

**AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM**



HANOI

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE
1955

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS

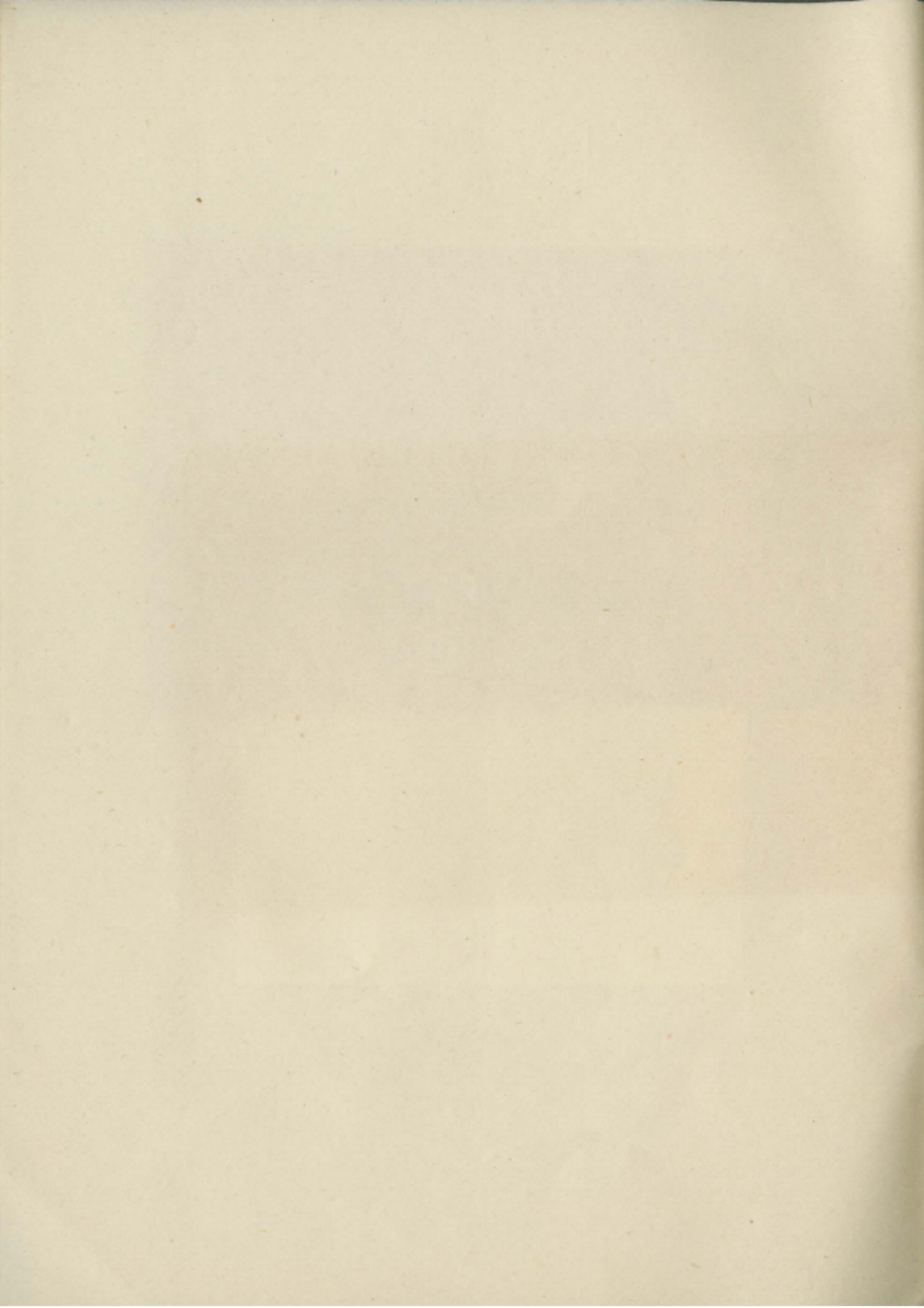
OF THE

VIET-NAM NEWS SERVICE

HANOI

FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE

1955



AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

HANOI
THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE
1955

Errata

Page	Line	Instead of	Read
5	14	of Democratic Republic of Vietn- am	of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
11	13	People of Indochi- na	Peoples of Indochina
»	25	For all people	For all peoples
18	20	which aim at restoring	Which aims at restoring
19	12	There by	Thereby
25	7	souh	South
»	15	Profressor Pham huy Thông	Professor Pham-Huy-Thông
28	2	as well as in Laos and Cambo- dia	as well as Laos and Cambodia
31	23	Unied States	United-States
35	8	unsshakable	unshakable
»	10	The agreements signed of	The agreements signed by
»	11	aconistent	a consistent

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S
INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

HANOI
THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLISHING HOUSE
1972

FOREWORD

From the end of the Second World war, U. S imperialism has been supporting and aiding the French colonialists to reestablish their domination over the Vietnamese people. At the time of the Geneva Conference, it exerted every effort to prevent a negotiated peace in this country, to drag on and extend the Indochina war. Ever since the conclusion of the armistice agreement, U. S imperialism and its followers have been strenuously striving to wreck it by every possible means.

