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TOHAK 153

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NGUYEN VAN THIEU NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH

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(12 SEPTEMBER SPEECH BY PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU
BEFORE THE RVN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY)

(TEXT) MR SPEAKER OF THE SENATE, MR CHAIRMAN OF THE
LOWER HOUSE, MESSRS SENATORS AND DEPUTIES, DEAR
GENTLEMEN:

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

TODAY, BEFORE BOTH HOUSES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, I
WISH TO DESCRIBE THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.
ON THE EVENING OF 24 OCTOBER I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY, FOR
2 HOURS TO PRESENT TO OUR COMPATRIOTS THE PEACE SOLUTION
WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAD ADVANCED ON 11 SEPTEMBER.

I EXPOSED ALL THE COMMUNISTS' TREACHEROUS MANEUVERS
REFLECTED IN THIS SOLUTION, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ASSERTING
THE STAND OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE AND THE BASIC,
CRUCIAL POINTS OF SOUTH VIETNAM. MAY I SUMMARIZE AS
FOLLOWS:

THE COMMUNISTS DEMANDED THAT THE UNITED STATES WITHDRAW FULLY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM--FROM TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT TO MILITARY BASES--END ITS MILITARY ROLE AND ABANDON ITS VIETNAMIZATION POLICY AND PROGRAM. HOWEVER, THE COMMUNISTS DID NOT SAY WHAT THEY WOULD DO BY WAY OF AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE. NOR DID THEY SAY THAT THEY WOULD WITHDRAW THE NORTHERN COMMUNIST TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH OR STOP RECEIVING MILITARY AID FROM COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM. IN THE POLITICAL FIELD THE COMMUNISTS DEMANDED THAT A TYPE OF "SUPER GOVERNMENT," CALLED NATIONAL CONCORD GOVERNMENT WITH THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS, BE SET UP FROM THE CENTRAL LEVEL TO THE PROVINCIAL, MUNICIPAL, DISTRICT, VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVELS, TO CONTROL THE TWO EXISTING GOVERNMENTS--OURS AND THE SO-CALLED PRGRSV--AND TO ORGANIZE GENERAL ELECTIONS, DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION AND ESTABLISH ENTIRELY NEW INSTITUTIONS (COW CHEES), THUS ABOLISHING OUR PRESENT CONSTITUTION AS WELL AS CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS.

IN SHORT, IN THE COMMUNISTS' 11 SEPTEMBER SOLUTION WE SEE CLEARLY THAT THEY HAVE UNDEVIATINGLY REASONED, IN THEIR OWN DECEITFUL WAY, THAT:

1--THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN THE AGGRESSOR IN THE SOUTH AS WELL AS IN THE NORTH. IT MUST THEREFORE BEAR THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY AND ALL THE CONSEQUENCES AS AN AGGRESSOR. AS FOR COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM, IT HAS BEEN A LIBERATOR, WHICH AUTOMATICALLY GIVES IT THE RIGHT TO SEND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS TO THE SOUTH AND TO DECIDE ON ANY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTH UNDER THE PRINCIPLE THAT VIETNAM MUST BE ONE AND BELONGS TO COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM.

VIETNAMIZATION POLICY, THE MILITARY AID TO EVEN THE PRESENT REGIME--HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY THE UNITED STATES. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES MUST REMOVE ALL THAT UPON LEAVING HERE AND RELINQUISH TO COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM THE POWER TO SETTLE AND REORGANIZE EVERYTHING IN ITS OWN WAY.

FACED WITH THE COMMUNISTS' DISHONEST SCHEME REVEALED IN THEIR 11 SEPTEMBER SOLUTION, ON THE EVENING OF 24 OCTOBER I REAFFIRMED OUR GOVERNMENT'S AND PEOPLE'S POSITION. (?I WANT) THAT ANY SERIOUS SOLUTION FOR THE SOUTH BE BASED ON THESE MAIN POINTS:

FIRST, THE BASIC PROVISION OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT ON THE CLEAR DEMARCATION BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH, INCLUDING RECOGNITION OF THE DMZ ACROSS THE 17TH PARALLEL, MUST BE CONFIRMED AND RESPECTED. BOTH PARTS MUST RESPECT EACH OTHER IN ALL RESPECTS, FROM TERRITORY TO SOVEREIGNTY AND FROM MILITARY TO POLITICAL MATTERS. THAT IS TO SAY THAT ONE PART MUST NOT LAUNCH ARMED OR POLITICAL AGGRESSION AGAINST THE OTHER, OR INTERFERE IN THE OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO DISRUPT THEM.

