solemn declaration of the Central Committee of the South Viet-Nam NFL to transfer to the Provisional Revolutionary Government the state functions, both internal and external - including the capacity as authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people at the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam - which, thus far, has been gloriously discharged by the Front.
The Congress voices its boundless gratitude for the great contribution of the South Viet-Nam NFL to the entire South Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. It expresses its deep confidence that as the leader and organizer of the resistance against the U.S., for national salvation, having a correct political program and rich experience in struggle, the South Viet-Nam NFL will always remain the banner of the great cause, of national union to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the continuing struggle for an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet-Nam progressing towards the peaceful unification of the country.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives pays a warm tribute to the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces which has achieved a broad rally of the democratic, patriotic and peace-loving forces in South Viet-Nam towns and cities, thereby contributing to step up the resistance of the entire people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The Congress is convinced that the Viet-Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces will make still greater contributions to the strengthening of the great unity of the entire people to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government in carrying out its glorious mission. The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives pays a warm tribute to the entire South Viet-Nam armed forces and people, especially the heroic People's Liberation Armed Forces, for the great successes and prodigious progresses they have recorded, and for the fine examples of sacrifice and gallantry they have set, particularly in the course of the generalized offensives and uprisings in towns and countryside.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's representatives expresses its deep gratitude for President Hồ Chí Minh's constant solicitude and for the extremely great help of our dear compatriots in North Viet-Nam. It feels greatly honored to voice, on behalf of the fourteen million compatriots of heroic South Viet-Nam, their unshakable resolve to fulfill their lofty duty as the great front to the great rear area, and always to remain the iron citadel of the fatherland.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives calls upon the entire armed forces and people to do their best to carry out the decisions of the Congress. Let the People's Liberation Armed Forces, political parties, believers
of various religions, nationalities, liberation organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, students, patriotic industrialists and traders, Vietnamese nationals abroad, and all those members of the puppet administration and army, who are still animated by patriotic feelings, close their ranks around the Provisional Revolutionary Government, make greater contributions to the cause of national liberation and actively support the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the carrying out of its lofty mission before history!

Let the People's Liberation Armed Forces enhance to the highest degree revolutionary heroism, launch unceasing and generalized attacks, enhance your traditions of dedication to the country and the people, of valiant and tenacious fighting, of firmness in battle to win victory! Strike still harder to compel on the U.S. troops a total withdrawal from our beloved South Viet-Nam, to topple the puppet administration, and to disintegrate the puppet army!

- Cadres of the army, mass organizations and the apparatus of power at different levels, serve the people with dedication, develop the traditions of exemplary devotion in combat and at work, strengthen and broaden unceasingly the ranks of the revolution, decuple the strength of national union in the resistance.

- Valiant compatriots in rural areas, enhance further the mettle of the simultaneous uprisings, sweep away the puppet administration in all villages and hamlets, smash the enemy schemes of pacification, of herding populations and pressganging soldiers, consolidate and promote your position of strength to be masters everywhere. Develop the movement for unity to wipe out the enemy and defend your villages, serve the front line and improve your living conditions. Build each village, each hamlet into a fortress against the enemy, and at the same time, a fine example of new life, that of citizens really masters of their destiny.

- Valiant compatriots in towns and cities, in the name of your vital interests, peace, democracy and national sovereignty, broaden the fighting front, strengthen the ranks of the revolution, step up the movement to wipe out the enemy's cruel agents, and break his yoke to regain the right to be
masters of your streets and wards. Carry aloft the banner of national salvation, of struggle against fascist dictatorship, against repression, against the pressganging of soldiers, for the right to a decent life and democracy, for the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky-Huong reactionary puppet administration and the formation of a Peace Cabinet with a view to reaching a political solution to the South Viet-Nam problem.

- Compatriots of various religious communities, for the salvation of the country and religion, join the people to fight against aggression, against religious oppression, for freedom of belief, and to develop the role of all religions in the high tide of the people's struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

- Compatriots of various nationalities, in the name of freedom and equality, join the people to fight against aggression, defend your villages, oppose all divisive attempts, demand equality among the various nationalities, develop the role of all nationalities in the development of the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

- Patriotic organizations and individuals, whatever your political tendency and past, cooperate with the Provisional Revolutionary Government for the peace, independence, and neutrality of South Viet-Nam.

- Officers, soldiers, policemen and functionaries in the puppet administration, dissociate yourselves without delay from the shameful fate awaiting the U.S. aggressors and the Thieu-Ky-Huong traitors. Take an active part in the struggle for peace, for ending the war, and for a better life, help by every means the people and the People's Liberation Armed Forces. Individually or collectively, turn your arms against the aggressors and their die-hard lackeys, take the road of fighting along with the people, against U.S. aggression for national salvation, to build a peaceful life in real independence and freedom.

- Compatriots living abroad, with your eyes constantly turned towards the glorious fatherland, join the progressive forces of various countries in promoting a powerful movement of the world's peoples to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, expose the
Thiệu-Ky-Hương traitors, and highlight the just cause of the Vietnamese people and their strength which will surely lead them to victory.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives expresses its deep gratitude for the important sympathy, support and aid extended by the socialist countries, peace-loving countries, democratic and progressive organizations in the world and the progressive people of the United States to the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression. The Congress calls upon all peace-loving and progressive governments and peoples in the world to extend still more vigorous support to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the authentic and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives expresses its sincere thanks for the sympathy and support of the progressive people and the [people of] various tendencies in the United States who oppose the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, and calls upon all American friends to continue demanding firmly that the Nixon Administration put an end to this war as costly in human lives as in money, and withdraw all U.S. troops from South Viet-Nam in the interests of the American people and of world peace.

The South Viet-Nam Congress of People's Representatives solemnly declares: The United States must end its war of aggression in Viet-Nam, enter into serious talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam at the Paris Conference on Viet-Nam on the basis of the ten-point overall solution proposed by the South Viet-Nam NFL in order to settle the South Viet-Nam problem and help restore peace in Viet-Nam. Such is the honorable way for the United States to get out of the Viet-Nam war.

The South Viet-Nam people are deeply attached to peace, but a peace in independence and freedom. They
are determined to heighten their vigilance and to carry on the
fight till the United States ends its aggression, withdraws
from South Viet-Nam all its troops and those of foreign
countries belonging to the U.S. camp, and respects the
South Vietnamese people's right for self-determination as
well as the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights.

The South Vietnamese people's just struggle against
U.S. aggression, for national salvation is sure to end in
total victory.

South Viet-Nam
June 8, 1969

[Publishing data, printed on back cover of pamphlet:]
Printed at the Lý Tự Trọng Printing House - Central
Nam Bộ - Circulation: 2,500 copies - June, 1969