The following documents — an excerpt from a speech at Geneva and a statement on the Lawton COLLINS Mission in Indo-china of PHAM-VAN-DONG, Foreign Minister of Democratic Republic

of Vietnam, and a memorandum of General VO-NGUYEN-GIAP, Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnamese People's Army, to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam — will provide a view of the nature and size of U. S. intervention in this section of the world against the will for peace, independence and democracy of the Vietnamese people and the desire for peace of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the world.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE
PUBLISHING HOUSE

**EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH BY
PHAM - VAN - DONG**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam at
the Geneva Conference.

THE policy of intervention in the war in Indo-China pursued by the American imperialists is a component part of the power politics pursued by the U.S.A after World War II with the aim of world domination.

The weakening of France as a result of the war in Indo-China, her need of American help to continue this war provided an opportunity and the conditions for this intervention.

By their intervention in Indo-China the American imperialists pursued the aim to gradually oust the French from Indo-China and turn Indo-China into an American colony, seize the economy and resources of Indo-China, suppress the national and democratic movement of the peoples of Indo-China, turn Indo-China into a spring-

board for the conquest of the countries of South-East Asia, make out of Indo-China an American military base. By intervening ever more actively in the war in Indo-China, prolonging and extending it, the American imperialists tried at the same time to save the American economy from the grave menace of the crisis which became particularly serious after the signing of the Armistice in Korea.

The history of this American intervention clearly reveals the above-mentioned aims and various phases of the intervention and the methods which are being used for the achievement of those aims.

In August 1947, an American diplomat left for Hong Kong, had talks with Bao-Dai, later, in September 1947, he talked with French authorities in Indo-China and then left for France where he conferred with the French Government. In December 1947, that diplomat urged the American intervention in Indo-China: "Bao-Dai should be recognized, — he declared, — and should be assisted in the formation of an army". He openly said to the French: "If France is not desirous of such a decision, America must take the issue in its hands".

1950 was marked by the first phase of wide intervention by the American imperialists in Indo-China. This phase began when the Chinese People's Liberation Army defeated the armed forces of Chiang Kai-shek and completed the liberation of the vast Chinese mainland.

At the beginning of 1950, after Jessup's visit to Indo-China it was decided to send American military and

economic missions to Indo-China and military assistance was promised in exchange for the obligation of the French colonizers to establish within a short period of time the so-called National Government which would have its army and would be invested with wide powers in the field of foreign relations. Jessup's visit resulted in the official statements by the American authorities about the American intervention in Indo-China.

The heavy defeat by the end of 1950 aggravated the position of the French Expeditionary Corps who was forced to meet ever more powerful attacks of the armed forces of the Vietnamese people. The American interventionists made use of that situation to intensify their intervention in the war in Indo-China.

In 1953 the Armistice in Korea made the American imperialists pay greater attention to Indo-China. The American ruling circles emphasized the "importance" of Indo-China and the necessity of providing aid to the French colonizers. The year of 1953 was also the year of new success scored by the peoples of the three countries — Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet Lao — almost on all the fronts. In the same year the resistance of the French people to the war in Indo-China made new progress as it embraced broader circles of the people and public opinion of France. The American imperialists made good use for intensifying their intervention of the fact that the French colonizers had found themselves in a desperate position

from where there was no escape : The intervention took form of providing new military credits and of the direct participation of the American imperialists in the strategic direction of military operations, in particular in the elaboration and execution of the Navarre plan.

But in spite of the ever-increasing American intervention in the war, French troops suffered one defeat after another while the peoples of Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet-Lao continued to score new victories. At the end of 1953 and at the beginning of 1954 the armed forces of Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet-Lao became more active in all areas of operations and scored new considerable victories. The Navarre plan not only failed to improve the military situation of the enemy but on the contrary made it still worse. And again the American imperialists made good use of the situation in order to take a new step in their intervention: in exchange for granting new, more considerable military credits for 1954, further substantial aid with aviation and personnel for direct participation in the annihilation of the population of Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet Lao, the Americans insisted upon their participation in the training of the so-called "National Army".