SECOND, ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN TO THE NORTH BECAUSE THEY ARE AGGRESSOR TROOPS COMING FROM OUTSIDE. IT IS UNREASONABLE THAT ONLY U.S. AND OTHER ALLIED TROOPS WHO CAME LATER TO AID US, AT OUR REQUEST, SHOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW FROM SOUTH VIETNAM FIRST WHILE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, WHO ARE BOTH FOREIGN AND AGGRESSOR TROOPS, SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO REMAIN.

(MORE)

12 DEC 0549Z WJ/TM

FIRST ADD 02 (THIEU SPEECH ~~WAT~~)

XXX RIGHT TO REMAIN.

(TEXT) THIRD, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE FULL RESPECTED; THAT IS, THE SOUTH'S INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS MUST BE SETTLE BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. NOBODY ELSE, EVEN OUR ALLIES AND NORTH VIETNAM, WILL BE ALLOWED TO INTERVENE.

FOURTH, REGARDING THE NEGOTIATION PROCEDURES, THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE NORTH AND SOUTH WILL BE SETTLED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE ADMINISTRATIONS. REGARDING THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE SOUTH, THE PRESENT RVN GOVERNMENT AND THE SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION ^{FRONT} ~~ARMY~~ WILL NEGOTIATE WITH EACH OTHER TO SOLVE THEM. TO BE CLEAR, THERE IS NO REASON FOR THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ADMINISTRATION TO DECIDE OR TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FOLLOWING MY TALK WITH OUR COMPATRIOTS ON THE EVENING OF 24 OCTOBER, ON 26 OCTOBER THE COMMUNISTS MADE PUBLIC A SUMMARY OF THE SO-CALLED TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH THEY CONSIDERED TO BE COMPLETED AND APPROVED, IN WHICH THEY LISTED NINE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS.

ANALYZING WHAT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE SAID IN THE SO-CALLED TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT AND THE NINE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS, WE STILL SEE THAT THE COMMUNISTS DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ONLY THE UNITED STATES RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, UNIFICATION AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES MUST END ALL ITS MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND THE BOMBINGS AND MINING OF THE NORTH AND WITHDRAW ALL U.S. AND ALLIED TROOPS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THE SOUTH WITHIN 60 DAYS. THE UNITED STATES MUST END ITS MILITARY

SOUTH. BOTH SIDES IN THE SOUTH WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO

**INTRODUCE TROOPS, ADVISERS, MILITAR PERSONNEL, WEAPONS,
AMMUNITION AND WAR EQUIPMENT. BOTH SIDES IN THE SOUTH
WILL HAVE THE SAME PERIOD OF TIME TO REPLACE, ON A
ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS, ALL WORN-OUT OR DAMAGED WEAPONS, AMMUNITION
AND WAR EQUIPMENT WITH NEW ONES HAVING THE SAME CHARACTERISTICS
AND EFFECTIVENESS. BOTH SIDES WILL RETURN ALL CAPTURED AND
DETAINED PERSONS SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH U.S. TROOPS PULLOUT.**

**THE COMMUNISTS STILL ^{Advocate} ~~ADVISE~~ A GENERAL ELECTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE (COW CAAUS CHINHS QUYEEENG)
CALLED THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND
CONCORD (HGIJ DQOONGF QUOOCs GIA HOAF CIAIR VAF HOAF HOWPJ
DAAN TOOOJ) CONSISTING OF THREE EQUAL ELEMENTS. THE
MISSION OF THIS COUNCIL IS TO SUPERVISE THE PRGRSV AND
THE RVN GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENTS AND
ORGANIZING THE GENERAL ELECTION. BOTH SIDES IN SOUTH VIETNAM
WILL NEGOTIATE WITH EACH OTHER ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
LOW-LEVEL COUNCILS (HOOIJ DQOONGF CAAPS DUWOWIS). THE
PROBLEM CONCERNING THE VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN SOUTH
VIETNAM WILL BE SOLVED BY BOTH SIDES IN THE SOUTH.**

**ALSO INCLUDED IN THE PROBLEMS TO BE DISCUSSED BY BOTH
SIDES IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS THE PROBLEM CONCERNING MEASURES TO
DECREASE AND DEMOBILIZE THE STRENGTH OF BOTH SIDES'
ARMED FORCES. BOTH SIDES IN SOUTH VIETNAM WILL SIGN AN
AGREEMENT ON THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOUTH, AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE, AND WILL TRY THEIR BEST TO CARRY THIS OUT WITHIN
3 MONTHS AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE GOES INTO EFFECT.**

**THE COMMUNISTS ALSO CLAIM THAT THERE ARE ONLY THREE
INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES, WHEN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS CONCERNING
CAMBODIA AND LAOS, AND THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTRIBUTE
TO HEALING THE WAR WOUNDS AND BUILDING THE DRV AND THE
WHOLE OF INDOCHINA AFTER THE WAR ENDS.**

XXX THE WAR ENDS.

(TEXT) IN SUM, ALL OF THE POINTS SET FORTH IN THE ANNOUNCED AGREEMENT ARE NO DIFFERENT FROM THOSE CONTAINED IN THE PEACE SOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE COMMUNISTS ON 11 SEPTEMBER.

I WOULD LIKE TO INSERT MY VIEWS ON THE IMPORTANT KEY POINTS WHICH THE COMMUNISTS STILL MAINTAIN IN THEIR OLD STAND. THEY DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF VIETNAM, HINTING THAT THIS VIETNAM, STRETCHING FROM NORTH TO SOUTH, IS ONE AND BELONGS TO NORTH VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES WILL DISCONTINUE ITS MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, MEANING THAT IT WILL NEITHER INTERVENE IN NOR GRANT ANY FORM OF AID TO THE SOUTH.

REGARDING AN INTERNAL POLITICAL SOLUTION, THE COMMUNISTS STILL MAINTAIN THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE CALLED THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD. THE WORD "NATIONAL" APPEARS JUST BEFORE "COUNCIL," MEANING THAT THIS COUNCIL MUST BE AT THE TOP LEVEL SO THAT IT CAN EXERT ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE TWO EXISTING GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH. THIS COUNCIL, HAVING THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS WITH THE SAME NUMBER OF PERSONNEL, WILL SUPERVISE THE TWO EXISTING GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZE A GENERAL ELECTION. THIS MEANS THAT A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE ELECTED AND THERE WILL BE A NEW CONSTITUTION AND A NEW SYSTEM (COW CHEES) DETERMINED BY THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE COMMUNISTS ALSO STATED THAT THE TWO SIDES IN THE SOUTH WOULD DISCUSS (HIEEPJ THUWONG) THE FORMATION OF COUNCILS AT A LOWER LEVEL, FROM THE CENTRAL TO THE VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVELS. THE COMMUNISTS RESORTED TO A VERY CRAFTY USE OF TERMS WHEN THEY STATED THAT THE PROBLEM CONCERNING THE VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES IN THE SOUTH WOULD BE SETTLED BY THE TWO SIDES IN THE SOUTH. THIS MEANS THAT THEY WANT NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES TO BE CONSIDERED AS FORCES OF THE LIBERATION FRONT.

THUS, IF WE WANT TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM CONCERNING NORTH

WITH THE LIBERATION FRONT, WHILE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES WILL BE CONSIDERED AS NATURALLY BELONGING TO THE LIBERATION FRONT AND ITS GOVERNMENT. THUS, IN THEIR 11 SEPTEMBER SOLUTION THE COMMUNISTS CONSIDER THAT THE POLITICAL REALITY IN THE SOUTH INVOLVES TWO GOVERNMENTS AND TWO ARMIES, WITH SOME HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS BEING CONSIDERED AS SOUTHERN LIBERATION TROOPS.

AFTER THE COMMUNISTS ANNOUNCED THE AGREEMENT, WE SAW THAT THEY STILL MAINTAINED THEIR ILLOGICAL CONDITIONS. THE TWO MOST FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS CONCERNING THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOUTH ARE: FIRST, THE FORMATION OF A DISGUISED COALITION GOVERNMENT THROUGH AN ILLOGICAL FORMULA OF THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS--FROM THE SUPERSTRUCTURE TO THE VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVELS--TO ORGANIZE A GENERAL ELECTION; AND SECOND, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES' FAILURE TO WITHDRAW TO THE NORTH.

WITH REGARD TO THESE POINTS, I WOULD LIKE TO REPORT TO THE CONGRESS ON THE RVN GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS AND VIEWPOINTS.