The brilliant victories of the peoples of Indo-China achieved in the course of recent months, the success of the peace movement in France, the prospects

of the reestablishment of peace by the Geneva Conference spread anxiety among the American interventionists. They invent new plans (the plan of "common actions", of "collective security"...) in order to prolong and extend the war in Indo-China in complicity with the French advocates of waging war till the end. This policy of strength and war has provoked the protests of the peoples and governments of various countries of South-east Asia.

To justify this policy of strength and war the American interventionists refer to the defence of the United States, South-east Asia and of liberty itself.

Defence of the United States? So we, people of Indo-China, constitute a threat to the United States. No reasonable person can imagine such extravagancy for an instant.

Defence of South-east Asia? Indeed, peace and security of South-east Asia and Asia are really endangered not by the peoples of Indo-China or any Asian country but in fact by the American imperialists.

Defence of liberty? It is we, oppressed peoples of Indo-China, oppressed peoples of Asia, oppressed peoples of the whole world who are the most ardent and consistent defenders of our freedom, of freedom for all people to choose their political regime against any threat of imperialist subjugation.

The evolution of the American intervention in the war in Indo-china reveals the following facts.

The American imperialists have turned France, on the one hand, into an instrument of their policy and, on the other hand, they prepare her ousting from Indo-china. But the French circles, advocating merciless war in their political blindness, desire the continuation of war. To continue war they need the American aid and thus they surrender to the mercy of the American interventionists who will take upon themselves at an opportune moment the burden of their "substitution" for the French because the latter will be impotent or obstinate. On the other hand, the American imperialists forcing the French to continue the war in Indo-China endeavour to weaken France in order to subdue her to a greater degree in Europe.

Such is the first aspect of American intervention.

The other aspects of it is the establishment of the so-called national regime to which France is suggested to grant a complete "independence". The establishment of the so-called National Government as well as the formation of a "national" army which should exist separately from the French Expeditionary Corps—these are the terms being imposed by the American imperialists upon the French colonizers in exchange for their military aid.

These terms give them an opportunity to place under their own control the so-called national governments and armies, to complete their substitution for the French, to realize in full their policy "to use the Indo-Chinese

against the Indo-Chinese" and to intensify and extend military actions.

The ruling circles of the United States exercise every pressure on France with the view to extend war in Indo-China demanding to send to Indo-China new contingents of French and African troops, of Legionnaires, mercenaries of every kind, Hitlerites included.

The imperialist circles of the United States and France are seeking in this way to continue war to gain profits with blood shed by others.

They count on drawing other countries into war. The purpose of all this is to prolong and extend war for the purpose of transforming Indo-China and adjacent countries into American colonies. Such are the plans of the mortal enemies of peace in Indo-China. However, the heroic resistance of the peoples of Indo-China has frustrated these plans. This resistance becomes day by day ever more powerful and effective. The military situation of the enemy is now difficult as never before, particularly after the great victory at Dien Bien Phu scored by the People's Army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the eve of this conference, the importance of this victory cannot be overlooked by anyone. The united peoples of Indo-China, convinced of their rights, are determined to fight in order to frustrate the plans of the American interventionists.

That is why the American interventionists and the French advocates of waging war till the end are now

the main obstacle to the cessation of the war, to the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China.

The American interventionists seeking to prolong and extend the war in Indo-China urge a number of countries to take part in the war, thus creating a new threat to peace in Asia and in the whole world.

This policy of aggression, these military provocations are in contradiction with the interests of the peoples of Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet Lao, are in contradiction with the interests of the French and American peoples.

The peoples of Vietnam, Khmer and Pathet Lao desire peace, independence, unity and democracy. They desire to establish friendly relations with the peoples of the whole world. Their aspirations correspond to the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

The cause of the peoples of Vietnam, Khmer, Pathet Lao which is the cause of peace will inevitably triumph.

STATEMENT ON THE LAWTON COLLINS MISSION BY PHAM-VAN-DONG

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam

THE Government of the United States has recently sent to Saigon General Lawton Collins as U.S. Ambassador to the Ngo-Dinh-Diem Government. In General Collins' own words, the special mission with which he has been entrusted in this capacity, aims at "giving U.S unconditional support to the Ngo-Dinh-Diem Government" and at "aiding it by every possible means". This aid essentially consists of the "training by the American Mission of the forces of the Vietnam army" whose equipment "will be 90 percent American".

Thus, the aggressive aim of the Manila Treaty begins to be materialized in Southern Vietnam with the coming of the Mission of General Collins.

It is necessary to recall here that the Manila Treaty and the additional protocol integrating Sou-

thern Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into the "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization" under the direction of the United States is in flagrant violation of the paragraph 5 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, aim at consolidating the American influence in Southeast Asia and turning Indo-China into an American colony and base.

This military aid granted by the U. S which consists in equipping and training the troops of the South Vietnam Government is at utter variance with the Geneva Agreement. In fact, the paragraph 4 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference "prohibiting the introduction into Vietnam of foreign troops and military personnel as well as of all kinds of arms and munitions" is intended to prevent military aid from outside to any of the parties concerned. One wonders how the training and equipping of troops in Southern Vietnam may be carried out by other way than the introduction of American personnel and materials.

Some U. S circles have tried in vain to justify this flagrant infringement upon the Geneva Agreement by unleashing gratuitous and ridiculous news, for example, alleging that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam would have, since the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements, doubled the effectives of its army which would comprise "three new divisions including two armoured". A normal common sense suffices to do away with such fiction, for it is materially impossible for a country

devastated by 8 years of war to double, within a few months, the effectives of an army that has required years to be set up.

The U. S military aid, as General Collins stated, is granted to the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique. But by taking retaliatory measures against thousands of persons in the regions that have taken part in the patriotic war, by suppressing democratic rights and liberties in Southern Vietnam, especially the freedom of the press, by resorting to lies, duperies and threats to compel the catholics in the North to evacuate to the South, the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique has been carrying out a systematic policy of sabotaging the implementation of the Geneva Agreement.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ngo-Dinh-Diem, Tran-van-Do, has expounded his opposition to the elections provided for in the Geneva Agreement and aiming at realising the unification of Vietnam, in a declaration to the "Press Trust India" correspondent on October 8th, 1954. On the Ngo-Dinh-Diem Government's home and foreign policy, he said:

"The partition of Vietnam on the 17th parallel may be prolonged indefinitely, just like in Korea and Germany... I feel that this partition is not at all provisional as it is often said..".

The aid granted by the U. S Government to the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique is a further proof of the deliberate desire of the U. S ruling circles to deepen their

intervention in the internal affairs of Vietnam, to prevent the implementation of the Geneva Agreement and to prepare for a definite partition of Vietnam.

It is to be pointed out that the policy of systematic violation of the Geneva Agreement has enjoyed the approval of the elements sabotaging the Geneva Agreement among the French ruling circles in Paris as well as in Saigon, in spite of the desire for peace and cooperation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of the French people and the majority of French political, economic and cultural circles.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam strongly oppose these extremely serious breaches of the Geneva Agreement, of which General Collins' activities and declarations have brought incontrovertible proofs.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam persistently desire peace. They are entirely satisfied with the Geneva Agreement which aim at restoring peace in Vietnam as well as in Laos and Cambodia on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Indo-Chinese people. That is why they are, on their part, determined to implement faithfully and scrupulously this agreement. It also explains why they have made their resolve to struggle with all their strength against the violation of this agreement on the part of the American interventionists, the French

colonialist elements sabotaging the Geneva Agreement and the Ngo-dinh-Diem clique.

Thanks to the contribution of the Governments that desired peace to be restored in Indo-China and that have met in Geneva, to the contribution of other Governments and all the people animated with the same desire, peace in Indo-China has been concluded in Geneva.

We firmly believe that, with the same goodwill, with the warm support of peace-loving Governments and peoples, the Geneva Agreement will be implemented in letter and in spirit, there by ensuring the restoration of a stable and lasting peace in Indo-China on the basis of recognition and realisation of national independence, sovereignty and unity of Vietnam as well as of Laos and Cambodia.

**MEMORANDUM OF THE VIETNAMESE
PEOPLE'S ARMY HIGH COMMAND**

Hanoi, December 5 th, 1954.

General VO-NGUYEN-GIAP

Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnamese People's Army,
to the
Chairman of the International
Commission for Supervision
and Control in Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman,

The Geneva Conference has come to agreements aiming at putting an end to the hostilities and restoring peace in Indo-China on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Pursuing the policy of peace and of respect of the armistice agreements of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the High Command of the Vietnamese People's Army has most faithfully and scrupulously implemented the agreements signed, since these agreements became effective.

The cease-fire has been strictly observed on various fronts by all units of the People's Army.