REGARDING THE PROBLEM OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS TO THE NORTH, WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT ALL NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN THE SOUTH MUST WITHDRAW TO THE NORTH AT THE SAME TIME OTHER FOREIGN FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN. AFTERWARD, THE RVN GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT THE SAME REDUCTION OF NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARVN TO SHOW ITS PEACEFUL GOOD WILL, CONSIDERING THAT THE REQUIREMENTS OF WAR NO LONGER EXISTS. HOWEVER, NORTH VIETNAM HAS REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL.

(MORE)

12 DEC 0632Z WJ/TM

(TEXT) CONCERNING THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIETNAM, LET ME TELL YOU OF OUR OLD AND NEW PROPOSALS. WE HAVE PROPOSED THIS FORMULA: TO DECIDE THE COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND NATIONAL CONCORD COMMITTEE (UYR BAN) WHICH WILL BE IN CHARGE OF ORGANIZING THE ELECTIONS OF THE NEW PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, AND TO MAKE EVERYONE REALIZE THE PERCENTAGE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WHO FOLLOW THE COMMUNISTS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO FOLLOW THE NATIONAL CAUSE, WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT A POPULAR REFERENDUM BE ORGANIZED AND SUPERVISED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. WE WILL RELY ON THE RESULTS OF THIS POPULAR REFERENDUM TO DECIDE THE PERCENTAGE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE (UYR VAN) IN CHARGE OF ORGANIZING THE ELECTIONS OF THE NEW PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

AFTER THE ELECTION, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC WILL FORM A SO-CALLED NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT, THE MEMBERS OF WHICH WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE NUMBER OF VOTES GAINED BY THE CANDIDATES TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THUS THE MAN WHO OBTAINS THE LARGEST NUMBER OF POPULAR VOES WILL BE THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND WILL RUN THE GOVERNMENT. THEN, THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS WILL SEND THEIR MEN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF VOTES OBTAINED BY THEIR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

AFTER THAT, WE PROPOSE THAT THIS ADVISORY COMMITTEE (UYR BAN COOS VAANS), THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE, WHICH INCLUDES THE NFLSV AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES OF SOUTH VIETNAM, WILL SIT DOWN TO DISCUSS (THAM NGHIJ CHO) THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND REEXAMINE

COMMUNISTS HAVE REJECTED THIS FORMULA.

CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COUNCIL (HOOIJ DQOONGF), I HAVE PROPOSED THAT THIS COUNCIL NOT INCLUDE THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS AND THAT THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIETNAM BE SOLVED BY THE TWO OPPOSITE SIDES; THAT IS, THE RVN GOVERNMENT AND THE NFLSV. ONLY THE TWO OPPOSITE SIDES WILL SEND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO FORM THIS COUNCIL TO SOLVE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIETNAM. ALTHOUGH EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE NFLSV DOES NOT HAVE A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF SUPPORT AMONG THE MASSES, I ALSO ACCEPT THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL HAVE AN EQUAL NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THIS COUNCIL. I THUS WANT TO SHOW OUR UTMOST GOODWILL AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION SPIRIT; BUT THE COMMUNISTS HAVE ALSO REJECTED THIS IDEA.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WHAT OUR PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO TODAY IS TELL THE PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSEMBLIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES AND INFORM WORLD PUBLIC OPINION THAT NO ONE SHOULD FORGET THE COMMUNISTS' POLICY (CHUR TRUOWNG) IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND NO ONE SHOULD ERRONEOUSLY THINK THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL GIVE UP THEIR POLICY. THE COMMUNISTS' POLICY IS TO TAKE OVER THE SOUTH BY FORCE AND TO IMPOSE A COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATION, OR AN ADMINISTRATION OF THEIR PUPPETS, ON THE 17.5 MILLION SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE DURING THIS FIRST PHASE.

AFTER THAT THEY WILL TAKE UP THE NATIONAL UNIFICATION BANNER, TO HAVE ONLY ONE VIETNAM AND HAVE 38 MILLION PEOPLE GOVERNED BY ONLY ONE ADMINISTRATION. THAT ADMINISTRATION WILL BE THE HANOI COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATION. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE PURSUED THIS POLICY THROUGH BRAZEN ARMED AGGRESSION FOR THE PAST 15 YEARS. AND NOW, REALIZING THEY CANNOT THUS ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, THEY RESORT TO A FALSE PEACE SOLUTION THROUGH AN AGREEMENT WHICH THEY ARE NOW STRUGGLING