The operations of regroupment and transfer of troops have been carried out in order and within the time limit.

We have handed over to the other side all the prisoners of war and civilians detained.

In the territories which the French Union Forces transferred to us following their withdrawal, the republican regime guarantees all the democratic liberties to the population; in all these territories, no act of reprisals or discrimination whatever has been committed against those who, during war-time, cooperated with the other side.

The Vietnamese People's Army has implemented the agreements not only in Vietnam but also in Laos and Cambodia. All units of Vietnamese Volunteers in Cambodia as well as in Laos have completely withdrawn from the territories of these countries before the time assigned in the agreements.

While we implement scrupulously the agreements signed, the French Union Forces do not do the same. Under the pressure of the American interventionist circles and camouflaging the activities carried out by the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique in violation of the agreements, the High Command of the French Union Forces has committed more and more flagrant violations of the agreements.

The article 14, paragraph C of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam stipulates:

“ Each party undertakes to refrain from any retri-

sals or discrimination against persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties".

The paragraph 9 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference stipulates:

"The competent representative authorities of the Northern and Southern zones of Vietnam, as well as the authorities of Laos and Cambodia, must not permit any individual or collective reprisals against persons who have collaborated in any way with one of the parties during the war, or against members of such persons families".

But, in defiance of all these provisions, the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique in Southern Vietnam, that is in the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces, is now pursuing a policy of terror directed against those who have participated in the Patriotic war or who have manifested their sympathy for the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. According to still incomplete figures, in two months only, from the cease-fire till the beginning of October 1954, 709 acts of reprisals, arrest or massacre have been committed in the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces, during which 619 of our compatriots were killed, 2,786 injured and 6,112 put in jail.

During numerous bloody incidents, the other side has used relatively important military forces to open fire on the unarmed population.

Thus:

— The incident at Kim-Doi, Thua-Thien province (South Central Vietnam, Ed.), on August 2nd, 1954, has caused 17 dead and 67 wounded among whom many children and old-aged persons;

— The incident at Ngan-Son, Chi-Thanh district, Phu-Yen province (South Central Vietnam, Ed.) on September 7th 1954, has caused 74 killed, 56 wounded and 15 others arrested and imprisoned;

— The incident at Mo-Cay, Ben-Tre province (South Vietnam, Ed.) on September 16th, 1954, has resulted in 10 persons killed, 500 injured by bullets, bayonets or bludgeons, and 140 others arrested and imprisoned;

— The incident at Vinh-Xuan in Can-Tho province (South Vietnam, Ed.) on October 25th and 26th, 1954, has led to 40 persons killed, 116 wounded and 70 others put in jail;

— The incident at Binh-Thanh, Long-Xuyen province (South Vietnam, Ed) on November 11th, 1954, has caused 7 dead, 8 wounded, 74 imprisoned.

The lives and properties of the population in Southern Vietnam are constantly menaced. Apart from cases of massacre, the High Command of the French Union Forces has given a free hand to Ngo-Dinh-Diem's agents to arrest, put in prison or assassinate at liberty those who have taken part in the war of resistance and those who desire unity, independence and respect for

the Geneva agreements. Thousands of arrests have taken place in the Southern zone ; and the majority of persons arrested have been submitted to the most barbarous tortures and often executed without trial. The most elementary individual liberties are trampled on. In a month, from September 20th to October 20th, 1954, and in a single village in the 5th interzone (South Central Vietnam, Ed), there were 265 persons killed or imprisoned and 19 cases of confiscation of properties.

The freedom of expression is quenched: in Saigon, newspapers more or less independent have been closed down one after another. More recently, the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique has ordered the arrest of 7 members of the Executive Committee of the Peace Movement in Saigon — Cholon area, among whom Professor PHAM-HUY-THONG, Lawyer NGUYEN-HUU-THO and Chemist TRAN-KIM-QUAN.

All the reprisals and terrorist acts in Southern Vietnam constitute grave violations of the armistice agreements. We have many a time sent protest to the delegates of the High Command of the French Union Forces to the Central Joint Commission. We have also, on several occasions, informed the International Commission about the matter and the latter has carried out numerous investigations and made great efforts. Nevertheless, due to the lack of faith on the part of the other side, the situation has not very much improved. The arrested persons are still detained in Ngo-Dinh-Diem's prisons and new

arrests take place everyday. The culprits of the above-mentioned assassinations and massacres are not punished, although the article 22 of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam stipulates that "the commanders of the forces of the two parties should undertake to see that the persons placed under their respective control and who violate any provisions in the present agreement, will be submitted to appropriate sanction".

If in the whole of Southern Vietnam, that is in the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces, the policy of reprisals, terror and massacre is prolonged, it is exactly due to the fact that the American interventionist circles, the French military authorities and the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique consider that this policy alone may help them maintain Ngo-Dinh-Diem in power, that it alone may, through terror, prevent the people from expressing their aspirations for peace, democracy, unity and independence, and thereby creating conditions for hindering the general elections and impede the unification of Vietnam so as to realize the aggressive policy of the American imperialists.

In many of its provisions, the Geneva agreements have forbidden the two parties to bring into Vietnam new troops, military personnel, arms and ammunition and to create new military bases.

The articles 16, 17 and 18 of the Agreement

on the Cessation of hostilities in Vietnam stipulate that :

“ All reinforcing armed forces and subsidiary military personnel as well as all types of reinforcing weapons, ammunition and other war materials shall be prohibited entry into Vietnam ; no new military base shall be set up in the whole of Vietnam ”.

The article 19 reads :

“ With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, no military base under the control of a foreign state may be established in the regrouping zone of either party ; the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy ”.

The Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, in its articles 4 and 5, takes note of the above-mentioned clauses and points out the deriving obligations for the two parties.

These are very important clauses, the strict application of which alone permits to prevent a new war and consolidate peace in Indo-China.

But, in defiance of the provisions in the Geneva agreements, and hardly two months have passed since the conclusion of these agreements, the Manila Treaty, of which the United States is the protagonist and in which the French Government has taken part, tried to integrate

the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces in Southern Vietnam as well as in Laos and Cambodia into the zone of "protection" of the Southeast Asian military bloc.

The Manila Treaty, baptised by the signatory countries as "South-east Asia Defence Treaty" with the pretended aim of "struggling against communist invasion" or "preventing subversive activities", is actually an aggressive military bloc in the service of the aggressive policy of the American imperialists, of the latter's policy of repression against the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia. Moreover, this treaty has been preconised by the United States ; and out of eight signatories, only three are countries of Southeast Asia, the more so as these are the countries now placed under the American influence, whereas the majority of the countries of Southeast Asia embracing more than four fifths of its population, did not only refuse to take part in the treaty but also oppose it. The fact that such a treaty includes Southern Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia within the zone of an aggressive military bloc proves more clearly the intention of its initiators to hinder the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Indo-China.

As the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has stated, "the Manila Treaty constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements, an encroachment upon the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, a menace to the security and peace in Southeast Asia".

Following the Manila Treaty, the French Government have opened negotiations towards the end of September with a view to granting military aid to the French Expeditionary Corps and the Associated States of Indo-China. General Paul Ely, French General Commissioner for the Associated States of Indo-China and Commander-in-Chief of the French Union Forces in Indo-China, has himself confirmed that "aid (French aid in Southern Vietnam Ed.) should be coordinated with the American aid" and that "it will also take a military form",

The policy of violating the armistice agreements pursued by the U. S Government with the collusion of certain French ruling circles in Paris as well as in Saigon, has taken an alarming turn with the arrival of General Lawton Collins as U. S Ambassador to Ngo-Dinh-Diem. According to the declarations made by General Collins himself, his special mission consists in "giving to Ngo-Dinh-Diem Government unconditional support of the United States," "in bringing it every possible aid of the United States Government." This aid mainly consists in the "training by the American Mission of the forces of the Vietnamese Army", "90 percent equipment of which is American". Collins has blankly stated that "the United States Government intends to entrust the American Mission with the task of training directly the Vietnamese National Army with the cooperation of General Ely", that, in this training, French instructors "will closely cooperate with the American instructors", that it wants to "apply here a pro-

gram which has been tested in the Philippines, Korea and Greece".

At the very moment when the American interventionists, in coordination with the Ngo-dinh-Diem clique and some French ruling circles, are manoeuvring in Saigon against peace and the Geneva agreements, some political personalities and some press organs supporting the United States' policy of war in the United States and France, have unleashed a campaign of tendencious news aiming at deceiving public opinion. According to these news, the reinforcement of military effectives in North Vietnam is alarming ; since the cessation of hostilities, the Vietnamese People's Army has doubled its effectives and created «three new divisions, including two armoured». It is quite obvious that these are but sheer fabrications since everybody knows it is materially impossible to double, within two or three months, the effectives of an army which has required years of efforts and fight to be built up. Yet one needs to unleash such gratuitous and ridiculous news in order to camouflage the plots of aggression and to sabotage the armistice agreements on the part of the American imperialists and their lackeys.

It is therefore undeniable, with the above-mentioned declarations of General Lawton Collins, that the American interventionists as well as some French ruling circles hostile to the armistice agreements, are

plotting to put into execution the Manila Treaty in Southern Vietnam. The American interventionists are actively preparing for the introduction of new weapons in Southern Vietnam in violation of the article 17 of the Agreement on the Cessation of hostilities in Vietnam; for the introduction of new military personnel, concretely speaking the American instructors, in violation of the article 16, for the utilisation of the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces for the aggressive policy of the United States, in violation of the article 19 of the armistice agreement and of the paragraph 5 of the Final Declaration.

In order to carry out their policy of aggression and of violation of the Geneva agreements, the American interventionists, in cooperation with some military authorities of the French Union Forces, have been trying by every possible means to prop the Government of Ngo-Dinh-Diem, a government that is detested by the large majority of the Vietnamese people, a government that is pursuing a policy of repression and terror against the peace and freedom-loving population in Southern Vietnam. The repeated statements of General Collins, according to which the United States gives support only to Ngo-Dinh-Diem government and only recognises it as the legal government in Southern Vietnam, show more clearly that the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique is composed of agents of the American interventionists, that the United States' policy of brazen

interference is in complete contradiction with the aspirations for peace and independence of the Vietnamese people, in contradiction with the Geneva agreements, in contradiction with the consolidation of peace in Indo-China and in Southeast Asia.

∴

These are a number of facts which we wish to bring to the knowledge of the International Commission. Nevertheless, in this memorandum, we have abstained from mentioning other acts of violation of the armistice agreements, such as resorting to constraint and dupery to entice hundreds of thousands of our compatriots to leave for the south where they are left in misery and privations, refusing to deliver to us all the prisoners and detained civilians.

The above-mentioned facts prove that:

1 — In violation of the Geneva agreements, the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique is carrying out a policy of reprisals, discrimination and massacre in the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces in Southern Vietnam;

2 — In violation of the Geneva agreements, the American interventionists, with the sending of the Lawton Collins Mission to Saigon, are now preparing for the introduction of new armaments and military personnel into Southern Vietnam with a view to turning this part of our country into an American military

base, with the coordination of the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique and some French ruling circles hostile to the armistice agreements ;

3 — The present military authorities of the French Union Forces in Southern Vietnam are themselves taking part in the acts of violation of the armistice agreements although they are signatories of these agreements and are responsible for their execution.

The acts of violation of the armistice agreements mentioned above have a severe character. They aim at using violence to oppose the will for peace, independence, unity and democracy of our compatriots in the south. They also aim at integrating the southern part of our country into the aggressive Southeast Asia military bloc headed by the United States. They aim at creating conditions to hinder the coming general elections, obstruct the unification of our country, sabotage the settlement of political problems in Vietnam, that is to sabotage the most important clauses of the Geneva agreements, concerning the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and the realisation of unity through free general elections. These acts are part of the United States' aggressive plan to transform Southern Vietnam into an American colony, to use it as a military base for the benefit of the United States' war preparation policy in Southeast Asia. The result is that the policy of violation of the Geneva agreements in Southern Vietnam is greatly prejudicial

to the atmosphere favourable for peace created by the Geneva Conference, that it constitutes an obstacle for the restoration of good relations between the northern and Southern zones of Vietnam, an obstacle for the establishment of good relations between Vietnam and France, an obstacle for the consolidation of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

By order of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the High Command of the Vietnamese People's Army vigorously denounces the above-mentioned systematic acts of violation of the Geneva agreements.

It considers that the American interventionist circles and the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique should bear the main responsibility in these acts of violation of the agreements; however, as these acts have occurred in the regrouping zone of the French Union Forces and, moreover, as the French military authorities have colluded with American interventionists and Ngo-Dinh-Diem, the High Command of the French Union Forces, being a signatory and responsible for the execution of the agreements on behalf of the French Government, should also share its responsibility in these acts of violation.

Basing itself upon the mission of control and supervision of the International Commission, the High Command of the Vietnamese People's Army hopes that the International Commission will pay particular attention to the above-mentioned acts of violation and that it will

take appropriate measures so that the Geneva agreements will be respected, especially the article 14, paragraphs C and D and the articles 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the Agreement on the Cessation of hostilities in Vietnam.

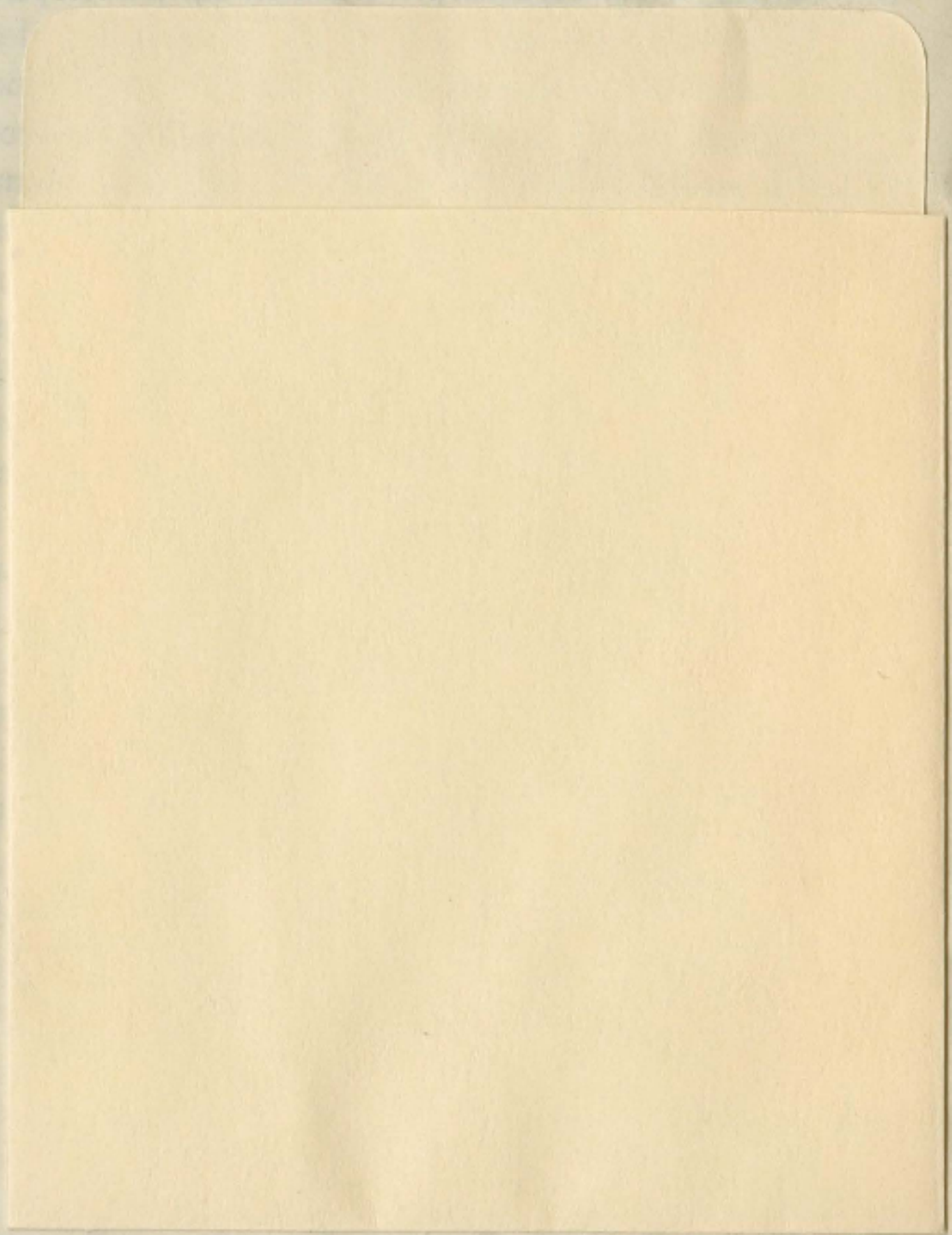
The above-mentioned acts of violation have provoked a wave of indignation among the whole Vietnamese people. The will of struggle for peace, independence, unity and democracy of the Vietnamese people is unshakable. The policy of respecting the agreements signed of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a consistent one, and the High Command of the Vietnamese People's Army is determined to implement it. We are sure that, with the efforts made by our Government and people, with the sympathy of peace-loving countries and peoples in the world, with the efforts of the International Commission, peace will be consolidated in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia, and that the plots to sabotage the agreements of the American imperialists and their lackeys are doomed to failure. The Geneva agreements should be respected.

I am happy, Mr. Chairman, to extend my sincere greetings to the International Commission.

General VO - NGUYEN - GIAP

Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnamese People's Army.

Faint, illegible text visible through the paper, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.



100